

Art versus Commerce?
The Work of Musicians in the Field of Cultural Production

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Abstract

Labour process theory has been a key resource for the sociological study of work for over four decades. Yet, labour process theory has been conspicuous by its absence from research into cultural labour (Banks, 2007; Dean and Jones, 2003; Hesmondhalgh and Baker *et al.*, 2011). This thesis firstly examines value production and the dynamics of managerial control and creative autonomy within the recorded music industry. Acknowledging the weaknesses identified with “critical theory” approaches in failing to consider the “content” of cultural work (Banks, 2007; McKinlay and Smith, 2009), this thesis considers the art-commerce relation in terms of the interaction between identity, interests and habitus. The thesis draws on data collected from research participants active within the recorded music industry. The data collected consists of forty participants through thirty-one semi-structured interviews and secondary data from four group interviews. The original contribution to knowledge made by this thesis is to conceptualise the art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry as a conflict over potential exchange-value in terms of Bourdieu’s forms of capital.

Empirical findings from this research show forms of managerial control consistent with responsible autonomy, simple control and bureaucratic control (Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977). Rather than control based on maximising economic surplus value, music companies seek to reduce uncertainties of converting objectified cultural capital produced in the labour process into forms of economic or symbolic capital. Control within the recorded labour process depends on forms of legitimate authority in terms of economic control of the labour process and “artistic authority” (Ryan, 1992) based on Bourdieu’s notions of cultural and symbolic capitals.

The relationship between art and commerce is also considered through the interaction between artistic identity, conflicts of interests and a musical habitus. Artistic identity exists as an acted identity where musicians’ social identities are managed based on the levels of capital. The pursuit or possession of large amounts of economic capital acts as a stigma for which musicians engage in repair work (Goffman, 1968; Jenkins, 2014). Similarly, lack of cultural capital leads to impression management over how musicians identify themselves. Economic inequality of the musicians’ employment relationship is not seen as a key determinant of conflict. Rather it is compromise and a lack of autonomy that leads musicians to resist creative control. Musicians’ sense of self, and motivation to put up with low pay and poor conditions, is reflected by the internal drive to make music characteristic of an artistic habitus.

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Declaration of Authorship

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Declaration of Authorship	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures.....	vii
List of Tables	viii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Theoretical Approaches	4
1.2.1 Sociology of Work.....	5
1.2.2 Critical Theory Approaches.....	7
1.2.3 The Labour Process Perspective	9
1.2.4 “Foucauldian” Approaches.....	11
1.2.5 Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice.....	12
1.2.6 Impression Management and Interactionist Sociology	13
1.2.7 Summary	14
1.3 Research Setting	15
1.3.1 Characteristics of Cultural Production	15
1.3.2 The Music Industry	18
1.4 Aims of the Research	23
Chapter Two: Labour Process Theory in the Field of Cultural Production	25
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 Value Production in Labour Process Theory	27
2.2.1 Marx, Commodities and Value.....	28
2.2.2 “Core” Labour Process Theory and Value	30
2.2.3 Problems of Value and Locating the “Hidden Abode” in Cultural Production.....	32
2.2.4 Summary	35
2.3 Control in Labour Process Theory	36
2.3.1 Marx and Subordination of Labour	36
2.3.2 Braverman and Second Wave Studies of Control in the Labour Process	37
2.3.3 Recent Control Debates: Foucault and Beyond.....	41
2.3.4 Control and Autonomy in Cultural Production.....	43
2.3.5 Summary	49
2.4 Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice	49
2.4.1 Fields, Social Space and Doxa	50
2.4.2 Development of the Forms of Capital.....	52
2.4.3 Cultural Capital	54
2.4.4 Symbolic Capital.....	57
2.4.5 The Field of Cultural Production	59
2.5 Toward a Conceptual Framework of the Cultural Labour Process	61
2.5.1 Theorising Labour Power in Cultural Industries	62
2.5.2 Theorising Use-Value and Exchange Value.....	63
2.5.3 Control in the Cultural Industries.....	65
2.5.4 Locating Work in the Cultural Industries.....	66
2.6 Chapter Conclusion	67

Chapter Three: Identity, Interests and Habitus	68
3.1 Introduction	68
3.2 The Nature of Cultural Work	69
3.2.1 Contemporary Cultural Work and the Work of Musicians.....	71
3.3 The “Contextualist” Identity Approach in Labour Process Theory	75
3.3.1 The “Missing Subject” Debate.....	75
3.3.2 The Social Identity Approach	78
3.3.3 Goffman, Impression Management and Spoiled Identity	81
3.3.4 Contextualist Approach to Interests.....	86
3.3.5 Summary	89
3.4 Bourdieu’s Concepts of Habitus and Interest	89
3.4.1 Bourdieu’s Concept of Habitus.....	90
3.4.2 Challenges to Bourdieu’s Concept of Habitus.....	93
3.4.3 Bourdieu’s Concept of Interest	95
3.4.4 Summary	97
3.5 Toward a Framework of Identity, Interests and Habitus	98
3.6 Chapter Conclusion	100
Chapter Four: Methodology	102
4.1 Introduction	102
4.2 Research Philosophy	103
4.2.1 Critical Realism.....	104
4.2.2 Critical Realism and the Work of Musicians.....	106
4.2.3 Summary	108
4.3 Developing the Research Design	109
4.3.1 Qualitative Research, the Labour Process and Cultural Production.....	109
4.3.2 Selection of Methods	113
4.3.3 Selection of Participants	114
4.3.4 Ethical Considerations.....	117
4.3.5 Data Collection Summary	118
4.4 Analysing the data	121
4.5 Chapter Summary	124
Chapter Five: Value & Control in the Recorded Labour Process	125
5.1 Introduction	125
5.2 Making ‘Indie’ Music	126
5.3 Social Capital	131
5.3.1 Social Capital and the Internet.....	131
5.3.2 Social Capital Outside the Internet.....	135
5.3.3 Summary	138
5.4 Symbolic Value in the Recorded Labour Process	138
5.4.1 Symbolic Capital and the Work of Musicians.....	139
5.4.2 Symbolic Capital in the Labour Process	142
5.4.3 Summary	146
5.5 Creative Autonomy and Simple Control	146
5.5.1 Conception Stage of Music Production	147
5.5.2 Simple Control or Responsible Autonomy?.....	148
5.6 Bureaucratic Controls	151
5.6.1 Enacting Hierarchies and Establishing Artistic Authority	152
5.6.2 Formatting.....	157
5.7 Chapter Discussion	163

Chapter Six: Artistic Identity and Conflicts of Interests	168
6.1 Introduction	168
6.2 The Sources of Artistic Identification	169
6.2.1 Pay and Conditions.....	169
6.2.2 Employment Status.....	172
6.2.3 Musicians' Relationship with Money.....	173
6.2.4 Technical Ability.....	177
6.2.5 Competition Between Musicians.....	179
6.2.6 Section Summary	181
6.3 The Role of Habitus in Relation to Artistic Identity	182
6.3.1 Formation of Habitus	182
6.3.2 Influence of Habitus on the Art-Commerce Relation.....	186
6.4 Interests and the Recorded Labour Process	188
6.4.1 A "Disinterested Act".....	189
6.4.2 Conflicts of Interests within the Labour Process	191
6.4.3 Non-Instrumental Motivations	196
6.5 Chapter Discussion	198
Chapter Seven: Conclusions	202
7.1 Introduction	202
7.2 Value Production in the Field of Cultural Production	202
7.3 Artistic Identity, Interests and the Art-Commerce Relation	204
7.4 Theoretical Contributions to Knowledge	206
7.5 Limitations and Future Directions for Research	208
List of References	211

List of Figures

Figure 1: Stages of Cultural Production (Source: Ryan, 1992).....	19
Figure 2: Specialised Activities in and around the Music Industry (Scott, 1999).....	19
Figure 3: The dynamics of creative control/autonomy (adapted from Ryan, 1992 and Hesmondhalgh, 2013)	45
Figure 4: Project Team Positions and Conditions (Ryan, 1992: 133).....	46
Figure 5: The Field of Cultural Production (Source: Bourdieu, 1996)	60
Figure 6: Conceptual Framework for the Cultural Labour Process.....	62
Figure 7: Conceptual Framework for Identity, Interests and Habitus	98
Figure 8: Network of Participants in the Recorded Music Industry.....	121
Figure 9: Initial Coding Nodes.....	122
Figure 10: Final Coding Nodes for “Subjective” Aspects of Cultural Work.....	123
Figure 11: Intermediated Employment Relationship	153

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of Cultural Production Qualitative Studies.....	112
Table 2: Collective Chart Performance of Sampled Musicians	116
Table 3: Collective Awards and Nominations of Sampled Musicians	116
Table 4: Summary of Research Participants: Intermediaries.....	119
Table 5: Summary of Research Participants: Musicians	120
Table 6: Stages of Template Analysis (Adapted from Huddersfield University, 2014).....	122
Table 7: Unsigned Musicians Summary	127
Table 8: Micro-label Participants Summary.....	127
Table 9: Larger-label musicians	130

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

"You either shut up or get cut out / They don't wanna hear about it / It's only inches on the reel-to-reel / And the radio is in the hands of such a lot of fools / Tryin' to anaesthetise the way that you feel" (Costello, 1978)

"Don't want no cash / Don't need no money / Ain't got no stash / This note's for you / Ain't singin' for Pepsi / Ain't singin' for Coke / I don't sing for nobody / Makes me look like a joke / This note's for you." (Young, 1988)

Popular music is rife with examples of the apparent conflict between the artistic freedom and the constraints of commercial imperatives. This conflict is treated within cultural output in a dystopian fashion, with commercially controlled music resulting in a sanitised product, as illustrated by Elvis Costello's famous song *Radio Radio*. Neil Young's *This Note's For You* would alternatively argue for the need to reject commercial interests, and all interests, in order to produce valid output. The apparent irreconcilability of artistic expression with commercial interests has been central to many expressions of conflict in biographical accounts, research within the cultural industries in addition to the cultural output. For many writers (e.g., Adorno, 1991; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1978; Bourdieu, 1993; Williams, 1981), artistic work and capitalist production are two actively opposed spheres of production:

"There is a fundamental distinction between artistic work – conceived as an expression of one's creative capacity through self-determined labour – and managed 'creativity', reduced to alienated work within orthodox capitalist relations of production." (Shorthouse and Strange, 2004: 47)

The relationship between art and commerce – herein referred to as "the art-commerce relation" – is seen as one of the defining features of work in the cultural industries (Banks, 2007; Hemsondhalgh, 2013). After a widely noted dormancy of research (e.g., Banks, 2007; Hemsondhalgh and Baker, 2011), there has been a marked increase of research examining the experiences of work in the cultural industries. While there are recent examples of research into the work of musicians (e.g., Coulson, 2010, 2012; Scarborough, 2012; Scott, 2012; Umney and Krestos, 2014), research on work within the recorded music industry is limited (recent exceptions Beer, 2014; Watson, 2013).

Academic interest in the work of cultural labourers has been coupled with the rising interest in creativity from politicians and policy makers. This increasing interest has

seen the rise of the Creative Industries and Creative Class discourses which have placed the intangible, flexible and unpredictable at the centre of economic development policies in the 21st-century (Banks *et al.*, 2013; Garnham, 2005; Ross, 2003, 2009). The belief that “creatives” are central to notions of a “New Economy” takes forms of cultural production far away from the Romantic notions of the incommensurability between artistic ideals and commercial concerns. The key development for the rising interest in the political and managerial discourse with creativity has been the “creative industries” policies from the 1990s and 2000s. Corollary with similar arguments of a fundamental shift in the nature of the economy, at the heart of “creative industries” discourse is an argument that work is now fundamentally different. Within the UK, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport form the basis for a view of the creative industries as an industrial sector with “potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998). The creative industries are described as:

“those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001: 5)

The DCMS (2014) point to a sector of the economy employing almost 1.7m people in the UK, composed of various occupations, including the arts, advertising, film production, performing arts, software development, TV and radio. The rise of the “creative industries” discourse can be coupled with the positive pronouncements of Richard Florida (2002) who became the leading figure in the advocacy for the creative industries, viewing the economy as being led by these new creative workers and advocates that cities and their politicians need to embrace the rise of a new “creative class”. Florida's (2002) cites figures which suggest that the creative class accounts for a substantial 30 percent of US employment, consisting of “people in design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or creative content” (Florida, 2006: 8).

The creative industries prospered as a term in the political discourse due it having the “sheen of non-elitism ... which stressed the broad distribution of creativity” (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 142). Rather than being an innate ability bestowed on talented individuals, creative industries discourse asserts that everyone is a “creative” now. Indeed, the emphasis with the creative industries discourse is, in many ways, similar to other arguments about fundamental changes in work, with

the emphasis now on human capital and knowledge as key sources of value in the economy (Leadbetter and Oakley, 1999). The rise of the creative industries discourse has seen industries usually considered on the periphery of the “real” economy being recast as industries that will drive future economic growth (Banks et al, 2013). Many of the traditional arts have been rebranded as creative jobs, rather than cultural work, and the addition of many new “knowledge economy” occupations, such as software development, has resulted in a far larger sector of the economy with greater significance for policy makers. Yet, for critical writers, the creative industries are simply a political rebranding of the cultural industries (Garnham, 2005; Gill and Pratt, 2008), particularly with the expansion of jobs included used to give an economic basis for the policy. As Garnham (2005: 26) argues, “the term ‘creative’ was chosen so that the whole of the computer software sector could be included”. It is through including the computer software sector as part of the wider creative industries that it is possible to argue that the industries are an economic panacea (Garnham, 2005). Indeed, the increased emphasis on “creative industries” discourse has seen the “instrumentalizing” of cultural forms with cultural production now inherently defined in economic terms (Hesmondhalgh, and Pratt, 2005; Ross, 2009). The discourse has increasingly been used within contexts such as language revival as a means of commodifying many forms of regional culture (Danson and Chalmers, 2011; Duchene and Heller, 2012). As Pratt (2005: 33) argues, the creative industries discourse “has sought to ringfence a number of commercial applications of culture and exploit their intellectual property. It is for this reason that the creative industries focus is primarily on outputs and “property rights” (Pratt, 2005: 33).

The aim of this thesis is to examine the work of musicians within the recorded music industry and gain an understanding of where the competing demands of artistic freedom and commercial necessity converge and conflict. The aim of this chapter however will firstly be to consider the theoretical approaches that are relevant to the sociological study of work in the cultural industries. The following section will outline the key theoretical approaches to work in the cultural industries. The chapter will then consider the research setting – the cultural industries more broadly and the recorded music industry more specifically. Finally, the aims and research questions will be set out and the structure of the thesis will be outlined.

1.2 Theoretical Approaches

With the rising interest in creativity, academic research from sociologists, economists, geographers, social psychologists and management researchers have all taken an interest in work in the cultural industries. Mark Banks (2007) characterises three strands of thought that currently dominate theorisation of cultural work. The first strand describes “critical theory” perspectives whose origins can be found in the work of Adorno and Horkheimer. The Critical Theory approaches (e.g., Adorno, 1991; Bourdieu, 1993, 1996; Garnham, 1990; Ryan, 1992) take an approach that broadly views creativity and commerce as existing in a conflictual relationship. These approaches take Adorno, Horkheimer, Marx and, more recently, Bourdieu as their key theoretical inspirations. The second strand describes “governmentality” approaches whose origins can be found within the work of Michel Foucault. Governmentality approaches (e.g., Conor, 2010; Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1996; Ursell, 2000), discourses – within cultural production discourses such as creativity, flexibility and entrepreneurship - act to discipline workers so that they are “trained to accept and reproduce *for themselves* the precise conditions of their subordination” (Banks, 2007: 42). The final strand Banks (2007) identifies is that of the “individualisation” approaches, taking Bauman, Beck and Giddens as their main influences.

The following section will discuss the key theoretical positions relevant to the current research, broadly located within the “Critical Theory” strand. The section will begin by considering the sociology of work more broadly, paying particular attention to the work of Karl Marx and Max Weber and their attempts to understand the rise of industrialisation. Following the discussion of Marx and Weber, the section will then consider how insights from Marx and Weber were applied by the Frankfurt School to examine the “Culture Industry” and founding the “critical theory” approach. This section will then consider Labour Process Theory (LPT). LPT was a dominant perspective within the sociology of work through the 1970s and 1980s, applying Marxian analysis to work in various industries. Although the influence of LPT has started to wane and its consideration of work in the cultural industries has been widely acknowledged to be limited (Banks, 2007; Dean and Jones, 2003; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011), LPT represents an underutilised resource within academic research in the cultural industries (Smith and McKinlay, 2009). Part of the problem for LPT can be considered to be related to the rise of Foucauldian

perspectives, including the governmentality approach, as well as Autonomist forms of Marxism. The section will finally consider the increasingly influential work of Pierre Bourdieu and his discussions of cultural production.

1.2.1 *Sociology of Work*

The development of the sociology of work is indebted to the “founding fathers” of sociology: Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber. Marx, chronologically, was the first of the founding three and was a direct influence on the work of Weber. Karl Marx would have self-identified as a political economist, with his key work *Capital* acting as a response to the political economy of Adam Smith and David Ricardo (Crow, 2005). Though associated with communism, the bulk of Marx’s analysis is concerned with the development of capitalism. Most pertinent to the sociology of work are Marx’s discussions of value and the labour process. For Marx (1976), the key development of capitalism is the centrality of the commodity to economic exchange. Marx argues that the commodity exists as a contradiction, between its use-value and its exchange-value, and within capitalism, attention is increasingly paid to the ability to generate exchange values. Commodities are “fetishized”, where a thing is not valued for its usefulness, but in terms of how much a capitalist can get in exchange for the thing (Mandel, 1976). Labour itself is a tradable commodity under capitalism, where labourers trade their ability to labour in exchange for a wage. The “consumption” of this labour power by the capitalist occurs in the “hidden abode” – where labour is put to work and surplus value is extracted from the labourer. This surplus value, appropriated by the capitalist and considered the level of exploitation by Marx, is central to Marx’s (1976) analysis. The ability to appropriate surplus value is for Marx another important feature of capitalism. The need for capitalists to maximise the surplus value they can appropriate requires work to be progressively controlled. Work is intensified the capitalist attempts to continually reduce downtime and increase the speed – or the “porosity”- of work (Harvey, 2010). For Marx, work under capitalism is alienating, with the worker detached from the product of their labour. No longer do workers achieve subsistence and work for themselves, but work for labours and produce commodities for the market. Such a position is taken by Marxists within studies of the cultural industries – indeed, Shorthouse and Strange (2004) view “managed creativity” as fundamentally different to self-determined artistic labour. Ultimately

Marx's work is concerned with critiquing capitalism and exposing its flaws – and a concern for capitalism's eventual overthrow (Marx, 2004 [1848]).

The work of Max Weber can be considered more conservative, particularly with regard to capitalism. As a Christian man, Weber found capitalism as generally supportive of Christian values and was therefore quite supportive (Momsen, 1990). Max Weber's work was concerned with developing a "materialist" theory of symbolic practices in social life (Bourdieu *et al.*, 2011). Religion played a key role in much of Weber's social theory, and his sociology of religion was part of Weber's attempts to draw a materialist – or "this worldly" – understanding of practices apparently aimed at the afterlife (Swartz, 1996). Indeed, for Weber, the demystification of religion and the move towards rationality were part of his understanding of the development of modernity. Weber's method founded what would become known as the interpretivist approach was based on developing "ideal types" – theoretical constructs based on extrapolations of phenomena from empirical observations (Cheal, 2005). This "ideal type" was applied to Weber's theorisation of bureaucracy and forms of authority, which exemplified what he saw as the replacement of religion – or traditional authority – as a source of authority in life and its replacement with the rule of law – or rational-legal authority.

Arguably, Weber's most famous contribution is his theory of rationalisation. For Weber (1968), social actions can broadly be attributed to four forms of action. Of particular relevance to the sociology of work is the conflict between two forms of these social actions: substantive and instrumental rationality. The conflict between the two, Weber argues, would become central to contemporary society. A substantively rational social action is one concerned with some superordinate goal: concerned with values and end result of the action over the means of achieving it (Weber, 1968). Instrumental rationality is immanent "in such large-scale structures as the bureaucracy, modern law, and the capitalist economy" (Ritzer, 2011: 42). The development of instrumental rationality, for Weber, is the key development of industrialised society, with substantive rationality inevitably giving way to instrumental calculation. The art-commerce relation for instance could be seen as a conflict between a substantively rational action – the production of music – and instrumental rationality – the need to finance music becoming an end in itself.

The influences of Marx and Weber on further theorising in areas broadly identifiable with the concerns of sociology of work are profound. The following subsections will consider recent theoretical approaches to work in the cultural industries. Broadly, theoretical approaches to cultural work continue to be influenced by the work of Marx and Weber. The next subsection discusses the renowned Culture Industry polemic of Adorno and Horkheimer, itself an approach heavily influenced by the work of the founding theorists.

1.2.2 *Critical Theory Approaches*

For Banks (2007), critical theory approaches are characterised by their lineage to the work of the Frankfurt School, and in particular the work of Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer. The approach, characterised by its roots in Marxism and concern for Freudian psychoanalysis, has cast a shadow of cultural studies since the arrival of a chapter entitled “The Culture Industry” within Adorno and Horkheimer’s (1973 [1944]) influential *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*. In contrast to the more positive accounts of the creative industries of recent years, social theory has tended to have a more critical view of cultural production within capitalism. Raymond Williams (1958, cited in Garnham, 1987: 24) defines culture “as a realm separate from, and often actively opposed to, the realm of material production and economic activity.” Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu (1983, in Bourdieu, 1993) considers the world of culture as “the economic world reversed”. There are however, a number of theoretical approaches toward the study of cultural work, with Banks (2007) outlining a “critical theory” that is characterised most notably by the work of Adorno and Horkheimer (1973), Miège (1979; 1987), Garnham (1990), Bourdieu (1993; 1996) and Hardt and Negri (2000). The critical theory approach tends to emphasise that artistic creativity and cultural production are largely incompatible with the concerns of capitalism (Shorthouse and Strange, 2004).

While terms such as “creative industries” are being propounded in the political discourse as a means of economic competitiveness in the modern world, the origins of the term come from a far more polemic intent. The work of Critical Theorists Adorno and Horkheimer’s (1973 [1944]), originators of the Frankfurt School, emphasized the rise of a “Culture Industry” – a place where artistic concerns had become subservient to economic rationality. The Culture Industry was a Marxist-influenced critique of how cultural products, far from existing in the reverse of

economic concerns, are examples of mass-produced industrial commodities. The spectre of Nazism was something that influenced much of Adorno's thinking on Western Culture, and his likening of American culture to many of the things he had witnessed in Germany prior to fleeing to America was intended to incense. For the Frankfurt School, Marx's (1976) concept of "commodity fetishism" is increasingly most important to the study of cultural production. Use values – or even the lack of a use value – are increasingly subservient to the demands of the market and exchange values (Adorno, 1991). The Culture Industry concept here forms a dialectic, where artistic autonomy and commercial heteronomy exist together in an antagonistic relationship (Susen, 2011).

There are a number of criticisms levelled toward the Culture Industry thesis, with the Frankfurt School's work criticised on grounds of being overly deterministic and 'snobbish' towards popular forms of culture. Adorno's approach tends towards a view of popular culture as debased by capitalism and ultimately worthless. Miège (1987) rejects Adorno and Horkheimer's romanticism towards pre-industrial forms of culture and their implication that pre-industrial culture represents a more noble form of work than 1940s culture (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Adorno's intent is polemic and with the "Culture Industry" thesis, it represents an effort to put previously contradictory terms together – culture and industry – to highlight the growing commodification of the cultural world (Garnham, 2005). Another particular criticism of Adorno's (1991) critique is the idea that the Culture Industry exists as a singular entity. While Adorno's Culture Industry was polemic in nature, the experience of cultural work has been acknowledged to vary across the industry. Miège's (1979; 1987) work has been a corrective to this, starting with pluralising the term to become the "cultural industries". In his view, the forms of organisation represented vary widely from small family firms to large multinationals and their interests differ (Miège, 1979).

Marxist-influenced research has in recent years tried to assert the non-manual forms of labour power. Cultural studies literature is rife with discussions of "immaterial labour" and "precarity" (Gill and Pratt, 2008). The starting point for most of these recent debates has been through the "Autonomist Marxists" (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Lazzarato, 1996). For Hardt and Negri (2000: 290) immaterial labour describes "labor that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication". For Autonomist Marxists, work is

the key battle for the resistance of capitalism. Instead of seeing capitalism and its eventual collapse as a further stage in society's progression through different economic orders, Autonomists argue that capitalism requires the enforcement of work and that refusal to work is essential to end capitalist production (Gill and Pratt, 2008; Negri, 1979). The concept of "immaterial labour" argues that work in contemporary capitalism produces "symbolic" forms of value in contrast to more simple "economic" industrial commodities (Banks, 2007). For Thompson (2005), the autonomist approach is taken as Marxian categories updated with a "dose" of Foucauldian subjectivity. The Autonomist Marxist approach is an increasingly prevalent ways of theorising work in the cultural industries. More recent advocates of the Autonomist school often promote their work in terms of the failure of the labour process perspective to address work in the cultural industries (e.g., Böhm and Land, 2009; 2012; Beverungen et al., 2015). The following subsection will therefore consider the labour process perspective.

1.2.3 The Labour Process Perspective

A further approach that would fit within the "critical theory" approaches would be the labour process perspective. The origins of labour process theory (LPT) can be found in the work of Karl Marx, whose discussions of the labour process as the location of the "hidden abode" of production – where surplus value is extracted and workers are exploited – inspired Harry Braverman's (1974) reappraisal of the labour process. Braverman's (1974) work was targeted at the apparent ubiquity of Taylorism – or scientific management, the managerial approach devised by engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor in the early twentieth century. As the apparent dominant managerial approach to the control and organisation of work, Braverman took Marx's categories of the labour process and applied these insights to Taylorism. For Braverman, the central tenets of scientific management made the real subordination of labour possible. The outcome of Taylorism, and its spread into industries outside of traditional blue-collar production, was a trend towards the systematic degradation of skill. Despite several criticisms, most of which he was unable to answer following his death in 1975, Braverman's (1974) critique proved heavily influential inspiring a second-wave of theorists (e.g., Burawoy, 1979; Edwards, 1979; Edwards, 1986; Friedman, 1977; Littler, 1982; Thompson, 1983). Empirical support and focus on systematic deskilling disappeared in the 1980s (Thompson, 2010), Thompson's (1989, 1990) attempt at a consolidation of labour process

theorisation saw a core theory specified around the “empirically consistent features of the capitalist labour process” (Thompson and Vincent, 2010: 47). Issues regarding managerial control and the reduction of the “indeterminacy of labour” displaced issues of deskilling within the core theory and have provided a basis for the sociological study of work in many industries (Thompson, 2010; Thompson and Smith, 2009).

Having arguably peaked within the 1980s with a slew of workplace studies, labour process analysis has waned in light of paradigm wars and a split within the broader Critical Management Studies. The split originates from theorists who criticised LPT, and reflective of many of the criticisms directed more broadly at “critical theory” approaches (Banks, 2007), for a lack of concern for the subject within the labour process (Knights and Willmott, 1989; Thompson, 1990). For many theorists, the consideration of the “missing subject” was a key issue for labour process theory to address (Thompson, 1990). Yet, what emerged was “a particular view of subjectivity” (Marks and Thompson, 2010: 317) influenced by firstly Anthony Giddens (Willmott, 1990) and then Foucault (Knights and Willmott, 1989). Despite the criticisms and “paradigm wars”, LPT has continued to consider the subject through an increasingly influential approach to identity (e.g., Hallier, 2004; Hallier and Forbes, 2005; Marks and Lockyer, 2004; Marks and Scholarios, 2007; Richards and Marks, 2007). Dubbed the “contextualist approach” by Jaros (2012), this work is characterised by its incorporation of social psychology (e.g., Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Ashforth and Mael, 1989) and interactionist perspectives (e.g., Goffman, 1959, 1963; Jenkins, 2014) into the core theory.

The coupling of theories from within industrial sociology with the insights of social psychology or symbolic interactionism is used to address the problems observed throughout Marxist influenced theory. Whereas the key concern of sociology is with large groups, such as society itself or forms of organisation, psychology’s concern has been with the individual. Psychology is criticised for focusing on the individual and laboratory experiments at the cost of developing social processes (Haslam, 2004). Yet, social psychology – particularly, the work of Henri Tajfel – is concerned with the reasons for individuals identifying with social groups. Rather than understanding differences, social psychology offers a means of understanding similarity (Marks, 2005). It is from the challenges by Foucauldian approaches that have inspired the move within labour process theory to concepts drawn from other

paradigms is part of an effort to understand worker identity and agency and to address the “missing subject”. The following subsection will consider the influential and disputed work of these Foucauldian approaches.

1.2.4 “Foucauldian” Approaches

Within labour process analysis and cultural studies, a convergence exists between approaches influenced by Foucauldian social theory. Characteristic of much of the social sciences during the 1980s, the influence of a grouping of French philosophers and the so-called “linguistic turn” placed discourse and language as central to the social sciences. The work of Michel Foucault, particularly his 1977 work *Discipline and Punish*, had a profound effect on labour process analysis within the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s. Foucault’s (1977) analysis of the move from punishment to discipline as the primary exercise of power in society begins with a vivid description of public executions. Foucault’s argument is that society no longer requires brutal displays of sovereign power, that power is now exerted by individuals who are “caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers” (Foucault, 1977: 201). Foucault moves to the prison in his analysis and revives utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham’s notion of the panopticon – a prison design with a centralised guard tower – to produce a metaphor for modern forms of surveillance. The central guard tower sees all but, importantly, may not be occupied. The possibility of being watched from the guard tower internalises the power relation in the inmates, such that inmates self-discipline the required behaviours. Within labour process theorising, primarily through the influential work of David Knights and Hugh Willmott (1989) and associates (e.g., Knights and McCabe, 2003; O’Doherty and Willmott, 2009), the movement towards Foucauldian understandings of subjectivity was motivated by widely accepted weaknesses in Braverman’s (1974) formulation of the labour process. The search to develop an understanding of the “missing subject” within LPT resulted in a substantial split in the LPT community, with Foucault-influenced theorising breaking off and forming the Critical Management Studies (CMS) approach. The panopticon metaphor though proved to be heavily influential with many forms of work and technologies of work acting as all-seeing, all-powerful forms of panopticon (e.g., Fernie and Metcalf, 1992). Despite criticisms from both orthodox labour process theorists and post-structuralists (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Taylor and Bain, 1999; Knights and McCabe, 2003), the panopticon metaphor and Foucauldian influenced critique

tended to overstate the power of management and downplay resistance – despite Foucault’s intentions.

Within studies of cultural work, Foucault’s influence characterises one of the key streams of research into cultural labour (Banks, 2007). The concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1991, 1996) extends Foucault’s notion of the individual enacting and enforcing power relations into the cultural industries. Banks (2007) explains that for many within this approach, discourses within cultural production - such as creativity, flexibility and entrepreneurship - act to discipline workers so that they are “trained to accept and reproduce *for themselves* the precise conditions of their subordination” (Banks, 2007: 42). The “creative industries” discourse specifically represents the articulation of a particularly powerful discourse that internalises the ideals of entrepreneurship and flexibility. Research within this approach has demonstrated how workers internalise these discourses and act to reproduce the appropriate behaviours of being entrepreneurial (e.g., Conor, 2010; Ursell, 2000).

1.2.5 Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice

Considered one of the substreams of the “critical theory” approaches (Banks, 2007), the work of Pierre Bourdieu is currently one of the most influential approaches to empirical research in the social sciences (Grenfell, 2012). Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) was trained as a philosopher before eventually choosing to follow a sociological career, beginning his research career with extensive fieldwork in Algeria examining the effects of industrialisation in the pre-capitalist Kabyle people. The empirical research conducted in Algeria would eventually provide a foundation for the development of the theoretical work he is most famous for his conceptual trio of field, habitus and capital. Within Bourdieu’s work (1977, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) there exists a source of continual appraisal of cultural production. Bourdieu is currently one of the most widely cited and his work has become increasingly important within social research with his interests influencing anthropology, cultural studies, linguistics and sociology amongst others.

The theoretical inspiration of Bourdieu’s work draws on Durkheim, Marx and Weber to a great extent, as well as the work of various other social theorists (see Susen and Turner, 2011). Bourdieu’s developments on Weber’s work are most significant with

regard to the current research. Bourdieu's work builds on Weber's attempts at a materialist theory of the symbolic (Bourdieu, 1994; Bourdieu et al., 2011). The development of concepts such as symbolic goods and the forms of capital owe more of a debt to Weber than the Marxian language would suggest. For Weber, it was his attempts to understand religious practice as practice concerned with the afterlife but with a "this-worldly" character (Swartz, 1996). Bourdieu draws on Weber's understanding of the symbolic to try to develop a theory of all symbolic practices. Bourdieu's theories are therefore part of his attempt to reappraise practices that appear "uninterested" – or rather unconcerned with economic behaviour – and reconsider all practices as fundamentally interested and concerned with the maximisation of material and symbolic goods (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu's (1993, 1996) potential contribution to a study of the art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry can be found in his work on the field of cultural production. For Bourdieu, cultural production is based on a fundamental opposition between good art and commercial success. The field of cultural production is structured to reward those artists who appear unconcerned with any form of reward, while punishing critical evaluation of those individuals who are concerned with "popular" forms of production (Bourdieu, 1993). The field in fact displays a split between small-scale producers, who produce goods of artistic merit but with very little money, and the large-scale producers who produce goods for the mass market. The larger-scale producers are much closer aligned to the economic concerns of the business fields (Bourdieu, 1996).

1.2.6 Impression Management and Interactionist Sociology

Beyond the theoretical inspirations of the "critical theory" approach, the work of Erving Goffman can provide an understanding of social identity and how it is managed. The work of the "Chicago School" – firstly, through the work of George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley, then secondly through the work of Erving Goffman – has been particularly important for the development of the sociological study of identity. Characterised by their focus on small groups, the Chicago School asserted that individual and society form an interdependent relationship (Marks, 2005). Mead's (1934) famous assertion that there is a fundamental distinction between "me" and "I" reflects a view where a sense of personal identity and self is separate to social identity. Mead's intention with this distinction is to consider

identity as a process rather than an “inner core” separate from society (Lawler, 2014). A person can only reflect on “I”, and the temporal distance between the two means that an “I” can only be understood as a “me”.

Following on from Mead, the work of Erving Goffman continues to be one of the most influential sociologists and he is seen as a key theorist from the symbolic interactionist school of thought. Goffman’s key work is his 1959 book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* and central to it is his emphasis on the existence of both social and personal identities. Based on metaphors from theatre, Goffman argues that the self is presented as an actor would perform a character to an audience. An essential point from Goffman’s (1959) work is that there continues to be a distinction between a concept of the self, or a personal identity and an acted social identity. Social identity is a “front” that attempts to gain positive reception from an audience for a believable and consistent performance. Through this dramaturgical approach, Goffman developed the concept of impression management. In contrast, personal identity exists as a “backstage” hidden from view of the audience. The point of Goffman’s (1959) work emphasises that individuals can attempt to manage the reception of their social identity for different situations with information hidden from the view of others in a bid to present a positive image. Goffman is most often associated with the term “impression management”, which emphasises the social context of identity. Social identity is something that is not “unilaterally” decided by the individual, but based how the audience interpret the performance (Jenkins, 2014). Goffman’s work on *Stigma* (1968) is potentially very useful with regard to the art-commerce conflict, particularly when there exists “stigmatised” identities in the world of music based on musicians being perceived as having “sold out”.

1.2.7 Summary

This section has attempted to draw out the key strands of current theorising within sociology toward the work of cultural workers. In assessing the theoretical approaches suitable to understanding the art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry, the following chapters will assess the usefulness of the labour process approach to understanding managerial control and worker resistance.

1.3 Research Setting

Having decided to focus on the work of musicians within the recorded music industry, it is important therefore to outline the characteristics of work within this industry. The following section will firstly outline the characteristics of cultural production, primarily as described in the work of Mark Banks (2007), Nicholas Garnham (1990, 2005), David Hesmondhalgh (2013) and Bill Ryan (1992). Hesmondhalgh (2007; 2013) perhaps offers the most concise description of the problems, and the industrial responses to these problems. The following section will therefore broadly follow Hesmondhalgh's (2013) categories of the characteristics of cultural production: namely, risk; high production costs and low reproduction costs; semi-public goods; and art versus commerce. While many industries share the following some of these characteristics, Hesmondhalgh (2013) asserts that it is the combination of these factors that set out the distinctiveness of cultural production.

Though typically understood as the "music industry", this term is something of a misnomer as it suggests a homogenous, single entity with a unified purpose. The music industry can more commonly be understood as "music industries" (Jones, 2012) – with the current research focused on one particular industry, the recorded music industry. The recorded music industry represents a mix of large corporations and small "independent" companies who co-exist within the industry in a series of interlinked but conflicted relationships (Negus, 1992). Following on from this, the specificities of music work in the recorded music industry will be examined in greater detail. The section will finish by discussing questions of terminology.

1.3.1 *Characteristics of Cultural Production*

One of the preeminent cultural theorists of the 20th century, Raymond Williams, described culture as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (Williams, 2014 [1983]). Culture, according to Williams (1994: 48), describes "the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded". These works are 'texts' or 'symbolic goods' which are primarily communicative artefacts that attempt to convey meaning and, importantly, while they may have an economic value their main purpose is symbolic (Banks, 2007; Bourdieu, 1993; Garnham, 1990; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Indeed, while the primary purpose of these symbolic goods is communicative, Garnham (1990) acknowledges that the cultural industries are

industries that may employ industrial means in order to supply 'symbols' in a commodified form. This is an important distinction as it forms a basis from which to distinguish cultural production from other forms of capitalist production. Indeed, several writers dispute this definition with many of their arguments based on likening cultural production far more to "ordinary" forms of production than many cultural writers give credit (e.g., Thompson *et al.*, 2007). These writers "accept" that the industries deal in the exchange of symbolic goods (Thompson *et al.*, 2007) but argue that these goods still need to be manufactured or reproduced (Pratt, 2002).

One of the key characteristics of cultural work is risk (Garnham, 1990; Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The output of the cultural industries is primarily symbolic goods with the way consumers use these products being highly volatile and unpredictable (Bourdieu, 1984; Caves, 2000; Garnham, 1990). The unpredictability of consumption results in organisational attempts to manage risk. Most cultural output relies on a business model that emphasises overproduction so that one hit redeems the costs of several misses (Hirsch, 1972). Overproduction can be described as a "publishing logic" where the costs of books, music and films that fail tend to be offset by the hits (Miège, 1987). Within the music industry, figures suggest the levels of this overproduction with Garnham (1990) explaining that only one in nine records will redeem the costs of production and generate enough profit to cover the costs of the other eight and Negus (1999) saying this figure is one in eight. Part of the problem is the increasingly permeable barriers to entry, with Scott (1999) acknowledging over 15 years ago that within the music industry there consistently exists a massive oversupply of cultural output in comparison to the demands of potential consumers. Within the cultural industries, the pareto-principle tends to dominate the cultural industries, where twenty percent of the catalogue of artists, films or books generates eighty percent of the profits of the company (Neuman, 1991). As Hemondhalgh (2013) explains, a company that produces fifty records will have far better chance of meeting the odds of success versus a company that under produces. This overproduction leads Negus (1992: 145) to acknowledge that record companies' attempts at releasing music are often disparagingly likened to "throwing mud against a wall... in the hope that some of this will stick." These criticisms focus on the creative individual and tend to ignore a vast management function within these industries, with the aim of reducing these uncertainties (Negus, 1992; Thompson *et al.*, 2007; Warhurst, 2010). The cultural

industries are characterised instead loose-tight control where managerial control increases the further down the production process – i.e., from conception to execution to circulation (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Indeed, Ryan's (1992) contribution to the debate makes a point to separate the conception of cultural products from their circulation as two distinctive forms of production. While creative personnel generally have greater autonomy over artistic decisions, controls over finances are far tighter. This "tight/loose control" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Negus, 1998) ensures that there is sufficient freedom for the creative personnel to innovate but increasing levels over distribution in order to manage these uncertainties.

A further difference between cultural production and more traditional forms of capitalist production are the high initial production costs but minimal reproduction costs (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). While creative personnel are loosely controlled, it may cost an organisation a great deal to produce the initial copy of a book, CD or film from these personnel. However, duplicating further copies from the first is a great deal cheaper. Certainly, a great deal of criticism has been levelled at the use of this as a distinctive feature of cultural production. Thompson et al (2007), for example, notes the incredibly high costs of prototyping a car in contrast to the lower reproduction costs. Yet, as Garnham (1990: 156-8; also Ryan, 1992) observes, cultural production is characterized by a split between the generation of symbols and the means of exploiting them. The initial process of production may take very pre-industrial means – for instance books written by an author – but the means of exploiting these symbols may take the forms of more industrial mass-production techniques. There is a therefore a further distinction then between two types of cultural production: those that use these traditional means and those that are generally considered industrial themselves - such as newspaper manufacture (Adorno, 1991; Garnham, 1990). As Garnham (1990) notes, this is not the case in the cultural industries, one person's reading of a book does not preclude another from using the book too. Price therefore cannot be easily determined due to the "semi-public" nature of the goods produced by the industry. Producing artificial scarcity is therefore response by organisations in order to exploit these properties (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Therefore, cultural goods can be seen as a form of intellectual property that can be traded and are backed by laws such as copyright and patents acting to produce artificial scarcity in the market (Lash and Urry, 1994). The problems within the culture industries surrounding the role of the internet has

often been concerning issues of the reduced ability to enforce artificial scarcity (Kostakis and Bauwens, 2014). The ability to easily copy and distribute digital data over the Internet has led to a two-prong problem within the recorded music industry in particular. Firstly, the increased ability of consumers to illegally obtain files and secondly, the lack of industry response to increased demand for legal digital distribution (Hesmondhalgh, 2009, 2013).

1.3.2 *The Music Industry*

The music industry is somewhat of a misnomer, implying an integrated set of practices forming a single coherent industry. Similar to debate of the culture industry versus the cultural industries, the pluralisation of the music industries is a reaction against the work of Adorno, “most academic studies of the popular music industries have continued to privilege the recording industry as being *the* music industry” (Cloonan and Williamson, 2007: 312, emphasis in original). The shorthand term “the music industry” however is often used to talk of three separate industries: recorded, publishing and live performance music industries (Jones, 2012). The record industry is typically concerned with the recordings of pieces of music and the dissemination of these recordings through the protection and, ultimately, exploitation of intellectual property rights (Lash and Urry, 1994: 135, see also Frith, 1987). Record companies operating within the industry therefore tend to be concerned with the recruitment of musicians and the publication of their work (Scott, 1999). The music publishing industry is primarily concerned with the writing of songs and the exploitation of the work of songwriters – the songwriters may in fact be different from those that record the song. Finally, the live music industry is concerned with the performance of music and includes various clubs, venues, promoters and publicity staff who are uninvolved with the other industries. Success in one of the music industries usually results in success in the other – record sales produce publishing royalties and ticket sales when a musician or band tours (Jones, 2012). The recorded labour process is concerned with the creation and performance of music so that it can be recorded, mastered and reproduced in a form (e.g., CD, MP3) suitable for later distribution. The key stages that concern this research are the conception and execution of work and, to some extent, the transcription stages where music is formatted for release (Ryan, 1992).

Function		Position in Project	Occupations
Conception	Design	Producer	Managers, producers, editors, etc.
	Realisation	Realiser	Writers, composers, arrangers, designers, etc.
Execution	Interpretation	Director	Directors, chiefs-of-staff, sub-editors, studio directors, floor managers, etc.
	Execution	Performer	Actors, musicians, presenters, dancers, journalists, illustrators, photographers, etc.

Figure 1: Stages of Cultural Production (Source: Ryan, 1992)

There is considerable overlap between the various forms of work in the music industries, as Figure 2 - taken from Scott's (1999) representation of the music industry - demonstrates.

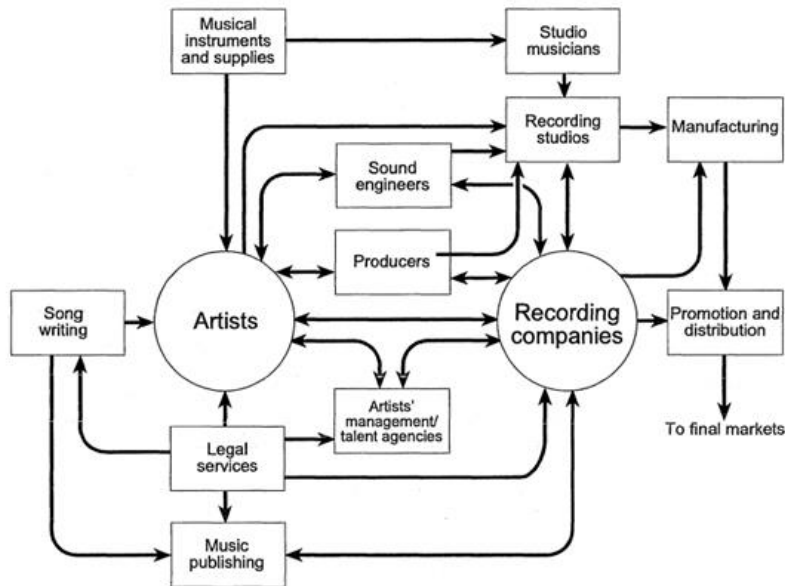


Figure 2: Specialised Activities in and around the Music Industry (Scott, 1999)

The global recorded industry contributes \$15.0bn to the world economy and has been on a downward trend over the past ten years from a peak of \$20.7bn (IFPI World Music Report, 2014). The recorded music industry is dominated by three major labels: Universal, Sony BMG and Warner Music. Progressively over the past two decades, the 'big five' major labels have – through mergers and acquisitions – become a 'big four' to their current 'big three'. The fundamental contrast within the music industry is between apparently independent record labels and corporate major labels. Independent labels – or 'indies' – rose to prominence in the "post-punk" phase in the 1980s and were characterised by their DIY approach, with many artists self-producing and self-releasing their music via music and fan-run magazines. Labels such as Rough Trade and Factory rose to prominence with their attempts to become more democratic, artist-focused music enterprises. While 'indie' often refers to the production relations involved, more recently 'indie' is often taken as a shorthand term for certain forms of guitar-based music. The relationship between major-label production and independent label production is complicated and heavily interlinked (Negus, 1992). While many independent labels proclaim their independence from corporations, or are setup in opposition to more commercial labels, most independent labels establish relationships with major labels based on licencing and distribution links (Hesmondhalgh, 1996). Indeed, the term "independent" distinguishes these smaller labels often based on the fact they are simply not "corporate" (Hesmondhalgh and Meier, 2015, also Frith, 1981). Rather than being fundamentally opposed, in many cases major labels and independent labels have shared interests.

"Employment" in the music industry is inherently complicated by the overlapping activities of the three industries. While the focus of the current research is on work within the recorded music industry, income from other sources of music work will feature. The forms of 'pay' traditionally available to musicians as part of work in the recorded music industry include advances, royalties and, more recently, licensing or "syncs". Advances, offered prior to the creation of albums or songs, essentially represent loans that have to be paid back to the record company, with musicians then paid a royalty following the settling of the advance (Hesmondhalgh, 1997). The structure of the 'major label' record company contract acknowledges the high risk of failure that Hesmondhalgh (2013) argues is a core feature of the wider cultural industries. The asymmetrical relationship between musicians and the major record

companies higher is reflected within the record contract, with options to terminate or extend the contract that solely exercisable by the record companies being a key feature (Greenfield and Osborn, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 1997; Jones, 2012). The options to extend in a record deal entail the production of albums - a set of songs traditionally sold as a CD, cassette or vinyl but more recently in digital form. Such options are generally long-term in nature, which leaves musicians open to the risk of remaining on a label which may lose the 'sympathetic' staff who signed the musicians to begin with or stuck in a label that may not be receptive to changes in musical direction (Hesmondhalgh, 1997). As Frith (1987) perceptively observed, record sales were increasingly becoming secondary in the music industry to the exploitation of intellectual property rights. The emphasis on intellectual property rights has increased in the 21st century due to the rise of the internet affecting the ability of record companies to produce artificial scarcity (e.g., Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The rise of '360 contracts' – contracts that include traditional record industry activities as well as publishing and live music activities, has occurred at a time of declining record sales, related to the rise of the Internet. These 360 contracts represent recording companies attempts to pursue wider activities in the music industries to recoup much of the revenue lost in the digital age (Stahl and Meier, 2012).

In contrast, the employment contract in the independent sector can be seen as a rebellion against many of the practices of major label contracts. Royalty splits were usually as high as 50:50 in some of the independent labels, characterised by high trust relationships between record company and musicians with low-commitment in terms of length of the contracted relationship. Indeed, for many record labels in the independent sector, contracts were not written down on paper and often taken on an album to album basis (Hesmondhalgh, 1997). Indeed, the renowned Manchester-based independent label Factory Records, allowed copyrights to revert back to musicians after a 6-month period. As Hesmondhalgh (1997) notes, the terms sound favourable but as there is less money in the independent sector, the 50:50 arrangement has to meet the equivalent of 50% of costs and that the advance money available was substantially lower.

The art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry requires musicians to interact with a number of "creative managers" (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Ryan, 1992). Each creative manager can be mapped on a continuum between "art"

(the musicians) and “commerce” (the record company). The nearest cultural intermediary aligned to the concerns of “art” would be the artistic manager. The role of an artistic manager “is to represent the artist, not only in negotiations and interactions with recording and music publishing companies, but also in arranging promotional and publicity work, live concerts and other activities” (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 92). The most notorious intermediary within the recorded music industry is that of the A&R (Artist and Repertoire) manager. Representing towards the “commerce” end of the continuum, A&R staff are concerned with recruitment of musicians to record labels and the management of the roster of musicians to ensure the release of music from the label. Depending on the size of the enterprise, record label managers may take on the roles of A&R managers (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). Yet A&R managers are the most likely intermediary to influence the creative process. A&R managers were the central focus of Negus’ (1992) work examining the conflict between A&R management and marketing departments. More recently, the power of A&R managers has been acknowledged to be waning, with marketing often having greater power over the potential reception of cultural goods (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011).

Further intermediaries involved within the recorded music labour process include record label management and owners as well as record producers, engineers and mixers. Academic interest in the work of record producers and engineers has been limited, with a couple of recent exception (e.g., Beer, 2014; Watson, 2013). For Beer (2014: 189), record producers work offers a conflict “between artistic sensibility and logistical or technical know-how”. The record producer is concerned with the technical realisation of master recording from the recording of the soundings to the mixing of a recording in the transcription stage of production (Ryan, 1992). While record producers and engineers are mainly sought for their technical proficiency, they are also required for their possible sensitivity to artistic concerns:

“The recording engineer, it would seem, is valued for their technical skill – their ability to place a microphone, to set up amplification, to manage effects, to wire up studios, to place sound dampening sheets, to capture sounds, to handle software plug-ins, to get sound levels consistent, and so on – but is also expected to be artistically sensitive and oriented to the realisation of artistic vision.” (Beer, 2014: 190)

Having outlined the key theoretical approaches to work in the cultural industries and discussed the research setting, the following section will consider the aims of the current research.

1.4 Aims of the Research

The overall aim of the current research is to understand the nature of the art-commerce conflict in the recorded music industry. From this overall aim, a number of research questions have been derived:

- What forms of value are produced within the labour process in the recorded music industry?
- What is the nature of managerial control in the recorded music industry?
- What role does social identity have in mediating the art-commerce conflict?
- Do musicians have an interest in denying commercial or critical acclaim?

The following chapter will outline the key tenets of the labour process perspective and the current theoretical problems that have prevented a labour process analysis of many of the cultural industries. The chapter will then consider research from wider disciplines concerning the dynamics of control and autonomy within the work of cultural workers. The chapter will go on to examine the potential contribution that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice can make to addressing many of the theoretical issues. Considering the problems with conceptualising the "subject" within many of the critical theory approaches and labour process analysis, Chapter Three will assess the literature on identity within the labour process perspective and sociology of work. As possessors of labour power necessary for the creation of value, workers are active participants in the labour process and an understanding of the motivations to consent and resist to managerial control are examined within this chapter. Chapter Three will assess the "contextualist" approach (e.g., Jaros, 2012; Marks and Thompson, 2010) toward understanding the identity process within the labour process. Acknowledging the interplay between identity and interests widely noted in the contextualist approach, the role of interests will be considered and the relationship to Bourdieu's usage of the term. Chapter Three will then present the potential contribution of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The chapter will conclude by presenting a three-level conceptual framework for understanding the role of artistic identity in the labour process. Chapter Four presents the methodological framework used within the current research. Starting with a discussion of the critical realist ontology adopted throughout this research, Chapter Four sets out the

epistemological, ontological and methodological commitments of previous research into the labour process analysis, Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and work within the wider cultural industries.

The findings of this research are discussed in two chapters within the thesis. Chapter Five examines the labour process of musicians in terms of value produced and control strategies enacted by record labels to ensure surplus value. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital, Chapter Five emphasises the conceptual usefulness of reinterpreting the cultural labour process in terms of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals. The aim of the chapter is to show the distinction between use values in cultural production (objectified cultural capital) and the exchange values (economic, social and symbolic capitals). Chapter Six considers the role of artistic identity within the empirical research. Based on the three-level framework developed in Chapter Three, the chapter demonstrates how the art-commerce relation is negotiated through the interplay between habitus and social identity and the interests of the musicians. Chapter Seven concludes the thesis with a summation of the findings and theoretical contribution of the current research. The chapter will also discuss the limitations of the current research as well as indicate possible directions for future research based on the theoretical work produced within the thesis.

Chapter Two: Labour Process Theory in the Field of Cultural Production

2.1 Introduction

In the opening chapter of this thesis, the art-commerce divide was discussed as a fundamental feature of work in the cultural industries (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). While art is often seen as actively opposed to economic forms of production (Bourdieu, 1983a; Williams, 1981), the need for artists to make a living means that art and commerce interact in a form of employment described as variously as precarious, risky and immaterial (Gill and Pratt, 2008). This chapter aims to consider the work of musicians in terms of sociological approaches to work. For almost forty years, labour process theory (LPT) has been viewed as one of the more significant theories in industrial sociology. Initially developed from Marx's discussions of the labour process (Marx, 1976), and then brought to contemporary study through the work of Braverman (1974), LPT is concerned with the "dynamics of control, consent and resistance at the point of production" (Thompson and Smith, 2009: 915). After a prolonged period of dormancy within sociological research until its revival in the 1970s (Thompson, 1989), Braverman's work resulted in an explosion of interest in labour process research, with a "second wave" of researchers (Burawoy, 1979; Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977; Littler, 1982), culminating in the so-called "Bravermania" (Littler and Salaman, 1984) of the 1980s.

The focus of this thesis is on what would later be defined as the "core theory" developed by Thompson (1989; 1990) and later expanded and defended by others (Jaros, 2010; Thompson and Smith, 2001; 2009). Core theory was the first attempt to define what LPT was after the Braverman-inspired revival and to try to establish a core theory around the "empirically consistent features of the capitalist labour process" (Thompson and Vincent, 2010: 47). Despite the Marxist origins of labour process theory, the 1980s saw a deliberate distancing of LPT from these inherently Marxist roots. Instead, core LPT stripped away the broader Marxian themes, such as labour theory of value and the eventual overthrow of capitalism. The core theory of labour process analysis is predicated on four propositions that follow from this indeterminacy and is summed up by Jaros (2010:71, emphasis in original):

"core LPT holds that capitalist labour processes are characterized by capital's need to *control* labour; a logic of *accumulation* that impels refinements in technology and administration; a fundamental, *structured antagonism* between capital and labour;

and because it is the place where labour is valorized, the 'labour process', the point of production, is *privileged* for analysis”

Within cultural studies, the absence of labour process theorists from debates on cultural work has been widely observed (Banks, 2007; Dean and Jones, 2003; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Ursell, 2000). The problem with labour process studies in the cultural industries appears to be with seeing cultural work “as a profession or career option that involves many of the same issues as other kinds of work” (Dean and Jones, 2003: 531). Yet, when reviewing the propositions of the core theory, it is hard not to draw parallels between them and the nature of cultural work. Core theory is drawn from a view that labour power is indeterminate and has to be controlled to ensure profitable production, while cultural production has been acknowledged to be “risky” with managerial roles in the industry aimed at reducing uncertainties (see Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Similarly, the “art-commerce” conflict is seen as an inherent characteristic of cultural production under capitalism (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007), while labour process analysis argues that capital and labour are located in a relationship of “structured antagonism” (Edwards, 1986; Thompson, 1990).

While LPT provides a framework for analysing conflict within the employment relationship, a means of supplementing LPT in order to address the apparent dichotomy between art and commerce is offered by the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu’s work has been acknowledged to have had an initially lukewarm reception in Anglophone research (Garnham, 1990; Postone *et al.*, 1993; Fowler, 1997; Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Despite translation of his work emerging in the 1970s, the cross-disciplinary nature of his work - anthropology, sociology and cultural studies being the key areas of his work, labelled human sciences in France - meant that much of his work did not fit comfortably into the world of English-speaking research (Jenkins, 2002). More recently, however, work inspired by Bourdieu is arguably one of the more dominant strands in sociology. Bourdieu’s theories are increasingly being advocated and used in organisational and sociology of work research (e.g., Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Emirbeyer and Johnson, 2008; Kerr and Robinson, 2009; Lau, 2004; O’Mahoney, 2007; Swartz, 2008; Townley *et al.*, 2009; Vincent, 2012; Warhurst *et al.*, 2008; Witz *et al.*, 2003).

Bourdieu’s contribution to the study of cultural production can be examined in two of his books – *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) and *The Rules of Art* (1996).

The former is a collection of Bourdieu's essays on the subject of cultural production from 1968-1983 and the latter a more formally "consolidated" collection. Bourdieu's discussions of cultural production have been seen as underdeveloped (Hesmondhalgh, 2006) or even seen to neglect an actual sociology of the practices of cultural production (Jenkins, 2002). Yet, like many implementations of Bourdieu's work, many of his concepts tend to get used in isolation without much regard for his overall theoretical project (Mutch *et al.*, 2006; Grenfell, 2011). Bourdieu's discussions of cultural production should not be seen as a distinct work but as further elaborations of his Theory of Practice.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to examine the relevance of labour process theory as a theoretical resource for examining the work of musicians. While the art-commerce conflict is seen as a fundamental feature of cultural production (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013); labour process theory is predicated on the belief that the employment relationship exists in a form of conflict too (Edwards, 1986; Thompson, 1989; Thompson and Smith, 2001). This chapter will therefore critically analyse the relevance of the propositions of the core theory and consider the relevance of LPT to the study of music production. This chapter will present a number of key problems within LPT that limit its ability to understand the work of musicians in the recorded music industry. Firstly, the form of value produced by cultural workers is not necessarily an economic commodity. Secondly, there is a need to reconceptualise labour power that is related to the question of value. Thirdly, the location of the valorisation process in cultural production often occurs outside of an employment relationship but is not necessarily unaffected by needs of capital. Finally, the nature of managerial control in the cultural industries requires artistic forms of authority not currently considered in labour process analysis. The chapter will review the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu, outlining his key concepts of fields and capital that form part of his overall Theory of Practice. The chapter will conclude by demonstrating how Bourdieu's forms of capital can be used to supplement labour process analysis in order to gain greater understanding of the art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry.

2.2 Value Production in Labour Process Theory

The importance of surplus value production is something that has been implicit in labour process theorising from Marx's (1976) initial conceptualisation in *Capital* to

Thompson's (1989; 1990) specification of the core theory of the labour process (e.g., Thompson, 1989). Yet, implicit in the work of labour process theorists is the assumption that it is economic value that is produced within the labour process. The art-commerce relation can be seen as a question of value as well as a conflict between control and autonomy. The question of value occupies an important debate within contemporary research, and the distinctions between price, value and values are a continuing source of debate. Importantly, value and values denote two different things. As Skeggs (2014: 3) asserts, "what appears at first glance to be a straightforward definition; value is economic, quantifiable and can be measured. It is primarily monetized, but as with education, not always, whereas values are moral, cultural, qualitative and difficult to measure." The treatment of value as commensurate with economic value or price is seen as a development of contemporary capitalism – or neoliberalism – that has denied a distinction between forms of value and economic value (Arvidsson, 2009). Yet, such a treatment of value within labour process theory maybe insufficient for developing an understanding of value production in the recorded music industry.

Within the current research, a theoretical understanding of what the cultural labour process produces is essential. Current labour process theorising does not distinguish between output in the cultural industries and that of more traditional forms of capitalist production – a criticism often directed at LPT is its inability to consider work outside of "blue-collar manufacturing" (Edwards, 2010). The following sections will therefore outline understandings of value within sociology. Starting with Marx's description of the commodity, to more recent work influenced by Autonomist Marxism (Arvidsson, 2009; Böhm and Land, 2012; Willmott, 2010), Foucault (Ursell, 2000) and Bourdieu (Scott, 2012; Skeggs, 2004a, 2004b, 2005), the following section will critique labour process theory's current understanding of value. More specifically, this section will argue two key points: that value produced in cultural production is not necessarily an economic value and, secondly, that this cultural value is often produced outside of an established employment relationship.

2.2.1 Marx, Commodities and Value

Karl Marx is cited as one of the founding fathers of sociology, yet his own view of his work and greatest source of pride is through viewing himself as a political economist and a successor to the legacies of Adam Smith and David Ricardo (Crow, 2005). One

of Marx's most renowned works, *Capital* (1976 [1869]), begins with an analysis of the nature of the commodity and provides the starting point for Marx's analysis of capitalism. Contradiction is central to Marx's analysis, with his dialectical method assuming that conflict and struggle are inherent features of capitalism (McGovern, 2014). For Marx, the commodity is the central component of production under capitalism and exists in a form of contradiction between its use-value and exchange value (Mandel, 1976). The "mystical character" of commodities does not come from the use-value alone, rather, as Marx asserts, it is their exchange value. Use-value is an essentially qualitative attribute describing the functionality of a commodity, whereas exchange-values are assessed in terms of quantity and their relationship with other use values (Marx, 1976). Rather than the creation of use-values as the key reason for productive activity, capitalism makes the creation of exchange values primary. For the capitalist, the sale of commodities should be at a price greater than the costs incurred within the production process. The dominance of commodity exchange in capitalism is possible through the increasing power of money and its expansion from a simple medium of exchange to a point where the accumulation of money is an end in itself (Sayer, 2005).

The source of productive activity - the labour process - in Marx's (1976 [1869]) view comprised of three elements. Two elements comprise the means of production - namely, the natural or raw materials and the tools and machinery needed to perform the work. The other element is purposeful activity of man directed at work. Though these elements are essential components to any productive labour process, work becomes distinctively "capitalist" when combined with a valorisation process - the process of generating surplus value. Productive activity under industrialisation allows for the worker to produce far more than is necessary to achieve subsistence of the worker - this over-production is what is termed as surplus value and the process of generating surplus is named the valorisation process (Giddens, 1971). The generation, however, of this surplus value is not in the resale of these commodities, rather within the labour process itself. Marx's (1976) assertion that the "peculiar characteristic" of labour is the unique ability of labour alone to produce value within the labour process. Many accounts of value produced within the labour process take for granted the economic nature of this value - a view that has remained relatively unchallenged since eighteenth and nineteenth century accounts of productivity.

Capitalism, Marx argues, comes into being when human labour is traded as a commodity within a labour market:

"By labour power, or capacity for labour, is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description" (Marx, 1976: 108).

Indeterminacy of labour – or potential to work – and how it is converted into actual work has been the central concept within labour-process theory from its origins in the work of Marx to the specification of the core theory (Littler, 1982; Thompson, 1989; Thompson and Smith, 2001). When labour power is bought on the labour market, it is this potential to work that is being bought and it is the role of capital and management to extract actual labour. While the trading of commodities in themselves is a defining feature of work under capitalism; for Marx, what separated capitalism from feudalism was effectively brought about when labour power became a tradable commodity on a labour market (Mandel, 1976). With the advent of capitalism, workers trade their capacity to labour in exchange for wages in order to participate in marketplaces for their subsistence. Work under capitalism is directed by the agents of capital – the owners of the means of production. Although the self-directed aspects of work did not fundamentally change in the initial stages of capitalism, a need for greater profits made the capitalist increase control over the direction of labour. The consumption of this labour power, however, occurs outside the market: it is within the “hidden abode” that capitalism is able to accumulate profits from the production of surplus value (Hyman, 2005).

2.2.2 “Core” Labour Process Theory and Value

After a prolonged period of neglect, critical consideration of the Marxian labour process was revived by the work of Harry Braverman and his 1974 work *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. Braverman’s (1974) work caused a substantial revival of Marx’s theories of the labour process and resulted in a “second wave” of researchers following up Braverman’s work (e.g., Burawoy, 1979; Edwards, 1979; Edwards, 1986; Friedman, 1977; Littler, 1982). The resulting explosion of interest did however result in a state where labour process theory became less clearly defined (Thompson, 1989). Braverman’s understanding of value, drawing as he did from Marx’s categories, takes surplus value as being inherently economic. For Braverman, deskilling through Tayloristic control acts as a means of ensuring maximisation of surplus value but does not really expand on the forms of value taken. In addition,

despite the origins of labour process theory coming from the research of a number of Marxian-influenced writers, the 1980s saw a deliberate distancing of LPT from these inherently Marxist roots. The initial labour process research community that emerged in the UK focused on three “immanent laws” of the capitalist labour process, which emphasised a division between mental and manual labour, hierarchical control and a tendency towards deskilling (Thompson, 2010). As Thompson’s (1989) work argued, claims of a universal tendency toward deskilling were empirically unsupported by the vast amount of research conducted within labour process theory. Concurrent with the “second wave” research were the failed labour conflicts of the time and the rise of the monetarist economic policies of the Thatcher and Reagan governments in the UK and US. The core theory established by Thompson emphasised a movement away from linking workplace control to macro-level class polarisation (Jaros, 2010). Core LPT deliberately stripped away the broader Marxian themes - such as labour theory of value and the eventual overthrow of capitalism.

Thompson (1989: 241-246) defines the core theory around four propositions. Of central importance is the notion of the indeterminacy of labour, where the capitalist purchases the worker’s labour power – or potential to work (Braverman, 1974; Littler, 1982; Marx, 1976; Thompson, 1989). The indeterminacy of labour is the difference between potential work and actual work with the following four propositions based on this notion of reducing the indeterminacy. Firstly, the focus for labour process theory should be the role of labour and relationship between capital and labour. Secondly, capital is compelled to revolutionise the means of production in order to ensure the production of surplus. Thirdly, there is a control imperative within the labour process in order for management to convert labour power into actual labour and generate surplus value. Finally, the relationship between capital and labour can be termed as “structured antagonism” where the need for worker’s creative capacities must be tempered with a need to secure profitable production. As Thompson and Smith (2009) assert, the central focus of labour process analysis is the transformation of labour power at work, rather than the specific means of achieving this transformation. Yet the core theory does not contain a proposition related to the value produced in the labour process. Despite the indeterminacy of labour being a central concept for labour process theory, which emphasises the need of management to extract maximum value from purchased

labour, the form that “value” takes remains unspecified and assumed to be economic. The failure of labour process analysis to consider non-economic forms of value produced in the labour process is particularly relevant to the current research. The art-commerce relation is predicated on the divergence of artistic concerns from commercial imperatives. A concept of value produced when artistic concerns are primary is therefore a key problem to understanding the labour process of musicians.

2.2.3 *Problems of Value and Locating the “Hidden Abode” in Cultural Production*

Central to O’Doherty and Willmott’s (2009) and Böhm and Land’s (2012) contributions are the questioning of core LPT proposition that, as the source of value production, the labour process is privileged for analysis. The contention of O’Doherty and Willmott’s (2009) and Böhm and Land’s (2012) work is that the precariousness of employment within the cultural industries means that work is often performed outside of a wage-effort bargain. Ursell’s (2000) earlier contribution similarly problematized the location of value production within labour process analysis. Ursell’s (2000) research into the organisation of contemporary film production drew on labour process theory and the insights of Foucauldian notions of subjectivity and governmentality (eg, Foucault, 1991; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Rose, 1996). For Ursell (2000), the labour-process perspective’s sole focus on the employment relationship is inadequate to examine forms of creative work where work can be performed without material reward and outwith an employment contract:

“the labour process extends beyond the boundary of the formal organisation, into the practices of those organizing themselves as the freelance labour market. The authority of the firm (and its negotiation) is not limited to the firm’s internal hierarchy and relationships but penetrates beyond into the externalised pool of labour” (2000: 813)

Studies, such as Ursell’s (2000), opened up what Banks (2007) considers a strand of theorising within the cultural studies that takes Foucault’s concept of governmentality as its main inspiration. For these ‘governmental’ approaches, cultural labourers are “trained to accept and reproduce *for themselves* the precise conditions of their subordination” (Banks, 2007: 42, emphasis in original). Within the governmentality perspective, discourses act to train and self-discipline workers and within the creative industries - organised around discourses advocating

“flexibility” and “entrepreneurship” (Banks, 2007; McRobbie, 2002a) - these policies act to self-discipline workers. With labour within the cultural industries being based around short, flexible projects, the need to embrace entrepreneurial values - such as being self-promotional and self-reliant - are seen throughout studies of cultural work (McRobbie, 2002a; Ursell, 2000). Cultural workers are not seen as being coerced and exploited as part of an employment relationship. The television workers in Ursell's (2000) research maintain a labour market that depends on social networks and the proffering of “gifts” in the hope of accessing labour processes. This question of where and how value is produced are reflected within O’Doherty and Willmott’s (2009) and Böhm and Land’s (2009; 2012) contributions. For Böhm and Land (2012), labour process theory currently misses the “fundamental shift” in the location of the hidden abode of production:

“At the core of LPT is the idea that capitalist value production takes place principally within the employment relationship... so that other forms of activity, even if they produce economic value, are excluded from their analysis.” (Bohm and Land, 2012: 218).

The questions of *what* value is produced are not directly answered by these studies. While still influenced by the Autonomist school of thought, the contributions of Willmott (2010) and Arvidsson (2006; 2009) offer some insight into questions of value, though both are not primarily concerned with cultural production. Generally, our understandings of value come primarily from its relationship with labour (Skeggs, 2014). For Marxists, as Arvidsson (2009) and Harvie (2006) observe, it is impossible to view value production outside of labour. For Marx (1969), labour can only be considered productive if it produces commodities in the form of “immediate, material wealth” (Marx, 1969: 161). Such a concept of value is problematic. As Harvie (2006) explains, though teachers are essential in producing new forms of labour power, in Marxist terms teachers are considered unproductive. For Arvidsson (2009), social production has come to the fore in the contemporary economy, where peer-to-peer and open source developments in information technology have provided sources of free labour that are later commoditised in economic production. These changes in the economy caused by the rise of the internet – that parallel work in the cultural industries – mean most value produced in social forms is viewed as commons-based, and therefore “free”. While the location of the labour process in cultural production maybe outside an employment relationship, work in the recorded music industry is predominantly organised

around the work of cultural labourers. This again returns to questions of what forms of value are produced by the cultural labour process.

A recurrent theme from theorists in cultural production is that cultural production under capitalism operates in direct contradiction between its communicative purpose and possible generation of future exchange values. For Scott (1999: 1965), the music industry “supplies a final product that has virtually no other interest to the consumer than its aesthetic and semiotic content. It is, in the terms of Bourdieu... a purely symbolic good.” Yet, Bourdieu himself asserts that symbolic goods have a “two faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object” (Bourdieu, 1993: 113). For Banks (2007) and Hesmondhalgh (2013) one of the central characteristics of cultural production is the view that the products of cultural labour are “symbols” or “texts”. Symbols are primarily communicative and do not necessarily have a functional - or “use” - value. Within cultural production under capitalism, the importance of this contradiction of value within the labour process is central to understanding the work of cultural workers. The cultural value and the potential commercial value of a symbolic good for Bourdieu (1993) are generally independent of each other, though as Bourdieu goes on to assert throughout his work, the negative commercial value may have a positive cultural value. Importantly, cultural value is believed to be “intrinsic to the works of individual creators” (Banks, 2010a: 259-260). The Romantic notion of a creative genius behind cultural works often leads consumers to demand named musicians, with the belief that art is a product of the human experience (Ryan, 1992). Some assert that there is an important distinction between managed creativity and artistic expression, with management interventions devaluing the potential artistic merit of cultural production (Shorthouse and Strange, 2004). Indeed, the appearance of separation from corporate ties and apparent autonomy may be, conversely, a source of instrumental value (Brouillette, 2008).

A Bourdieusian approach towards understanding non-economic value in cultural production could potentially offer a solution to labour process theory. The work of Beverley Skeggs (1997, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2014) has been predominantly concerned with the (in)ability of women to attain respectability and access exchange values. Though drawing from a constructionist/feminist paradigm, Skeggs work has mobilised Bourdieu’s forms of capital and habitus to develop an understanding of class and the self in contemporary capitalism. Skeggs (2004a,

2004b, 2005) work, drawing also on the work of Foucault and Rose, argues contemporary capitalism requires workers to become “subjects of value” through establishing “oneself into a marketable product, into a commodity” (Skeggs, 2004a: 73). Workers are required to acquire the necessary dispositions that are valued within the marketplace (Skeggs, 2004a). Scott’s (2012) research into the work of do-it-yourself musicians in Australia draws from Skeggs’ (2004a) work. Within his study of work performed in the absence of economic capital, Scott (2012) demonstrates how the production of use-values is not primary in the work of musicians:

“Thus, in the exchange-value logic of cultural entrepreneurship, it is not the use-value of the cultural commodity per se that is primary—be that the poster, website hits, video, live performance, or recording. Rather, for all contributors to the product or event, it is the potential symbolic capital these mobilisations can generate that opens avenues to transmute the sunken alternative capitals into economic capital or new accumulations of symbolic capital. Conceptually, there exists multiple capital mobilisation and conversion strategies, which are field-conditioned and improvised practices.” (Scott, 2012: 247)

For Scott (2012) it is the attempt to generate “buzz” that is a primary motivator for musicians. The “buzz”, or symbolic capital, generated is convertible in Bourdieu’s terms in the long term to economic capital. Yet, this symbolic capital is itself a product of converting cultural and social capitals.

2.2.4 Summary

The key concern of this section has been to demonstrate the weaknesses of labour process theory’s concept of value. This section has discussed value production within current labour process theory and demonstrated that two key problems emerge that weaken its conceptual grip on work within the cultural industries. Firstly, the treatment of value produced within the labour process has broadly remained unchanged since the work of Marx. For Marx, labour that could not produce an immediately realisable form of surplus value should be considered unproductive labour. Importantly, the cultural commodity exists in a form of contradiction between its cultural value and commercial value. Bourdieu’s work, and this wider application of use and exchange-value, maybe a way to theorise the art-commerce relation in the recorded music industry through reconceptualising value as the production of various forms of value. Secondly, the location of work within the cultural industries is a problem demonstrated by Böhm and Land (2012),

O'Doherty and Willmott (2009) and Ursell (2000). For all these writers, the production of value outside an established employment relationship weakens labour process theory's ability to examine the work of cultural workers.

The following section will continue to examine core labour process theory's key tenets. Based on the discussions of value production, within core theory it follows that the capitalist is compelled to further control the labour of workers by the need to ensure greater surplus value. The following section will therefore discuss control within the labour process and the conflict between control and autonomy in the cultural industries. Following the discussion of control, possible solutions to the theorisation of value in LPT will be presented through Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and his forms of capital.

2.3 Control in Labour Process Theory

As discussed in the previous section, the conversion of labour power into actual labour, and the reduction of this "indeterminacy", is central to labour process theory (Thompson, 1989; 1990; Jaros; 2010). The reduction of indeterminacy leads to one of the "empirically consistent" features of the core theory, that of the need for a control imperative (Thompson and Vincent, 2010). Broadly speaking, control describes "the ability of capitalists and/or managers to obtain desired work behaviour from workers" (Edwards, 1979: 17). This section aims to review the literature regarding control in labour process analysis and examine forms of control that are relevant to the study of the music industry. This section will firstly outline the Marxian notions of the subordination of labour and the need for the capitalist to enforce control over the labour process. Following Marx, the section will then examine the contribution of Braverman (1974) and the so-called second wave theorists of Edwards (1979) and Friedman (1977; 1990; 2004). Finally, the debates of autonomy and control within cultural production will be examined in order to draw out the key features of control in the recorded music industry.

2.3.1 Marx and Subordination of Labour

For Marx, labour is an actively creative process and self-directed labour is a distinctive and defining feature of being human:

A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the

worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality (Marx, 1976: 116)

While workers in pre-capitalist systems were largely responsible for the design and execution of work, the fundamental change under capitalism is workers' ability to labour becoming tradable on a labour market. Productive activity under industrialisation allows for the worker to produce far more than is necessary to achieve subsistence of the worker - this over-production is what is termed as surplus value and the need for greater profits however made the capitalist increase control over the direction of labour through managing the labour process. A transition therefore occurs between the formal subordination of labour towards the real subordination of labour (Hyman, 2005). The formal subordination occurred when workers agreed to become wage labourers. Work was generally then under the control of the capitalist, and the product of a worker's labour was the property of the capitalist. The organisation of work and the labour process however did not significantly change during the move to wage-labour initially, mainly due to existing craft guilds and the capitalist having little choice other than to take the work as they found it (Thompson, 1989). Marx described the formal subordination under capitalism as:

The work may become more intensive, its duration may be extended, it may become more continuous or orderly under the eye of the capitalist, but, in themselves these changes do not affect the character of the actual mode of working (Marx, 1976: 1021)

However, the formal subordination was insufficient to deal with pressure for the capitalist to attain higher surplus. This led to the social re-organisation of work, rather than the hope of constant technological gains in productivity. This leads Marx to say that the capitalist constantly needs to "revolutionise" the means of production in order to achieve the real subordination of labour. Work was moved into the employer's premises, a formal division of labour was established and the rise of technology continued within the workplace. Yet, as Edwards (1979) explains, it is not necessarily some despotic desire for power that makes capitalism attempt to dominate the worker - just a desire for profit.

2.3.2 *Braverman and Second Wave Studies of Control in the Labour Process*

Critical consideration of the labour process underwent a significant period of dormancy over the following century after Volume 1 of Marx's *Capital*. As mentioned

in the previous section, the arrival of Harry Braverman's *Labour and Monopoly Capital* in 1974 changed this. Essentially, Braverman's work is a restatement of much of Marx's work, but it moved the labour process debate into consideration of contemporary management practices. Though Marx's work talked of capitalism's desire to bring about the real subordination of workers, Marx did not talk in detail about how workers are controlled by capitalism. This neglected area is addressed by Braverman, who viewed scientific management, or Taylorism, as the biggest development in managing the labour process since the work of Marx.

Scientific management originates from the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor (1947). Taylor, through his experiences as a worker, realised the significant inefficiencies that existed within capitalism and sought to address them. Rather than being a wholly new development, Braverman (1974: 120-121) states that Taylorism rendered "conscious and systematic the formally unconscious tendency of capitalist production". In Braverman's eyes, instead of being seen as a cordial theory of workplace management (Taylor, 1947), scientific management comprised of three distinct principles in order to secure control over labour:

Thus, if the first principle is the gathering together and development of knowledge of the labour process, and the second is the concentration of this knowledge as the exclusive preserve of management - together with its converse, the absence of such knowledge among workers - then the third step is the use of this monopoly of knowledge to control each step of the labour process and its mode of execution (Braverman, 1974: 119).

Scientific management does not solely focus on increased division of labour as advocated by Smith (1937). Braverman suggests that the most powerful influence on Taylor's thinking would be Babbage's (1963) argument to remove as much of the skill requirements from the labour process as possible. For Braverman, the elimination of the link between conception and execution in work would lead to a continued degradation of skill through capitalism. Taylorism, which advocated the cheapening of the labour required to do work, combined with a systematic division of labour, was seen by Braverman as the de facto managerial strategy of control. Yet, Braverman was quick to assert that it is not only the case that Taylorism is prominent within manufacturing. Braverman asserted that Taylorism was increasingly prevalent in white-collar administrative work too. The increasing administrative functions in companies required from scientific management, led to a pressure to rationalise the administrative function too with Braverman setting out

the various ways time and motion studies started to pervade administrative work. One of the key developments in Braverman's (1974) work is how the control imperative pervades into forms of work that Marx would class as "unproductive" workers. Rather than the value-producing workers needing to be controlled to increase surplus value, the need to reduce costs throughout the labour process see organisations increasingly rationalise occupations traditionally considered as middle-class.

Friedman (1977) was one of the first major post-Braverman studies, and he refuted Braverman's assertion of the pre-eminence of Taylorism. Friedman certainly saw reliance on Taylorism as incompatible with capital's need to harness the innovative and creative potential within workers. Essentially, Friedman argues that surplus value production does not necessarily require control strategies (Sturdy *et al*, 1992). Instead, Friedman suggested two distinct strategies for managerial control: direct control and responsible autonomy. Rather than a single-minded focus on domination over workers, Friedman (1977) argued that workers were given freedom to perform certain duties and use their skills as they saw fit within the company without direct supervision. Responsible autonomy entailed attempts by organisations to maintain "managerial authority by getting workers to identify with the competitive aims of the enterprise so that they will act 'responsibly' with a minimum of supervision" (1977b: 48). These strategies were coupled with the developments of internal labour markets as a means to secure employees align themselves with organisational goals, through increased effort in a bid to secure promotions and benefits. In contrast, direct control entails the direction of labour power through coercion, direct supervision and minimisation of the responsibility of labour (Friedman, 1977: 78).

"Control implies hierarchy. Even in those circumstances of 'responsible autonomy', where the immediacy of the market replaces direct supervision, the links in the chain of command have simply been rearranged or obscured" (Thompson, 1989: 151).

Sosteric's (1996) research into work in a nightclub saw the success of responsible autonomy strategies, where a "customer is always right" attitude was contended and bar staff were actively encouraged to develop their own approach to customer service. This highly autonomous labour process and the accompanying reputation for a "peculiar brand of customer service" (1996: 302) was highly popular with

clientele. The introduction, following some complaints, of direct control in place of these responsible autonomy strategies led to disenfranchisement in the bar staff and the ultimate decline of the bar's reputation. Despite criticisms (e.g., O'Doherty and Willmott, 2001), Sosteric's (1996) use of both Friedman's (1977) formulation of control and an attempt at addressing the "missing subject" through Foucauldian notions of subjectivity provide an important contribution to both labour process analysis and notions of "good work" (see Friedman, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2010). The imposition of managerial control on a previously successful, autonomous labour process led to a situation where work was standardised and the enjoyment of bar staff in their work declined. Similarly, Taylor and Moore's (2015) recent contribution accounts for identity and collective interests in the work of cabin crew within British Airways. Workers mobilised to defend their interests and the responsible autonomy characteristic of their labour process. For the cabin crew, their understanding of their work, enjoyment in their work and ability to answer the needs of the customer meant they resisted managerial control (Taylor and Moore, 2015).

The contribution of Richard Edwards (1979) to the development of LPT was through his examination of the evolution of managerial control. Edwards, like Friedman (1977), contended Braverman's view - that scientific management offered a comprehensive means of controlling workers - was inaccurate. Edward's (1979) conception of control outlines three distinct strategies: simple control, technical control and bureaucratic control. Reflective of the developments of capitalism, each strategy emerges as a distinct development on the previous means of controlling work. Initially workers were controlled through a "simple control" prior to the advent of more formal "technical" and "bureaucratic" means of control under Taylorism and Fordism. Simple control describes the methods of control characteristic of the earliest forms of capitalist production. Arguably closest to the formal subordination of labour outlined by Marx (1976), here an owner acted as a manager but the labour process remained relatively autonomous from control. While influencing Marxist labour process theory, Edwards (1979) draws on more Weberian notions of charisma and authority to distinguish between simple and bureaucratic forms of control. Simple control was often achieved by the personal charisma of the owner. In Weber's forms of authority, charismatic authority depends on a personal relationship with the leader (Cheal, 2005). As organisations

got progressively larger, the personal ties that were the basis for this charismatic authority were superseded by technical and bureaucratic controls.

Technical control “involves designing machinery and planning the flow of work to minimize the problem of transforming labor power into labor as well as to maximize the purely physically based possibilities for achieving efficiencies” (Edwards, 1979: 112). Rather than simply the result of increased mechanisation, technical control entails the reorganisation of the social organisation of work around a set of technologies. The assembly line acts as a way of reducing the need for “human authority” to direct the tasks and the flow of work (Thompson, 1989). Bureaucratic control, by virtue of the term, takes on a much greater Weberian tone. The imposition of hierarchies, rules and procedures replaces the personal authority of the owner with impersonal (rational-legal) authority. A development on technical control due in part to increased resistance directed towards the technologies and organisation of work. Rather than the organisational exercise of power, authority was exerted from the rules themselves and redirected resistance to the rules themselves rather than the capital-labour dynamic (Edwards, 1979; Ryan, 1992).

2.3.3 Recent Control Debates: Foucault and Beyond

Recent research utilising Edwards’ categories is currently lacking, with his work often cited but rarely engaged with. As Callaghan and Thompson (2001: 15) note, Edwards (1979) concepts have been “gathering dust”. More recent scholarship has been more concerned with the rise of Foucauldian notions of control. One of the key criticisms directed at “responsible autonomy” strategies are that ultimately, despite increased autonomy at work, workers are agents in their own exploitation through their increasing identification with organisational aims (Friedman, 1977; O’Doherty and Willmott, 2001). Thompson and van den Broek (2010) note within their examination of the literature on organisational control that the 1990s observed two emerging trends. The first trend consisted of those studies examining human resource management (HRM) practices as a focus of managerial attempts to influence employee identification with organisational aims and, secondly, those examining the all-seeing panoptic power of information technology and self-disciplining management practices in new workplaces (Ferne and Metcalf, 1998; Sewell, 1998; Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992). Both are seen as part of a rise of critiques of new managerial controls influenced by the social theory of Michel Foucault, but

also as part of a trend that Barley and Kunda (1992) acknowledge as the rise of normative controls in workplaces instead of previously “rational” controls.

With the rise of HRM practices, managers have sought to use teams – as well as other practices – to enforce a “unitarist ideology” where a “sense of shared identity and sociability” is created aimed at creating “enhanced commitment and ‘discretionary effort’” (van den Broek *et al.*, 2004: 199). The managerialist literature often views team working to be a more humanistic means of managing workers that allows more autonomy in the workplace (Knights and McCabe, 2003), and a means of replacing traditional bureaucratic and often dehumanising ways of organising work (Ezzamel and Wilmott, 1998). Yet the use of several HRM practices is seen as an endeavour to “stimulate and enhance employee identification with strategic goals and objectives” (Knights and McCabe, 2003: 1589). Wilmott (1993: 517) simply sees it as part of a trend toward finding competitive advantage through the “governance of the employee’s soul”. While Willmott’s (1993) work may be an extreme view, managerial controls – despite appearing benign - are still aimed at ensuring maximum surplus value from the labour power offered by employees (Barley and Kunda, 1992; Sewell, 1998). Parallel to this is the debate over the use of technology as a means of exacting normative control over workers. Many of these debates concerned work in call centres and were heavily influenced by the work of Foucault (1977) in particular. Foucault (1977) discussed through the metaphor of Bentham’s Panopticon - a prison with a central, ever watchful guard tower - the move of modern society from a disciplining society to a self-disciplining one. Technology and managerial practices, some theorists asserted, acted like the prison design to internalise the company’s values and make individuals self-regulate their behaviours. Fernie and Metcalf’s (1998) work had a noticeable impact in the press helping spread the negative opinion of call centre work and popularising the term “electronic sweatshop” to describe call centres. Fernie and Metcalf’s (1998) paper uses the Panopticon metaphor and employs it to the IT systems in call centres that act as the all-seeing watch tower that “renders perfect” managerial control.

Adherents to the core theory tended to view normative controls as over-stated, with managerial power overrated and understating the possibilities of employee resistance (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1995, 1999; Bain and Taylor, 2000). Possibilities for resistance are essential within the current research, the art-commerce relationship is often characterised by conflict between control and

autonomy (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). In Callaghan and Thompson's (2001) attempt at reviving Edwards' (1979) analysis within the call centre context, they examined the operations of technical and bureaucratic controls. For Edwards, the move from technical control to bureaucratic control was necessary to overcome employee resistance to the mechanisation and drudgery of the production line. The establishment of rules within the bureaucracy creates a form of rational-legal authority, so to give the impression that legitimacy emerges from the rules themselves rather than management creating the rules. The appearance of the rules governing actions rather than management themselves is used to overcome employee resistance (Ryan, 1992). Within Callaghan and Thompson's (2001) research, they found instances of resistance directed at the bureaucracy, where "stats" were the source of angst rather than managerial control. Yet, in contrast to many of the deterministic studies attempting to apply Foucauldian theory, employees knew that a manager was behind these systems of control (Callaghan and Thompson, 2001: 28).

With the current research aimed at examining the art-commerce relationship in the music industry, it is necessary to assess the relevance of LPT's understanding of control to the current research. While studies of control from the labour process perspective are plentiful, applications of LPT within the cultural industries are negligible. The following section will therefore examine studies examining the dynamics of control and autonomy within cultural production from overlapping disciplines.

2.3.4 Control and Autonomy in Cultural Production

Following from the previous section's discussions of control in labour process analysis, this section will examine broader debates of tensions between managerial control and creative autonomy in the cultural industries. The dynamics of control and autonomy have been widely described as a central characteristic of cultural production (Banks, 2007, 2010a; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Despite conflict being seen as a central feature of cultural production and core labour process theory arguing that the employment relationship exists in a state of structured antagonism, the labour process perspective has been conspicuous by its absence in the cultural industries (Banks, 2007; Dean and Jones, 2003). This section will examine the study of managerial control within the cultural industries.

The desirability of work in the cultural industries is often attributed to the apparent autonomy of the work and the enduring connection between conception and execution in many cultural forms (Banks, 2007; Ross, 2003; Smith and McKinlay, 2009; Umney and Krestos, 2014). For many forms of cultural production, the continued autonomy of the conception stage within the work means that many forms of cultural production can only be considered industrial when considering the promotion and distribution stages of the production of cultural commodities (Ryan, 1992). Rather, the social mode of production is individualistic in contrast to highly centralised economic organisation (Adorno, 1978). This is an important distinction as it has important implications for theorising the labour process of musicians. Indeed, the relatively autonomous method of production is a key differentiator between cultural work and recently redubbed “creative” work. The “political” inclusion of ICT work into the reconfigured “creative industries” implies that the characteristics of work within the creative industries are similar (Pratt, 2005). As research has shown however (e.g., Bain et al., 2002) many of these jobs are victims to levels of deskilling and Tayloristic management practices like many jobs outside of the creative industries.

The avoidance of the separation of conception and execution of work through labouring in the cultural industries however presents only part of the story; the connection of conception, execution and the cultural labourer are seen as inherent to cultural production (Banks, 2010a).

“art is conventionally held to be a product of the human experience, artistic work cannot be mechanised: that would be a contradiction in terms, since, according to its conventions, art flows only from the inherently human talents” (Ryan, 1992: 108)

Indeed, for many consumers the belief that a symbolic good has been produced autonomously without commercial control is key to the symbolic good’s cultural value (Brouillette, 2008). This belief in the inherently human talents that produce cultural works tend to prevent the “full abstraction” of the work of cultural labourers (Banks, 2010a: 260). An important contribution is made by Bill Ryan (1992) in his work on corporate cultural production. Ryan’s (1992) work argues that cultural production under capitalism necessarily requires workers to be allowed a degree of autonomy in order to produce new cultural forms. Drawing on second-wave labour process theory (Braverman, 1974; Edwards, 1979; Littler, 1982), Ryan argues that

technical controls – allowing for the rationalisation of the labour process of cultural labourers - have had little success in controlling artistic work. Corporate cultural production exerts greater control further down the production process: the conception and execution stages of cultural production are generally granted greater autonomy, with more industrialised processes within the reproduction and circulation stages (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ryan, 1992, see Figure 3). This progressive exersion of control further down the production process is why control in the cultural industries is described as “loose-tight” control (Negus, 1992; 1998).

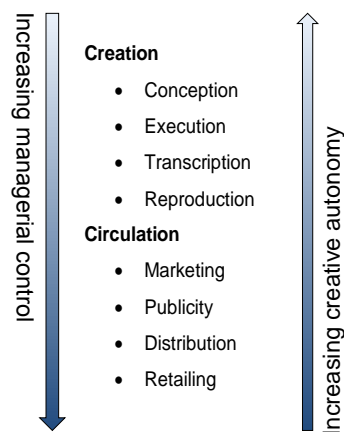


Figure 3: The dynamics of creative control/autonomy (adapted from Ryan, 1992 and Hesmondhalgh, 2013)

Within Edwards’ (1979) account of simple control, Edwards draws more substantially on Weber’s conceptualisation of the sources of authority. The purpose of Edwards’ use of Weber is to show how managerial control has depended on different sources of authority in order to ensure the desired work behaviours from employees. Within the small firms of rudimentary capitalism, charisma and personal authority acted as a means of ensuring control: the smaller firm allowed for greater personal interactions between managers and subordinates. As organisations expanded and resistance to control increased, bureaucratic controls were applied to give the effect of a ‘rule of law’ within the organisation – with bureaucratic procedures and hierarchies established to introduce sources of rational-legal authority. Ryan’s work describes how simple and bureaucratic controls exist within the cultural industries and they too rely on different forms of authority (Ryan, 1992). For Ryan (1992), artistic authority is an important concept that influences

his account of corporate cultural production. The move toward bureaucratic controls imposes additional layers of “creative management” – or producers in Miège’s usage - within the employment relationship:

“The producer [read: creative management] *in fact is not only an intermediary* between cultural labour...and industrial capital... In fact his (sic) intervention is decisive in that operation which consists in making out of unique and contingent cultural use-values, products which can be exchanged on the market. To do that he not only concerns himself with marketing problems...but *he also intervenes in the very conception of the product*” (Miège, 1979: 304, as cited in Ryan, 1992: 127).

The additional intermediaries act as additional sources of artistic authority within the employment relationship. An important - but undeveloped - point is Ryan’s (1992) notion of ‘artistic authority’ and its specific link to Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital. While Ryan’s (1992) term is only linked to Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital in a footnote, this link to cultural capital is an important point that can aid understanding of authority within music production. For Ryan (1992: 133, see Figure 4), creative management have sources of authority based on rational-legal authority or charismatic authority as per Weber’s (1968) conceptualisation. Within Bourdieu’s terminology, these sources of authority can be conceptualised as variations in cultural (artistic abilities) and symbolic capitals (prestige, field based honour). Indeed, artistic authority can be understood in terms of the composition of “musical capital” (Coulson, 2010) and their relationship with the creative hierarchy of the organisation.

Position	Production Relation	Basis of Authority	Form of Control
producer	manager	bureaucratic (executive) charismatic (artistic leadership)	managerialism commercialism
director	contracted artist	bureaucratic (organisational) charismatic (artistic leadership)	managerialism commercialism
leading executant	contracted artist	artistic (commercial reputation)	collaboration commercialism
supporting executant	professional creative	artistic (professional reputation)	direction professionalism

*FORMATTING

Figure 4: Project Team Positions and Conditions (Ryan, 1992: 133)

Creative management, whose power mostly comes from their bureaucratic authority, include A&R managers. A&R management have been examined within the work of Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) and Negus (1992). Within Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2011) work, which was primarily aimed at understanding the conditions required for the production of "good works" within various cultural industries, A&R managers occupy a position nearer the interests of commerce. Participants in Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2011: 93) study showed how there were inherent antagonisms within the creative relationship with A&R managers, where musicians may have amiable relationships with A&R managers but were aware that at "the end he is paid by the other side"

Record producers and engineers share many of the characteristics of other cultural workers, such as low pay and precarious employment (Watson, 2013). Importantly, the work of producers involves a mix of creative and technical roles (Beer, 2014; Watson, 2013). Indeed, recent research into the work of producers has yielded interesting findings relevant to the notion of "artistic authority". Beer's (2014) research into the work of recording engineers demonstrated the "precarious double life" of a recording engineer between technical expertise and artistic sensibilities. To be a successful producer, the need to be able to "talk the language" with musicians is as important as their technical proficiency (Beer, 2014: 190). As a key intermediary within the recording process, producers are often hired by record companies to create a particular sound around a record (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). Yet, this conflict between artistic identity and the context of their work within Beer's (2014) research seems to indicate a conflict of interests when exerting potential artistic authority.

Bureaucratic controls within organisations do not only rely on sources of authority and establishing hierarchy. Established rules and procedures for formatting the output of cultural industries also act as bureaucratic controls. For Ryan (1992), "formatting" of various types occurs throughout the production process and represents an important source of bureaucratic control within organisations. Based on sales data, cultural producers are able to determine indexes for patterns of consumption, with a "logic of repetition" emerging. The "logic of repetition" allows formats to emerge from these patterns and act as a guide for future creation (Ryan, 1992). Indeed, aspects of formatting describe what Frith (1998) would later call "genre worlds". For Frith, cultural production is not necessarily about radical stages

of innovation but production of new forms of work within established cultural codes. Such a tact is taken within the work of Keith Negus (1992; 1996; 1998; 2000), who provides an important source of understanding into the work of the recorded music industry. For Negus, new music production generally requires “some element of novelty or difference into a recognizably familiar constellation of meaning” (Nixon, 2006: 90) and it is the relative newness within established frameworks rather than absolute newness that determines “newness” in the recorded music industry (Negus, 1998; Nixon, 2006). As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) observe, genre structures many of the organisations within the music industry with the three major-labels ultimately broken down into divisions that deal in various different genres.

Within Negus’s (1998) research the management of a ‘portfolio’ of musicians by a record company demonstrates how studio executives divided their repertoire into a matrix in terms of the Boston Consulting Group’s popular management tool. “Stars”, at the time such as Michael Jackson and Phil Collins, were seen as high investment but high reward categories, receiving special attention from labels. “Cash cows” referred to low investment artists who continued to produce regular revenues to the companies. In Negus’ usage, “wild cats” referred to the unknown new artists who may provide sources of new revenue but required high investment to produce. Finally, the “dog” category referred to artists who would be a bad investment, providing little income. Importantly though, the “dog” category was often kept to signal that the label was interested in the artistic merit of the artists as well as the financial benefits (Negus, 1998). Formatting is a concern of Balaji’s (2009) discussion of the conflict between artistic and record label within Keke Palmer’s inceptive pop career. Palmer, when signing to major label Atlantic Records, had expected to be presented to the market as a teenage pop star but based on her status as a black musician, Atlantic Records attempted to format her as an “urban” pop star. The difference in the two formats is profound, with one based around presenting the star as a role model and the other drawing on the highly sexualised femininity characteristic of the urban format. Balaji (2009) argues - based on the work of Hesmondhalgh (2007), Banks (2007) and Negus (1998) - that the attempts to format Palmer into pre-existing, but inappropriate, genres resulted in resistance from the artist and her family/management.

2.3.5 Summary

Despite Edwards (1979) work continuing to “gather dust” (Callaghan and Thompson, 2001: 15), the usage of his concepts by Ryan (1992), in addition to the work of Negus (1998), may provide an important source of inspiration for studies into the labour process in recorded music production. The literature for studies of cultural labour provides sources of development for labour process analysis. Understanding the labour process in terms of both an economic and “symbolic” hierarchy of authority is important. Indeed, the current section has demonstrated that control is not just directed at producing surplus value but the need to produce a *particular form* of surplus. While core theory asserts that the indeterminacy of labour results in managerial attempts to ensure surplus value extraction, Hesmondhalgh’s (2013) assertion that management attempts to ensure that cultural output is subjected to managerial control to negate risk. This suggests a further indeterminacy. Having discussed value and control in the labour process and presented a number of conceptual issues within current labour process analysis, the following section will attempt to provide a solution. Pierre Bourdieu’s influential Theory of Practice, and the concepts of capital and field, which were briefly figured within the previous discussions of value and control, will be examined in detail. The following section will argue that coupling insights from Bourdieu’s theory of practice and labour process theory will address the questions of what value is produced, where it is produced, the forms of labour power in cultural production and how control is achieved within the recorded music industry.

2.4 Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice

Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice (1977, 1990), and the individual concepts – such as capital, field and habitus – that compose the overall theory, is arguably one of the most popular theoretical resources in social science currently (Grenfell, 2012). Developed from Bourdieu’s study of his home of Béarn in France and his studies of the Kayble people in Algeria, Bourdieu’s theory of practice is the cornerstone of his contribution to social theory. Bourdieu would argue he is an empiricist primarily and that theory is not a key concern of his work (e.g., Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Jenkins, 2002). Yet, his theoretical concepts have had a profound impact on the social sciences. Overcoming dichotomies has been an essential feature of Pierre Bourdieu’s work. As well as offering the opportunity to

overcome the art/commerce distinction that is the focus of the current research, Bourdieu focussed much of his research into disputing the key oppositions that dominated social theory from the 1960s such as subjective/objective; structure/agency; culture/society (Fowler, 1997; Postone *et al.*, 1993). Bourdieu himself rarely engaged directly with discussions of the labour process (Bourdieu, 2000; Burawoy, 2012). It is however, his Theory of Practice more than his discussions of the labour process that are of importance to this section.

This section will therefore outline the concepts of field and capital. Bourdieu's concepts can potentially offer a means of addressing the problems with labour process theory discussed earlier in the chapter. The concepts of field and capital are closely interlinked, with a field being determined by the forms of capital competed for and the form of symbolic capital being determined by the particular field of society. This section will firstly begin with a discussion of Bourdieu's concept of field. Following the discussions of field, Bourdieu's forms of capital will be discussed. Firstly, capital's origins in Bourdieu's study of the Kabyle people of Algeria will be discussed. This section will therefore outline the different forms of capital with particular attention paid to cultural and symbolic capital. Finally, the field of cultural production will be discussed which is of key relevance to the current research.

2.4.1 *Fields, Social Space and Doxa*

The work of Pierre Bourdieu relies on a series of conceptual tools and his explanations for many of them rely on metaphors from natural science and sport. Field in particular borrows from both in equal measure. Drawn from the French term "champ" which has connotations of a battlefield (Thomson, 2012); Bourdieu's use of the term describes a field as:

"both a field of forces, whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and as a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces, thus contributing to conserving or transforming its structure" (Bourdieu, 1998: 32)

The definition above indicates that fields act like magnetic fields, imposing their forces on agents within the reach of the field. The dominant positions within fields are determined by the prevailing forces in the field – namely, which forms of capital are the most powerful. Individuals are positioned in these "fields of struggles" relative to the volumes and types of capital they possess. Individuals compete – or

“struggle” - within fields over the relevant forms of capital and act to improve their positions into more powerful, influential or dominant ones. Bourdieu’s use of the term field – les champs - is often likened to that of a battlefield or even a sports field like that of a football game (Thomson, 2012). Importantly, the likening of field with sports games presents another concept key to the understanding of field dynamics. Fields are in effect games in which players compete against each other for stakes, abiding by unarticulated rules and where playing the game alone affirms its legitimacy. For Bourdieu, if field is “the game” with individuals positioned on the field relative to their possession of capital (their positions), then the understanding of the rules of the game are represented by “doxa”. Individuals conserve or transform the structure of the field through their actions. Actions do not follow directly from the rules of the game – like any sport, innovations, reinterpretations and improvisations occur. The doxa within artistic fields for example, represents a denial of interest – for Bourdieu (1993), the field of cultural production represents the economic field reversed, where the pursuit of money is actively opposed to “legitimacy” in the field.

While many forms of capital are effective in several fields, the forms of capital exist in a hierarchy, and the most effective form of capital may vary from field to field. There are therefore many fields, such as an economic field, political field, cultural field, and so on. Wherever there is a variation in the particular forms of capital competed for, there is a field. Fields are closely linked to what is effectively considered Bourdieu’s class theory. The volume and varieties of capital possessed by an agent allow them to be mapped in what Bourdieu would term “social space”. The clustering of these positions in social space allows social classes to be identified – an approach that is increasingly popular in contemporary studies of class (Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Devine *et al.*, 2005; McKenzie, 2012, 2015; Sayer, 2005; Savage *et al.*, 2013; Savage *et al.*, 2015; Skeggs, 1997, 2004b). To uncover the dynamics of a field, Bourdieu argues:

“one must identify the forms of specific capital that operate within it, and to construct the forms of specific capital one must know the specific logic of the field”
(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 108)

Fields exist in a relationship that is either “heteronomous” or “autonomous” with the dominant fields of society. The field of power, the pre-eminent political field in social space, usually driven by economic capital has an effect on adjacent fields. For

instance, the relationship between the field of power and the field of cultural production has an effect on the dynamics of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993). The closer to the field of power individuals and organisations get, then the more heteronomous their practices are with the field of power (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). While Bourdieu's theory of practice asserts that individuals are engaged in struggles over capital in numerous fields in social life, the location of organisations within these fields is a subject of recent debate. Bourdieu does assert that it is not only individuals that Bourdieu considers to compete for the forms of capital; institutions naturally compete within these fields too (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). While competition over economic capital may be the dominant form of competition within the most of the powerful fields in society, the use of Bourdieu's conceptual framework acknowledges the non-economic forms of capital competed for. Within organisation studies, there is a need to conceptualise organisations as competing for symbolic forms of capital as well as material capital (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Symbolic capital, for instance, acts in a field-specific way, acting to bestow legitimate authority or prestige based on the logic of the field. Symbolic capital offers a legitimising power to the market dominance of some organisations in fields of economic struggle:

“Within a field of economic firms, symbolic capital consists in the special authority that particular companies – say, Coca-Cola, Microsoft or Sony – are able to exert over the market” (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008: 12)

Within cultural production, symbolic capital acts as a form of critical acclaim for artists and record companies and acts to designate what is worthy within the field (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Yet the way symbolic capital operates within the cultural field is through rejection of economic capital, with the most prestige being bestowed on artists that actively reject financial reward (Bourdieu, 1993). The “doxa” (the rules) of the field therefore changes the capital-labour dynamic; the relationship between musician and record label exists between two parties that may have different locations within the field and differing interests on the forms of capital to “compete” over.

2.4.2 Development of the Forms of Capital

The influence of the founding theorists of sociology can be seen most clearly in Bourdieu's development of his forms of capital (Fowler, 2011; Swartz, 1996). Many have said the influence of Max Weber in particular on Bourdieu's work is indelible

(Brubaker, 1985) with Bourdieu himself acknowledging his major influence (Bourdieu, 1994; 1998; Bourdieu et al. 2011). Weber was able to respond and build on the work of Marx within his lifetime and found that his main contention with Marx's work was Marx's disregard for the "symbolic". Marx's work constantly saw social life as the result of struggles over material or economic conditions. In contrast, "Weber explores 'the symbolic'; in fact, he has a try at a materialist theory of 'the symbolic.'" (Bourdieu et al. 2011: 116). Much like Weber's theory of stratification, Bourdieu acknowledges both the economic and symbolic aspects that determine social position. In contrast to Weber, Bourdieu views class and status as deeply intertwined rather than in opposition to each other (Atkinson, 2010; Postone *et al.*, 1993).

Bourdieu tends to rely on metaphors from the natural sciences and describes capital within these terms (1990: 122) as an "energy of social physics" using this to describe it both as a medium of interactions as well as an energy that takes and can be converted into various forms. For Bourdieu, capital describes the various forms of goods and resources that are at stake in society that individuals compete for - both material or economic; and non-material or symbolic (Jenkins, 2002; Bourdieu, 1977). The concept of capital again operates within Bourdieu's structuring/structured distinction, where the distribution of capital defines the structure of society as well as the structuring of society through the pursuit of individuals to maximise their own capital (Crossley, 2001). Bourdieu's analysis is particularly interesting due to his adoption of the language of economics through terms like "capital" and "investment". Despite criticisms of his usage of the language of economics (see Jenkins, 2002), the economic metaphors are a deliberate attempt on Bourdieu's part to refute the power of economic thinking alone to explain social life (Bourdieu, 1977; Garnham, 1990; Jenkins, 2002). Taking aim at classical economic thought, Bourdieu (1986) explains that it is essential to discuss all forms of capital, not just the economic form: if all exchanges are reduced to "self-interested" economic exchanges, then all other non-economic exchanges are essentially "disinterested", and this he asserts is clearly untrue (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu's theory of practice therefore acts to "unite what has traditionally been thought of as economic (i.e., interested and material) and non-economic (i.e., disinterested and symbolic) forms of action and objects" (Swartz, 1996: 74). This unity is achieved partly through Bourdieu's conception of the forms of capital.

Though Bourdieu suggests there may be more types of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), four forms of capital emerge within Bourdieu's framework: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Economic capital is usually the most powerful form of capital, as a result of the pre-eminence of capitalism in society. Economic capital is the dominating logic in the key fields of society, and is the "most efficient" form of capital due to its ability to be more easily converted into other forms of capital (Postone *et al.*, 1993). Within Bourdieu's (1977) research of the Algerian peasantry, he found that the beginnings of capitalism encroaching on the peasantry allowed the breakdown of the traditional community-centred activities. The pre-eminence of economic capital above other forms is in part due to economic capital's ease of conversion in the form of money, allowing for the payment of services in money rather than dependence on symbolic capital - in the form of social debt - traditional to the Kayble people (Bourdieu, 1977; Calhoun, 1993). Social capital dominates a whole literature of its own and refers to "the sum of the resources, actual and virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). Social capital has been shown to be essential within the work of cultural labourers (e.g., Blair, 2001; Coulson, 2012; Lee, 2011; Stoyanova and Grugulis, 2012).

2.4.3 Cultural Capital

One of the more renowned aspects of Bourdieu's work is his concept of cultural capital. Bourdieu's (1984) work *Distinction* and the term cultural capital transcended academia and became a bestseller throughout the world. The concept of cultural capital developed from Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977; 1979) work on education and social reproduction. Bourdieu and Passeron's research examined the role that culture played in reproducing social inequalities through the education system. Within their analysis, Bourdieu and Passeron argued that the education system is predisposed to function in favour of middle and upper classes based on the system valuing of "higher" forms of culture. Students from lower class backgrounds enter into the education system with little exposure to higher forms of culture. Though they can learn the cultural, social and linguistic codes to the levels of the higher classes, their lack of natural affinity compared to the upper classes thus penalises them (Lamont and Lareau, 1988). Bourdieu's (1984) most famous work, *Distinction*, takes the concept of cultural capital further, through its examination of the cultural consumption patterns and links to the class structure of France. Thus,

Bourdieu's work in the 1960s can be seen as centred on the development of the concept of cultural capital. Cultural capital centres the class debate between Marx and Weber by drawing on the symbolic dimension of social stratification. While acknowledging the polarisation of class and the power of the economic dimension of social stratification, Bourdieu's work pushes purposely in a more Weberian direction (Bourdieu, 1994; 1998; Bourdieu *et al.*, 2011). The intertwining of the symbolic, that Bourdieu asserts but Weber proscribed, is achieved through Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital.

Bourdieu's account of cultural capital is more expansive than his usage of the other forms of capital and dominates much of his most famous works like *Reproduction* (1977) and *Distinction* (1984). Within Lamont and Lareau's (1988) appraisal of the confused use of cultural capital in sociology, they observed that the boundaries of what constitutes cultural capital are highly permeable within Bourdieu's work. The initial formulation of cultural capital varied somewhat between *Reproduction* (1977) and *Inheritors* (1979) but generally consisted of elements of informal knowledge, linguistic competencies and cultural understanding. Bourdieu (1984) expanded his definition of cultural capital substantially by placing it at the centre of *Distinction's* class analysis. Cultural capital consisted of markers of taste: with legitimate "high" forms of culture familiar to upper classes contrasted with popular "low" forms of culture of the lower classes. Later, in consolidated collections of Bourdieu's work on language and cultural production, cultural capital includes the linguistic competencies of agents – with language, grammar, accent all contested values on a symbolic market. Of relevance to the current research, musical capacities are represented by the concept of cultural capital. Indeed, cultural capital acts as the key attribute of the *Field of Cultural Production* (1993), with participation in artistic fields predicated on the endowment of agents with relative forms of cultural capital.

Ultimately, cultural capital describes "informational" or "legitimate knowledge" (Jenkins, 2002: 85) and can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). The usage of the three states is again reminiscent of Bourdieu's use of metaphors from physics:

"The very choice of the expression 'three states' seems to echo the 'three states of matter' (solid, liquid, gas) in physics: even when the states change, the material remains the same" (Serre and Wagner, 2015: 437-438)

Embodiment of cultural capital happens during socialisation at the earliest stages of life through exposure to cultural forms, such as exposure to art and the education system. Cultural capital can be considered a conversion of parental economic capital into inherited cultural capital, where parents invest in private education, music lessons and language classes that put children at a much greater advantage compared to children from poorer backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1986). This socialisation thus influences the development of the habitus of the individual. Habitus represents one of the key elements of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and describes the unconscious dispositions individuals possess – such as artistic appreciation and linguistic abilities (Bourdieu, 1991, 1993). With the exposure to cultural products, these appreciations become internalised through the habitus – “embodying” cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Institutionalised cultural capital refers to recognised qualifications such as academic degrees. Institutionalised cultural capital is particularly important within the labour market as these qualifications “establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital” (Bourdieu, 1986: 21). Within the objectified state, cultural capital takes the form of symbolic goods such as works of art. While these works can be traded as commodities based on economic capital, production of these goods presupposes a producer imbued with embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital could prove to be a useful concept for developing an understanding of the different forms of value created within the cultural production. Yet for Sayer (1999; 2005: 107), Bourdieu's symbolic forms of capital under-represent use-value and focus primarily on the exchange-values or the “symbolic profits” they can bring. Bourdieu focuses too much on individuals working to maximise their volumes of capital and the symbolic profits they bring (Sayer, 2005; also Banks, 2006, 2012). Sayer argues that Bourdieu's forms of capital only exist as an exchange value. An acknowledgement of the use-value of capital for its own sake is not really considered within Bourdieu's theory. Sayer notes that educational capital for instance – the attainment of qualifications and knowledge – are positional goods (citing O'Neill, 1999), where the more people in possession of the good the less valued the good becomes. Implicitly, an education in mathematics is valuable but the greater the number of people with mathematics degrees, the lesser valued the skill is. Importantly however “the use-value of their education is not necessarily devalued

too" (Sayer, 2005: 108). Degrees have a use-value even if their exchange value is diminished by increased possession of the qualification.

2.4.4 *Symbolic Capital*

As mentioned in the discussions of field, the search for legitimacy and prestige are usually the key concerns of individuals within Bourdieu's fields. Within fields, it is symbolic capital that acts as a marker of prestige in fields. Symbolic capital, in Bourdieu's formulation, refers to:

"any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value." (Bourdieu, 1998: 47).

Generally, symbolic capital describes the forms of honour, prestige and status that are relevant within a particular field (Thompson, 1991). Importantly however, though Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as a distinct property, symbolic capital refers to one of the other forms of capital whenever it is perceived as legitimate within a particular social field (Bourdieu, 1998; Lawler, 2011). Honour and prestige are attributed to the other forms of capital rather than as properties in themselves. Additionally, symbolic capital in one field does not necessarily take the form of symbolic capital in another.

Bourdieu's work can be seen as a continued pursuit of the sources and forms of symbolic capital in a number of empirical settings (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Indeed, the 'symbolic honour' examined in his empirical studies of the Kabyle in Algeria provides the starting point for much of his work. Bourdieu's work was developed from his studies of the "anti-economy" of the pre-industrialised Kabyle of Algeria (1977, 1990). Bourdieu's study of the Kabyle peasantry examined the role of symbolic honour in contrast to the more economic systems encroaching from colonialism. For the Kabyle society, social position is determined by honour and status, with little room for economic exchange. For the Kabyle society, it was an economy of favours - symbolic exchanges - through a system of social obligation (Bourdieu, 1977). Reciprocation in this gift economy was implicit and any explicit mention of obligation was seen as a taboo (Bourdieu, 1998). The encroachment of industrialisation saw a progressive weakening of this economy with the increasing use of monetary exchange replacing these systems of obligation. Social capital, when accrued and reciprocated, was therefore recognised as symbolic capital within the

Kabyle symbolic economy. The “nouveau riche” example that is used by many authors to describe Weber’s differentiation between class – having money - and status – coming from money - is very much related to the foundations of symbolic capital, where economic capital has to be “symbolically mediated”. This is linked to misrecognition (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, xii) which describes “the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder”. In this way, symbolic capital’s function is to allow for the misrecognition of the dominant class as socially legitimate (Postone *et al.*, 1993).

Bourdieu’s studies of cultural production represent another examination of an “anti-economy”. Within Bourdieu’s work on cultural production (1993; 1998), symbolic capital must be earned through a “disinterested” strategy, where musicians would not acknowledge an interest in being held up for critical acclaim and an absolute denial of financial interest. The fundamental operating principle is a converse relationship between artistic merit and financial reward (Bourdieu, 1993). In cultural production, symbolic capital structures the field of cultural production into two subfields – one dominated by a pursuit of economic capital, the other subfield dominated by the pursuit of symbolic capital (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). While symbolic capital refers to prestige and honour, the form this honour takes varies in cultural production. The most obvious form symbolic capital takes in cultural fields is that of the award. Awards operate as symbolic capital because they “simultaneously proclaims disinterest in commerce while enabling commercial exploitation that comes from improved artistic reputation” (Watson and Anand, 2006: 54-55). Watson and Anand (2006) explain that the Grammy awards, for instance, operate as a form of symbolic capital, where the granting of an award offers validation of an artist’s work as legitimate and provides a means of exploiting this symbolic capital into economic conversions. Similarly, Anand and Jones (2008) examined the production of symbolic capital through the Booker Prize in literature. Pinheiro and Dowd (2009) find that critical acclaim in jazz is tied to the specific abilities on a particular instrument - being a “jack of all trades” is sanctioned in the field of jazz. In Fantasia’s (2011) discussion of haute cuisine in France, he observes the similarities between the gastronomic field and the field of cultural production. Similar to the awards in music, symbolic capital takes the form of Rosettes and Michelin stars and act as a “firewall” from commercial interest. Indeed, the Michelin

award is famed for its appearance as “disinterestedness” – the lack of commercial advertising and sponsorship give it the appearance of a freedom from commercial interest (Fantasia, 2011: 35).

The forms of capital all represent alternative ways to conceptualise value produced within the labour process. Of particular relevance to the current research are the notions of cultural and symbolic capital as alternative forms of value produced in the recorded music industry. To conclude this section, the Field of Cultural Production will be discussed and its relevance to the current research.

2.4.5 *The Field of Cultural Production*

Bourdieu’s work on cultural production and consumption offers detailed elaborations of one of Bourdieu’s field analyses. Cultural consumption is largely addressed by Bourdieu’s most prominent work *Distinction* (1984) while cultural production is addressed in both his essay collections *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) and *The Rules of Art* (1996). As previously mentioned, Bourdieu’s work in one area does not operate in isolation to his other work. Rather, Bourdieu’s theories on cultural production are intimately linked with his theoretical “apparatus”. Thus, Bourdieu’s discussions of culture are done so in terms such as field, capital and habitus.

The field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996) is located in an area where the struggles and positions in the field are governed more by cultural capital than economic capital. However, it is the field’s proximity to the field of power that is crucial. As mentioned previously, the field of power - a hybrid of the fields of politics and economics - is the pre-eminent field in the national space and is defined by the most powerful forms of capital. The field of cultural production can be differentiated from the field of power through the stakes – the forms of capital - on offer. Rather than being governed by economic capital, the logic of the field is determined by the greater levels of cultural capital on offer within the cultural production field. However, the field is closely linked to the field of power and is reflective of its location in the dominant class of society. Illustrated in Figure 5, the field of cultural production is located in a dominant position in social space – due to its higher levels of cultural capital and economic capital relative to society in general – but is part of what Bourdieu would term “the dominated fraction of the dominant class”. For Bourdieu, the position within the dominant class reflects contemporary debates

surrounding work in cultural industries: that workers are increasingly from upper and middle-class backgrounds in society, highly educated and with economic capital to support the precarious forms of work available (Banks and Oakley, 2016; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Smith and McKinlay, 2009).

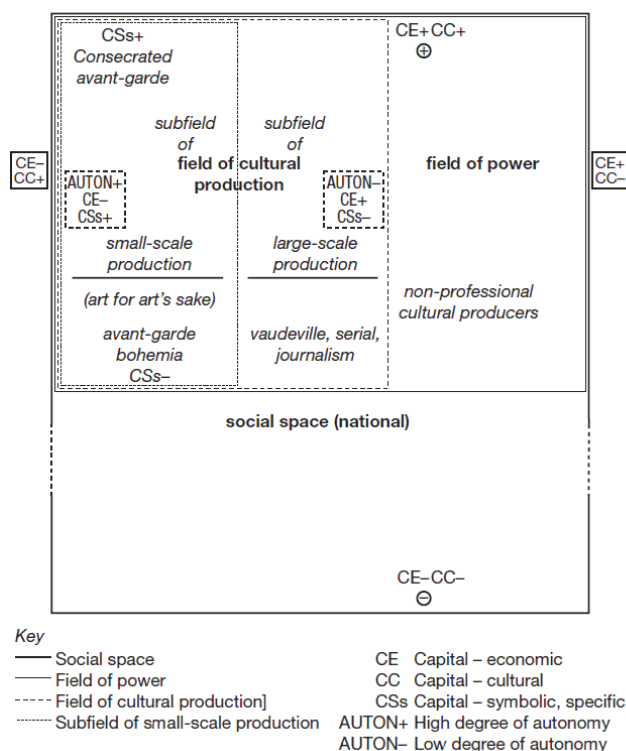


Figure 5: The Field of Cultural Production (Source: Bourdieu, 1996)

Bourdieu (1996) makes a further distinction within the field of cultural production by dividing the field into two subfields: the subfield of large-scale production and the subfield of small-scale production. Both subfields require a level of cultural capital in order to be invested in the field. Yet, the field of large-scale production operates nearer the field of power and therefore contains greater economic capital and produces the more mainstream forms of symbolic goods. The lesser amounts of economic capital available within subfield of small production therefore grant greater autonomy to the subfield. While there are greater amounts of symbolic capital within the small-scale production subfield, very high amounts of symbolic capital are available within the northern segment of the field - "consecrated avant-

garde" – as opposed to the "bohemia" that actively reject even acclaim as an end of their music (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). As has been noted previously, Bourdieu does not see antinomies such as art/commerce as reflective of the social reality, with his consideration of the different capitals at stake showing a more differentiated view of the positions taken in society.

Clearly, Bourdieu's (1993; 1996) work does not consider the working practices or the operations of the various organisations and corporations within the field of cultural production (Negus, 1999). Bourdieu's focus, like much of his oeuvre, are considered with high culture (eg, Bourdieu, 1984). The focus of Bourdieu's (1993; 1996) work on artistic production focuses predominantly on nineteenth century novelists, with several essays dedicated to the work of Flaubert or sociological analysis of Flaubert's *Sentimental Education*. While Bourdieu's work offers important conceptual tools for analysis the art-commerce relation, these tools need to be complimented with an understanding of the cultural labour.

2.5 Toward a Conceptual Framework of the Cultural Labour Process

The previous sections of this chapter have discussed labour process theory and Bourdieu's theory of practice to develop an understanding of value and control in cultural production. Over the course of this chapter, four key problems with current labour process theory were found. The problems relate to how labour power is conceptualised in cultural production, the form of value in cultural production, the location of value production and the nature of control in the cultural industries. The aim of this section is to bring the two theoretical resources together to provide a theoretical approach suitable for the study of the art-commerce relation in music production. This section of the chapter therefore presents the theoretical framework for the current research, based on the reconceptualisation of core LPT's treatment of value and labour power in terms of Bourdieu's forms of capital (see Figure 6).

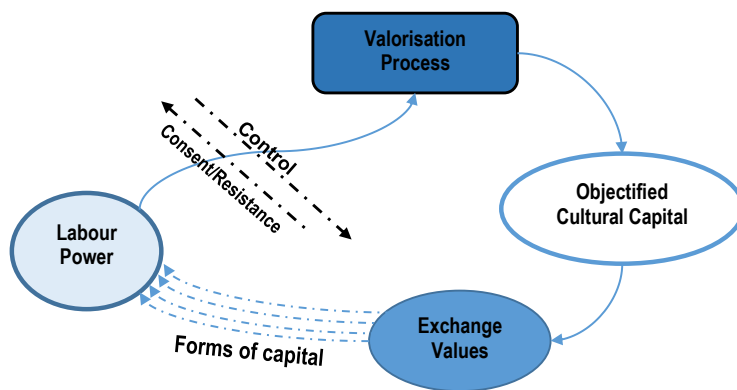


Figure 6: Conceptual Framework for the Cultural Labour Process

2.5.1 Theorising Labour Power in Cultural Industries

Marx's (1976) observation that the use-value of labour power is the creation of exchange values can be adapted to fit within a Bourdieusian understanding. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) argues that cultural capital acts as a form of labour power in the labour market. The use-value of labour power imbued with cultural capital creates surplus value that can be realised in terms of Bourdieu's forms of capital.

"Thus cultural goods can be appropriated both materially—which presupposes economic capital—and symbolically—which presupposes cultural capital. It follows that the owner of the means of production must find a way of appropriating either the embodied capital which is the precondition of specific appropriation or the services of the holders of this capital. To possess the machines, he only needs economic capital; to appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific purpose (defined by the cultural capital, of scientific or technical type, incorporated in them), he must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy." (Bourdieu, 1986: 20)

Within this quote, Bourdieu demonstrates the need to reconceive labour power in terms of cultural capital. The "presupposition" requires that cultural production under capitalism be understood as the purchase of labour power by the capitalist imbued with embodied cultural capital. As Bourdieu (1986) posits, symbolic goods exist as "objectified cultural capital" and are created by individuals with embodied cultural capital. Indeed, to invert Johnson's (1993: 22) description of cultural competence in Bourdieu's work, music production requires an ability to *encode* that which is *decoded*. Embodied cultural capital therefore acts as a use-value in the

labour market that creates objectified cultural capital, which can later be realised as exchange values in terms of economic, social or symbolic capitals. Vincent (2011) for example has used cultural capital as a means for understanding emotional labour power within LPT. Emotional displays – seen as essential value adding activities in capitalism – exist as a form of cultural capital that is exchanged in the labour process (Vincent, 2011). Similarly, the concept of aesthetic labour acknowledges the body as an aspect of saleable labour power – through appearance and beauty. The concept is also concerned with culturally acquired dispositions such as body language, facial expressions and vocal communications (Hurrell, 2009, Witz *et al.*, 2003). Expanding on Marx's notion of labour power, only labour endowed with embodied cultural capital therefore can produce use-values of objectified cultural capital – the exchange of such labour power being based on economic capital.

2.5.2 *Theorising Use-Value and Exchange Value*

Despite Sayer's (2005) criticisms of Bourdieu's seeming focus only on exchange value, Bourdieu explicitly acknowledges the distinction between use and exchange value (Skeggs, 2004a). Again, the three states of cultural capital allow for this distinction. Bourdieu's (1986) argument that cultural artefacts such as music, films and paintings can only be appreciated by individuals with relevant levels of embodied cultural capital presents an important distinction between use and exchange values. Returning to Bourdieu's discussion of the forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), his discussions of cultural capital (1986) make implicit that cultural capital has both a use-value and a method of exchange. Bourdieu views "symbolic goods" (Bourdieu, 1984) as the output of cultural industries and these goods have a "two faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object" (Bourdieu, 1993: 113). Bourdieu's language is similar to that of Marx's (1976) discussion of the central "contradiction" of the commodity, between its use-value and exchange-value. Bourdieu's discussions of the "transmission" of cultural capital present a model for conversion:

"A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as well as economic capital (if not better, because the capital transfer is more disguised). But what is transmissible is legal ownership and not (or not necessarily) what constitutes the precondition for specific appropriation, namely, the possession of the means or "consuming" a painting or using a machine, which, being nothing other than embodied capital, are subject to the same laws of transmission" (Bourdieu, 1986: 19)

Townley *et al.*'s (2009) paper discussing Bourdieu's forms of capital argues that managing in the creative industries requires the translation of forms of capital into economic value. Townley *et al.*'s (2009: 955) assertion is partially true; more accurate is their point that "creative products encompass two forms of value: monetary and aesthetic". Essentially, the exchange value of the objectified cultural capital can only be discerned after production, either in terms of the economic capital needed to purchase the symbolic good, or the symbolic capital accrued from positive evaluation of the attributes of the good. Exchange values for objectified cultural capital are based on the transfer of its legal ownership – it "is transmissible in its materiality" (Bourdieu, 1986: 19). The use-value of objectified cultural capital can only be appreciated by someone endowed with cultural capital, otherwise its exchange value is only realised in the other forms of capital (Serre and Wagner, 2015). As discussed previously, central to Marx's (1976) *Capital* is the nature of the commodity, viewing their existence as a form of contradiction between the commodity's use-value and exchange value. The value produced within capitalist cultural production exists in a similar contradiction, between the potential cultural value and its commodification as a source of potential economic value. Through Bourdieu's definition, symbolic capital is the form the other capitals take when viewed as legitimate in the particular field (Bourdieu, 1998). Within the field of cultural production, symbolic capital is attributed to works of art as well as the producers of art – therefore, it is the form embodied and objectified cultural capitals take when viewed as legitimate.

The framework developed within this section acknowledges Skeggs (2004a) distinction between use-values and exchange-values, and expands on Scott's (2012) application with unsigned musicians in Australia. Rather than needing to mobilise use-values into generating conversions into the other forms of capital, this research asserts that conversions are negotiated through the capital-labour relation. Indeed, this negotiation is the inspiration for many critical accounts of cultural production that draw distinction between managed creativity and autonomous artistic expression or argue that there is a sanction on artistic credibility when seen to be in the service of money (Bourdieu, 1993; Ross, 2000; Shorthouse and Strange, 2004). Reflective of Hesmondhalgh's (2013) assertion, management attempt to control the labour of musicians in order to limit the risks associated with cultural production.

The limiting of risk is directed at ensuring objectified cultural capital can be converted into relevant forms of exchange-value.

2.5.3 Control in the Cultural Industries

The previous sections have focused primarily on second-wave theories of managerial control that influenced the development of the core theory of the labour process (e.g., Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977; Thompson, 1989). Such conceptualisations may well give greater understanding of the forms of managerial control within the recorded music industry. Previously writers have argued that the labour process of cultural workers is often reminiscent of work within nascent capitalist production, such as craft-labour or the workshop system (Adorno, 1978; Banks, 2010b; Ryan, 1992). The work of Ryan (1992) and Negus (1992, 1998, 1999) have shown the means of formatting and use of genre within the work of cultural producers. As Callaghan and Thompson (2001: 34) assert, Edwards (1979) framework can be adapted to understand new settings. Within the current research, a framework based on Bourdieu's forms of capital can be used to supplement Edwards' (1979) and Ryan's (1992) work.

Artistic production is predicated on both the name of the musicians as well as the performances (Banks, 2010a; Ryan, 1992). This results in different sources of authority within the employment relationship. Rationalisation of artistic production is seen as counterproductive to the cultural and potential economic value of the symbolic good (Brouillette, 2008; Banks, 2010a). Artistic production therefore, may be very loosely controlled in the initial conception stages. Importantly, Ryan's (1992) notion of "artistic authority", which refers to the ability of musicians and intermediaries to assert control over the production of symbolic goods, takes on greater relevance. Edwards (1979) initial conception of the various forms of control take a more Weberian view of the sources of authority, with simple control relying on forms of "charismatic authority", while bureaucratic controls attempt to limit overt control and apply rational-legal authority through rules and procedures. Reconceptualising artistic authority in terms of the interaction between purchased labour power imbued with the embodied forms of capital may provide a greater understanding of the labour process within the recorded music industry. Indeed, Coulson's (2010) encompassing term "musical capital" refers to the cultural, social and symbolic capitals required to participate in the music production. In Bourdieu's

terms (1990, 1998), the combination of cultural, social and symbolic capitals refer to the creative capacities of the participants, the method of gaining access to the labour process and the reputation these capacities have – and it is through a combination of these that individuals are able to exert artistic authority in the employment relationship.

2.5.4 Locating Work in the Cultural Industries

Finally, the location of cultural work – and the work of musicians in the recorded music industry – can be reconceived within Bourdieu's theory of practice. Arguments that value production is tied to heavily to an employment relationship in LPT are important criticisms (e.g., Böhm and Land, 2009, 2012; Ursell, 2000). For these critics, value production in contemporary capitalism (e.g., Böhm and Land, 2012; also Arvidsson, 2009) or the cultural industries (e.g., Ursell, 2000), often occurs outside an established employment relationship. Using Bourdieu's Theory of Practice however, allows the current research greater freedom in exploring employment in the recorded music industry. For Bourdieu, individuals act to improve their social positions through competition to improve the composition and volume of their forms of capital. Social practice is located in fields, with the work of musicians in the recorded music industry being located within the wider field of cultural production (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993; 1996). Scott's (2012) important contribution argued that musicians are engaged with the production of value outside of employment in the hope of attracting attention or generating other forms of capital. Though taking Skegg's more constructivist/feminist approach, these practices are located in the field of cultural production and are aimed at being "taken up" by the music industry (Jones, 2012). Unsigned musicians engage in practices that produce forms of value in the hope of gaining full employment. Value production outside employment can be understood in a wider labour process analysis. Importantly too, the employment relationship is also located in the field of cultural production, with organisations operating in the same fields too (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008). Conceptualising organisations as possessing portfolios of capital, and therefore a field location, can also aid understanding of the capital-labour dynamic.

2.6 Chapter Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to develop a conceptual framework for examining the first two research questions. LPT has provided an important legacy within industrial sociology for understanding issues of control, consent and resistance. This chapter however has found that there are conceptual problems with LPT. Reconceptualising labour power and value production through Bourdieu's forms of capital. By framing LPT within Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, the framework developed in the previous section can provide a greater understanding of value and control within the recorded music industry. The third and fourth research questions are aimed at examining the role of artistic identity in mediating the art-commerce relationship. The concern therefore of the following chapter will be developing the theoretical terrain for answering the third and fourth research questions.

Chapter Three: Identity, Interests and Habitus

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the importance of considering both labour process theory and the work of Pierre Bourdieu as theoretical inspirations for understanding the art-commerce relation. Chapter Two examined the objective features of the cultural labour process – such as managerial control, value as well as Bourdieu’s concepts of field and capital. As labour process theory’s key concern is the “dynamics of control, consent and resistance at the point of production” (Thompson and Smith, 2009: 915), the aim of this chapter will be to consider consent and resistance within the art-commerce relation in the music industry. The revival of labour process analysis by Braverman’s (1974) work caused an explosion of interest in the 1980s. Yet, the growing critique of Braverman’s self-limiting choice to avoid a consideration of the role of worker agency in the labour process caused several ructions within the labour process community. Discussions of identity and labour process analysis take place within the “missing subject” debate that divided labour process theorising during much of the late 1980s and 1990s. The key concern of this chapter will be to develop a framework for conceptualising the role of subjectivity within the art-commerce relation.

As the previous chapter observed, Bourdieu’s understanding of the field of cultural production is predicated on its opposition to economic interest (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; 1998). Similarly, numerous authors within cultural studies have shown the prevalence of this view to understanding artistic work such that the art-commerce relation is seen as one of the distinctive features of cultural work (Banks, 2007; 2010a; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ross, 2000; Ryan, 1992). Interest in the creative industries is at a peak throughout various sociological disciplines with many arguing that workers in these industries are self-exploited, precarious or sacrificial labour in search of autonomous, flexible, creative work (Gill and Pratt, 2008; Ross, 2003; 2008). Despite the increasing interest in cultural work, consideration of the subjective experience of these workers - and the work of musicians - is limited within labour process theory. “Critical theory” approaches, characterised by Marxist-inspired critique of the cultural industries such as labour process theory and Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, have been acknowledged to downplay the role of agency and consideration of the subjective experience of work (Banks, 2007).

Indeed, labour process theory itself has been seen by many as “redolent of a structurally determinist Marxian approach” (Delbridge, 2006: 1209). Therefore, as Umney and Krestos (2014: 573) recently asserted, “the first question that a labour process-inspired analysis must ask of creative labour is the extent to which it enables participants to pursue their own artistic objectives”.

In the previous chapter, the labour process perspective and Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice were discussed in order to produce a conceptual framework suitable for the understanding the nature of value and control within the music industry. This chapter similarly draws upon resources within the labour process perspective that have been used to address the subjective dimension. In accordance with the previous chapter’s appropriation of Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, this chapter will consider the explanatory power of Bourdieu’s conceptual tools “habitus” and his understanding of “interests” to aid an understanding of labour processes within the field of cultural production.

3.2 The Nature of Cultural Work

Dean and Jones (2003: 531) argued that the difficulty of conducting a labour process analysis of the work of actors was the need to consider work “as a profession or career option that involves many of the same issues as other kinds of work”. In their view, part of the problem with research in the cultural industries is that the work of some cultural labourers is often seen as pleasurable (Dean and Jones, 2003). Indeed, cultural labourers work in areas where society would identify them as an “artist” and the use of the term art and artist offer a source of connotations that makes theorising their work difficult:

“An art also has the connotation of skill, talent or ability, thus drawing attention to the idea of an artist as a trained but also innovative person, with a gift or knack that might be innate, person-specific and hence not easily learnable; hence the centrality of individual expression, calling and aptitude in the arts” (Smith and McKinlay, 2009: 3)

As Hesmondhalgh (2013) acknowledges, art has been thought of as among the most highly regarded forms of human creativity ever since the Renaissance period. The high regard for creative work was furthered during the age of the Romantics with artists in the late nineteenth century and through the twentieth seen as special, charismatic individuals dedicated to their vocation (Webb *et al.*, 2002). The “fetishisation” of the work of artists “as extraordinary” (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 5)

continues to operate in contrast to the organisation of cultural production. During the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, patronage was the dominant form of cultural production where artists were financed and supported by aristocratic patrons (Williams, 1981). After the era of patronage, which lasted until the late nineteenth century, the market professional stage began concurrent with the developments of means of cultural reproduction - such as sheet music and latterly vinyl (Williams, 1981). The market professional stage also saw the rise of intermediation, with the arrival of publishers and booksellers allowing for the organisation of markets (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The market professional stage was then followed by the corporate professional stage, which dramatically expanded in the second half of the twentieth century - and saw the work of artists become professionalised. Many artists essentially became employees to a number of cultural producers through record contracts and publishing deals. Further expertise outside of the realm of production - such as advertising and sales - became involved in the dissemination of cultural products.

The belief that the “starving artist” produces work of greater creativity continues to endure (Bain, 2005). Indeed, it has been argued that “high-caliber compensation proves fatal to the peer appraisal of an artist's achievement; pecuniary neglect, by the same token, translates into cultural credit” (Ross, 2000: 15). As the last chapter explained, Bourdieu's work on cultural production emphasised that it occurs in a privileged position in society. Cultural producers are members of the dominant classes of society through their possession of large amounts of cultural capital but within a “dominated fraction” due their lack of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993: 38). Pierre Bourdieu's (1993; 1996) discussions of cultural production actively argue that success within the field of cultural production is dependent on the denial of financial reward. The possession of large amounts of economic capital has the effect of making artists appear to identify with the interests of the dominant sections of society (Bourdieu, 1993: 40-41). To distinguish between artistic and commercial production, symbolic capital is accorded to those who sufficiently deny money and produce worthy art - which in the long term is rewarded with economic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). The “charismatic image of artistic activity as pure, disinterested creation by an isolated artist” (Bourdieu, 1993: 34) has been the focus of many accounts of cultural work. Yet, for writers such as Becker (1976; 1982), Bourdieu

(1993; 1996) and Peterson (1976), cultural production is the result of a network of collaboration rather than the result of the individual creative genius:

“works of art can be understood by viewing them as the result of the co-ordinated activities of all the people whose co-operation is necessary in order that the work should occur as it does” (Becker, 1976: 703)

Research examining work within the cultural industries therefore needs to consider those involved in conceiving, executing, providing the equipment and the audiences themselves (Becker, 1976; Bourdieu, 1993). Rather than viewing the cultural worker as someone extraordinary, Marxian-influenced critique argues that human labour in general is imbued with creativity (Toynbee, 2013). Indeed, Marx himself argued that artistic work is not too dissimilar from forms of craftwork (Wolff, 1993). Cultural workers can be considered distinct in the ways in which their work is organised rather than the nature of the workers themselves (see Chapter One). The organisation of cultural work is more notable for how the conception and execution of work may continue to be linked (Smith and McKinlay, 2009). The following section will examine the recent interest in contemporary cultural work as well as examining recent approaches to the work of musicians.

3.2.1 Contemporary Cultural Work and the Work of Musicians

While the romantic nature of the work of the “artist” may explain some of the reasoning behind many approaches to cultural work, this section aims to explain the characteristics of contemporary work. Various writers have summarised the work of cultural workers as characterised by precarious or flexible employment, low or highly skewed wages, high risk/high reward employment, a need for multiple jobs or irregular project work, a need to self-promote, the uncertain career prospects and work is subject to increased competition from a growing workforce (e.g., Banks, 2007; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; McKinlay and Smith, 2009; McRobbie, 2004; Menger, 1999; 2006; Ross, 2003; 2009; Towse, 1992). This section will examine contemporary studies of cultural labourers and develop an understanding of a form of work often characterised as a “labour of love”.

Though organisations within the cultural industries are able to recoup the costs of the many failures within a repertoire of performers or products (Hesmondhalgh, 2013), the costs of failure are normally carried by the cultural worker themselves. Cultural work carries a high probability of failure where the chances of even modest

success are very low, where earnings are heavily skewed and the chance of “superstardom” is restricted to a very small minority (Miège, 1989; Negus, 1992; Towse, 1992). Many cultural workers in the industry need additional employment in other industries as a means to maintain their labour power (Smith and McKinlay, 2009; Towse, 1992). While accounts of the economic benefits of new forms of “creative” work attest to these creative workers using multiple, and more standard, jobs as a means to “reinforce their identities as creative people” (Florida, 2002: 166), critical consideration tends to be more circumspect. With minimal wages on offer, creative work tends to be filled by middle class workers – workers who have a safety net in the form of a house, money or family support (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013). The constant supply and willingness of younger people to suffer lower wages in the hope of later reward has the effect of reinforcing the poor conditions within the industry and “constructing new bars for their own cages, or those of others” (Huws, 2006: 10). The labour market in the cultural industries consists of an oversupply of potential workers and results in a correspondingly low average wage throughout the sector (Menger, 1999).

A recurring theme throughout studies of cultural production is the necessity for social networks in order to find or maintain access to new work (Blair, 2001; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; McRobbie, 2002a; Scott, 2012; Ursell, 2000). Within Bourdieu’s formulation, social capital refers to “the sum of the resources, actual and virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). Bourdieu’s approach views social capital as a class good that enables the exclusion and conservation of resources within certain groups of society (Julien, 2015; Lee, 2011). This exclusivity of social capital is a dominant feature of the literature, with the importance of building and maintaining social networks within the creative industries having been widely noted in recent years (Blair, 2001; Coulson, 2012; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011, Scott, 2012; Ursell, 2000). The importance of social capital within the current research is not so much for how it affects the art-commerce relationship but more how musicians gain access to labour processes. The primary reason that social capital is an effective means of employing people on short-term projects is the need to reduce asymmetries of information about the qualities of prospective workers (Lee, 2011). With much of the work in the cultural industries being based around short, flexible projects, the need to be self-

promotional is seen throughout studies of cultural work (McRobbie, 2002a; Ursell, 2000).

Scott (2012) draws specifically on Bourdieu's forms of capital to examine how "do-it-yourself" musicians, who lack economic capital, are able to engage in the exchange of other forms of capital to keep their career progressing. Social capital is shown to be essential in order to participate in artistic careers. Individuals draw on their social capital in order to gain access to the cultural capital of others in their social network. The access to the skills and expertise of others allow musicians to engage in further capital conversion to generate small levels of symbolic capital. This symbolic capital, or "buzz", allows musicians to make further conversions into either money, or work towards generating further "buzz". Lee's (2011) study of networking in television also draws on Bourdieu's forms of capital. For Lee (2011), the levels of cultural capital possessed by individuals will determine the quality of social capital they able to amass. Cultural capital, with inherent class-based educational and dispositional advantages, acts as the means of obtaining social capital by providing the means of access to the network and the necessary communicative dispositions necessary to succeed (Lee, 2011: 556, also Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012). The link between social capital and cultural capital reinforces a characteristic of cultural production observed by many authors: the propensity for the industries to be dominated by the white, middle class (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011; Smith and McKinlay, 2009). Indeed, for members of minorities, access to employment is limited and those who eventually succeed do so after prolonged periods of insecure employment (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012).

Coulson's (2012) work continues on the theme of the need of musicians to engage in networking and to be "entrepreneurial". Importantly however, Coulson argues that many of the musicians in her research are "accidental entrepreneurs" and lacking a desire to be business orientated. While music work occurs in conditions of very low pay, musicians' ability to identify with their profession often depends on their ability to be paid for their work. Coulson argues that the musicians desire to be collaborative often leads musicians into forms of work that have little economic incentive. Importantly for the current research, Coulson views musicians' entrepreneurial activity as incidental with a primary desire to make music that an interest in "commerce" emerges from engaging primarily in music. Indeed, Umney

and Krestos's (2014) research into the work of jazz musicians reflects such a view. While succeeding in music can be seen as attempting to attain a competitive advantage over other musicians in the production of cultural goods (Jones, 2012); the musicians in Umney and Krestos' (2014) study view networking in a non-instrumental way. Collaboration and networking are often seen as desirable aspects of performing music. The work of the jazz musicians was highly motivated by the need to find places of creative autonomy. The desire for autonomy was often pursued in more informal environments regardless of the working conditions.

While many professions require forms of institutional cultural capital – such as degrees or professional accreditation – participation in the field of cultural production does not have minimum requirements for entry. Consequently, it is difficult to distinguish between who are artists, professionals or amateurs (Bain, 2005). Indeed, as Bain (2005: 34) argues, terming oneself a “professional” artist is often an empty signifier; becoming a professional musician is a case of constructing and maintaining an artistic identity. Discussions of musical and artistic identities are numerous but have been widely addressed in the psychological literature. From this social psychological perspective, Mills (2004) asserts that there is an essential distinction between a musician as a *professional* identity and a *subjective* identity. A subjective identity describes how musicians see themselves as regardless of the validation from others. In contrast, a professional identity is seen as what people do. Mills (2004) research observed that many music teachers would self-define as a musician, regardless of a professional identity that would define them as predominantly teachers. Similarly, in their research into the identity of opera singers, Oakland et al (2013) found that the salience of singing as part of the singers' professional identities depended often on the time served in the role. In contrast, subjective identity was based on the “physical and psychological stimulation” (2013: 272) experienced in performance and reaffirmed the belief in music as part of their self. Both studies contrast with musicians in Coulson's (2012) research, where identifying as a musician could only be done when their living was earned through their work as musicians. Indeed, this relationship between art and money is a key constituent of artistic identity. Taylor and Littleton's (2008) discussions of identity work performed by Art and Design postgraduates examines various repertoires – namely, “art-versus-money” and “money-as-validation”. Within their study, Taylor and Littleton (2008) found that the art-commerce conflict was effectively more

about avoiding it as a conflict. Their discursive analysis of a participant's narrative showed her taking work that allowed time for creative work, taking on a "double life". Taylor and Littleton's (2008) research examined the difficulties in reconciling that artistic work is a struggle performed in the absence of money or finding earning money as a sign of validation.

The findings of these various studies indicate the complicated relationship between art, money and identity formation. Yet, the literature draws on a broad range of approaches – from the positivistic psychological studies, to studies drawing from social constructivist approaches. The concern of the rest of this chapter will be to develop the theoretical terrain for an approach to examining artistic identity within the labour process perspective. "Critical theory" perspectives, particularly those that draw from Marxian categories, have been argued to be weak in addressing subjectivity and the role of worker agency (Banks, 2007). The following section will outline approaches to subjectivity from within labour process theory, a perspective that has been characterised by splits based on the "missing subject" debate.

3.3 The "Contextualist" Identity Approach in Labour Process Theory

The following section will consider the relevance of approaches to identity within LPT, dubbed the "contextualist" identity approach (Jaros, 2012). The previous section has emphasised the distinctive characteristics of work in the cultural industries as well as the importance of identity research in psychological and educational approaches to music work. This section will consider how labour process analysis has addressed issues surrounding what was called the "missing subject" debate through considering the role of identity in the workplace. Taking influences from social psychology and the impression management of Erving Goffman, the contextualist approach has provided detailed accounts of identity and interests within the labour process.

3.3.1 *The "Missing Subject" Debate*

Following the second-wave and subsequent "Bravermania" (Littler and Salaman, 1982), labour process analysis in the 1980s was characterised by an explosion of interest and empirical studies that resulted in no clear path for labour process theory. The empirical studies came from a variety of approaches divided between the core LPT advocates (Thompson, 1989; Thompson and Smith, 2001); the Marxian advocates (Adler, 2007; Rowlinson and Hassard, 2001; Tinker, 2002) and the post-

structuralists (Wilmott and Knights, 1989; Wilmott and O'Doherty, 2001; 2009). More recently, adherents to the "core" theory of the labour process have attempted to draw more substantially from critical realism in order to overcome the splits caused by the "missing subject" debate (e.g., Fleetwood, 2005; Thompson and Vincent, 2010). Core theory, as defined by Thompson (1989), acted as a means of addressing LPT's increasing lack of boundaries in the wake of post-Braverman research. In light of Braverman, Thompson's work (1989; 1990) attempted to specify a core theory based on the empirically consistent features of capitalism (Thompson, 1989) with the development of a theory of subjectivity an important aim for future labour-process theorising (Thompson, 1990).

The subjective gap that existed because of Braverman's self-limiting choice to focus on the objective picture of the labour-process has become known as the "missing subject" debate. For Braverman, like Marx (1976), interest in the "subjectivity" of workers was restricted to:

"their capacity for individual agency and ability to collectively identify with other workers, was analytically interesting and emancipatorily meaningful only to the extent that it took the form of class consciousness" (Jaros, 2012: 47)

The oft-repeated quote from Thompson (1990: 11) arguing that "the construction of a full theory of the missing subject is probably the greatest task facing labour process theory" has been used in equal measure as a direction for future LPT and a quote with which to criticise the core theory (e.g., Thompson and O'Doherty, 2009). The battleground between core theorists, more recently influenced by critical-realism (Thompson and Vincent, 2010), and post-structural theory increasingly identified under the banner of Critical Management Studies (CMS) occurred in these discussions of identity and subjectivity. The "missing subject" debate was characterised by a split within the LPT community, with a post-structural influenced group emerging in opposition to a core mainstream. For post-structuralists (e.g., Knights and Willmott, 1989) it is the influence of Anthony Giddens and Michel Foucault that offers a means of addressing this "missing subject". Yet, Thompson and Smith (2001: 53) surmise that in light of post-structural studies, it is no longer the indeterminacy of labour but the "indeterminacy of identity" that becomes the key concern within these post-structural accounts. Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) argued that research into the labour process, particularly those influenced by Foucauldian approaches, had removed worker agency from analyses. Rather than

workers being able to actively resist managerial control, these accounts either characterised workers as increasingly susceptible to all-encompassing managerial power (e.g. Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Sewell, 1998) or that resistance or misbehaviour tend to be self-defeating and in fact reinforce managerial power (Fleming and Spicer, 2003).

The contextualist approach, a term used by Jaros (2012), describes approaches to identity influenced by writers within the mainstream of labour process theory. Identity theorising within LPT progressively picked up pace in the late 1990s towards a position as a key constituent of labour process theorising in the 2000s (Marks and Thompson, 2010). Jaros (2012: 46) expounded four key characteristics of work congruent with this “contextualist” approach (e.g., Hallier, 2004; Hallier and Forbes, 2005; Marks and Lockyer, 2004; Marks and Scholarios, 2007; Richards, 2006; Richards and Marks, 2007; Taylor and Bain, 1999; 2003). Firstly, the works of contextualists have roots in Marxian-inspired analysis of the labour process. Secondly, there is a willingness to use conceptual resources from organisational behaviour and social psychology. Thirdly, the contextualist studies have an emphasis on the contextual features of worker identity rather than a “broad brush” approach. Finally, the contextualist studies have an interest in addressing how identity relates to resistance within organisations. This section will therefore examine this body of “contextualist” work to determine its relevance to labour process theorising and the particularly its usefulness within the study of the work of musicians.

Burawoy’s (1979) influential ethnography can be considered an early forerunner to work included within the “contextualist” approach that tried to re-establish the role of worker agency in the employment relationship (Jaros, 2012). Burawoy (1979) examined the game playing conducted by factory workers to overcome the monotony of their work. Burawoy found that objective exploitation – the accumulation of surplus value – was achieved not through coercion but through this process of game playing - or “making out”. The inherently mundane work was made interesting through game playing so that workers achieved symbolic rewards (satisfaction) for their work despite being guilty of securing their own exploitation (Burawoy, 1979). As Burawoy (1985) asserted, the relationship between capital and labour is not necessarily antagonistic. This concern for the “two-fold truth of labour” is central to more recent attempts to address the role of agency within the labour

process (Burawoy, 2012). Indeed, it has been the call by Thompson (1990) to address the “missing subject” and the “absence” of agency within employment that has led to greater understanding of the subjective experience of work (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1995; 1999). Managerial accounts of the workplace have diminished understandings of resistance and misbehaviour at work, relegating these topics to pathological characteristics of worker resistance. Yet, the acknowledgement of “structured antagonism” within the labour process is an acknowledgement of divergent interests within the employment relationship (Edwards, 1986). Ackroyd and Thompson (1999: 54-55) argue that consideration of the subjective experience of work is essential and that social identities play a key role in behaviour within an organisation:

“It will surprise nobody if we suggest that groups develop distinct identities or that this is a recurrent feature of workplace organization. Nevertheless, it is our aim to develop a stronger thesis along these lines, to the effect that processes of self-organization occur in every workplace, that they involve the formation of identity, and that, furthermore, such processes usually have significance for the behaviour of the groups concerned.”

The following subsections will therefore consider the approach taken within the core labour process theory towards identity. Beginning with the social identity approach, the following subsection will show how social psychological theory has influenced the development of the “contextualist” approach within labour process theory.

3.3.2 *The Social Identity Approach*

In the search for theoretical resources to understand identity in the labour process many writers (e.g., Hallier, 2004; Hallier and Forbes, 2005; Marks and Lockyer, 2005; Richards and Marks, 2007) turned to the adaptation of a social psychological approach to address these gaps within labour process analysis. As mentioned previously, social psychology’s focus on the individual and their identification with social groups has provided a theoretical means of supplementing the largely macro picture presented by Marxist sociology. The social identity approach (SIA) has become increasingly influential within management and organisation studies (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Ashforth *et al.*, 2005; Dutton *et al.*, 1994; Haslam, 2004) as well as an influence within the labour process perspective (Hallier, 2004; Hallier and Forbes, 2005; Marks and Lockyer, 2005; Marks and Scholarios, 2007; Richards

and Marks, 2007). This section will therefore outline the central tenets of the social identity approach from its origins in Tajfel's minimal group studies.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) examines the extent to which people "define themselves in terms of their membership of a collective, and how their feelings of self-worth are reflected in the status of the collective" (Marks and Lockyer, 2005: 220). SIT's origins can be found in the work of Henri Tajfel (1970; 1971; 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and advanced by various researchers later (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Turner, 1982; 1984). Henri Tajfel's work was directed towards understanding the basis of social discrimination and was heavily influenced by a search for meaning related to his wartime experiences (Brown and Lunt, 2002). As a witness to many of the horrors of the Second World War, much of Tajfel's work can be seen as an indirect attempt to understand his wartime experiences with Nazism. The purpose of SIT was to examine the psychological basis for individuals to discriminate between social groups (Marks, 2005). Beginning with the Minimal Group Studies, a series of experiments started by examining the minimal requirements for people to start identifying themselves with a social grouping. Tajfel's initial experiments, assigned group memberships randomly based on arbitrary criteria. Tajfel's experiment specifically attempted to remove economic motivations – and interests – for group membership (Haslam, 2004). So too, the experiment attempted to remove personal animosity and conflict from the study as a basis for discrimination (Tajfel *et al.*, 1971). The outcome of Tajfel's experiments found that the children in the study strongly identified with their own group, in spite of the minimum requirement for group membership being simply indicating a preference for a particular painter. SIT was a development on the work of Sherif (1966), who also examined the reasons for intergroup discrimination. Within Sherif's work and his theory, realistic conflict theory (RCT), it is competition over limited resources that leads to intergroup discrimination and conflict. Tajfel's experiments however indicated that intergroup discrimination occurs even when there is no utilitarian basis for identifying with the relevant in-group. Children in the study were asked to assign points to members of their own group and the outgroup anonymously. The findings indicated a strong bias toward members of the children's own group (Tajfel, 1978).

Tajfel (1978: 63) therefore defined social identity "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or

groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". This is in contrast to personal identity which is seen as the source of an individual's sense of uniqueness (Postmes and Jetten, 2006). Whereas psychological research tends to emphasise the role of the individual, sociology has conversely emphasised the role of the collective (Jenkins, 2014). Social identity theory was Tajfel's attempt to increase focus on the collective in social psychology. Social identification refers therefore to an individual's perception of belonging to some form of group (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). SIT is concerned with individuals' attempts to attain, maintain or seek out positive self-concepts based on their membership of some form of group or collective (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Turner's (1985) work on self-categorisation theory (SCT) is seen as an extension on SIT (Hogg *et al.*, 1995). Self categorisation is based on comparisons of the self and others between in-group and out-groups through the process of depersonalisation (Davos and Deschamps, 1998). Depersonalisation refers to how individuals see themselves as stereotypical and interchangeable examples of a category rather than as unique selves. Individuals achieve this through the use of prototypes which act definitive examples of what constitute the attributes of a member of the relevant category (Oakes *et al.*, 1998; Hogg and Terry, 2000). An important consideration is that different prototypes become salient dependent on the relevant out-group. The salience of social identities lead to this process of individuals "depersonalising" themselves from their own personal identities and identify with the homogenous (in)group (Tajfel, 1978; Haslam, 2004). This process of depersonalising therefore requires the stereotyping of the out-group as a similarly homogenous out-group and treat them in opposition to the positive identification of the in-group (Haslam, 2004).

The combination of SIT and SCT leads to what is termed the Social Identity Approach (SIA). Over the first decade of the 2000s, the SIA came to be integrated within many labour process perspective studies to consider the "missing subject". One of the first such studies was Hallier's (2004) organisation case study of middle managers within air traffic control. In addressing the criticisms of LPT's focus on issues of control and deskilling, Hallier attempted to address the effect of technological change on middle managers identification and self-interests. Drawing on the SIA, Hallier found that while projecting identification with top management's goals, the middle managers in contrast would identify with their relevant work group and

protect the interests of this work group in the face of technological change. The critical component to the contextualist studies of the labour process is underlined by Marks and Lockyer's (2005) study of teamwork within two organisations. Rather than seeing team working as the panacea that many contemporary HRM theorists argue, the research found that teams acted as a source of identification in themselves and contrary to identification with the organisation itself. While team working in itself may not be of direct relevance to the art-commerce relation, the findings importantly demonstrate the existence of multiple sources of identification that maybe contradictory to the goals of the organisation. Indeed, further research by Marks and Scholarios (2007) importantly link social identity theory with collectives such as a professional identity. In their examination of software work, higher qualified workers tended to identify less with their organisation than those with lower qualifications who were trained within the organisation. Richards' (2006) approach attempts to address the weaknesses of LPT in addressing the subject in studies of resistance using a SIA. The use of LPT is used to address the weaknesses of SIT in explaining social context. In Richards (2006; Richards and Marks, 2007) participant observation investigating organisational misbehaviour in low-status employment examined the links between organisational control and employee social identity processes. The internalised team identity of group members in Richards and Marks (2007) research found that workers actively resisted managerial control and effectively contradicted the instrumental purpose of the organisation's use of teams.

3.3.3 Goffman, Impression Management and Spoiled Identity

The contextualist approach has been theoretically influenced by the SIA predominantly, yet some writers argue that Goffman's insights add explanatory power (Marks, 2005; Marks and Thompson, 2010). Goffman's work is potentially more pertinent within the current research in attempting to link between being seen to deny commercial interest – or conversely being seen to “sell out” - and social identity. For Goffman, social interaction is concerned with the maintenance of a “positive social value” that “a person effectively claims for himself” (Goffman, 1967: 5). Yet, the presentation of social identity can in part rely on strategies to hide from view socially devalued characteristics. This hiding “discrediting” characteristics from view leads to Goffman's (1968) discussions of stigma. Goffman's work has been influential within sociology and has had a significant influence on overlapping fields,

such as medical sociology (e.g., Grove *et al.*, 1997, Hinshaw, 2007; Rutledge *et al.*, 2008). The aim of this section will be to introduce Goffman's concepts of impression management and stigma and to demonstrate the relevance of Goffman's work within the current research. Furthermore, this section will present studies that specifically link Goffman's impression management to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. The intellectual influence of Erving Goffman on Pierre Bourdieu's work can be seen implicitly throughout his work (Jenkins, 2002, 2014). As his long-time collaborator would acknowledge, Goffman consistently remained one of Bourdieu's "favourite mental 'sparring partners'" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013: 292). Within this section, an explicit link between Goffman's impression management and Bourdieu's forms of capital will be made.

Erving Goffman's (1959) work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* originated a whole body of work dedicated to the study of impression management. Originally published in 1956 through his association with Edinburgh University, Goffman's (1959) work has become one of the most widely read and cited works in sociology and is viewed as a key work in the symbolic interactionist paradigm. Throughout Goffman's work, the "social situation" was the key unit of analysis, those situations where "two or more persons are in one another's response presence" (Goffman, 1983: 2). Famous for its introduction of the dramaturgical metaphor that characterised much of his early work, Goffman (1959) focused on the interactions between individuals. Individuals, in the dramaturgical metaphor, take the role of actors and social interaction requires individuals to maintain a believable performance to their audience. Within social situations, Goffman viewed individuals as instinctively engaging in impression management when in the physical vicinity of others. Individuals operate, within this theatre metaphor, within a frontstage and a backstage. The frontstage is where the performance is conducted with individuals performing their roles in the presence of an audience, adjusting their performances in accordance with the social situation (Jacobsen and Kristiansen, 2015). The backstage is located away from the social situation and allows the performer to relax without the need to manage impressions (Goffman, 1959). While backstage actors prepare and rehearse for future interactions, yet as Goffman acknowledges though social situations are rehearsed they are never scripted.

This distinctive phase of Goffman's early work leans heavily on the dramaturgical metaphor and encompasses works such as *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*

and *Stigma* (Jacobsen and Kristiansen, 2015). Goffman's impression management implies that there is both a socially received identity and a self that works behind the scenes, calculating the best performance (Manning, 1992). Goffman was well aware of the weaknesses of his dramaturgical approach; indeed, he asserted "the world is not, of course, a stage" (Goffman, 1959: 72) and, in later years, would purposefully move away from the theatre metaphor (Burns, 1992; Smith, 2006). For some critics, his framework offers very little regard for the intentions of individuals' actions (Manning, 1992). At worst, individuals can be seen as "hollow shells" (Jenkins, 2014: 92). The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1985) criticises Goffman's work for viewing individuals as simply playing roles and "the self is no more than "a peg" on which the clothes of the role are hung" (MacIntyre, 1985: 32). Indeed, as Manning (1992) explains, between the two editions of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman became increasingly dissatisfied with the dramaturgical approach.

Yet, it is Goffman's work *Stigma* that is perhaps most relevant to the current research. Goffman's work on "spoiled" identity offers a natural follow up to his work within *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Whereas Goffman (1959) asserted that individuals engage in impression management to maintain a believable and positive social identity, *Stigma* examines the social interactions of individuals with an attribute that could negatively affect their social identity. A stigma "is any perceived physical, social or personal quality that leads a social group to regard those characterized by it as having tainted, inferior or discredited identities" (Toyoki and Brown, 2014: 717). Social interactions by individuals with stigmatised characteristics are acts of identity work aimed at minimising or repairing the effects of this negative image (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008). Stigmas exist in two forms within Goffman's framework: a stigma that is discredited and a stigma that is discrediting. Discredited characteristics are immediately recognisable and obvious, while discreditable characteristics are hidden from view and not perceptible immediately (Burns, 1992). Social interaction for a person carrying a discreditable characteristic is concerned with "information control", ensuring that the taint on their identity is not revealed. Impression management is thus even more important for discreditable individuals (Goffman, 1968).

Goffman's work is often associated with "deviant" sociology, through his work on total institutions and stigmatised individuals. Importantly however, Goffman is

highly critical of the term “deviant” and deviant sociology. Goffman argues that stigma and the responses to stigmatised characteristics are widely experienced (Smith, 2006): “if, then, the stigmatised person is to be called a deviant, he might better be called a *normal deviant*” (Goffman, 1968: 157, emphasis in original). Indeed, many assume that his work on stigma is Goffman’s is due to his sympathies for the plight of people seen as outsiders in society (Crow, 2005; Smith, 2006). The term stigma is widely associated through its religious connotations with physical abnormalities. Yet, Goffman’s analysis purposefully offers a framework for a much wider analysis of spoiled social identity (Manning, 1992).

While a stigma refers to “an attribute that is deeply discrediting”, it is ultimately “a language of relationships, not attributes” themselves that are discrediting (Goffman, 1968: 13). As Goffman emphasises, one attribute that can stigmatise one particular individual may not affect another. A stigma is therefore “a societal reaction that spoils identity” (Jacobsen and Kristiansen, 2015: 98). Goffman cites the example of how a middle-class individual would have no problem being seen in a library, yet the ex-convict is looking over his shoulder to ensure he is not seen. Certainly, with regard to the art-commerce relation, work in the field of cultural production requires cultural workers to display “disinterestedness” or opposition to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). This “disinterestedness” could be described in Goffman’s terms as a form of impression management. The existence of “stigmatised” identities based on their apparent commercialisation or “selling out” could prove a fruitful approach toward the identity work that individuals perform. The previous chapter used Bourdieu’s work in order to present a framework for analysing the labour process in terms of the production and conversion of forms of capital. What is required too is a means of how the art-commerce relation is experienced and negotiated by musicians.

Scarborough’s (2012) research examined the “face work” performed by jazz musicians within their live music performance. Though applied outside the recorded labour process, Scarborough’s (2012) research provides an important link between Bourdieusian sociology and Goffman’s work. Identifying the weaknesses in Goffman’s work, Scarborough (2012) argues that Goffman’s concept of status is an aggregate of a number of status markers. Goffman, Scarborough (2012: 544-545) argues, does “not explicate the variety and quality of resources that result in high status or how social actors strategically mobilize these resources in their face-

work". In turn, Scarborough draws on Bourdieu's forms of capital to fill the conceptual gap in Goffman's status resources. The turn to Bourdieu's forms of capital is fitting, as Bourdieu's main issue with interactionist work – and by extension Goffman's work – is an issue of epistemology (Jacobsen and Kristiansen, 2015). In Bourdieu's view, the focus of interactionist sociology on micro-level social situations was at the expense of a proper consideration of macro-level social structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The resulting research demonstrates that jazz musicians engage in several forms of impression management based on the need to demonstrate their embodied cultural capital – for instance, demonstrating their technical mastery of their instrument. Alternatively, musicians can also "substitute" different displays when there is a lack of proficiency in certain aspects of music performance.

While Bourdieu's work currently dominates sociological research, Goffman's work has receded to an implicit influence on many forms of research. Within recent scholarship, the linking of Bourdieu and Goffman's concept of stigma can be found in studies examining class, particularly work taken from a feminist angle (McKenzie, 2012; 2015; Tyler, 2013; 2015). While the term "stigma" can be found throughout many of these works, Goffman's influence within them is often implicit (see Tyler, 2014). Bourdieu's work asserted that the possession of forms of capital automatically gives individuals a "valued" social identity (Bourdieu, 1984). Yet, within more recent studies adopting Bourdieu's forms of capital, it is the absence of capital that has a stigmatising effect on social identities. McKenzie's (2012, 2015) work examining the lives of working class people in a Nottingham estate, the stigma on these individuals is being seen as *valueless*, drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical work, and Skeggs (1997) application of Bourdieu's forms of capital. Indeed, Skeggs' (1997; 2004a) work asserts the difficulties of working class woman to achieve "respectability" in society due to their lack of the forms of capital.

The relationship between capital and the agent is something that has had a large influence within medical sociology (Grove *et al.*, 1997; Stanley, 1999; Yang and Kleinman, 2008), where Goffman's concept of stigma continues to be influential. For example, Grove *et al.* (1997) draw on Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital to examine how AIDS patients avoid the spoiling of their social identity. As their study explains, AIDS has a stigmatising effect on identities based on its perception as a disease that afflicts "outsiders" of society – drug users, gay men and sex workers

(Grove *et al.*, 1997). Grove *et al.* (1997) argue that white, middle-class heterosexual women – who are at greater risk of late diagnosis of the disease – are protected from spoiled social identity by virtue of their ability to draw on symbolic capital. The cultural capital the women in the study possess through their middle class background is legitimised and granted symbolic capital, meaning any perception of the women as being possible carriers of a stigmatised disease is deflected.

3.3.4 *Contextualist Approach to Interests*

The previous sections have emphasised that contextual approaches have helped bridge the gap between objective features such as managerial control in the labour process. Yet, the concept of interest has become a key feature in recent “contextualist” research. Concern for identity has increased greatly within labour process research, the explanatory power attributed to identity has been argued to be overstated (Delbridge, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010; MacInnes, 2004). Within labour process theory, the core theory asserts that the employment relationship exists in a state of structured antagonism. Structured antagonism does not simply represent a conflict of interests (Thompson, 1989). Indeed, the fact “that employers and workers have conflicting interests is scarcely in dispute.” (Edwards *et al.*, 2006: 126). Rather the relationship acts as a dialectic or contradiction: work is conducted but the conflictual dynamics of managerial control and worker consent or resistance are immanent within the employment relationship. It is this concern for an understanding of “interests” in the employment relationship that will be the concern of the rest of this section. Contextualist approaches develop on Ackroyd and Thompson’s (1999) assertion that identity approaches to the labour process need to also consider the role of interests (e.g., Delbridge and Jenkins, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010).

The “missing subject” debate, as discussed previously, has been more recently framed as a conflict between “core” labour process theorists and post-structural influenced researchers in critical management studies (CMS). Part of the missing subject debate has been based on the role of discourse in shaping employment relations. Numerous studies in CMS emphasise the role of managerial discourse and technology in ensuring employee acquiescence to needs of capital (e.g., Grugulis and Knights, 2001) Yet, a key weakness with post-structural approaches has been to show how agents are able to accept or resist various discourses they are exposed to

(Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014; Thompson and O'Doherty, 2009). The view has tended to see agents as "blank slates" to which any discourse or identity can be written on to (Marks and Thompson, 2010). This is an important point as research into cultural workers has shown an increasing propensity to draw on "governmentality" approaches where discourses of "entrepreneurship" and "flexibility" have been used to explain the self-exploitation characteristic with the cultural industries (eg, Ursell, 2000; Conor, 2010). While these discourses may have an effect on cultural workers, such as the musicians in this research, what is needed is an understanding of how cultural workers become invested in these discourses.

Attempts to draw together a materialist understanding of the dynamics of identity and interests are proposed by Jenkins and Delbridge (2006) and Marks and Thompson (2010: 318). The aim of these studies is to move away from a focus solely on identity and its "overhyped" explanatory power. These approaches in particular draw on LPT's attempts to integrate within critical realist ontology. Drawing on Archer's (2000) distinction between personal and social identities, Marks and Thompson (2010) propose that in order to understand interests, it is necessary to fully conceptualise a notion of the self – something which SIT and Goffman-inspired impression management does not explicate (Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). Archer (2000) argues that agents have reflexive capacities with the ability to reflect on their social identities. Individuals have many social identities depending on the context of interaction, but also have a continuous sense of themselves separate to society (Archer, 2000; Webb, 2006). Archer's work argues that individuals form a continuous personal identity and develop interests and forms social identities based on these interests (Archer, 2000). While "we bring our individual sense of self to the process of role selection...we cannot choose roles without negotiating social constraints" (Marks and Thompson, 2010: 331). Indeed, for Archer (2000:10):

"we do not make our personal identities under the circumstances of our own choosing. Our placement in society rebounds upon us, affecting the persons we become, but also and more forcefully influencing the social identities which we can achieve." (Archer, 2000: 10)

Reflecting on the upsurge of identity studies in recent labour process analysis, MacInnes (2004) takes a view that such approaches overhype the explanatory power of identity theorising. Importantly, Marks and Thompson (2010) argue that

identity is a constituent of subjectivity but not the whole story. Drawing on Ackroyd and Thompson's (1999: 55) argument linking of identity and interests:

"Interests and identities are not opposites. They reciprocally and discursively form one another... For us, this combination of 'self' – interest and self-identity is the bedrock of employee action in the workplace"

Jenkins and Delbridge (2006) review of literature examining high performance Human Resource Management (HRM) attempts to reappraise the role of interests. Jenkins and Delbridge (2006) argue that economic assumptions of much of the managerial literature on performance have led to a narrow view of the employment relationship. This economic view sees employees as being motivated by rational self-interest alone. The solution is to "conceptualise identity work as *interaction with and appropriation of symbolic resources*" (Marks and Thompson, 2010: 324). Viewing symbolic resources - such as status, esteem and a sense of belonging - as drivers of identity work moves identity toward a more active concept without taking a view of identity as a "pick'n'mix" choice (Webb, 2006).

Examination of self-interest was an important part of Marks and Scholarios' (2007) research into the professional and organisational identification of software workers. Marks and Scholarios (2007) argued that a concept of self-interest in addition to social identity theorising is essential. Rather than seeing the need for self-esteem from social identification as an explanation for social action, Marks and Scholarios argue that a more instrumental notion of self-interest is needed. Within their research, the lack of high-level qualifications was coupled with a *self-interested* need to identify more strongly with their organisation. In contrast, higher-qualified professionals have a more transactional relationship with their organisations and a greater degree of identification with their profession. For Thompson et al (2015), interests represent the part of games developers who manage the balance between their artistic identities and the realisation of the commercial imperatives working in business demands. Taylor and Moore's (2015) examination of the 2009-2011 British Airlines strike demonstrated how conditions of the labour process specifically developed collective interests into collective actions. Within their research, Taylor and Moore (2015) demonstrated how airline staff for BA who were used to autonomy in determining their work actively resisted attempts by BA to enact greater control over their work. Reflective of Sosteric's (1996) work on bar-staff, but without the Foucauldian understandings of subjectivity, Taylor and Moore

(2015) found airline stewards who felt they understood their customers better than management.

3.3.5 Summary

Despite the different contexts and aims of the various studies, the findings of “contextualist” studies converge with many of the concerns of artistic or cultural forms of work. The contextualist approach is relevant to a labour process analysis of work in the recorded music industry, as resistance to control is seen as an inherent component of the art-commerce relation (Banks, 2010a; Ryan, 1992). The multiple sources of identification found in many of the studies that offered resistance to managerial control (e.g., Hallier, 2004; Richards, 2006; Richards and Marks, 2007) allows for the current research to consider accounts for organisational (record label) identification, as well as possible issues related to professional or artistic identity. Of particular relevance to the current research, based on the previous chapter, is the connection between Bourdieu’s forms of capital and social identity. Goffman’s notion of “stigma” could prove a suitable way to conceptualise identities that are associated with the concerns of commerce in the field (i.e., Bourdieu, 1993). The following section however will return to the work of Bourdieu to examine the concepts of subjectivity within the Theory of Practice.

3.4 Bourdieu’s Concepts of Habitus and Interest

In the previous sections of this chapter, attempts to conceptualise identity from within the labour-process perspective have been assessed. This section will return to Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice to outline the third of Bourdieu’s primary thinking tools: habitus. In the previous chapter, the use of Bourdieu’s concepts of field and capital was advocated in order to supplement LPT and its weaknesses in understanding cultural work. Habitus, within Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, acts relationally with field and capital. The selective use of individual concepts is a recurring criticism of many studies utilising Bourdieu’s concepts in isolation without consideration for the overall Theory of Practice (Mutch *et al.*, 2006; Vaughan, 2008). This section will therefore avoid selective use of Bourdieu’s concepts and advocate consideration of Bourdieu’s key conceptual tools for considering subjectivity. The importance of habitus within this research is as a link between the individual and society (field and social space) through the mediating concept of capital (Grenfell, 2012).

Bourdieu's work does not contain an overt concept of identity. Much of Bourdieu's work – particularly *Distinction* (2010 [1979]) – presents social practices as signifiers of a possible identity, particularly in *Distinction*, a social class identity. Indeed, Bourdieu's work takes a dispositional approach to identity (Bottero, 2010). In contrast to Marx's notion of a shared "class consciousness", the operation of social practices through acquired dispositions in Bourdieu's work represents a "class unconsciousness" (Bourdieu, 1991: 235). The conduct of social practice groups individuals together in social space and though these practices could entail a social class, the "classes exist in some sense in a state of virtuality, not as something given but as something to be done" (Bourdieu, 1998: 12). Social identities are in Bourdieu's (1984) sense "nominal" – they can be attributed based on social position but may not reflect the experiences of the individual. Rather, Bourdieu's concept of subjectivity is developed from dispositions and the concept of habitus.

The aim of this section is to examine the usefulness of Bourdieu's approach to subjectivity. With the previous chapter having emphasised the role of embodied cultural capital in conceptualising labour power in the cultural labour process, the aim of this section is to consider the dispositions acquired in Bourdieu's concept of the habitus. As this section will show, the habitus is among the most widely used and disputed concepts in contemporary social theory. Yet, the concept offers a basis for understanding the unconscious dispositions that operate within the work of musicians. This section will conclude with a discussion of Bourdieu's concept of interest – and disinterest. The appearance of disinterest is a key element of Bourdieu's writings in cultural production.

3.4.1 Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus

Habitus is, arguably, one of the more widely known and applied of Bourdieu's concepts. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is at the centre of his attempt to overcome the weaknesses of both the structuralism within which he apprenticed and the phenomenology that dominated French social science at the time (Crossley, 2001; Grenfell, 2012). For Bourdieu, the focus on objective structures that dominated the structuralist tradition had an unsatisfactory grip on the importance of individual experience. In order to overcome the deficiencies of both structuralism and phenomenology, Bourdieu developed his concept of habitus in order to consider both objectivism and subjectivism simultaneously. The habitus represents

Bourdieu's conception of subjectivity (Fleetwood, 2008; Lawler, 2005) and links "field" and society to the individual agent (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu defined habitus as:

"a system of durable, transposable 'dispositions', structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor." (Bourdieu, 1977: 72)

Though Bourdieu's (1977) definition is perhaps somewhat opaque, habitus refers to the embodied, unconscious dispositions that generate and structure action. Like Goffman, Bourdieu felt that social theory underestimated the extent to which individuals are generally competent social actors (Jenkins, 2002). For Bourdieu, the reason for this competence is that a great deal of social action operates below the level of conscious deliberation. The concept of habitus is therefore Bourdieu's attempt at conceiving the unconscious "dispositions" social actors acquire throughout their lives but mainly during early socialisation. Bourdieu's use of the term is aimed at describing unconscious dispositions while trying to avoid specifically calling them habits (Jenkins, 2002). The habitus is used to show "that the governance of most of our actions lies in the middle of a continuum ranging from unconscious reflexes to rational deliberation and choice" (Sayer, 2005: 25). Rather than being rational actors deliberating over our attempts to maximise our utility, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is used to address the role of unconscious actions and the relative competence of individuals in social life (Jenkins, 2002).

Within discussions of field in the previous chapter, field was likened to both a game and a scientific "force field". Habitus can similarly be likened to a game, and can be taken to mean a "feel for the game" (Johnson, 1993). Bourdieu likens the operation of habitus to a tennis player's unconscious understanding of the rules and potential to improvise out with these rules (Bourdieu, 1998). The result is that agents often feel like a "fish in water" in situations with which they are familiar (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 127). When entering a field initially however, the habitus does not operate comfortably. The "resulting disjunctions can generate not only change and transformation, but also disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty" (Reay *et*

al., 2009: 1105). As individuals are socialized and acquire the necessary competence (through possession of the forms of capital), the rules of the game are therefore transposed into the agent's habitus. For individuals engaged in the field of cultural production, an understanding of the rules of the game is a product of their habitus (Bourdieu, 1993).

Individuals can acquire various forms of habitus: an artistic habitus, a class habitus and so on; and these make individuals more predisposed to gaining an appreciation of certain cultural products or a social understanding of their class (Bourdieu, 1984). Indeed, the over-riding theme of *Distinction* is that there are commonalities between cultural consumption and social groupings (classes). These commonalities are the result of enduring habitus' that precede the actors that acquire them (Bourdieu, 1984; 1977: 86). These groupings are not subjectively shared classes, but groupings that could "nominally" be considered a social class. The method of transmission between society (specific fields or more generally social space) and the agent (habitus) is achieved in Bourdieu's formulation through the forms of capital. Therefore, when Bourdieu described habitus above as "structuring structures" and "structured structures", the habitus both informs the way to play the "game" and internalises the "game" itself through the possession of capitals (Crossley, 2001). The importance to the current research is this link between capital and subjectivity. As Bourdieu's (1986) discussion of capital explains, capital can be possessed in the "embodied" form, where exposure to the forms of capital lead to the acquisition of dispositions. Indeed, the link between habitus and cultural capital is perhaps one of the key links throughout Bourdieu's oeuvre (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; 1993). As concerns the current research, artistic appreciation and artistic abilities are dispositions that are acquired through exposure to cultural capital, through either education or exposure to cultural products (Lash, 1993). Importantly, artistic appreciation and competence is essentially a class good, with appreciation of "high" culture acquired through these early exposures in education and through parents (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). The early years of socialisation are essential to habitus formation and produce an enduring set of dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990; Sayer, 2005). Though recent research has shown that while early exposure is important in developing musical appreciation, it is not necessarily 'high' culture or school education that plays a definitive role in developing a "musical habitus" (Coulson,

2010; Rimmer, 2010; Wright, 2008). Though dispositions are enduring, they should not be thought of as deterministic (Lawler, 2004; Sayer, 2005).

Reflective of Bourdieu's popularity in education research, the use of the concept of habitus is widely examined. Of relevance to this research is empirical research in music education research. Though more engaged with how musicians collate "musical capital", Coulson's (2010) contribution examines the development of a musical habitus in the early socialisation of professional musicians. Through her biographical interviews, the majority of musicians in Coulson's study talked of early life exposure to music. This early exposure seemed to play a key role in the creation of a musical habitus, with the making of music at an early stage playing an even stronger role. Yet as observed by Coulson (2010), recognition of "talent" in schooling is a form of misrecognition, where teachers trained in classical western traditions (or high culture in Bourdieu's usage) attribute talent based on ability to perform within these traditions. Wright (2008) attributes the development of a musical habitus as a continual process that goes beyond early socialisation. With music education often in classical techniques, how musicians acquire dispositions in alternate disciplines (such as popular music, R&B, rock music) is often determined in later life. Indeed, the music teacher in Wright's (2008) research needed to "kick" her habitus predisposed to function in classical music disciplines in order to accommodate her pupils' music interests.

Bourdieu's inconsistent conceptualisation of the habitus has often led to severe criticisms of the habitus. While a number of the problems stem from Bourdieu's avoidance of "professional definitions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 95; Lau, 2004), other criticisms are not so easily dismissed. The following section will therefore consider these criticisms in detail.

3.4.2 Challenges to Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus

The most pernicious challenges to Bourdieu's concept of habitus are based on a belief that habitus is deterministic or understates the role of conscious deliberation (Archer, 2003; Elder-Vass, 2010; King, 2000; Jenkins, 2002; Sayer, 2005), ontologically problematic (Elder-Vass, 2007; 2010; King, 2004), or is simply an outdated concept (Archer, 2010). The key focus on this section will be to acknowledge the deficiencies within Bourdieu's formulation, but also to defend the explanatory capacity of the concept within the study of the work of musicians.

The primary challenge towards habitus is that of the advocates of reflexivity who view habitus as understating the role of conscious thought and see it as inescapably deterministic. Several authors (eg, Jenkins, 2002; Archer, 1995) argue that his use of the habitus is deterministic in that it makes individual actions solely determined by the habitus they possess. These charges of determinism can be traced to Bourdieu (1977) where he describes individuals as reproducers of objective meaning effectively whether they know it or not. Particularly uncomfortable for these critics is Bourdieu's notion of reflexivity that is emphasised from a scholastic viewpoint. Bourdieu sees reflexivity as a requirement of certain fields and is thus developed from the habitus itself – a reflection of the conditions of the field (Adkins, 2003). This version of reflexivity is a key weakness within Bourdieu's conception of habitus and leaves him open to similar charges of "intellectual aggrandisement" levelled at Beck and Giddens (Skeggs, 2004a):

"Bourdieu is right to emphasise the dangers of projecting features of the special conditions of academic life onto others, particularly the contemplative relation to the world, but there are also dangers of doing the opposite – denying or marginalising the life of the mind in others." (Sayer, 2005: 29)

This notion of a habitus acquiring a disposition for reflexivity within given fields is both unhelpful and leads to the very circular logic - where "society shapes the individual but at the same time, depends entirely upon the actions and dispositions of individuals for existence" (Crossley, 2001: 84) – that Bourdieu's conception of habitus was specifically made to avoid. If habitus is the acquired dispositions of social fields, and if reflexivity is a disposition acquired in particular fields, it is hard to find a place for conscious action within Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (Jenkins, 2002). Indeed, this leads to a position where "the habitus will always submit to the field" (Adkins, 2003: 36).

Archer's (2010; 2012) argument goes further is vociferously opposed to habitus and any attempts toward hybridizing her conception of reflexivity with notions of habit – particularly, Bourdieu's habitus. Archer's concept of reflexivity is based on the distinction between personal and social identity. For Archer (2000), individuals possess a continuous personal identity with the ability to reflect on themselves, and their interests and desires, means that reflexivity is a key constituent of being human. While Bourdieu is acknowledged to be weak on conceptualising individuals' ability to be reflexive, Archer's criticisms of habitus go further, arguing that habit is

an outdated concept. Drawing on her modes of reflexivity, Archer (2010) argues that habitual action is a characteristic of “traditional” forms of society (morphostatic cultures) and that habitual action is increasingly irrelevant in modern societies (morphogenic cultures). Society is transforming and the reflexivity of agents is changing concurrently with modes of reflexivity being more common that require little need for habitual action (Atkinson, 2011). It is not just the case that Archer disputes the ontological commitments of Bourdieu’s habitus; it is more that society has increasingly outgrown the need for a habitus (Archer, 2010).

Despite Archer’s reservations, a number of critical realist researchers argue that habitus is both relevant to understanding social action and has been acknowledged to not be a deterministic device (Fleetwood, 2008; Lawler, 2005; Sayer, 2005). Bourdieu’s intent is clearly aimed at avoiding accusations of determinism. As Lawler (2005: 112) explains:

Although reproduction across generations does occur within this formulation, the dynamic character of the social world means that it will not occur perfectly: for example, more or less identical habitus can generate widely different outcomes. ‘

Despite Bourdieu’s intentions however, the charges of determinism cannot be completely refuted (Adams, 2006). Indeed, advocates of “hybridisation” approaches to reflexivity and habitus attempt to theorise a middle course where these concepts can be worked in tandem (review in Adams, 2006). More pertinent are the critical realist defenders of habitual action. Sayer (2005) asserts that the powers of the habitus are both constrained and enabled by the context, or indeed by the conscious over-riding of the individual. Broadly, this research concurs with the view that habitus is “theoretically” compatible within a critical realist ontology (Elder-Vass’s 2007; 2010; Fleetwood, 2008; Marks and O’Mahoney, 2014; Sayer’s 2005; 2009; 2011). Rather than viewing the habitus as ontologically in line with the commitments of critical realism, the habitus can be reconceived within a realist ontology and the theoretical insights adopted (Elder Vass, 2010).

3.4.3 Bourdieu’s Concept of Interest

The concept “interest” has a strained history within the development of Bourdieu’s work. Bourdieu’s theoretical project has always implicitly drawn on an understanding of interest, but within his later work, the term became an important concept in its own right (Grenfell, 2012). The influence of Durkheim, Marx and

Weber has been widely acknowledged within Bourdieu's sociology (Bourdieu, 1994; Susen and Turner, 2011), but in particular, his work owes an acknowledged great debt to Weber especially with regards the creation of the forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1994; 1998; Bourdieu *et al.*, 2011). As mentioned previously, Weber's sociology of religion represents a materialist theory of the symbolic (Bourdieu *et al.*, 2011), where religious practice occurs in *this* world rather than the *next* world (Swartz, 1996). For Bourdieu, economic logic has come to dominate many theories of social behaviour, such that any form of behaviour not concerned with maximising economic capital appears as "disinterested". For Bourdieu, drawing on Weber, the need to consider practices in all realms of society – e.g., the field of cultural production – requires to see symbolic practices as necessarily "interested" practices.

"If disinterestedness is sociologically possible, it can be so only through the encounter between habitus predisposed to disinterestedness and the universes in which disinterestedness is rewarded... microcosms which are constituted on the basis of an inversion of the fundamental law of the economic world and in which the law of economic interest is suspended. *This does not mean that they do not know other forms of interest...*" (Bourdieu, 1998: 88, emphasis added)

Returning to Bourdieu's fieldwork in Algeria a notion of interests has always been inherent within the Theory of Practice. Prior to the encroachment of industrialisation in the Kabyle, the economy of favours often would appear to be "disinterested" in that a person's credit had an implicit need for reciprocation but such explicit talk of returning favours was a taboo (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998). However, the expectation of reciprocation means that no favour or gift is wholly disinterested. This "misrecognition" means that the economy of favours appears "disinterested" but only in terms of the absence of economic motivations (Bourdieu, 1998). Applied within the Theory of Practice, interests are formed by relationships to fields, where there are countless fields in social space so too are there countless interests (Bourdieu, 1998). More relevant to the art-commerce relation therefore is Bourdieu's discussions of interest within the field of cultural production. As has often been the case, Bourdieu's work has continually returned to criticisms of Kant's philosophy. While *Distinction's* subtitle is "A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste", the term interest is specifically used in contrast to Kant's understanding of aesthetics:

"For Kant, experience can only be considered aesthetic when it exists in the realm of the 'disinterested', that is free from any desires, needs and interests in the actual

existence of the objects apprehended, all of which would distort 'pure' appreciation" (Grenfell, 2012: 158)

Yet, Bourdieu's work is systematically set against such a conception of artistic production. For Bourdieu such acts of disinterestedness are not possible - all acts of cultural consumption and production are displays of interest, regardless of whether this is explicitly stated (Bourdieu, 1984; 1993). Rather this doxa - "rules of the game" - becomes ingrained within the social field and therefore obscures the cultural arbitrariness of interests. For musicians entering the field of cultural production, a denial of economic interest works in their *interest* (Bourdieu, 1993). The symbolic profits earned through such denial can later be converted into economic capital over the long term (Bourdieu, 1996). Thus, the discourses of the suffering artist and the inversion of the economic field are denials of economic interest rather than a denial of any interest (Bourdieu, 1998; Grenfell, 2012).

Bourdieu's usage of the term "interest" is to highlight both the material and symbolic interests that social agents have using economic language to highlight this difference. Bourdieu's usage of the term "interest" however also brings notions of the rational, calculating subject. Indeed, the use of economic metaphors has been often used to criticise his work as economistic (see Jenkins, 2002; Sayer, 2005). An example of this criticism can be found in Banks' (2012) research into the work of jazz musicians. Banks (2012) draws on the work of philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1985) to contrast with Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. Banks (2012) concern is to examine ethical and normative concerns in jazz practices. When applying Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, Banks' (2012) key criticism of Bourdieu's work is that it often portrayed social actors as always "interested". Banks (2012) presents an interesting overlap with MacIntyre's similar criticisms of Goffman's social theory. Banks (2012) argues that within Bourdieu's formulation a jazz musician that denies an interest in money, must have an interest in something else - whether this is symbolic profits or another form of capital. For Banks, an understanding of the normative motivations for work is essential.

3.4.4 Summary

Through the discussions of this section, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of subjectivity has been assessed. Habitus has been shown in previous research to offer a conceptual understanding for the development of artistic appreciation,

understanding and technical abilities. Yet, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice has been criticised for its inability to conceptualise "disinterested" acts within his Theory of Practice. As Banks (2012), Jenkins (2002) and Sayer (2005) have all asserted, the agent within Bourdieu's social theory is ultimately a calculating individual aiming at maximising their "symbolic profits" from social interaction. The aim of the following section therefore will be to resolve the various approaches to theorising subjectivity within Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and labour process theory.

3.5 Toward a Framework of Identity, Interests and Habitus

The previous sections of this chapter have attempted to examine identity theorising within the labour process perspective and Bourdieu's treatment of the social agent. The purpose of Chapter Two was to develop labour process theory's core propositions within Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. The purpose of this section will be demonstrate how the insights of the contextualist approach can be reconciled within Bourdieu's treatment of subjectivity. Specifically this section will propose a three-level framework for examining how musicians experience and negotiate the art-commerce relation.

Adapted from Marks and O'Mahoney's (2014) framework for a critical realist analysis of identity, the current research adopts a three-level analysis of the identity of musicians. Figure 7 below presents the conceptual framework developed from the insights of the current chapter.

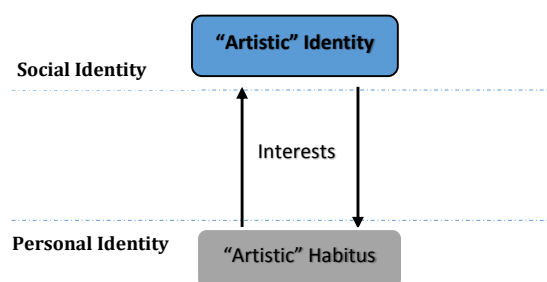


Figure 7: Conceptual Framework for Identity, Interests and Habitus

The three level framework presents the level of the self – or personal identity – as represented partly by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Bourdieu's habitus represents

a socialised form of self and represents the figurative (Elder-Vass, 2010) “internalisation” of society through the acquisition of dispositions based on exposure and possession of the forms of capital. As discussed in the previous chapter, the possession of embodied forms of cultural capital acts as the form of labour power within the field of cultural production (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; 1993). The relevance to the current research of habitus is that it represents the artistic capacities and creative dispositions of musicians. The importance of early socialisation in embodying cultural capital has been a recurrent theme of Bourdieu’s work (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984). Musicians’ exposure to musical forms and education at an early age has been shown in previous research to develop a musicians’ musical habitus (e.g., Coulson, 2010). As Reay *et al.* (2009: 1104) assert, individual histories “are vital to understanding the concept of habitus”. The concept of habitus therefore provides an important link between the forms of capital and habitus within Bourdieu’s relational framework (e.g., Mutch *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, it provides an important link between the forms of capital and individuals sense of self. This framework therefore argues the importance of the habitus in developing artistic capacities and the dispositions required to operate within the field of cultural production.

Whereas the historical exposure to the forms of capital generates the artistic capacities and dispositions of individuals within Bourdieu’s framework, the effect of possession of the forms of capital on social identity is not really explored in Bourdieu’s work. As mentioned previously, Bourdieu’s (1984) work emphasises “normative” identities. Within *Distinction*, social groupings identified by shared positions in society that would indicate a shared class identity were a key finding of Bourdieu’s work. Yet whether there was a subjective sharing of these class identities was separate. This framework explores the management of social identity based on the possession of the forms of capital. How the possession of capital affects social identity is important to the current research. Within the field of cultural production, the barriers between artistic integrity and “selling out” maintained by the possession of symbolic capital structuring the field between independent small-scale producers and large-scale production (Bourdieu, 1996). Previous research in other areas has shown how symbolic capital protects social identities (e.g., Grove *et al.*, 1997) or how musicians perform identity work in order to cover deficiencies in cultural capital (e.g., Scarborough, 2012). Building on the work of the “contextualist”

approach and in particular, drawing on Goffman's interactionist sociology, the framework acknowledges individuals' attempts to manage the perception of their social identity. Musicians, in Bourdieu's conceptualisation, would display the required disinterest in the field in order to earn symbolic capital. Yet, his formulation of the field does not include a suitable explication of how the distinctions between the subfields and the denial of interest are experienced by cultural producers. Drawing on Goffman's interactionist framework offers a bridge – particularly through Goffman's (1968) discussions of stigmatised identities.

Finally, the centrality of agency has been acknowledged as key within critical realist analyses of identity (Archer, 1995; Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). As discussed in the previous section, Bourdieu's usage of the term interest and lack of discussion for non-instrumental motivations for social interaction have been criticised (Banks, 2012; Jenkins, 2002; Sayer, 2005). Jenkins (2014) importantly observes that the link between identity and behaviour is more complicated than is often implied in the identity literature. Similarly, many labour process theorists reviewing the "contextualist" approach observe that the explanatory power of identity is "overhyped" (MacInnes, 2004; Marks and Thompson, 2010). Indeed, criticism of the main inspiration behind the contextualist approach - SIT, associated with the work of Tajfel (1971) – has argued that it overplays the role of group identification as a motivator of behaviour (Jenkins, 2014; Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). In order to address the various weaknesses, the current research considers the active agency of individuals by drawing on the inceptive attempts at understanding the role of interests within the contextualist approach (e.g., Delbridge and Jenkins, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010). The approach to interests taken within this contextualist approach draws on Archer's (2000) notion of the distinction between personal identity and social identity. This position emphasises the ability of individuals to reflect on their social identities and attempt to act on their interests (Marks and Thompson, 2010).

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

Over the past three chapters, this thesis has explored and developed the theoretical resources required to examine the work of musicians within the recorded music industry. The aim of this chapter has been to develop a conceptual framework for examining the third and fourth research questions. The "missing subject" debate has

provided substantial challenges to LPT over the past three decades since Braverman's (1974) purposeful neglect of a consideration of worker agency. This chapter has demonstrated that LPT's attempts to address the "missing subject" have provided studies that are relevant to the current research. Like the previous chapter, melding the insights of LPT into a Bourdieusian framework can add to the explanatory power of LPT within cultural production. An important theme of this chapter has been the epistemological splits that have occurred within LPT over the missing subject debate. Much of the theorising into social identity within the "contextualist" approach relies on the philosophy of critical realism (e.g., Archer, 1995; 2000; Bhaskar, 1979). The concern of the following chapter will be to explore these philosophical issues further and discuss the epistemological and ontological positions taken within the current research. Furthermore, the methodological issues related to operationalising the empirical work of the current research will be discussed.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be to develop a methodological framework for the current research suitable for meeting the aims of this thesis. Within Chapter One the overall aim and the research questions were proposed. The overall aim of the current research is to develop an understanding of the nature of the art-commerce conflict in the recorded music industry. Chapter One derived a number of research questions from this overall aim, and the theoretical basis for these questions was explored within Chapters Two and Three:

- What forms of value are produced within the labour process in the recorded music industry?
- What is the nature of managerial control in the recorded music industry?
- What role does social identity have in mediating the art-commerce conflict?
- Do musicians have an interest in denying commercial or critical acclaim?

The previous three chapters discussed the theoretical approaches available to study the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry. Having developed theoretical frameworks to understand the “dynamics of control, consent and resistance” (Thompson and Smith, 2009: 915) at the point of recorded music production, this chapter will develop the methodological framework for the empirical study.

Research design is often presented as a hierarchy of considerations (Creswell, 2007; Crotty, 1998). This chapter will present the methodological framework for the current research in terms of these considerations. Beginning with a consideration of research philosophy, this chapter will outline the key epistemological, ontological and methodological issues surrounding the current research. The importance of a discussion of the research philosophy of the current research has been made clear by discussions in Chapters Two and Three of the “missing subject” and the splits in the labour process community. Ontological and epistemological questions have dominated discussions of research philosophy within the social sciences since the founding of sociology. The social sciences have historically been dominated by positivism, through the application of natural science epistemology to the research of society. Arguing that a critical realist ontology is most appropriate for the current research, the chapter will demonstrate how the consideration of both structure and

agency afforded by critical realism allows the current research consideration of the production of value, managerial control, identity and habitus.

Following a discussion of the issues around research philosophy, the chapter will then discuss the research strategy selected and the resulting methodological considerations (Bryman, 2008; Crotty, 1998). A review of previous studies provides a basis on which to develop the methods for the current research. After this review of previous research, the methods chosen and the operations conducted within the current research are discussed. Finally, the process of data analysis will be discussed. Focusing on the development of a template analysis and the role of computer assisted qualitative research software within the current research will be presented.

4.2 Research Philosophy

Many writers concerned with research methodology emphasise the primacy of ontology and epistemological questions in research design. Questions regarding the nature of social reality directly influence the choice of methods (Creswell, 2007; Crotty, 1998; Hughes, 1990). Broadly speaking, two ontological positions are the primary consideration of social research: objectivism and constructionism (Bryman, 2008). Discussions of epistemology within the social sciences are generally dominated by three key positions: positivism, interpretivism and realism (Benton and Craib, 2001). The aim of this section will be to examine the ontological and epistemological positions taken within the current research. The importance of research philosophy to the current research is apparent from the discussions of Chapter Two and Three, with the splits that characterise “the missing subject” debate largely based on philosophical differences.

The origins of sociology can be found in the work of Auguste Comte in the nineteenth century. A philosopher concerned with establishing a social science, Comte is often credited with creating the terms “sociology” and “positivism”. For Comte, the social sciences were immature studies of society where knowledge was not yet acquired through observations and experiments much like the natural sciences (Benton and Craib, 2001). Comte also saw the lack of an empiricist account of social sciences reflective of a negative bias toward current social orders and instead wanted to found a “positive” account to establish social harmony (Benton and Craib, 2001). Ontologically, Comte was objectivist – asserting that most of society’s actors are in

fact dead (Archer, 2003). Comte's assertion implies an objectivist ontology, where the dead continue to have an enduring effect on society. Positivism continued to dominate sociology, particularly with its association with the work of Durkheim and his notion of establishing "social facts" (Cheal, 2005). Broadly, positivism is associated with four key features. Firstly, the empiricism of the natural sciences is taken and secondly, science is the highest form or only genuine form of knowledge. Thirdly, the scientific method of empiricists can be extended to social life. Finally, positivism accepts that knowledge attained can be used to control behaviours of individuals and groups within society (Benton and Craib, 2001). Importantly too, a key assumption of current positivism is that research should be value neutral and that the researcher should be objective from the object of study (Bryman, 2008).

The contrasting position with positivism is usually taken to mean interpretivism. Interpretivism holds that because the social sciences are concerned with people, the study of society is fundamentally different from the natural sciences (Bryman, 2008). Max Weber is seen as the originator of the interpretivist approach, with his approach seeking to arrive understanding of social actions before deriving casual explanations (e.g., Weber, 1947). For Weber, science represented one of his distinct value-orientations and separate to the eventual instrumental purposes the scientific findings may be used for (Benton and Craib, 2001). Interpretivism is focused on gaining an understanding of subjective meanings of phenomena before seeking casual explanations.

4.2.1 *Critical Realism*

The discussions of this sections however will concern the third epistemology that Benton and Craib (2001) see as dominant within the social sciences: realism. Specifically, this section will discuss *critical* realism, based on the work of philosopher Roy Bhaskar, and expounded by his successors (e.g., Archer, 1995; 2003; Collier, 1994; Elder-Vass, 2007; 2010; Fleetwood, 2005; Sayer, 2000; 2005). Emerging through a re-evaluation of philosophy of natural science, critical realism refers to a neologism derived from Bhaskar's (1975) philosophy of the natural sciences, transcendental realism, and his social science philosophy (Bhaskar, 1979), critical naturalism. Bhaskar's work is a reaction against the domination of the "empirical realism" associated with positivism in natural science, as well as positivism and interpretivism's domination of the social sciences (Sayer, 2000). An

essential distinction between critical realism and other philosophical positions is that critical realism considers there to be a reality that exists independent of our understanding of it. This is also counter to constructionist views (e.g., Berger and Luckman, 1967) which take the view that society is the result of agency (Benton and Craib, 2001). Importantly for considerations of methodology, critical realism acknowledges positivism's failure to accept that our access to society is mediated through sense data (Bhaskar, 1979; Collier, 1994). Critical realism also believes that our interaction with the social world is not unmediated: "whenever we reflect upon an entity, our sense data is always mediated by a pre-existing stock of conceptual resources" (Fleetwood, 2004: 30). What makes an entity real to critical realists is "if it has an effect or makes a difference" (Fleetwood, 2004: 29). Critical realism acknowledges the socially constructed nature of the relationships between people and structures (e.g., Berger and Luckman, 1967), but asserts that social structures persist and people are constrained or enabled by objectively real objects (Ackroyd, 2004; Benton and Craib, 2001). Bhaskar (1975) asserted that reality was in fact stratified into different levels. This structured ontology was broken up into three parts: the real, the actual and the empirical. The real refers to all that exists, whether physical or social, regardless of our knowledge and understanding of it. Additionally, real entities have structures and causal powers that make a difference. Actual contrasts with real entities in that they refer to the exercise of the powers of real entities. Sayer (2000) illustrates this difference with reference to Marx's distinction between labour power and labour performed. Labour power refers to a real entity - the capacity to carry out labour - whereas, labour performed refers to the exercise of the powers of labour power and their effects that may well be different from the capacity of the real entity.

Despite the strengths of critical realism of acknowledging the analytical dualism of structure and agency, critical realism has shown far more strength in addressing structure than agency (Archer, 2003). The work of Margaret Archer (1995; 2000) addresses this lack of conceptualisation of agency. Archer's work has offered several advances in critical realism's treatment of the agent through concepts such as morphogenesis and morphostasis. Essential for an appreciation for Archer's work is the temporal separation of structure and agency. Rather than social scientists like Bourdieu, who argue that structure and agency should be treated equally and simultaneously, Archer (1995) argues that it is essential to consider both structure and agency as analytically distinct. Her argument follows on from Comte's assertion

that most actors in society are in fact dead, but their influence on the living remains – a point that Bhaskar (1989) notes when arguing that individuals do not create society but reproduce or modify it through the interactions. Society is dependent on human activity (Fleetwood, 2004) but the structures of society pre-exist the actors (Bhaskar, 1989). Archer’s morphogenic (and morphostatic) model is a means of addressing how actors interact with social structures, and how they modify or reproduce these structures.

4.2.2 *Critical Realism and the Work of Musicians*

As discussed in Chapter Three, the “missing subject” resulted in the adoption of more post-structuralist positions within labour process theorising. Post-structuralist positions tended to take a view that all that can be known about society is constituted through language or discourse (Benton and Craib, 2001). Labour-process theorists have attempted to build bridges toward addressing the dual criticisms of not being “macro” – in the views of Marxists – or not being “micro” enough – in the views of post-structuralists. Thompson and Smith’s (2010) collection of labour-process studies offered a number of contributions aimed at expanding labour process analysis. Thompson and Vincent’s (2010) contribution assessed the power of a critical realist ontology in order to expand the power of labour-process analysis. As they observe:

“the apparent empirical (and corresponding theoretical) diversity indicates that the multilayered causal interrelationships which across capitalism are simply too complex for any one theoretical tool/resource to claim jurisdiction over the entire territory” (Thompson and Vincent, 2010: 55)

As Banks (2007) acknowledges, theoretical approaches influenced by Marxian political economy – of which labour process analysis can be included – often ignore a consideration of the subject. The adoption of a critical realist approach within the current research addresses many of the deficiencies acknowledged within the labour process perspective as well as in studies of cultural work. The research questions adopted within the current research (see Chapter One) implicitly carry a commitment to considering the interaction of social structures with individual agents. The labour process analysis developed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three implicitly follows a critical realist approach, acknowledging the analytic distinction between structure and agency (Archer, 1995). The conceptual framework developed for a contextualist identity approach in Chapter Three is an inherently

critical realist framework for identity (Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). While broadly compatible, Bourdieu's approach however has caused some tensions within critical realist theorising, which must now be considered prior to the consideration of suitable methods.

Several authors have proposed that Bourdieu's ontological position would reflect a realist viewpoint (Fowler, 1997; Lau, 2004; Mutch *et al.*, 2006) yet how reconcilable Bourdieu's theoretical framework is with a critical realist ontology will be the focus of this section. Within Chapter Three, the criticisms of Bourdieu's concept of habitus were strongly linked to the underlying ontological assumptions Bourdieu's work makes (e.g., Archer, 2010). This section will therefore consider Bourdieu's work through a critical realist lens in detail. Bourdieu's intention was always to remove the distinction between structure and agency by treating both simultaneously (Bourdieu, 1994). While he never subscribed to taking a position, outside of terming his approach as "structuralist constructivism" or "constructivist structuralism" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 1993), Bourdieu's work is reconcilable within a critical realist framework. Indeed, Bourdieu's increasing acceptance with critical realist academics is increasingly becoming apparent as a number of them advocate or apply his concepts empirically (Elder-Vass, 2007; 2010; Fleetwood, 2008; Lau, 2004; O'Mahoney, 2007; Sayer, 2005, Wainwright, 2000). The issue with the use of Bourdieu's theories therefore is how structure and agency interact within a critical realist framework

For Archer (2003), social theorists make a number of ontological assumptions about the nature of the relationship between structure and agency. with many either overstating one over the other, or treating both simultaneously. Archer (2003) suggests there are three types of conflation, namely upwards, downwards and central conflation. Upwards conflation would argue that ontologically, structure is the outcome of agency. Downwards conflation is the opposite, arguing that individual actions are largely the result of structure upon agency, meaning individuals are determined by society. Central conflation is the argument that there is no distinction between the two, that structure and agency must in fact be treated as one. The key criticism of Archer's (2003) about the work of Bourdieu is that his work is centrally conflationist. Having argued that his work intended to "dissolve" the distinction between structure and agency so that both have to be considered equally, Bourdieu asserts that:

“These two moments, the subjectivist and the objectivist, stand in dialectical relationship. It is this dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity that the concept of the habitus is designed to capture and encapsulate” (Bourdieu, 1988: 782).

Bourdieu’s terminology when addressing the “false” divide between structure and agency is to talk of the “dialectic” of agent and structure. It is the “dialectic” that leads to accusations of central conflation, where ultimately structure and agency are an outcome of each other rather than analytically distinct. Much of the dispute over Bourdieu’s philosophical position therefore lies within his concept of habitus. While detailed consideration of the subject is beyond the scope of the current research, consideration of habitus is an essential part of using Bourdieu’s theoretical framework. As discussed in Chapter Three, several authors (e.g., Jenkins, 2002; Archer, 2007) argue that Bourdieu’s use of the habitus is a deterministic device. While many writers would like to stress how Bourdieu has advocated his treatment of both structure and agency equally and simultaneously through the use of the habitus concept, others recognise that this has never been the case (King, 2004). Habitus is not located in between agency and structure but is internal to the agent - “habitus is always and everywhere internal to human agents” (Fleetwood, 2008: 249, emphasis in original). Sayer (2005) advocates a “middle course” has to be taken between rejecting habitus as an overly deterministic device as well as acknowledging the role of the reflexivity in mediating interactions. For Sayer (2005: 24-25) “the powers and susceptibilities of the habitus may or may not be activated” and that “when they are activated, they produce results which are always mediated in some way (facilitated, blocked, overridden or refracted and modified)”. Similarly, habitus is not located in between agency and structure but is internal to the agent - “habitus is always and everywhere *internal* to human agents” (Fleetwood, 2008: 249, emphasis in original). Broadly, this research concurs with the view that habitus is “theoretically” compatible within a critical realist ontology (Elder-Vass’s 2007; 2010; Fleetwood, 2008; Marks and O’Mahoney, 2014; Sayer’s 2005; 2009; 2011).

4.2.3 Summary

This section has examined the key epistemological and ontological issues surrounding research philosophy and has argued that adopting a critical realist ontology (e.g., Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 1975, 1979) allows for a greater understanding of social phenomena. Critical realist is progressively becoming a forceful presence within the social sciences (e.g., Archer, 1995; 2003; Elder-Vass,

2007, 2010; Sayer, 2000; 2005) and organisational and management research (e.g., Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2004; Edwards et al., 2014; Fleetwood, 2005). Indeed, a critical realist approach is representative of the overlapping disciplines that influence the current research. Many researchers engaged in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ryan, 1992), labour process theory (Jaros, 2010; Smith and Elger, 2014; Thompson and Vincent, 2010), identity researchers (Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014) and Bourdieu-inspired researchers (Elder-Vass, 2010; Sayer, 2005) adopt a critical realist approach. Having outlined the implicit use of critical realism in guiding the theoretical approach of the previous chapters, the following sections will now consider questions of methodology and methods appropriate for a critical realist position.

4.3 Developing the Research Design

As Creswell (2007) asserts, questions of methodology should follow considerations of epistemology and ontology. Following the discussions of research philosophy in the previous section, the aim of this section is to present the rationale for adopting a qualitative research strategy. This section will start by examining previous studies within labour process analysis and cultural production. Through this review of previous studies, it will be clear that a qualitative research strategy is the most appropriate method for researching work within the recorded music industry. The actual research methods used within the current research will be discussed and the reasoning behind their use explained. This section will then present the criteria for selecting participants in the current research. As the boundaries between work or leisure, professional or amateur musician are extremely porous within the music industry, establishing suitable participants in the current research is essential. The ethical considerations will be explained following the sampling strategy. This section will conclude with a summary of the data collection and a description of the musicians and intermediaries selected.

4.3.1 Qualitative Research, the Labour Process and Cultural Production

The previous section outlined the key philosophical issues underpinning the current research. The importance of research philosophy in the current research is that it enables the consideration of how empirical data can be obtained and what we can know about the nature of social reality. The aim of this section is therefore to understand the methods used to research the labour process and work in the

cultural industries. Labour process theory has been a source of critical sociological study with many pioneering ethnographic studies. Cultural production research has only recently gathered pace with a previous dearth of research being replaced by a growing body of qualitative studies into labour in cultural industries (eg, Banks, 2007; Coulson, 2010, 2012; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Lee, 2011; Umney and Krestos, 2014). A qualitative approach is taken within this research. Although critical realism is not opposed to the use of quantitative methods, a qualitative approach however was judged the most appropriate method based on its ability to gain understanding of subjective meanings from participants.

The selection of methods appropriate to researching the labour process of musicians is one of great difficulty. Empirical work conducted within the labour process theory consistently uses qualitative and ethnographic research. Indeed, ethnographic approaches are advocated as an ideal method in both labour process and critical realist inspired research (Ackroyd and Karlsson, 2014). As Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) note, key implicitly realist studies in the labour process perspective – such as Burawoy (1979; 1985), Edwards and Scullion (1982) and Taylor and Bain (1999; 2005) – all utilise case study or vast ethnographic means of data collection. Yet, reflective of the nature of research within the social sciences, ideal approaches to research are rarely achieved:

It is often not possible to have that kind of access, time or resources. Sometimes, interviewing managers, a tour around the factory and a chat with the union convenor is all that is possible. But neither the blinkers of specific theories nor the limitations of particular methodologies should be used to close down the potential for digging deeper or seeing differently. (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999: 162).

The limited amount of studies examining work in the cultural industries is reflective of the difficulties in obtaining and maintaining access to perform extensive (or longitudinal) ethnographic research. Issues of trust between social scientists and media production have been cited as causes of inability to gain access (Lee, 2007) and maybe a cause of the widely noted dearth of research into cultural workers. An additional consideration with regards ethnographic research is the skills of the researcher. Indeed, participatory ethnographic approaches are often ruled out simply due to the researcher lacking the requisite skills to participate within the cultural industries (Deacon et al., 1999).

Furthermore, the difficulty with a qualitative approach to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is the essentially quantitative approach taken throughout Bourdieu's own work, particularly when it comes to the forms of capital. *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984), while offering a view of consumption rather than production, features extensive use of quantitative analysis to produce a view of the relative values of the forms of capital throughout social space in France. Yet, the rise of Bourdieusian analysis over the past decade has seen a dramatic increase in qualitative studies. Table 1 includes various prominent qualitative studies of cultural production that examine Bourdieu's forms of capital (e.g., Coulson, 2010; 2012; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011; Scarborough, 2012; Scott, 2012).

With the current research engaged within one of the cultural industries it is important to consider studies of cultural labour due to the differences previously established between capitalist production and cultural production under capitalism (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ryan, 1992). From the selection of recent studies considered in Table 1, several key themes emerge. Filling the gap identified by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011), have been an increasing amount of qualitative studies focused on labour in cultural production. Despite the variety of approaches and philosophical assumptions, a consistent set of methods emerge. Interviews are the dominant method and appear in all the recent examples in Table 1. The number of interviews varies between two and ninety-nine with these projects. Some of these studies vary in philosophical positions, with more constructivist approaches (e.g., Taylor and Littleton, 2008) allowing for two interviews within their discursive analysis. Other studies are part of larger projects that have greater access, time and budgets (e.g., Randle *et al.*, 2015).

Author	Industry	Purpose	Methods
Beer (2014)	<i>Music</i>	Artistry vs. engineering in work of record producers	- 200 participants - Semi-structured interviews - Focus groups
Coulson (2010; 2012)	<i>Music</i>	Understanding the development of "musical capital" in musicians	- 17 biographic/narrative interviews - Follow-up questioning
Eikhof & Haunschild (2007)	<i>Theatre</i>	Artistic vs. commercial logics in German theatre work	- 45 semi-structured interviews
Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012)	<i>Film</i>	Cultural capital and social capital in film labour market	- 86 Semi-biographical interviews; - 3 months participant observation - Study of three industries
Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2008; 2010; 2011)	<i>TV, music, magazine</i>	Normative dimensions of cultural work	- 63 interviews - Ethnographic fieldwork
Lee (2011)	<i>TV</i>	Networking practices and discrimination in television production	- 20 semi-structured interviews - 28 Semi-structured interviews
Randle et al (2015)	<i>Film</i>	Barriers to entry in film industry – need for forms of capital	- 71 biographical interviews - Follow up interviews & email exchanges - 90 hours participant observation
Scarborough (2012)	<i>Music</i>	Impression management in the live performance of jazz musicians	- 30 followup semi-structured interviews
Scott (2012)	<i>Music</i>	Developing exchange value from Bourdieu's non-economic capital in DIY music work	- 25 semi-structured interviews
Taylor and Littleton (2008)	<i>Music</i>	Conflicts in artistic identity formation	- Narrative discursive analysis of two interviews with one participant - 30 interviews
Umney and Krestos (2014)	<i>Music</i>	Control/Autonomy in the work of jazz musicians	- 14 followup interviews - 7 non-participant observations

Table 1: Summary of Cultural Production Qualitative Studies

Reflective of Ackroyd and Thompson's (1999) assertion, the three problems can be identified with these approaches: time, money and access. Clearly, time and money are limited based on the nature of the current research. Some projects such as Randle et al (2015) are based on data collected over six years. Regardless, Table 1 reflects the dominance of the interview – in its various forms – as the main means of obtaining data in cultural labour studies. The problem for the current research is determining a number – with some studies amassing huge amounts of data. Studies such as Coulson's (2010, 2012), Scott's (2012) and Umney and Krestos' (2014) work

appear to be more realistic, with data collection taking one year and based on a sample between 15-40 interviews. Access and the ability to generate responses from potential participants are therefore the key limits on the current research in obtaining data. The following section therefore will discuss the research strategy, how the empirical research was conducted and summarise the research participants.

4.3.2 *Selection of Methods*

Semi-structured interviews were selected as the primary method of gathering the qualitative data within the current research. The individual interview is arguably the most commonly applied method for qualitative research (Bryman, 2008; Smith and Elger, 2014). Interviews are described by Chisnall (2005) as a conversation with a definite purpose. Interviews range from fully structured interviews to unstructured interviews. Interviews appear “to offer the researcher direct access to the *point of view* of interviewees, both in terms of the attitudes they hold and their accounts of their experiences” (Smith and Elger, 2014: 110, emphasis in original). The different forms of interview reflect the epistemological assumptions of the research and the aims of the research - with a structured interview more akin to a questionnaire and will produce more readily quantifiable data. While prone to issues of bias and how questions are understood together with body language and tone of voice (Saunders *et al.*, 2007), interviews offer a relatively flexible form of data questions can be adapted to the situations or omitted entirely (Bryman, 2008). Yet, such flexibility needs to be mediated against the aims of the research and the ability to provide reliable data allowing for a consistent data analysis (Yin, 1994). Having developed a theoretical framework, based on the categories discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the interview schedule was developed (see Appendix One for example interview schedules). Semi-structured interviews with an interview schedule are appropriate where there is an established focus for investigation (Bryman, 2008). Within the current research, semi-structured interviews were conducted following a schedule. Interviews however were open to changes of question order to preserve the flow of conversation. Initial sections of the interview dealt with biographical components – participants’ background, the development of their interest in music, and history with musical instruments. Questions surrounding the work/life distinction and questions of identity were then asked. Record label and methods of distributing music were asked, followed by questions

of the “creative” process, intermediation and working in the recording studio. Finally, musicians were asked about issues over control and commercial pressures within their work.

Additionally, data from four group interviews was collected. While often treated synonymously, the terms “group interview” and “focus group” are not necessarily interchangeable (Saunders *et al.*, 2007). Focus groups are often seen as a method for examining a specific topic in detail compared with a more general group interview (Bryman, 2008). The advantages of focus groups over other methods include its ability to gather large amounts of data within a small time period (Morgan, 1997). Focus groups also offer a more naturalistic means of gaining data in comparison to individual interviews due to the existence of group interaction (Bryman, 2008). However, it is far from a truly naturalistic method - for instance, participant observation offers the researcher a much less formal setting and allows the researcher to view things as they are (Morgan, 1997). It is also difficult in comparison to individual interviews how much control the researcher has over the method. Within interviews, the researcher has more control over the interview, whereas focus groups result in the researcher having to give away much of that control to the participants (Morgan, 1997). The data collected in focus groups is substantially less than individually interviewing each of the participants separately, and in addition group dynamics could act in such a way that some individuals dominate the group interview (Saunders *et al.*, 2007) further reducing the effectiveness of the method.

4.3.3 *Selection of Participants*

Purposive sampling was selected for this research. Purposive sampling describes a form of non-probability sampling where a strategic approach is taken to the selection of participants to ensure that those sampled fit with the proposed research questions (Bryman, 2008). Convenience sampling – a sample that is readily available to the researcher – was not appropriate in order to generate sufficient amounts of data. Snowball sampling was however, attempted with each participant being asked for possible further recruits but further contacts were not made through this method.

A key difficulty to the success of this research was finding and selecting research participants. Due to the “mystique” (Smith and McKinlay, 2009) and influence of

celebrity possibly associated with musicians, gaining access to data sources was problematic. Another problem is the nature of what constitutes a “musician” suitable for sampling within this research. As Bain (2005: 32) importantly observes, “what criteria do we use to define an artist? Does our definition depend on educational qualifications or the amount of time spent working as an artist or the informed opinion of art critics”. From an “orthodox” labour process viewpoint, a musician would be a worker with an employment contract. Some studies – for instance MacDonald and Wilson’s (2005) study of the identity of jazz musicians – discount participants if the majority of their income is not from their music work. Within Coulson’s (2012) research, time served as a musician is a question of identity rather than employment status. Importantly, as discussed previously, this focus on the employment relationship is insufficient as much of the work of cultural workers is performed outside of a contract of employment (Böhm and Land, 2012; O’Doherty and Willmott, 2009; Ursell, 2000). The process of being “taken up” in the music industry often requires musicians to adapt their practices to get attention of key intermediaries while possibly working and maintaining their labour power outside of the music industry (Jones, 2012; Smith and McKinlay, 2009). In a Bourdieusian sense, musicians can be seen as individuals who are engaged within the field of musical production. This allows for musicians who are actively attempting to be “taken up” by music companies and whose practices are influenced by conventions of the field itself.

A broad approach was taken to identifying relevant participants. Key criteria in the selection of research participants were their role in the recorded music industry, the size of the music company with which they were associated. With musicians, indications of the forms of capital attained were assessed in order to ensure valid data was being collected. Musicians were assessed on their chart performance (singles and albums) to indicate possession of economic capital as well as signs of “symbolic capital” such as award nominations and wins. Table 2 and Table 3 summarise the chart performance of the participants recruited for the current research.

Singles			Albums		
<i>UK Top 10</i>	<i>UK Top 40</i>	<i>UK Top 100</i>	<i>UK Top 10</i>	<i>UK Top 40</i>	<i>UK Top 100</i>
1	2	14	2	3	10

Table 2: Collective Chart Performance of Sampled Musicians

<i>Gold Records</i>	<i>Silver Records</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Grammy</i>	<i>Other</i>
2	1	3	1	1

Table 3: Collective Awards and Nominations of Sampled Musicians

As mentioned previously, secondary data was collected within industry conferences in the form of group interviews. Creative industries conferences were identified early on as a possible source to recruit participants. Within these conferences based in Scotland, a number of group discussions pertinent to the research were also identified. Two group interviews focusing on A&R management in the music industry were recorded, with a further interview on artistic management and one on the role of the producer in music production. Relevant participants were approached for further semi-structured interviews at another time and place. In addition, a website and social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) was used to recruit further participants to the study. While there is a literature based on social media usage for recruiting participants to medical studies (e.g., Fenner *et al.*, 2012; Ramo and Prochaska, 2012), documented social science research using social media to recruit participants is relatively limited. Most discussions of social media usage are limited to recruiting mass participation surveys – such as Wiseman and Watt’s (2010) discussion of recruiting research participants for Extra Sensory Perception tests. Such approaches are open to ethical problems and issues of trust with the researcher.

Twitter however was the primary means of finding participants with eighteen of the thirty-one interviewees having been recruited this way. The website and Facebook generated two participants, with the rest being recruited in person or through the researcher’s contacts. Twitter recruitment involved selecting relevant participants and tweeting directly through a public tweet (@username) and depended on the tweet being viewed and acted upon. An important contribution with relevance to

the current research is Richards (2008) method of recruiting participants to a study of blogs about employment. As Richards (2008) notes the inability to establish trust makes recruiting participants over the Internet difficult, especially in sensitive topics. A 'work' Twitter profile was created but the need to create genuine credentials and not appear to be a 'spambot' were essential, therefore a personal account was used where many musicians already followed by the researcher were approached. Twitter accounts with large followings were avoided due to the large volume of tweets expected to be directed at these accounts. A combination of direct messaging or emailing then followed after the researcher provided the participant with an email address. The ratio between successful tweets and attempts was very low overall.

The sample is not demographically diverse with a gender split of 70% male to 30% female. Similarly, the ethnic background is predominantly white (information not included for anonymity) and generally from a middle-class background (as determined from the data). The gender split, particularly at the level of intermediaries like record producers, can be seen as reflective of a gender split within the occupations themselves (Watson, 2013). In addition, the lack of diversity in the sample however are not essential components to the aims of the current research but these problems can be seen in the sampling strategy and method of recruitment used. The asymmetry of information with communication over the Internet posed problems for the researcher to convey trust and genuine intent. Furthermore, relying on the ability of the researcher (and the characteristics) mean that the sample may reflect the researcher's biases.

4.3.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations identified within the current research centre on issues of harm and informed consent. Threats to self-esteem were the primary form of harm identified as a potential ethical problem (Richards et al., 2015). To mitigate the risk of harm the current research ensured data protection, confidentiality and anonymity were the key considerations. Following the British Sociological Association's (2002) ethical guidelines a number of considerations were made. Participants were made aware of confidentiality, anonymity and the right to withdraw prior to every interview. Permission was sought prior to the start of an interview for the use of an audio recorder. The presentation of this data follows BSA

recommendations for any identifiable information to be removed – therefore specific mentions of band names, album names, fellow members and record labels were removed from data presented in the thesis. Following the identification of potential forms of harm and means of mitigating them, research ethics approval was sought and obtained prior to the commencement of data collection.

Two unanticipated ethical issues regarding anonymity and informed consent did emerge from the research. The problems relate to the BSA's (2002) own guidelines:

35) Where possible, threats to the confidentiality and anonymity of research data should be anticipated by researchers. The identities and research records of those participating in research should be kept confidential whether or not an explicit pledge of confidentiality has been given.

Firstly, the collection of secondary data without informed consent within the conferences was considered ethical due to the public nature of the gatherings. Previous editions of this conference are freely available online. However, in the interests of protecting the anonymity of participants recruited through these conferences all the participants in the group interviews were anonymised. Secondly, as mentioned previously, the use of Twitter to recruit participants was problematic ethically. Direct messages on Twitter are not possible without the person being tweeted “following” the other account, therefore public tweets are the only means of contacting participants. Issues of anonymity could emerge from the public tweeting but this was considered negligible in the end; many tweets from the researcher were deleted but it was not possible to delete replies to the researcher.

4.3.5 Data Collection Summary

In total, data from forty participants was collected. Twenty-five of those participants were musicians (see Table 3) and their participations were all through a semi-structured interview. The further 15 participants were intermediaries (managers, A&R managers, record label management/founders, see Table 4) with six participating through semi-structured interviews while the rest were participants through the group interviews. Some of the intermediaries who were interview participants were recruited from their group interview participation (acknowledged in the table). Pilot testing was not done due to the limited access to research participants. The average duration of the interviews was 45 minutes. All interviewees were assured of confidentiality before and after the study, all

identifying information would be anonymised and the right to withdraw from the study following the interview was assured. Interviews were conducted face-to-face as well as over telephone and Skype. Interviewees were not recompensed for their participation besides beverages where these interviews were conducted in public premises. Interviews were recorded with permission and later transcribed and entered into computer assisted qualitative data analysis software.

Alias	FT/PT	Gender	Label type	Role	Secondary Role
Aaron*	FT	M	N/A	Producer	Engineer
Amy**	FT	F	Major	A&R	Manager
Christophe*	FT	M	Micro-label	Label management	N/A
Elliot*	FT	M	N/A	Producer	N/A
Evan**	FT	M	N/A	Producer	Engineer
Fred*	FT	M	N/A	Manager	N/A
Gibson*	FT	M	Independent	Label management	Musician
Ian*	PT	M	Micro-label	Label management	Non-industry job
Jennifer*	FT	F	Major	A&R	N/A
Jones*	FT	M	Major	A&R	Label management
Morgan*	FT	M	Micro-label	Label management	Manager
Peter**	FT	M	Micro-label	Label management	Producer
Rhys*	FT	M	Independent	A&R	N/A
Zach*	FT	M	N/A	Producer	Engineer
Zane*	FT	M	Independent	Label management	N/A

Table 4: Summary of Research Participants: Intermediaries

* group interview participant * semi-structured interview

Alias	Education	FT/PT	Gender	Label type
Ben	Degree level	FT	Male	Independent
Brian	High school	FT	Male	Independent
Chris	Art/music degree	FT	Male	Independent
Edward	High school	FT	Male	Independent
Helen	Degree level	FT	Female	Independent
Melanie	Art/music degree	FT	Female	Independent
Miles	Degree level	FT	Male	Independent
Quentin	High school	PT	Male	Independent
Ray	High school	FT	Male	Independent
Victor	Art/music degree	FT	Male	Independent
Zoe	High school	PT	Female	Independent
Bill	Degree level	FT	Male	Major
Jane	High school	FT	Female	Major
Neil	Art/music degree	FT	Male	Major
Julian	Degree level	PT	Male	Micro-label
Patrick	Degree level	PT	Male	Micro-label
Phillip	Degree level	PT	Male	Micro-label
Rory	Degree level	PT	Male	Micro-label
Wendy	Art/music degree	PT	Female	Micro-label
Peggy	Unknown	PT	Female	Micro-label
Aileen	Degree level	PT	Female	Unsigned
Catherine	Unknown	PT	Female	Unsigned
Greg	Degree level	PT	Male	Unsigned
Mitchell	High school	PT	Male	Unsigned
Pedro	Degree level	PT	Male	Unsigned

Table 5: Summary of Research Participants: Musicians

The contribution the musicians and intermediaries can make to the current research must be evaluated in terms of their experiences within the music industry. Figure 8 maps the participants within the types of employment relationships they are able to describe. Major label and large independent labels have a number of similarities, particularly the presence of A&R managers in the employment relationship. Micro labels describe very small labels usually linked to a local music scene, while the independents labels are generally UK wide labels with larger distributions. The intermediaries involved in record production and creative management are generally experienced in a number of employment relationships – with the record producers engaged with unsigned musicians and major-label stars.

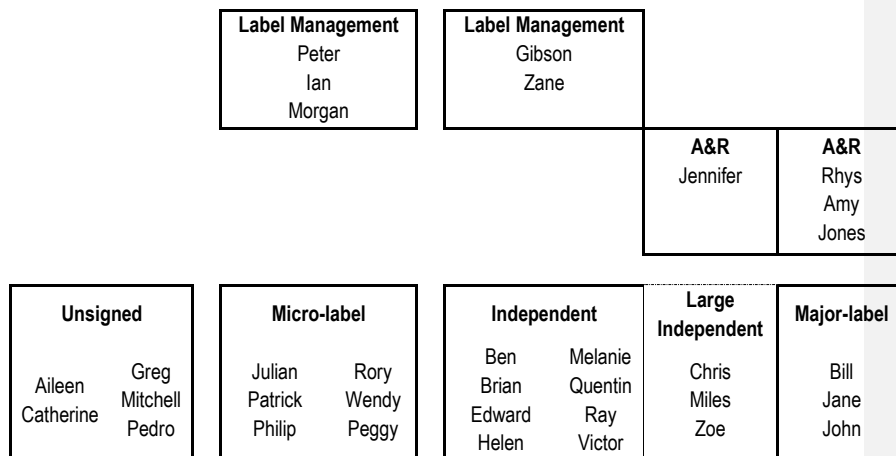


Figure 8: Network of Participants in the Recorded Music Industry

4.4 Analysing the data

While there are countless texts dedicated to discussions of the methods for conducting qualitative research, the literature for qualitative analysis is relatively small.

Qualitative analysis should be as thorough and systematic in its way as any statistical analysis. Simply skimming through transcripts to gain a loose impression of the issues and to “cherry-pick” juicy quotations for the final report does not constitute an adequate qualitative analysis. (Deacon *et al.*, 1999: 351)

For qualitative data analysis, coding is often used as a term synonymously with analysis. Coding refers to “the process whereby data are broken down into component parts” (Bryman, 2008: 692). By breaking down data into component parts, coding makes large amounts of data more manageable as well as providing an aid to analysis. Many discussions of coding treat it in terms of grounded theory (e.g., Strauss and Corbin, 1990). A wide literature exists on grounded theory, but the requirement for theory to be an outcome of data analysis rather than having any a priori themes developed prior is insufficient for the current research. Indeed, the current research used template analysis (King, 1998; 2004) in order to analyse the data. Developed in response to Grounded Theory which can be considered too prescriptive (King, 2004), template analysis allows for a priori and posteriori coding. Data is coded in terms of pre-existing concepts from the literature review and allows new codes to emerge from within the data during the analysis process.

1	Develop a priori themes
2	Transcribe interviews and familiarise
3	Carry out initial coding
4	Produce initial template – group themes into small number of higher order codes
5	Develop the template – apply to all transcripts and adapt template to new information
6	Use template to interpret and write up
7	Consider quality and reflexivity

Table 6: Stages of Template Analysis (Adapted from Huddersfield University, 2014)

The template analysis was operationalised using CAQDAS software, with NVivo being preferred. Once the group interviews and semi-structured interviews were transcribed, the data was formatted and time was taken to input the data into NVivo. Each participant was given a node within a “Source Nodes” section and the interviews were assigned to these nodes. The secondary data from the group interviews was then coded for these participants’ nodes in order to present their contribution in NVivo. A classification sheet was then developed.

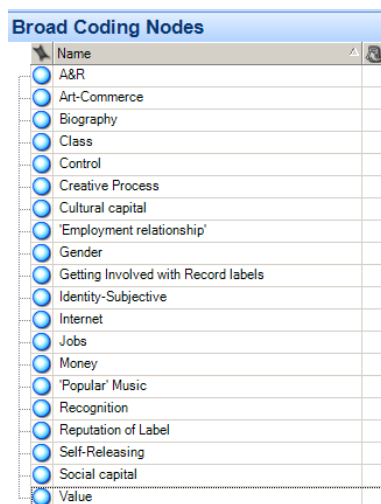


Figure 9: Initial Coding Nodes

Following the initial setup of the data within NVivo, coding was undertaken. Following the method of template analysis (King, 2004), this research began with a tentative method of coding (see Figure 9) using nodes consistent with the broad

themes of the literature (eg, cultural capital, identity, social capital) and characteristics of the production process (eg, Getting Involved with Record Labels, Creative Process and Self-Releasing). Coding was conducted manually on a transcript by transcript basis. Following the completion of manual transcription several queries were performed within NVivo to search for synonyms of key terms that appeared in order to ensure all relevant data was assessed and coded. Consistent with the template analysis, new codes emerged from the data and were added to the analysis. With a template developed, further coding was then conducted in a more focused manner consistent with the conceptual frameworks. A new set of nodes based on the conceptual frameworks and the new codes found in the analysis was then created and the data from the original nodes was recoded. Figure 10 shows an example of the increasing hierarchy established through the template analysis, with broader codes – such as identity – being extended to include subcategories. Emerging codes were integrated within these hierarchies (eg, 'Music as Therapy').

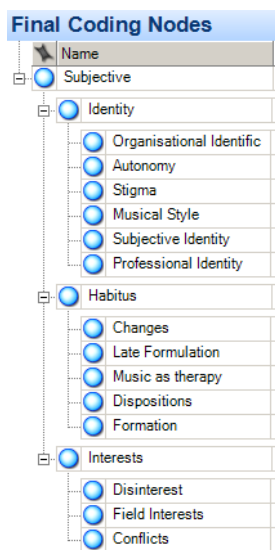


Figure 10: Final Coding Nodes for “Subjective” Aspects of Cultural Work

Coding was conducted in an iterative manner, where both categories of the conceptual framework were imposed on the data but new concepts emerged from the data analysis too. For example, though managerial control was expected and

coded in the initial coding stage, the conceptual framework itself left control unspecified. The types of control found in the current research emerged during the development of the template. Examples of control were coded along with the relevant types of capital involved, so that the cross referencing between nodes developed understandings of symbolic simple control and artistic authority (control and cultural capital).

While qualitative data produces vast amounts of rich, detailed accounts from participants, yet a key a problem with data analysis is reducing these data into fragments means that much of the social context for these interactions is lost (Bryman, 2008; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). As such, data is presented verbatim and where appropriate, exchanges with the researcher that provide additional context. Such exchanges may be used to present possible issues of bias or leading questions on the part of the researcher.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the methodological approach taken by the current research. Having begun this chapter with a debate of the epistemological and ontological considerations of the current research, this chapter argued that a critical realist approach offers the best basis for researching the work of musicians. As has been acknowledged, the aims and research questions of the current research carry an implicit commitment to the dynamics of structure and agency. Based on critical realism, the chapter then considered qualitative approaches to studies of the labour process in addition to studies examining the work of cultural labourers. Following from this, this chapter then considered the methods appropriate for the study of the work of musicians in the recorded music industry based on the limitations of time, money and access. The following chapter begins the presentation of the empirical findings of the current research beginning with a consideration of the production of value and managerial control in the recorded music industry.

Chapter Five: Value & Control in the Recorded Labour Process

5.1 Introduction

Following from the discussion in the previous chapter about the methods of data collection, this section is the first of two chapters dedicated to the research findings. Collectively, these chapters address the overall aim of the current research in attempting to understand the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry. This chapter addresses the specific questions of what form value takes in the production of recorded music and the forms of control exerted by management in the recorded labour process. While much of the labour process literature treats value as synonymous with economic value, cultural production is often predicated on the production of “art” and even a denial of economic value (Bourdieu, 1993). In this chapter, the role of Bourdieu’s forms of capital will be assessed in order to reconceptualise value produced within the labour process of musicians. Essentially, the output from the musician’s labour is a form of objectified cultural capital and this use-value – if any - is further converted into exchange values (Bourdieu, 1986). The exchange values are then represented by the other forms of capital, such as economic capital based on record sales, social capital in the form of relationships, or the legitimisation of the objectified cultural capital as symbolic capital through critical acclaim and prestige.

The need for control in the labour process, as has been discussed in the previous chapters, is based on the requirement of capital to convert the labour power it has purchased into actual work (Marx, 1976; Braverman, 1974; Thompson, 1989). Cultural capital in the embodied state acts as the form of labour power within the cultural labour process that is valorised to produce this objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 2010 [1979]). In addition to needing to convert the labour power of cultural workers into work, cultural management also requires the conversion of these “symbolic goods” (Bourdieu, 1984) into a saleable exchange value (Townley *et al.*, 2009). This chapter attempts to outline the ways in which management intervenes in the conception, execution and transcription stages of production, through attempts to manage the risk of project (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Miège, 1987), by establishing hierarchies (Edwards, 1979), the use of formatting (Negus, 1992; Ryan, 1992), as well as the independent scenes’ apparent lack of concern for control or economic capital.

5.2 Making 'Indie' Music

The musicians sampled broadly operate in “indie” music. While the origins of the term ‘indie’ generally refer to production relations, it is the guitar-based musical style that generally links the interviewees. ‘Indie’ music’s history is often predicated on a “do-it-yourself” aesthetic with many musicians drawing on the guitar, self-recording and promotion in the initial stages in the hope of attracting the attention of intermediaries in the recorded music industry (Hesmondhalgh, 1997; Scott, 2012). The purpose of this section will be to introduce the research context and the participants within the current research. The following sections will introduce the musicians in terms of their progression through the music industries. Reflective of Figure 9, introduced in the previous chapter, this section will differentiate between the musicians in terms of their record label deals. Beginning with the unsigned musicians, the inspirations to make ‘indie’ music and the forms of work performed by unsigned musicians will be discussed. Following from that, the work of musicians in independent labels will be discussed and the participants in this form of ‘employment’ relationship will be introduced. The musicians that have progressed to a major label will then be introduced and the practices that brought them the major-label record contract will be explained.

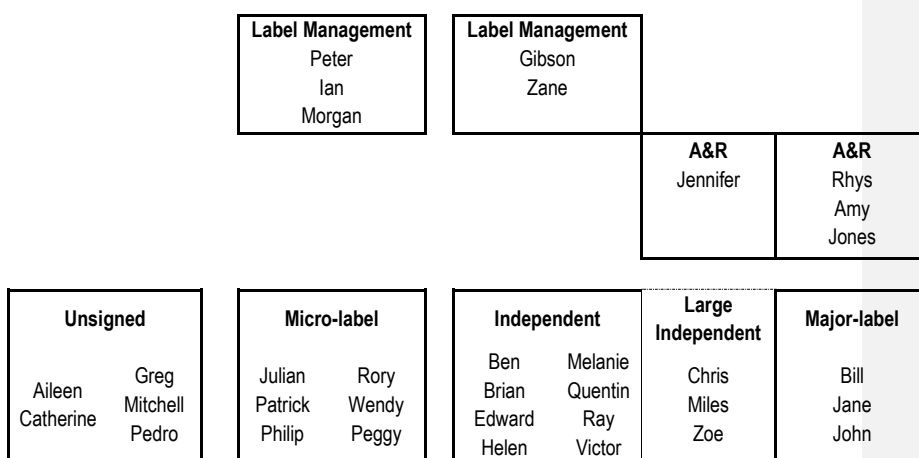


Figure 9: Network of Participants in the Recorded Music Industry

The reasons for most of the musicians getting started in ‘indie’ music are fairly similar within the current research. Many of the musicians reflected on early

exposure to music in some form that often inspired their interest in music. However, it is usually the experiences of their teenage years and a feeling that the musicians could do it themselves that often inspired them to start making indie music. Reflective of this is Chris – an independent label musician, who got started in the recorded music industry in the 1990s. Chris explains that for him, the belief that he could do himself what he saw and heard in his teenage years inspired him to get started song writing and performing:

I know it sounds arrogant and I do think Billy Bragg is very good but I watched him and just sort of thought, “I could do that. I think I could do that. I think I could do what he is doing and could hold people’s attention.” (Chris, independent label musician)

A number of musicians had formative experiences like this, where they believed that making music was achievable. Indeed, several of the interviewees cite musicians and bands like Billy Bragg or Nirvana as key inspirations. For many of the musicians, they may have been involved in music through school lessons or private tuition, but almost all of the musicians interviewed talked of taking up the guitar in their teens because of a contemporary music experience to them. From there most started working in teenage bands, or started writing songs. Eventually many of them would start to produce demos or start uploading songs to the Internet. Table 7 refers to the unsigned musicians who were interviewed in the current research. The unsigned musicians are generally engaged in a “do-it-yourself” approach and who are trying to vie for the attention of key intermediaries in the industry.

Alias	FT/PT	Gender	Label type
Aileen	PT	Female	Unsigned
Catherine	PT	Female	Unsigned
Greg	PT	Male	Unsigned
Mitchell	PT	Male	Unsigned
Pedro	PT	Male	Unsigned

Table 7: Unsigned Musicians Summary

Table 8 refers to the “micro-label” musicians, who are engaged with very small independent labels – generally limited to a certain music ‘scene’ within a city.

Alias	FT/PT	Gender	Label type
Julian	PT	Male	Micro-label
Patrick	PT	Male	Micro-label
Phillip	PT	Male	Micro-label
Rory	PT	Male	Micro-label
Wendy	PT	Female	Micro-label
Peggy	PT	Female	Micro-label

Table 8: Micro-label Participants Summary

The releases with the micro-labels are very ad-hoc, often a case of getting a physical copy produced and distributed by hand. Patrick, a micro-label musician, recounts his experience of putting together his initial music releases:

We ... like there were two EPs and a single, a 7" single and I guess it was just done by hand, really, like we, like in terms of distribution, it was really only the, like, yes, independent record shops in Glasgow and Edinburgh that stocked it. We put a few in Rough Trade in London as well and then just online really, just selling it over the website through Bandcamp and yes, that was about the extent of it, really. (Patrick, independent label musician)

The work both these sets of musicians engage in is broadly similar, with many similarities between their work despite one group having a nominal record label arrangement. All of these musicians are part-time. The unsigned musicians draw their primary income out with the music industries and their music work occurring at times when they are not working. The occupations of this grouping of musicians range from Aileen, who works as a nurse, to Greg who works as a journalist. Aileen and Greg note the difficulties of performing these two jobs, noting the tendency for their jobs to sap their creativity after work. Few of the sample actually work in some form of musical work, with Pedro, who works as a promoter at a music venue, and Wendy who is a music teacher.

The progression through the industry varies from artist to artist. Jane's progression – and indeed, eventual recession – through the music industries is a path trodden by many of the larger label musicians. Starting as an unsigned musician, self-releasing demos and then getting independent and eventually a major-label deal.

Well we got the independent deal, that was just from the send off a cassette in the post. When we signed to [the major label] we actually, we were always hands on quite DIY, what we did was we recorded an album called [album name] and we put it out on our own label called [label name]. And through all my past lives, I was also a press officer for a label in the 1990s. So it was just after that we pressed up our own album, so I therefore vaguely knew how to do a bit of press campaigning, with a very small c. So I posted it out to a few journalists I knew. Erm.. Actually I had a false name, I called myself Sue, because the band name was [Jane and my bandmate's] so I thought it would be a bit naff coming from someone called [Jane]. So I made an alter ego for myself and it went down really well, people really liked it and it got great reviews. And through a series of it passing through various people's hands, Jo Whiley got hold of a copy and she started playing tracks when she was on the lunchtime show on Radio1 and the next we therefore played in London and it was rammmed and had loads of A&R people and people from [the major label] were there. (Jane, major label artist)

Indeed, for some of the musicians – particularly Helen, Jane, Julian and Miles – getting signed to a record label were things they either could not wait for or would not compromise for. In their cases, they often self-produced their music and established links in order to get their work manufactured and distributed. In the case of Jane and Miles this was an attempt to get ahead in the industry:

When I first started in the industry, well I say industry, as a singer/ songwriter on the London circuit, on the acoustic circuit, I was really fed up releasing you know putting up demos and sending them around to record labels and so I thought “right, I may as well do an album and sell it off my website and sell it to gigs”. And so for that I set up my record label...” (Miles, independent label musician)

In contrast, Helen and Julian represent the anti-commerce view shared by a number of musicians and are unwilling to compromise their music in order to work with a record label. For Helen, it was a conscious choice to avoid her band becoming compromised by distant ‘owners’:

“So, this band that we formed quickly got some recognition which was just the most exciting thing ever. And to cut a long story short we didn’t really like the idea of putting our destiny into the hands of a London record company who was only going to tell us what to play, we thought, and tell us what to do and push me to the front as the girl when [male bandmate] and I were very much equal vocalists in the band. And so we thought we would set up our own record company and that was how [our record label] was born in ‘94 / ‘95.” (Helen, independent label musician/owner)

The primary source of music income for the unsigned and micro-label musicians is from live gigs with minimal incomes from recorded activities – such as Spotify streaming or the 50:50 terms of releasing with their micro-labels:

I mean, the album’s coming out on [our label] but yes, it’s a very ... it’s a great label because it’s very ... like it’s very friendly and very loose, like nothing’s been signed; it’s just, you know, it’s an agreement with them and it’s kind of a split thing like we, the production of the album, the actual physical copies, we kind of can split the costs with [the label] and yes, we basically get like half the albums, like they sell half the albums and we sell the other half and it keeps it very neat and easy to manage (Partick, independent label musician)

For the musicians engaged in larger independent labels, the sources of income increase. Though that income maybe still relatively low, some musicians are able to draw on their success in one of the music industries to allow for involvement in another (e.g., Jones, 2012). While Brian has been an independent label musician throughout his music career, the buzz surrounding him and his bandmate in the early part of their career meant that they were able to sign publishing contracts:

We'd signed this publishing deal. Back in 1999/2000, me and [my bandmate], within some corners of the music industry, were kind of considered "hot property" – like we could be Coldplay if we wanted to be, that was something that was said to me specifically. And we had a really nice guy managing us, who was from Sheffield, who had contacts with this guy at [publishing company] and we signed with them before we had any kind of record deal – or any kind of way of getting records out. He said, they would help us do that. So we signed this publishing deal and in quick succession, I had an EP out on some tiny label based in [Southern England] and then a mini-album which was like a vanity label of a management/press and promo company in London. And [my bandmate] had an EP out with them as well. But it was just like, it was the stumbling in the dark, which I suppose bands usually do putting EPs out themselves. But because we'd somehow got mixed with the real music industry. Our mistakes were done through the real music industry. (Brian, independent label musician)

Many of the interviewees involved with the larger labels are able to draw on far more sources of income, with the majority of participants involved in the larger independent labels and major labels able to work fulltime on their music work.

Table 9 summarises the interviewees who are involved in with the larger labels.

Alias	FT/PT	Gender	Label type
Ben	FT	Male	Independent
Brian	FT	Male	Independent
Chris	FT	Male	Independent
Edward	FT	Male	Independent
Helen	FT	Female	Independent
Melanie	FT	Female	Independent
Miles	FT	Male	Independent
Quentin	PT	Male	Independent
Ray	FT	Male	Independent
Victor	FT	Male	Independent
Zoe	PT	Female	Independent
Bill	FT	Male	Major
Jane	FT	Female	Major
Neil	FT	Male	Major

Table 9: Larger-label musicians

The intertwined nature of success in the various industries is emphasised within the larger labels. In addition to a number of participants having access to publishing contracts, most of these participants are far more involved in the live music industry. Though the unsigned musicians gain income from their live performances, the musicians involved in the larger labels are able to tour nationally – or even internationally – in contrast to the local geographies of the unsigned and smaller independent labels. This is due the larger labels being able to offer advances, financial support for tours, or in the case of Neil, support as part of his 360 deal.

The aim of this section has been to provide an introduction to the musicians interviewed in the current research. The section has outlined the specific musical context they operate in – indie music – and the formative experiences they many of the musicians share. Importantly, this section has attempted to demonstrate the complicated sources of ‘employment’ and income that are available to musicians working in – and around- the record music industry. The following section will consider the role of social capital, particularly relevant after the discussions of this section.

5.3 Social Capital

A key source of “symbolic value” within the labour process of musicians is social capital. Social capital refers to “the sum of the resources, actual and virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). The importance of building and maintaining social networks within the wider cultural industries has been widely noted in the literature in recent years (Blair, 2001; Coulson, 2012; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Scott, 2012; Ursell, 2000). This section will outline the ways in which musicians accrue social capital, through internet based practices such as maintaining social media presence to more face-to-face forms of social capital that accrue from friendships and networking. The competitive pressures between musicians are most articulated within the discussions of social capital, where musicians attempt to attain a “competitive advantage” (Jones, 2012) over other musicians in attracting the attention of intermediaries in the industry.

Commented [GM1]:

5.3.1 *Social Capital and the Internet*

The importance of accruing social capital is particularly important at the lower reaches of the industry. The Internet offers an increasingly important source for musicians building and maintaining their social capital. For those unsigned musicians it is a means of gaining exposure in the hope of gaining access to a record company deal, catch the attention of “gatekeepers” such as radio, press or A&R or building a greater fan base. Indeed, as Scott (2012) explains, social capital is accrued by musicians with the purpose of generating other forms of capital conversion – either symbolic capital in terms of ‘buzz’, economic capital in terms of sales, or even accruing more social capital. Within the unsigned and independent-label musicians,

the aim for social media is to maintain or create relationships established with music listeners and to try and attempt capital conversions in the form of streams and record sales. As Catherine explains, it is a struggle to do the admin on much of these channels because of the time commitment involved:

“My Facebook page is starting to pick up, I’ve got a few more likes now, same with my Twitter page, got loads of followers on Twitter, and so yes, [my management] do all my PR now which saves me so much time because it just used to consume me totally last year. I just used to do admin all the time and that kind of left me with little bit of time to get out there and actually do my gigs or basically write songs so they do all of that now. I have just been told that all I have to worry about is writing my music” (Catherine, unsigned musician)

It is not an uncommon experience amongst the smaller-scale producers interviewed. As Fred, a major-label manager explained, many musicians main reason to get a manager involved is to decrease the amount of promotion admin that they have to do. Many musicians take it for granted that they have to have an online presence in order to attract listeners to their music. These approaches are not so much a “competitive advantage” for musicians but more a minimum requirement for participation within the field, in contrast to many accounts of social capital as a public good without a zero-sum nature (e.g., Daly and Silver, 2008; Huysman and Wulf, 2004; Putman, 1993).

Streaming sites represent a source of very divided opinions within the current research’s participants. Traditionally, musicians received royalties from airplay in public spaces (through PRS licences) radio plays, record and single sales. With internet streaming sites, the royalties are fractions of what would be received from a sale. The growth of Internet streaming services has given rise to a situation where musicians are unsure whether being on these sites is a source of competitive advantage, or more likely, a source of disadvantage if they are not on these sites. Indeed, the musicians in the current research reflect the criticisms found in Marshall’s (2015) examination of independent label musicians’ attitudes towards Spotify. Illustrative of these conflicted opinions are Catherine and Melanie. Melanie emphasises the conflicted feelings she has about the Internet, in that it offers a source of potentially global social capital, with his music being heard around the globe despite lower revenues. Catherine meanwhile expands on her previous discussion of the time taken to manage social media to explain how operating on the Internet fails to convert much of the attention generated into economic capital:

“Things like Spotify are arguably a brilliant promotional tool but also, by the same token, it’ll be interesting to see what percentage of your fan base actually listen to you on Spotify for free, never paying a cent for your music, a penny for your music, you know? I don’t know the answer to that. My leaning is to not have my music on Spotify. I know it’s there and we’re trying to have it taken off but I regularly get people coming onto Twitter or to Facebook saying, “Oh, I just heard you on Spotify for the first time. I didn’t, you know... came across your music back. It’s brilliant, just bought your album.” And then you kind of think, “Ugh! Maybe it was a good thing to have it there.” You know?” (Melanie, independent musician)

Just to fill you in last year on my [last] album and total from online sales I made £140. Now, I had loads of downloads and when I looked at all my sales there were hundreds, absolutely hundreds but they take so much money. Spotify and all the kind of streaming sites, shall we say, I was enraged when I read my statement and for every play of my song on Spotify I was getting 0.0002 pence per song. That just goes to show I will never make any money off the streaming and that’s why you see a lot of artists now who have basically taken their songs off streaming sites because there’s just so little money to be made. We put it out there in the beginning because it’s better to have your name out there somewhere so you get a bit of attention but I think if things ever get a bit better and more successful I probably will be trying to consider taking my songs off the streaming sites because there is just not a lot of money to be made. (Catherine, unsigned musician)

Streaming represents a side effect of the Internet’s most notorious effect on the recorded music industry: removing much of the ability of record labels to enforce artificial scarcity through copyright (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Scott, 2012). Streaming services, such as Spotify, are meant to help replace the lost revenue for musicians through accrual of royalties for streams rather than record sales. The effect of streaming for musicians has been conflicted, rather than replacing lost revenue, the streaming websites offer very little economic benefit but do seem to help musicians gather small amounts of social and symbolic capital. Indicative of the different positions within the music industry, Neil, who has a 360 deal with a major label, is quite relaxed about the low revenue generated via social media. For him, his acceptance of the ‘dead’ parts of the industry allow him to focus his efforts on the lives sales that represent a large part of their income:

“That’s the thing that’s changed things. There’s two sides to it. It’s reduced record sales, but it’s also increased the availability of your music to people who wouldn’t be able to listen to you. That in turn increases live sales, ticket sales. And, yeah, makes your tours much more I guess, much more lucrative. So it’s good and bad. But as long as you really focus your efforts on the good parts then, and accept the record industry as it once was is dead, then you can get along with it and make a living.” (Neil, major label musician)

Part of the conflicted relationship with the Internet may also be related with its relationship to economic capital. As previous sections have shown active interest in economic capital has to be denied in order to succeed within the music industry (Bourdieu, 1993). The increasing commercialisation of many of these social media sites is reflected in the suspicion some of the sampled musicians have of the Internet:

“All the social networking stuff, Facebook, I have little time for now. I don’t think it’s that much of a help. I don’t think Myspace is much of a help either. These things are going through fads, they are going through cycles. Like Facebook is potentially on its way out at the moment. I think it has become far too complicated and it has become overtly commercial now and it’s being used to target products in marketing which was probably always the point, I’m sure.” (Helen, independent label musician).

The reasons that musicians put such an effort into their online presence is supported by the interviews with the intermediaries. The intermediaries interviewed explained how the Internet had changed their methods of working. Although many musicians say they struggle to make negligible amounts of money over the Internet, for intermediaries - such as producers and A&R staff - depend on websites in order to find new talent to work. For the scouting role in A&R, the Internet has allowed A&R managers to find talent without having to leave their office. As Rhys explains, the Internet has allowed many musicians to gain entry to the recorded music industry without necessarily having to do the traditional route through gigs and tours:

But conversely, I’ve been working with a band called [bandname] who I signed [coughing] ... put on my Facebook and sent me a couple of demos. I went like, “Jesus! I need to be involved with this band.” They’d done no shows, they’d only been in the studio for a week and the songs were so strong. So we spent sort of the last eighteen months, actually, developing that, kind of nurturing the song writing talent, making sure they’re writing with the right producers, making sure they’re ... yes, again, very comfortable as being musicians, developing the live side, developing the aesthetic of the band, which I think is really important as well” (Rhys, A&R Manager)

Likewise, the producers interviewed attested similarly to the power of the Internet to give them access to new music. The producers interviewed explained that although they often get asked to work on projects by musicians or record labels, in many cases they come across musicians that they want to work with. Bruno, a record

producer and engineer, explains that he often gets approached to work with groups and musicians through the Internet:

Yes, there are a few different ways. I mean, I've got management so some people will sort of actively headhunt me and speak to my manager and arrange a meeting so we can see if we get on. I get sent a lot of demos or I get sent a lot of SoundCloud links nowadays but sometimes it's really just, you know, a case of ... I do actually go and look for bands. I'm always kind of trawling the internet, looking to see what's going on and trying to find bands. (Aaron, producer)

The discussions with intermediaries make clear that the power of the Internet is wielded by established music industry. Musicians still seek a record label and industry support, but the interviews reflect that it is a buyers' market. The internet if anything has dramatically increased the oversupply of workers willing to work in the industry (e.g., Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Menger, 1999; 2006). Yet there is no comparable rise in opportunities for musicians to gain access to a record label contract. The following section will consider the more traditional forms of social capital used by musicians within the recorded music industry.

5.3.2 *Social Capital Outside the Internet*

While the Internet is an increasingly important source of developing social networks and attempting to gain access to intermediaries, the 'offline' sources of social capital are far more effective and far more valuable from the accounts of interviewees. Demonstrative of this is Aaron's discussions of how he gets involved in projects. Despite Aaron's earlier discussions of using the Internet to assess potential clients to work with, he acknowledges throughout the more effective personal contacts in deciding his potential projects, as this example attests to:

The [band] that I'm working with, I was working in a studio in January and the assistant there happened to be [the band's] live engineer and after a couple of days' recording, after we're packing away, he goes, "Oh, can I play you some songs from this band I'm working with?" And he said, "I think you'd be really good." So he played me a couple of songs and I sort of instantly said, "Yes, I love it. Get me in touch." So again, you know, there are pretty varied ways of getting involved. (Aaron, producer)

Indeed, throughout the discussions with all the interviewees about the rise of the Internet in music industry, musicians kept talking about offline sources were far more effective in generating effective conversions of social capital. Particularly so, the musicians who were active prior to 2000, they were particularly dismissive of

the Internet – either for affecting musicians’ income or as a means to get ahead in the music industry. Julian explains that for him, his big break came when he was played on the John Peel Show on Radio 1 in the 1990s. For him, this kind of social capital was generative of far more conversions to economic and - for other musicians citing similar routes to social capital – symbolic capital:

“We come from a generation before the internet so we were... I did another song on a kind of John Peel compilation and I was asked for a quote and... well they asked me but the quote they picked out was like a one-man internet before there was an internet and for bands that was, you know you got on John Peel lots of people got to know about you, lots of people connected through the John Peel show. People will go and see a band because someone said to them ‘I heard them on John Peel’ and ‘right, I’m going to go and see that band’ and yet that it didn’t make them a certain kind of band but it just gave you a sense of I might like it.” (Julian, independent label musician/owner)

For musicians who are unsigned or in the independent music sector, converting social capital is essential in order to keep performing music work. Within the sample various artists talk about their experiences of getting started with record labels and the need to build relationships in order to get access to cheap sources of labour. In these cases, lots of musicians draw on their friendships in order to get music produced:

I’m having really mixed feelings about this because in order to do it, I have to keep it a solo project with friends helping me and in the past, it’s ... well no, it’s always been friends who like, are playing music and in my ... I’ve never really ... I guess they are kind of like cheap session musicians, from one perspective. But it’s also much nicer to turn around and see someone who you would like to go to dinner with at the end of a song, instead of just someone who you don’t know. (Victor, independent label musician)

Victor’s dilemma is reflective of the relatively powerless DIY musicians in Scott’s (2012: 238) study, who, lacking an established position in the music industry, worked for free for “exposure, experience, friendship or interest”. In Victor’s case, he is able to mobilise his social capital in order to fill the gaps within his solo music work, but because of his limited money he has to keep the work a “solo project”. While later discussing if he felt any guilt over his inability to pay his friends, Victor’s reply echoed the non-instrumental networking that Umney and Krestos (2014) found in their study of jazz musicians, where collaboration represented a desirable aspect of music production. Victor’s experience of using his social capital to achieve further conversions of capital is not uncommon within the musicians interviewed.

For a minority of the musicians, some felt their inability to get further in the music industry could be attributed to a lack of contacts in the music industry. Illustrative of this is Edward who explains that success in the music industry:

“So, I think a lot of it is to do with luck and contacts and, you know, I have a small handful of each of those which has put me where I am today which I’m certainly not ungrateful for. And, maybe it’s the fact that I’m where I am which is not particularly famous or successful but certainly known so it makes me think that, it is, you know, I do, I have spent a lot of time living off the proceeds of making music. So, you know, I think you’ve just got to be in the right place at the right time, or whatever, and do something that somebody is going to give you a lot of money is quite pleased with and, yeah, if I can do that whilst, you know, using the time I gain from earning money to make my own sort of less commercial music as well, then that seems like the ideal life to me.” (Edward, independent musician)

Edward’s assertion that a lack of “luck and contacts” has limited his success is illustrative of the limited resources that musicians compete for within the music industry. Edward’s sense of his lack of social capital hindering his success in the music industry is followed up by some of the other participants, but linked more specifically to issues of social class. Chris for instance bemoans what he perceives as the emerging professionalism and, with it, the increasingly middle-class background of many of the other musicians in the industry.

I thought everyone thought this because I thought we were all punk rock and I thought we were all left of centre and I thought that’s what rock and roll was. I thought that we were all sort of politically left of field, highly charged people that wanted to just do something interesting and I thought we were artists. But now to talk to lots in my position, it’s not. It’s quite usual for you to be thinking about the advertising synch or the publicity or... people, young people in bands are much more savvy to all the different elements of the industry than I was. They know much more about all the different parts of it and how it works. And I also think that the class, like literally the class of the people making it has changed. I think it is like starting to predominantly become the middle class. I don’t think there are as many working class people in bands as there used to be. I think that it’s a privilege that’s afforded by time to be able to be a musician and so consequently, it is being done by the privileged and educated, which is wrong. I mean, they can make great records as well but it’s just interesting. You know, I think that money has more and more to do with it really. (Chris, independent label musician)

The sentiments of these participants of forms of social closure operating in the music industry certainly fits with other research on social capital within the wider cultural industries. Lee’s (2011) research found that accessing networks for finding and maintaining work in the television industry required requisite levels of cultural capital - dispositions, mannerisms and education. The classed-nature of access to

cultural capital mean that it often results in the same types of people that access these networks. Indeed, within Bourdieu's (1996) work, cultural producers represent the "dominated fraction of the dominant class", with Bourdieu asserting that cultural producers represent an area in society rich in cultural capital, based on their social inheritances. Chris's insights – shared by other interviewees – are reflective of many of the findings of studies examining social capital in the cultural industries (e.g., Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011).

5.3.3 Summary

The aim of this section has been to consider the production and conversion of social capital within the labour process of musicians. For many of the musicians in the lower reaches of employment in the recorded music industry, generating social capital is a key priority. Generating social capital for unsigned and independent-label musicians, particularly online, is generally ineffective and slowly becoming a minimum requirement of participation rather than a competitive edge. For more established musicians, social capital is important in the production of music too – particularly working with low budgets. The most effective form of social capital though is the interpersonal relationships, often generated in the labour process itself. This section has also suggested the exclusionary power of social capital, with some participants observing that it seems to be evidence of the increasing privilege required to participate within the cultural industries. The following sections will now examine the role of symbolic capital in the recorded music industry labour process.

5.4 Symbolic Value in the Recorded Labour Process

As discussed previously, labour process theory is predicated on the assumption that a worker's labour power is purchased and then converted into actual work by the employer (Braverman, 1974; Littler, 1982; Thompson and Smith, 2009). The conversion of this labour power then produces a form of surplus value, generally understood within LPT to be in the form of economic value. Drawing specifically on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his forms of capital, one of the key points of analysis within this section is the necessity to understand the labour process of musicians as concerned with the production of "symbolic goods" which exist as a form of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). A symbolic good, such as a recorded

piece of music, has a use-value of cultural capital only in terms of the consumer's ability to appreciate the good. Otherwise the symbolic good only has an exchange-value in terms of its conversion into economic capital (record sales) or symbolic capital (prestige, awards or "buzz") (Scott, 2012; Skeggs, 2004a).

This next section will present the role of symbolic capital within the employment relationship of the musicians. Within Bourdieu's work, symbolic capital refers to "any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value" (Bourdieu, 1998: 47). Within the field of cultural production, symbolic capital takes the form of recognition of artistic merit, critical acclaim and prestige earned through the denial of interest (Bourdieu, 1993; 1998; Thompson, 1991). Symbolic capital is presented within the current research as a form of value, produced at the point of production that can be appropriated by the record labels. Unlike economic value however, symbolic capital is appropriated primarily by the musicians themselves through their reputation and associated cultural works. The reputation of musicians also affects the conversion of the symbolic capital into economic capital.

5.4.1 Symbolic Capital and the Work of Musicians

The central focus of the current research is to examine the nature of the art-commerce conflict within the music industry. One of the key assumptions of much of the theoretical approaches to cultural work is that money, financial success and mass-market appeal has a negative relationship with the artistic merit of a symbolic good (Bourdieu, 1993; Ross, 2000). For Bourdieu (1990; 1998), the generation of symbolic capital is often the key purpose of participation in fields. Within cultural production, the generation of symbolic capital is predicated on this denial of interest in the reception of art (Bourdieu, 1993; 1998).

Having produced a symbolic good – or objectified cultural capital – the surplus value of the musician's work can only be determined by its exchange value. Generally understood within labour process analysis as a form of economic value, here it is argued that Bourdieu's symbolic capital is a form of value produced through the labour process. Bourdieu (1986; 1998) would attribute symbolic capital as honour and prestige based on the recognition of the other forms of capital within a particular field. Adapting Bourdieu's (1998) definition, symbolic capital within the

current research exists in two forms. Symbolic capital represents the form objectified cultural capital and/or embodied cultural capital take when perceived as legitimate within the field. The objectified form of cultural capital represents an album or song, while the musician themselves would possess cultural capital in the embodied form. This is an important distinction found within this research as it has important implications for value production and control within the labour process.

Symbolic capital has been shown in previous research as an important capital to generate for musicians as it acts as a form of recognition that can generate employment opportunities within the field (e.g., Scott, 2012). Participants in the current research identified symbolic capital as being generated by positive evaluation by cultural intermediaries – such as reviewers – of the symbolic good created. The value of this positive reception acts as a form of exchange value (a conversion) of the objectified cultural capital into symbolic capital. The usefulness of symbolic capital within the work of musicians is that it can be converted in the long term into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). The ability to convert symbolic capital is variable throughout the industry with many musicians able to generate positive peer appraisal through good reviews. Yet, the musicians within the current research talk of the indeterminacy of this symbolic capital with some musicians who have received very favourable reviews but are unable to convert the capital generated into economic capital. Edward, reflecting on his experience of good reviews, explains this indeterminacy:

“So, it’s nice getting great reviews but it’s not the be all and end all but it’s very... you know, that can really influence how well a record does. Although I got amazing reviews and didn’t sell millions of copies, so not necessarily. And you get terrible reviewed bands that do incredibly well.” (Edward, independent label)

Previous research has shown that generating “buzz” through a good review for instance, creates levels of symbolic capital that are more readily converted into social capital and small levels of economic capital (Scott, 2012). Within the current research, a far more powerful form of “buzz” is the conversion of symbolic capital accrued through award nominations and award wins. Symbolic capital is generally a sign of prestige within a field, nominations to awards are more widely known outside of the field (Watson and Anand, 2006). These awards (examples such as Grammy nominations, Mercury Prize nominations) ensure a degree of economic capital is produced through converting the symbolic capital granted by key cultural

intermediaries. The awards are field specific forms of symbolic capital and are recognised as legitimate by many participants in the field. The awards attribute symbolic capital to the objectified cultural capital (single and album nominations) or to the embodied cultural capital (musician of the year nominations). Several of the musicians within the current research have achieved prestigious award nominations and have been able to attain significant increases in their record sales as a result of a nomination alone. Steve is one of four musicians who have been nominated for or won a prestigious national music prize. For Steve, and the other nominees, the increase in press attention often led to greater exposure and

“I think the biggest thing has been, we have noticed that we have just started the press covering for the new album and it’s noticeably easier this time around. I would say the award has opened a lot of doors of people in publications who maybe wouldn’t have written about it or sort of like hadn’t even listened to it before who are willing to give it a shot now. So, I think that’s the really cool thing about it and that’s the case for the long listed and short listed albums in general. I think that is usually great about this award is the emphasis is on discovering new music, I certainly noticed sales have increased since I got nominated and then short listed and then won. It sold a good deal.” (Steve, musician)

Sayer (1999; 2005) argues that Bourdieu understates the distinction between use-values and exchange-values. Supportive of Skeggs’ (2004) view, this research however demonstrates that there are implicit use and exchange values within Bourdieu’s framework. Bourdieu’s (1986) distinction between objectified, institutional and embodied cultural capitals essentially operates as a distinction between use and exchange values. Objectified cultural capital is only useable by an individual possessing appropriate cultural capital, otherwise, it is exchangeable through economic capital. Importantly, a further contrast Bourdieu observes with symbolic capital is its apparent denial of concern for economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). As has been previously observed (e.g., Brouillette, 2008; Ross, 2000; Shorthouse and Strange, 2004), managed creativity or the appearance of economic interest can have a negative effect on critical reception. The current research has observed that symbolic capital is sensitive to apparent commercialisation or the appearance of production being managed. Reflective of this is Jane, a major label artist, who explains that while her band always achieved levels of critical acclaim, the only album to fail to achieve levels of acclaim was the one produced on the major label:

"But we still carried on as [the band], we actually did four albums as [the band]. And the other ones, the only one that wasn't any good was the one that came out on [the major label]. But we're typical of that kind of band that gets fantastic critical reviews, four star reviews and stuff, but unfortunately we never sold many copies."
(Jane, major-label artist)

This section has shown that symbolic capital has a use-value in terms of musicians' appreciation of positive interpretation of their symbolic good. As an exchange-value, musicians are less interested, as well as ambivalent, to the usefulness of such symbolic capital. Having determined that symbolic capital exists as a form of value produced by the work of musicians, the following section will determine symbolic capital's role within employment relationships within music companies.

5.4.2 *Symbolic Capital in the Labour Process*

The emphasis on individuals accruing symbolic capital in the previous section ignores the role that symbolic capital plays within musicians' employment relationships with music companies. Ownership of the means of production allows music companies to gain and exploit the copyright of the symbolic goods produced (Cloonan and Williamson, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994; Negus, 1992). Yet, labour process theory has largely ignored the different forms of value produced within the labour process (Böhm and Land, 2012). While the musicians' symbolic goods accrue symbolic capital through exchange value, the employers too appropriate a certain store of this symbolic capital as surplus value. The musicians in the current research talk of an employment relationship that lacks a concern for the commercial potential of the music produced. Many of these musicians are able to produce the album independently of the record label and submit the finished master copy without question:

"I mean, one of the good things about being on [the label] was they kind of left me to it and I'd be able to turn in an album with the running order I wanted, with the tracks I wanted on it, with them not changing anything and either get to do my own artwork and my own inner sleeve. But, the upshot of that is I wasn't necessarily a particularly high priority for them. So, yeah, (a) I got to do what I wanted to do but (b) I sort of kind of feel like in being uncompromising in that way maybe I did sacrifice a certain commercial success." (Edward, independent label musician)

This lack of concern for the commercial potential of the symbolic goods produced by the musicians should not be interpreted as a lack of concern in other potential exchange-values. As described previously, the output of the musicians' labour process is objectified cultural capital (the "symbolic good"). Although musicians

produce the symbolic good, the ownership of symbolic goods is in the hands of the record label. Musicians do achieve levels of economic capital and symbolic capital through the exchange of these use-values. Ownership of the copyright of music means that the record label appropriate levels of economic capital *and* symbolic capital. This is an important point, as labour process analysis tends to ignore forms of value other than economic capital. The exchange-value of symbolic capital, as the previous section demonstrated, is indeterminate – linked to the “nobody knows” or risk inherent in the production of symbolic goods (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Peter and Zane’s exchange demonstrates the importance of symbolic capital production in the recorded music industry. Within the example below, Peter and Zane are both independent record label owners and are engaged in a discussion of the financial difficulties of independent label production:

- Peter: “Can I ask you a quick question? I mean, you’re in indie but you’ve got five people on full time staff, so you must have a certain obligation to make a certain amount of money each month otherwise things will just cease to function?”
- Zane: “It works the other way. I think you—we’ve been there 15 years, so we’ve got quite a healthy back catalogue of releases, and we’re therefore in almost a luxurious position in as much as our back catalogue should be able to create the income streams to pay for our staff. And then everything else we do is a bonus, and as you release more volume you increase the size of your capital. So it’s a kind of—we’re in a different scenario.”

The discussion between Peter and Zane emphasises how symbolic capital functions differently to economic value. The ability to generate financial income from a back-catalogue of records depends on the accumulation of symbolic capital valorised within the recorded labour process. Some of the record label managers explained that the symbolic goods created by musicians within the record label produce value long after an employee leaves the label. Importantly, cultural value is influenced by the name of the cultural producers who create the work (Banks, 2010a; Ryan, 1992). This leads to situations where the name of musicians can be associated with records produced before the generation of symbolic capital. Indeed, within Zane’s label much of the “back catalogue” he relies on for income was created by musicians who no longer record with the label. The back catalogue however remains with the record label and much of the symbolic capital has been generated with the following record deal. Symbolic capital can be attributed to the objectified cultural capital –

the album or song. Zane and Peter's discussion demonstrates how the embodied cultural capital – the musicians themselves – can become a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). The record labels ownership of the intellectual property rights to the music means that they can exploit the symbolic capital earned, even after the employment relationship has ended. Record labels therefore, are able to rely on the conversion of symbolic capital accrued rather than produce hit singles or radio play to generate more immediate conversions to economic capital. This ability to appropriate symbolic value leads many labels towards a specifically "symbolic strategy": generating a repertoire of artists that has the ability to generate its own store of symbolic capital. The belief that the value of a symbolic good is intrinsic to the individual creator means that musicians' names carry a symbolic value (Banks, 2010a: 260; Ryan, 1992). Record labels therefore try to "curate" a positive image based on the repertoire of musicians whose names are associated with the label. Reflective of this strategy is Ian, a label owner and artist manager, who talks about the potential conflict between his role as a label owner and as an artist manager. In this discussion, Ian talks about the potential symbolic capital that both his label and the band he employs could generate by being on a bigger label:

Ian: "I started talking to [other label manager]...about maybe [*band name*] putting something on [another record label], and it was the stage of where if they went to [another record label], then they wouldn't be on my label anymore and I wouldn't have any involvement in them; and I was like, "I've put so much hard work into this in the first place and if they go there, they'll be completely disorganised and just make it fall apart". So I was like, I love the band. I still want to work with them and that's how I ended up managing them. So I've been doing that officially for about a year – probably a lot longer than that (laughing)."

Interviewer: "Does that role ever conflict, maybe, with your label?"

Ian: "Not really because the label was essentially ... the point of it was to get somewhere ... take a band to a level where we took them up a level or somebody else took them off our hands, which is essentially, if we were desperate to keep them on our label, then yes, perhaps but I'm quite chuffed they've gone off to some bigger kind of ... because it's kudos for us at the same time as them getting to play with it, so ... it is just another thing for me to do."

The "kudos" for the label of an artist eventually improving their standing within the field allows the band to appropriate an element of symbolic capital. Indeed, as Jennifer, an A&R manager for one of the larger independent labels explains, her

strategy towards scouting and signing musicians to her label centres on finding musicians who fit with the symbolic attributes of the label:

“It depends on the company that you work for. In my case, I’ve always worked for independents so it’s a kind of a curative role. You’re looking for artists who fit aesthetically with the label because the label’s a creative entity in its own right and that’s what, you know, one of the reasons people sign to independents. They want to be grouped together with other similar artists that they respect and that kind of helps drive their career in many ways. So that would be my role, basically. So there’s a scouting element that’s looking for the artist and then there’s obviously the development after that where you’re helping people get their records together” (Jennifer, A&R manager)

This is similar to what Negus (1998) described in major label production as “dogs”, where unprofitable artists were retained in order to allow the label to convey their valuing of “art”. For independent labels, conveying “art” above commerce is particularly important, and “dogs” are often seen in the current research as a positive and constitute a form of value that the music company wishes to pursue. This is again reflective of the divisions in the field of cultural production, with independents representing the small-scale producers who pursue symbolic capital in the field (Bourdieu, 1996). For many musicians, the presence of a selection of artists that have achieved prestige and the labels’ store of symbolic capital also acts to attract them towards a certain label. The label’s store of this symbolic capital gives prospective musicians an indicator of the artistic merit of the label and a preview of the form of labour process they can expect from working with the specific record label. Outlining his reasons for joining his major record label, Neil explains how the previous repertoire of artists influenced his decision to sign with this label:

“Well there was a lot of creative freedom in that label. The only reason I sent my record to them was because I was a massive fan of [the label’s previous artists] - and knowing what kind of albums those bands had made, you know, and knowing that we weren’t looking to make that kind of album, I was pretty sure that if they signed us we’d be able to do whatever we want.” (Neil, major-label artist)

As the symbolic capital accrued is primarily associated with the name of the musicians, the surplus value accumulated is predominantly appropriated by the musicians themselves. It is only when the symbolic capital is converted into economic capital that more conventional LPT notions of surplus value extraction occur.

5.4.3 Summary

This section has shown that a different form of value to economic surplus is produced within the musicians' labour process. To understand the value produced in the cultural labour process, this research has shown that musicians produce forms of value that can best be conceptualised in terms of Bourdieu's forms of capital. This section has demonstrated that surplus value takes the form of symbolic capital as well as economic capital within the employment relationship. The musicians' labour process produces a form of use-value represented by Bourdieu's objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This use-value then generates an exchange value through either the legitimation of the cultural capital, through positive reviews or award nominations or through record sales. The conversion of symbolic capital into economic capital reflects Bourdieu's (1993) assertion that symbolic capital delivers profits in the long term. Surplus value, in the form of symbolic capital, is stored by the employer who, having the rights to the ownership of the symbolic good, is able to convert this value into economic capital. In addition, this symbolic store can act as a means of showing the music company to be an "artistic" label with a reputation for autonomous production. The concern of the rest of this chapter will be to show that the art-commerce relation can be understood within the employment relationship. The following sections will show how ensuring conversions to a particular *type* of surplus value produces conflicts within art-commerce relation. Furthermore, the rest of the chapter will therefore examine how the work of musicians is controlled in the creative stages of production.

5.5 Creative Autonomy and Simple Control

Core LPT asserts that in order to increase surplus value production capitalists need to exert control over labour (Thompson, 1990). The conversion of purchased labour power into actual work is the central concern of management (Littler, 1982; Thompson and Smith, 2009). Having conceptualised value in terms of Bourdieu's forms of capital, the following section will demonstrate that control is directed not toward ensuring the generation of maximum surplus value but often generating the maximum *conversion* of surplus value. Work in the recorded music industry is described as "tight-loose", where control over the creative stage is relatively benign (Negus, 1992). Reflective of this, this section will demonstrate that much of the creative process operates free from managerial control. The following sections will

also show that creative autonomy is often the result of a lack of “artistic authority” to dictate the work of musicians in the sample.

5.5.1 *Conception Stage of Music Production*

Music work in the recorded music industry is primarily concerned with the creation of sounds and lyrics that will eventually form complete music and songs. The music produced through the recording process is eventually captured through a recording process and eventually reproduced in the form of an MP3, CD or other form of output that is available for mass distribution. The output of the recorded music industry is a form of symbolic good. This symbolic good is legally protected by intellectual property rights which record companies are tasked with exploiting (Cloonan and Williamson, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Lash and Urry, 1994). Reflective of previous discussions of the work of cultural producers, the conception stage of the labour process of the musicians sampled is autonomous with control progressively exerted within the execution and transcription stages (Adorno, 1978; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ryan, 1992). Regardless of the form of employment relationship that musicians have with a record label, the conception of music is uninfluenced by record label management. Reflecting the creative freedom of the conception stage are Catherine and Neil who are at two very different levels in the industry (one signed to a major label, the other unsigned) but have largely similar ways of generating music:

“...so I usually start off with an idea at my house on my guitar, I’ll just be sitting jamming away to myself and see if I can get any words to go to the music. Sometimes I have got words first of all and I get it down like a poem and then I do music around it, it just depends on the song, really.” (Catherine, unsigned musician)

“But, to be honest, it’s a lot of time spent either sitting at a guitar or a piano or whatever instrument and going through shite idea after shite idea after shite idea ‘til you hit a nugget. And you’re sitting in a place, often right here, because the music’s quiet and I’ll write lyrics here, just sitting here staring at a blank page for hours... Nobody can have those flashes of like eureka often enough to make a full album out of them. So yeah, it’s a lot of slog, it’s great.” (Neil, major label musician)

Regardless of the level of intermediation in the employment relationship, most of the sampled musicians talk of an initial labour process that is reminiscent of nascent capitalist production (i.e., Marx, 1976; Edwards, 1979). Reflective of other studies of music work (e.g., Umney and Krestos, 2014), the conception and execution stages of the labour process are still joined and largely in the hands of the musicians

themselves. The musicians sampled in this research all demonstrate similar creative processes, where the generation of ideas and songs is a stage prior to any recording process. Importantly, the musicians sampled all require their own material in order to gain access or maintain access to the recorded music industry and, those that are signed, have no creative management within this initial conception stage. While these ideas may need further development in the recording studio, generally the musicians produce demos or rehearse songs into a form ready to take into a more formal recording process.

Within smaller scale labels, the levels of intermediation within the employment relationship are low. Exceptionally, the employment relationship is mediated by artist managers and record producers. Edwards (1979: 25) formulation of simple control emphasises the “personal power and authority of the capitalist” within early capitalist production as the primary source of control within the labour process. Within the current research, the small independent labels are generally operated by their founder who often takes on a combination of roles traditionally associated with A&R managers, label management, producers, engineer and even artist management. Several of the label managers talk of the fact that they themselves have to take a role in managing the musicians – a role traditionally seen as “the interface between art and commerce” (Harry, artist manager):

“I think the other thing we find with bands when we first begin to work with them, there is no manager. There is no one guiding everything for them. There is no one who is the middle man between you and the artist. You are effectively managing that band until a time whereby somebody else becomes interested or someone else comes in to take it over.” (Zane, label owner)

As such, Zane’s quote appears to show the art-commerce relation in small-scale producers as more informal between employer and employee. As the previous section demonstrated, symbolic capital accumulated through the label’s back-catalogue often attracts musicians to sign for the label and give them an indicator of the likely employment relationship. The presence of a label with high levels of symbolic capital means that musicians see the art-commerce dynamic as far more concerned with the art.

5.5.2 *Simple Control or Responsible Autonomy?*

The role artistic authority plays within the employment relationship is important. Artistic authority refers to “the specific form of power wielded by cultural workers

which flows from recognition of their capacities as various forms of artist" (Ryan, 1992: 129). Artistic authority can be understood as the forms of capital wielded by musicians and, importantly, creative managers like producers, A&R managers and label management. Using Coulson's (2010) work, this artistic authority could be understood as being based on the "musical capital" possessed – a combination of the cultural, social and symbolic capitals required to work within the field. These forms of capital act as a mixture between the creative capacities the individual possesses and the reputation these capacities have within the field. Artistic authority therefore plays an important role in determining "the ability of capitalists and/or managers to obtain desired work behaviour from workers" (Edwards, 1979: 17) within the cultural industries.

In Edwards' (1979) work, it is the personal charisma of the founder that offers the greatest source of power within firms enacting simple control (Edwards, 1979). Within the current research, the power many record founders have within the employment relationship is over economic decisions. The ability however, of the founder in small-scale production to effect control is based on their artistic authority. Moving on from Edward's (1979) and Ryan's (1992) usage of a Weberian notion of charisma, the lower amounts of cultural capital possessed means that the ability and desire of these owners to control is negligible. Peter, discussing his level of involvement in the recording process, explains that while he is able to perform technical aspects of the recording process he is aware that he has insufficient levels of cultural capital to exert any form of artistic authority in the art-commerce relation:

"As long as it was a band who were creative enough and didn't need too much guidance, because I can't be a producer as such – I don't have the knowledge, the musical knowledge or the skills as such" (Peter, record label owner)

Rather than the labour process of musicians being creatively autonomous, control over the direction of work requires a level of artistic authority. What occurs, is an art-commerce relation that sees economic power being with but rarely exerted by the capitalist in small-scale production. Control over the production of symbolic goods is centred on the musicians because the enduring "idea that cultural value is intrinsic to the works of individual creators tends to prevent the full abstraction of the labourer from the context and conditions of work" (Banks, 2010a: 260). The lack of artistic authority therefore means that the record label is unable to exert any

influence in the labour process, or in Marx's (1976) terms, the labour process is only formally subordinated. Yet, many of the record label owners refute any notion that they wish to influence the labour process. Indeed, in many cases the ability to exert any creative control is accompanied by a lack of interest in attempting to control the work of musicians. Illustrative of this is the assertions of Ian, a record label owner, and the experiences of Brian, an independent label musician, submitting the masters of a completed album:

"We were doing it for the love of music as opposed to making money so we're kind of, essentially an artist focused label whereby we don't take any money from the musicians, any profits made go back to them so we're just essentially putting our own free time in to do that from the goodness of our heart, or whatever you want to call it. (Ian, small label owner)

"I mean, when we gave them the mixes of the first album, [the label owner] rang us and said 'that vocal harmony at the beginning... is that right? Is that what it's supposed to be?' and we just said 'Yeah, of course it is you sod.' And when we sent them the mixes of the newest album, they said 'Oh it's great, but there's no singles'. They didn't say it in a 'Can you get a single?' way - they said it in an 'Oh you guys, you've did this to us! Never mind!' way" (Brian, independent label artist)

The apparent lack of control can be seen as a strategy for producing symbolic capital. Even as intermediaries that provide the economic capital, label managers can be seen as demonstrating the denial of interest required within the field (Bourdieu, 1993; 1998). Instead of strategies of simple or bureaucratic control, record labels could be seen as allowing for responsible autonomy (Friedman, 1977). Responsible autonomy describes an approach taken by organisations which gives "workers leeway" and encourages "them to adapt to changing situations in a manner beneficial to the firm" (Friedman, 1977: 78). Indeed, responsible autonomy can be seen as part of a "symbolic strategy" discussed in the previously where record labels actively attempt to "curate" the reputation of their label. Representative of a responsible autonomy within music production in small labels are Peter and Patrick. Peter explains that as a record label owner, he only releases music that he personally "loves" and expects the reception of the music he releases to be rewarded on the market. Likewise, Patrick's experience within his independent label is of being left to recording the album as he sees fit:

"And so at the beginning, I operated on the principle and we still really do—so we release only music that I personally love. And the assumption is that my taste is in line with the pop world enough that if that's all we do that at some point enough

people will agree with me about some releases that will sell some records. We still kind of operate on that basis." (Peter, independent label owner)

"I mean, that's one of the good things about, again, about [the record label], is that there's like ... I mean, they've had input and they've expressed opinions but right from the start they've said, like, "It's your record and we want you to be happy with it and it can sound exactly how you want." And so, yes, I mean, like [the owner has] given opinions and stuff but it's very much been, you know, "It's up to you at the end of the day, like it's your record." Yes, I think we've been quite lucky." (Patrick, independent label musician)

Within small-scale production, control can be seen to exist in the form of responsible autonomy or a rudimentary form of simple control. Importantly, control is based on multiple sources of authority: economic or artistic authority. Responsible autonomy can be 'granted' to musicians for two reasons. Firstly, record label managers do not have the requisite "musical capital" – or artistic authority - to engage in controlling the labour process of musicians and secondly, the belief that autonomy will lead to good art. The following section will consider control in larger-scale organisations and show how work in large independent and major labels contrasts with these small-scale organisations.

5.6 Bureaucratic Controls

The previous sections have emphasised the existence of relatively autonomous labour processes in the music industry that are concerned with the production of symbolic goods and the creation ultimately of symbolic capital. While appearing to grant total creative autonomy, small label production does place an emphasis on the production of symbolic capital. Cultural production is similar to earliest forms of capitalist production in that economic power and authority lies in the hands of the founder (e.g., Edwards, 1979). Yet, artistic authority (Ryan, 1992), based on relevant forms of cultural capital, was found within the current research to be a form of power that contrasted with the simple control model described by Edwards (1979) in that the authority was predominantly exerted by musicians. This section deals with the attempts of the record labels to ensure levels of economic capital from the exchange of music. In contrast to symbolic capital, which can be converted eventually into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993), the work of larger-scale producers is aimed at ensuring the generation of more immediate economic capital. The exchange value of a musician's labour can only be discerned after production; the existence of management and control in the employment relationship is to enact

strategies of uncertainty reduction (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). These strategies of uncertainty reduction are generally found within the larger independent and major labels and act as a means of trying to ensure conversions to economic capital. This section will address bureaucratic forms of control that are reminiscent of Edwards' (1979) formulation and Ryan's (1992) discussions of corporate control in the cultural industries.

Although many writers have acknowledged cultural production's resemblance to an assembly line (O'Doherty and Wilmott, 2009), this comparison is rather superficial within the music industry (Negus, 1992). The ability to implement forms of technical control – such as reorganising the division of labour or deskilling – is limited (Ryan, 1992). Again, this inability to subsume labour into more traditional forms of control is due to the reliance on “named” cultural producers (Banks, 2010; Ryan, 1992). Indeed, the belief that cultural products are the result of an autonomous production process is seen as a key marker for consumer purchase (Brouillette, 2008). Bureaucratic control is affected in order to present the impression of lines of authority and impersonal rules and procedures (Ryan, 1992). Hierarchies appear as increasing intermediation within the employment relationship, through A&R managers primarily, with the implication being that authority is imposed downwards this way. Formatting – a form of imposing procedures – covers aspects of the production process from the technical aspects of creating a useable product (converting sound into an MP3 format) to classifying the music into a particular genre or style of music. Drawing on Bourdieu's forms of capital, bureaucratic control can be seen as an effort to ensure a conversion from objectified cultural capital into one of the other forms of capital. As bureaucratic control predominantly appears within this sample in the larger scale producers, these controls can be seen as a strategy to ensure conversions to economic capital.

5.6.1 Enacting Hierarchies and Establishing Artistic Authority

In contrast to the employment relationship within small-scale production, the employment relationship within large-scale organisations is intermediated by several levels of creative management. For many of the musicians interviewed, much of this creative management comes into the employment relationship once production moves to the recording studio. The most prominent of the creative managers that get involved within the larger label recording process are A&R

managers, record producers and engineers. In addition to the artist managers often involved in small-scale production, the large-scale organisations often employ A&R (Artist and Repertoire) managers and producers within the musicians' labour process. Within the current research, A&R managers are present in the larger independent labels and the major labels; in small-scale producers A&R management functions are usually performed by label owners or management. The roles of A&R managers, summarised succinctly by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011: 92), are "to seek out creative talent, and arrange for these acts to release their music through the label; and to work with established acts to ensure that they build on previous work in a successful way". Within the current research, and reflective of Negus' (1992) research into the recorded music production process, the role of the A&R managers was found to tend toward the two different approaches taken. Some approach working with musicians in a *lassiez-faire* manner while others are more autocratic and seek to get more involved in the creative stages of production (i.e., conception and execution). Creative management are usually aligned with different interests within the employment relationship (see Figure 12), with A&R management generally being seen as the closest aligned to record company interests as paid employees and artists' managers being closest aligned to the musician (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). The producer occupies a variable position between the two – with producers often being recruited by the musician themselves, assigned to the album by the record company or even asking specifically to get involved in a musicians' work.

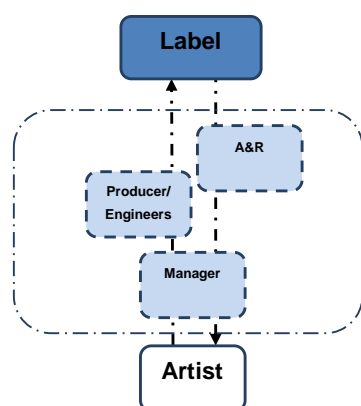


Figure 11: Intermediated Employment Relationship

For the musicians themselves there is a practical need for some of this intermediation as time in the recording studio is very expensive and many are inexperienced with producing music within the recording studio:

“they’ve developed their song writing, their arrangement to the extent that they can perform them with impact on stage but when it comes to making a record, they don’t have the experience of using the studio to really develop the song writing arrangement and the performance technique and that’s where the producer really comes into his own or her own is in taking the band, to use a common expression, kind of on a journey, really.” (Evan, producer)

As identified in other literature, music is not solely the product of an individual creative genius but a network of relations that produces music (Becker, 1976; Bourdieu, 1993; Negus, 1999; Toynbee, 2013). Creative management offers additional sources of cultural capital to the employment relationship, or rather, provides an amount of labour power that also has to be valorised within the cultural labour process. These additional sources of labour power are more common in larger-scale production, simply due to the expense of producing records with the addition of layers of intermediation in the employment relationship. Yet, the “nobody knows” problem or the risk inherent to the consumption of cultural products means that management in music companies undertake strategies to reduce uncertainty (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Within large-scale production, these strategies are more intensive.

As discussed previously, the conception stage of music production is relatively autonomous. For music companies there is little incentive to rationalise the labour process, as the belief in autonomously produced works by “artists” is essential to cultural production (Banks, 2010a; Ryan, 1992). Control in large-scale producers is predicated on bureaucratic means, rather than technical forms of control (Ryan, 1992). In line with Edward’s (1979) notion of bureaucratic control, the larger labels enact hierarchies in order to achieve levels of control over production. The additional forms of creative management – A&R, producers, record label management – that are added to the employment relationship are to give the sense of a bureaucracy with lines of authority (Ryan, 1992). The power of this creative management provides additional sources of cultural capital in the musicians’ employment relationship; that is additional sources of “artistic authority”. The absence of artistic authority was noted in the previous section as giving the appearance of creative autonomy. In contrast to small-scale producers, the larger

record labels offer greater amounts of economic capital, more intermediation within the employment relationship and further means of organising the work of musicians. Within the larger-scale producers, organisational attempts at control are aimed at reducing the uncertainty of symbolic goods – or more specifically, attempting to increase the likeliness of conversions into economic capital.

A&R involvement within the employment relationship varies, as discussed previously, from scouting for talent to overseeing and directing aspects of the conception and execution of work. One common practice of A&R is for the initial version of the album to be vetted before release and suggestions made to improve it, as Jack explains about his time within his previous large-independent label:

“...because the A&R effectively they are the last port of call and they will be putting the album out we found that with [the last album] my manager and the A&R guy at [the label] sat down, we all sat down, because it was a 12 track album and he was like ‘we don’t need this intro track’ and ‘there are two songs that sound very similar on here and so why don’t we turn into a 10 track album?’ And he had some thoughts on the order as well and that shows a bit of a passion for the records that he wants to get involved and to make it as good as he can because in the end he is putting in the money; so, you may not be legally obliged to follow his advice in some kind of moral capacity you feel like you have got to take his advice. Their opinions count because they are putting it out and they are putting the money behind it so you can’t disregard it. I never really pushed him on various things. It kind of makes sense what he had to say about the track and I never tested that I guess is what I am trying to say.” (Jack, independent-label artist)

The ability of musicians to reject the advice of the intermediaries is primarily due to their artistic authority within the art-commerce relation. The relative autonomy musicians have over the conception of productions therefore grants a degree of power based on the musician’s possession of levels of relevant embodied cultural capital. Creative management similarly possess levels of cultural capital (expertise) as well as symbolic capital (reputation) accrued from involvement in prior projects. Yet, the ability of these forms of capital to affect any artistic authority on the employment relationship varies. Although A&R managers can and do have sources of artistic authority, the primary sources of authority for A&R managers are, in Weberian terms, rational-legal authority based on their economic power within the employment relationship (Edwards, 1979; Ryan, 1992). The absence of artistic authority is therefore a source of conflict within the art-commerce relation, as Zoe’s experience of working with A&R management in her independent record label:

"I think when we were on [the record label] we had a few that we fought. I think where that probably came out was where we would give them songs and they would say 'oh this is going to be a radio hit' or they'd be like 'maybe you could put the chorus at the beginning' and I'd be like 'maybe you can fuck off' and I know that sounds a little bolshie but you don't write your songs a certain way, like I said, we don't write our songs for radio. We write our songs for us and we think when we are working on an arrangement that we take very seriously we write them for the song, the energy of that song; so if somebody says you need to just take that and put it that word and put it at the beginning, you are like no because that is compromising the narrative that we constructed for a specific reason because we thought it worked with the song. So, no, we won't do that and thankfully we had that kind of contract. We had creative control so they weren't like "oh blah" but there would be the odd suggestion and you'd go 'thanks but no thanks.'" (Zoe, independent label musician)

The producer is usually the only intermediary that is not directly aligned with the interests of either side. How the producer becomes involved in the production process can vary between they themselves asking to be involved in a project, record label management assigning them to a project, or the musicians themselves recruiting the producer (or indeed, self-producing). Musical capital, in Coulson's (2010) usage, determines the sources of artistic authority that the producer has. Recruitment to the role of producer can be made based on the musical knowledge and production skills of the producer (cultural capital). The producer can be recruited by a musician or band due to their reputation (symbolic capital). Alternatively, the record label may employ them due to their ability to produce music in a certain way (legitimate/ economic authority). As Aaron, an engineer/producer, explains when there are conflicts between the musicians and the record company, it is usually the other intermediaries that are caught in the middle.

"The producer's the first person to become the scapegoat if things don't work, you know, and I think it's ... I mean it's very genre specific because I've worked with a lot of pop projects where the A&R had a very, very specific idea of what they wanted the artist to be, the artist has a completely different vision and you're constantly fielding little secret phone calls from the A&R guys saying, "Could you just get rid of this; can you sort this out," and it's a horrible, horrible, ugly situation to be in and it's not fun." (Aaron, producer)

Reflective of Negus' (1992) description of the roles of record producers, many of the producers talked about the need to manage the "psychology" of the employment relationship. Nick, a major-label producer, talked about gauging what the label was looking for from the musician and what the musician was aiming to produce and try to ensure that the difference between the two is minimal. The idea of compromise is

something that is anathema to many of the producers. The labour process of musicians again contrasts with more traditional capitalist labour processes, in that even the producers – who are generally intermediaries paid for by capital – often relate to the interests of the musicians. For example, when the pressure comes from the record labels, many producers articulate a similar view to Aaron, where the producers tend to side with the band for artistic reasons:

“I’m quite lucky in that I’ve worked with a lot of artists who are supported by their label and given the freedom to kind of do what they want, which is great. But there are ... I mean, you know, obviously the record company are paying, you know, they’re footing the bill at the end of the day and nine times out of ten, they’ll have signed that act because they’ll see them as being able to go to a certain place, you know, and make a certain amount of money so it’s an investment. And if they feel that the vision that the band have isn’t quite the same as the vision they have, then they do tend to turn to the producer and say, “Look, this is what we want.” And I’ve been in a few of those situations but ... yes, I mean, most of the time if I’m in that situation, what I’d actually do is to kind of, you know, just say the right things to the record company and then just do whatever the band want anyway because for me it’s sort of more about, you know, it’s more about the band’s vision and I think if you’ve got a great sounding record that the band are committed to, then it’s going to market itself better anyway.” (Aaron, producer)

The ability of the record to market itself is related to the idea that autonomously produced goods are perceived as an essential component of artistic production. The success of hierarchical control within the musician’s labour process therefore depends on the artistic authority of the intermediaries involved. Rather than enacting bureaucratic control through impersonal lines of authority, the addition of these new sources of artistic authority add greater “charismatic” authority into the employment relationship. This is reflective of what Beer (2014) described as the “precarious double life” of a recording engineer, where the artistic sensibilities of the producer and the musicians find affinity. Indeed, as Evan explained: when there is an understanding between the musicians and himself then it is a source of greatest satisfaction in his work, partly because of his identification as a “failed musician”.

5.6.2 *Formatting*

Another key aspect of enacting bureaucratic controls in music production is the need to format symbolic goods. As has been discussed previously, the consumption of symbolic goods is unpredictable and highly volatile (Bourdieu, 1984; Caves, 2000). A key characteristic of cultural production therefore, is to reduce the risk (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). In addition to establishing hierarchies and lines of

authority, a further method for achieving uncertainty reduction is formatting. Within the current research, the use of formatting was restricted to larger independent and major label production. Three methods of formatting (i.e., Negus, 1998; Ryan, 1992) were found within the current research. The first two are linked, the production of singles or the adaptation of existing songs through radio editing. The third method was the use of genre labels and the linking of cultural output to established “stars”.

The pressure to reduce uncertainty is coupled with the large-scale production requirement to sell vast quantities of singles and albums. Within the discussions over the role of A&R in the recorded music industry, the A&R managers acknowledged that the pressure to achieve sales is characteristic of major-label production, as Amy explains:

“Major label A&R is very much about trying to get things onto radio because the system that a major label works in is that you need to have radio hits and you need to sell it in bulk. You need to sell a lot of copies of an album and a lot of digital sales of an album to make that money back because the advance is so high.” (Amy, A&R Manager)

The recorded music industry is characteristic of Miège’s (1987) publishing logic, where there is essentially overproduction in the expectation that only a few records produced will recoup the costs and provide the profits for the entire repertoire (Negus, 1992). However, the knowledge of where the radio hits come from in a label’s repertoire is generally unknown. Within the field of cultural production, major label production occurs in the subfield of large-scale production – a subfield that is in homology with the field of power, with a logic toward economic production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). The labour process of small-label production was demonstrated previously to accept the production of surplus value in the form of *symbolic* capital. Reflective of the location in the subfield of large scale production (Bourdieu, 1996), the need to sell mass quantity however leads the employment relationship to place a greater emphasis on the production of *economic* surplus value – that is a more immediate conversion of the objectified cultural capital produced into economic capital. One way of producing this economic surplus value is to adapt the symbolic good produced into as saleable a product as possible. Within the larger record labels A&R staff take on a greater prominence within the employment relationship and are tasked increasing the saleability of the symbolic

goods produced. The difference in logic within larger-scale production is shown in Rhys's description of the function of his job in the production process:

"I think basically the role of A&R broadly is to facilitate an artist's kind of ideas and set it to product which is essentially saleable. This is the music industry and one way or another we have different aspirations for the way business is gonna go, but we're trying to basically make records." (Rhys, A&R manager)

One of the more contentious decisions that can often induce conflict in the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry is the production of singles and radio edits. Radio editing occurs primarily in the transcription stage (Ryan, 1992; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Radio editing represents an aspect of formatting that is primarily directed at adapting a song into a more readily saleable commodity and is particularly prevalent in the more commercially motivated major record label. Radio edits adapt the length of songs to around three minutes in length due to increase their suitability for radio. The more suitable the song is for radio, the more potential for conversion to economic capital and potential to be associated with "pop". Despite radio editing being an aspect of the transcription stage, it is a consideration when talking of creative freedom as Quentin, an independent label musician, explains:

Interviewer: OK, and how much creative freedom were you offered or did you get from [your label]?

Quentin: Hundred percent. That's again, that's what's brilliant about them, they're very, very approachable. They never once told us what we should sing, like, what we should ... there's always the inevitable question of radio edits. That's about as far as it went. And we were sort of fine with them doing the edits because we just wanted to be played.

Quentin's explanation is defensive toward his record label, because radio editing is seen as a means of increasing the commodification of the song produced. Quentin explains that discussions of radio edits were the only notable event to impinge on his band's creative freedom but that this was acceptable because they had an interest in being heard. Indeed, within the independent labels, the editing of songs for radio play is treated with suspicion. Reflective of this is Helen who, talking as a record label manager, explains the doubts she has toward musicians being advised to adapt their songs for radio play:

“...we have had numerous experiences recently of record company individuals coming in to my artist’s sphere and the artist coming back to the studio and saying ‘we just need to get this edit done because the record company guy or our manager guy said that if we just do this edit it will be better for radio and more of a chance of getting it played’. Most of the time [label co-owner] and I are very suspicious of these things because there is an awful lot of bullshit in the music industry, an awful lot, coming from the record companies, people talking about ‘oh, we need to do it in this way to make it a hit’. Nothing guarantees a hit, nothing. Hits are the most, they are the rarest of species.” (Helen, independent musician/label owner)

Radio edits are a method of creating a “single”. The notion of a “single” differs from a “song” in that it is a specific term to denote a more readily saleable track suitable for radio and eventually to chart. Unlike radio editing, production of a “single” can occur in the conception, execution and transcription stages of the production process. Singles are produced through either design or redesign: occurring in the conception and execution stages or as a redesign in the transcription stage. Zoe, returning to her discussion of the record label pressure to make radio friendly singles, discusses the similarities between her work and the formats expected for singles and explains her songs fit a radio friendly length mainly by chance not design:

“I think that because we write three minute long songs - and that’s down to how our songs work, it’s nothing considered, it’s partly attention span. We can’t write longer than four minutes and we are not really looking [inaudible 28.50] we write, just write tunes. We’ve just kind of naturally maybe been okay for radio because songs are the right length and I write choruses - I like a hook. It just works; we haven’t really thought of that, it just happened to work out say for that music we suit radio. Not like Radio1 or Rock Radio or Absolute or whatever or commercial stations but certainly like we have been very successful with 6Music because I think yes, maybe a three and a half minute song that has a couple of hooks and the chorus, it just happens to work and it’s me just being cynical but when we are writing we don’t think ‘fuck it man we need to write a radio hit.” (Zoe, independent label musician)

Despite her objections to record-label interference described earlier, Zoe describes many of the key features of a single as a part of her creative process – three minutes long, choruses and “hooks”. Choruses and hooks are chord and melody combinations that are characteristic of popular music. The implication of “pop music” styles from the interviews is that making songs in popular formats has to be justified for fear of appearing too commercial. Neil’s description of his musical output emphasises that his music may melodically and structurally have the makings of pop song, but that his music is more “grotesque” in order to distance himself from appearing concerned with commerce:

“Structurally I think I've always written pop songs that have melodies, hooks, choruses, verses, the structure is always relatively simple and quite easy to get a handle on. It's not very experimental. But at the same time, I enjoy coupling that with dark themes. Slightly odd instrumentation at times, just I suppose it's like, pop music it's been twisted so as to kind of I suppose, what's the word... make it a bit more grotesque. At its core, it's pop, it's folk, it's storytelling and simplicity is the key.” (Neil, major label artist)

Producing a single, certainly from what participants in the current research have explained, demonstrates the extensive involvement between musicians and creative managers, such as producers and A&R staff. For A&R managers, the single – or “hit” – is seen as a key requirement for work in the major labels. The establishment of a hierarchy and the attempts to secure formatted hits from contracted artists are attempts to reduce the uncertainty of symbolic goods (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). As Amy demonstrates, this exertion of authority is often something that A&R managers have to do, despite any misgivings:

“So, you say to an artist “Right OK, we signed you, we love your music, and actually now you need to write us a hit” – and I've done it! [Laughs] And it's an interesting process to go through to ask someone to write a hit. Because actually what ends up happening is you take away their innate drive and they end up kind of going “Well, what the fuck am I doing?” (Amy, A&R Manager)

Much like Friedman's (1977) description of responsible autonomy, which is granted when musicians identify with the aims of the record label, within major label production this is granted with the production of an economic surplus value. This autonomy is in contrast to the responsible autonomy granted in the small-scale producers, where the belief that musicians would make worthwhile, symbolically valuable music if left to it. Bill, a major label artist, when talking about how he felt about recently changing record company, talks about how his band's creative stage got more autonomous once their second album received acclaim and high record sales:

“I don't really regret it, I did feel that they gave us a sling shot into occupying the position that we have now and there were some strange decisions that were made; particularly on the first record I felt as though they didn't really trust us as much but when [*the second album*] did really well and we had some... just that sort of... record kind of was okay and then at that point they were much more hands off and they let us make decisions ourselves...” (Bill, major label musician)

As Bill later explains, he was aware that his band is not one of the “stars” but rather a “wild cat” or an unknown (Negus, 1998) and not expected to sell large numbers of

records. Rather than experience tighter control over their decisions, the record label management were willing to invest smaller amounts of money in the hope that the album could become a hit. The greater autonomy granted to the musicians is representative of their movement toward being considered a “cash cow” in their major label – where the “small fry” amounts of money spent on his band continued to provide the record company a steady income (Negus, 1998). In contrast, there are examples within the current research, of musicians whose experience of larger-label work is much more constrained when the record company believes they do not subscribe to the aims of the organisation and control is much more direct (Friedman 1977). Chris, working for one of the large independent labels, explains that his rejection of “repeating the formula” (Ryan, 1992: 157) led to disputes with his record label:

“And it was, actually, the most successful record and then after that I was, “Oh! Okay, that was interesting.” And then I kind of immediately decided to start again to electronica. Then there was a... I guess that was the start of the dispute with [the record label]. I guess then they started to say, “What are you doing this for? Why are you doing that?” And I suppose then there was a bit of pressure then. There was a bit of feeling of people looking over my shoulder.” (Chris, independent label musician)

Yet, bureaucratic control may begin prior to the production process, even at a stage before the establishment of an employment relationship. Richard, discussing the problems with negotiating the right deal for one of his clients, observes the problem with record labels trying to format their artists:

“When we started off, we had loads ... we had every major in the ... we had every major in the book coming to see her at some point and then some people were, you know, starting to say, “Oh, we can see her being like the new Ellie Goulding,” and all that and it just started ringing ... it was ringing alarm bells with me” (Richard, manager)

As can be seen from Richard’s example, the major label identifies a format that they believe is saleable and a format that the artist would seem to fit within. Reducing the uncertainty associated with cultural goods (Hesmondhalgh, 2013) is often achieved by producing more songs in the style of previous purchases (Ryan, 1992: 157). Attaching to a “star” or using a name-based approach is a common strategy in the music industry and Ellie Goulding, as a successful electronic pop singer, is an attractive format for a major label. The imposition of formats however has previously been shown to cause conflict within the art-commerce relation in

recorded music (e.g., Balaji, 2009). Within the current research, a format acts much like symbolic capital acted as an indicator for the type of employment relationship to expect in the smaller-scale producers. The proposal of a popular format, and the implied emphasis on economic capital, can act as a deterrent to some of the artists. The result is a divergence of interest, one economic and one artistic, based on the differing field location of the organisation and the artist (Bourdieu, 1993; 1994).

5.7 Chapter Discussion

This chapter has demonstrated that current labour process understanding of value are insufficient for conceptualising the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry. Rather than a dichotomy between the artistic concerns of musicians and the commercial interests of music companies, the art-commerce relation is a contested terrain of various forms of capital and their respective use and exchange values. This chapter has found that Bourdieu's forms of capital allow labour process theory to better conceptualisation what types of value are produced within the recorded labour process of musicians. Work in the music industry is primarily concerned with the production of "symbols" or "symbolic value" (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013) and it is through the commodification and distribution of symbols that commercial pressures emerge. The existence of contradiction has emerged as an important point of analysis in the work of musicians. The central contradiction within value production in the work of musicians is between the commodification of their work and the artistic integrity of their work. The two-fold reality of the symbolic good (Bourdieu, 1993) is reflected in the contradiction between a use-value, or symbol, independent of economic concerns, and an exchange-value that affects the potential cultural value of the symbolic good.

The current research offers an insight into how Bourdieu's forms of capital "are accumulated, function within a field, are traded and translated" (Townley *et al.*, 2009: 955) within the recorded music industry. Scott's (2012) contribution examining the generation of exchange values and achieving conversions into Bourdieu's different forms of capital is expanded on within this research. For many of the musicians in the early stages of the music industry, gaining access to and converting social capital represents the key exchange. Musicians engaged in employment relationships with music companies are primarily concerned with the production of use-values in the form of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The conversion of the objectified cultural capital into exchange values is however mediated by record labels. Management in the recorded music industry is not solely concerned with the conversion of Bourdieu's forms of capital into economic capital alone (Townley *et al.*, 2009). This research elaborates on exchange value production to demonstrate symbolic capital as an aim of management in recorded music production. Reflective of the different locations within the field of cultural production, musicians within small-scale producers are granted autonomy in the expectation of generating a surplus value in terms of symbolic capital.

One of the key concerns of labour process theory has been locating the methods by which labour power is transformed into actual labour (Thompson and Smith, 2009). Control is not so much a method of reducing the indeterminacy of labour (i.e., Littler, 1982; Thompson, 1989), but reducing a further indeterminacy – that of the uncertainty of consumption (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Risk and the ensuing response of uncertainty reduction strategies have been seen as key characteristics of cultural production (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Yet, as has been observed throughout the literature, the labour processes of cultural workers are generally relatively autonomous with an enduring link between conception and execution stages of work (Banks, 2010a; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; McGuigan, 2010; Ryan, 1992).

The analysis presented within this chapter has shown various similarities to Ryan's (1992) account of cultural production and the work of Richard Edwards (1979). Managerial control is contested and its success depends on dual hierarchies of economic power and symbolic power. Artistic authority, as in Ryan's (1992) work, has been demonstrated to be a key component within the work of musicians in the recorded music industry. However, the analysis of this chapter has built on Ryan's contribution by utilising Bourdieu's forms of capital. The chapter has demonstrated that reconceptualising artistic authority based on Bourdieu's embodied forms of capital establishes the competing lines of authority in the employment relationship. This research has shown that some intermediaries are unable or unwilling to exert their artistic authority. Absence of requisite cultural capital renders some intermediaries attempts to exert control as futile. The current research also reflects previous research that has demonstrated how intermediaries, such as producers, are subject to the same tensions between art and commerce within their work (Beer, 2014).

Simple control and responsible autonomy are the predominant forms of “control” found within the research, with many musicians engaged in labour processes that require little interaction with the record label management, and most interactions reflect the personal link between owner and worker (Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977). Simple control and responsible autonomy are most prevalent in the small record labels and reflect the increasing autonomy in the subfield of small-scale production in Bourdieu’s formulation (Bourdieu, 1996). Rather than needing to ensure convertibility of the symbolic goods, record labels within this field are mainly concerned with ensuring musicians are left to produce music with the hope that these will eventually generate symbolic – rather than economic – exchange values. Attempts at overt creative control are not attempted due either to a lack of artistic authority or a lack of concern.

Bureaucratic controls were found to be more prevalent in the larger-scale producers, such as the large independents and major labels. Again, this type of control would reflect a field location where less autonomy is expected and a closer relationship to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996). However, unlike more traditional forms of capitalist production, the labour processes in the subfield of large-scale cultural production are still relatively autonomous and with an enduring link between conception and execution of work. Importantly, while the current research found instances of bureaucratic control, it is not bureaucratic control that is enacted by management but attempts at bureaucratic control. Edwards (1979) formulation is an ideal type, and likewise managerial attempts to enact hierarchies and format musicians and their music must be treated as attempts rather than successful representations of the ideal type. As has been argued by other writers (e.g., Negus, 1999; Peterson, 1976), such superficial representations of the recorded music industry as a bureaucratically controlled factory line are inadequate. The awareness of genres and forms of formatting pervade the working lives of the musicians within the current research.

Having demonstrated the need to formulate labour process analysis in the music industry as a series of capital conversions with control being aimed at improving the conversion of symbolic goods eventually into economic capital, the art-commerce relation can be conceptualised as a contestation over forms of capital. Yet, Bohm and Land’s (2012) and O’Doherty and Willmott’s (2009) contributions, which problematize where value production takes place, have some merit within the

current research. Taking issue with the core proposition arguing that the labour process is privileged for analysis (Thompson, 1989; 1990), several writers have argued work in the cultural industries takes place outside established employment relationships while value production may occur (e.g., O'Doherty and Willmott, 2009; Ursell, 2000). It is therefore important to consider the forms of capital and how they function within a field (e.g., Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 101) in order to understand music production outside the employment relationship. Within the current research, participants were all engaged in music production and attempting to be "taken up" by the recorded music industry (Jones, 2012). This chapter found that the musicians were not necessarily "trained to accept and reproduce *for themselves* the precise conditions of their subordination" (Banks, 2007: 42) as in the governmentality perspective. Rather, musicians are engaged in music production in order to mobilise forms of capital in the hope of improving their positions within the field (eg., Scott, 2012).

The tendency for conflict within the cultural labour process has often been described as the incompatibility between artistic independence and economic concerns and is widely considered a defining feature of work in the cultural industries (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Ryan, 1992). The previous sections discussing control have demonstrated that the intermediaries' and, indeed record labels', possession of levels of the various forms of capital has an important role in determining the nature of the employment relationship. The need for control in the labour process, as has been discussed in the previous chapters, is based on the need of capital to convert the labour power it has purchased into work (Marx, 1976; Braverman, 1974; Littler, 1982; Thompson, 1989). Rather than capital and labour being structured against each other in terms of economic inequality, this chapter demonstrates that the relationship between musicians and their record labels can be seen as a conflict between positions within the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993).

An important theme to emerge that needs to be explored further is the role of interests in the labour process. The art-commerce relation is not simply a "conflict of interest" (c.f., Edwards, 1986; Thompson, 1989: 273) but is a form of structured antagonism. Both the organisation and the musician exist within a field due to their possession of varying levels of cultural, economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1994; 1996; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Instead of there being "two very

different sorts of artist” as one of the A&R managers argued, this difference between artists can be seen as reflective of different positions within the field. Artists who “never compromise” could be seen as pursuing symbolic capital – or rejecting economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993) - within the industry. The alignment of “business aspirations” with that of capital could be seen as a more commercial strategy to achieve greater economic capital. The difference in field location between the record label and the musicians in terms of both economic and symbolic interests places the two into a conflictual relationship. The aim of the following chapter therefore will be to explore these “conflicts of interest” in greater detail.

Chapter Six: Artistic Identity and Conflicts of Interests

6.1 Introduction

Within the previous chapter, the labour process of musicians in the recorded music industry was considered in terms of value production and the nature of managerial control. The key findings from the previous chapter suggested that the art-commerce relationship between management and musicians was based on developing potential exchange values. The previous chapter found that musicians had a great deal of autonomy within the creative stages of production yet, in the larger-scale organisations, forms of control were observed. Following from the acknowledged lack of Marxist inspired research to consider the role of the subject in negotiating the employment relationship (Banks, 2007; Thompson, 1990), the focus of this chapter is on the experience of work for musicians, addressing the “content” of work (Smith and McKinlay, 2009).

Utilising the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three, this chapter considers the role of artistic identity within the art-commerce relation. More specifically, the chapter considers how the art-commerce relation interacts with the three levels of identity. Firstly, the chapter will consider the role of social identity – or rather an acted “artistic identity”. Offering another link to Bourdieu’s forms of capital, social identity is used to show how possession of the forms of capital affects how musicians are perceived. In terms of the art-commerce relation, the section on artistic identity will show how possession of cultural and economic capitals affects how they are perceived by other musicians. Secondly, the chapter will then consider the role of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus as an element of personal identity. The section considering habitus will demonstrate, using empirical data, how the unconscious sense of self acts as a personal drive to make music and helps overcome the negative effects of “commerce” within the art-commerce relation. This chapter will then consider the role of interests and examine how musicians negotiate possession of the forms of capital. Refuting Bourdieu’s lack of consideration for non-instrumental motivations, the interests section demonstrates how musicians often lack a concern for generating further capital. Rather interests are heterogeneous, and musicians have affective interests rather than, or in addition to, instrumental interests.

6.2 The Sources of Artistic Identification

This section will attempt to demonstrate the key features of artistic identification found within the current research. Previous research has demonstrated the difficulty of arriving at definitions of what constitutes “artistic identity” or even how to define an artist (Bain, 2005). Though all the musicians within the current research, regardless of their contractual relationship with a music company, were concerned with being “taken up” by music companies (Jones, 2012), identification with their status as “musicians” widely varied. This section, however, presents elements of an *acted* “artistic” identity, which is linked to musicians’ perception of their stores of capital. Within the current research, the musicians sampled revealed there are several features of this artistic identity. Initially, this section will begin by discussing the pay and conditions experienced by the participants within the current research. Following the discussion of pay conditions, this section examines how musicians identify themselves, particularly in terms of employment status, relationship with money, musical ability.

6.2.1 *Pay and Conditions*

This subsection will outline the key features of pay and conditions experienced by the musicians within the current research. Reflective of previous descriptions of the characteristics of cultural work (e.g., Smith and McKinlay, 2009; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013), many of the musicians survive with no or minimal pay through jobs outside the industry or subsist on familial support. The majority of the musicians who took part in the current study conduct their music work part-time. Income from music is divided into the three “music industries” (Jones, 2012): recorded music, live music and publishing industries. For many of the musicians most of the money earned from music work is generally paid for after the production of an album – through royalty payments and live performances in promotion of the album. Importantly, with the exception of a few of the larger label musicians, the recorded music part of the labour process is generally performed unpaid. The musicians who have label support are able to make a full-time commitment to their music while in the promotion stage of a new album. Edward’s explanation of his way of managing the precarious finances of music production is a practice replicated by several of the independent label musicians:

The way it's worked with the three albums is generally speaking when an album has just come out I can usually support myself for about a year without having to do any other work. Part of that is the advance you get; part of that is the gigs you get as a result of it and the odd remix and a couple of PRS payments paid in. Then, the longer it is since I've done an album then it tends to be the more I have to sort of resort to "boring" work, office stuff and the rest of it, couriering, whatever. Whatever's lying around, because the actual process of making music doesn't pay particularly well, well for me so far, just sort of sitting at home writing an album is a wonderful thing to do and a great privilege but doesn't pay the bills, so, yeah, to subsidise that then I have to do, you know, other work. (Edward, independent label artist)

For those who work full-time on music, the financial rewards during this time however fall short of subsistence levels. Some of the participants are reliant on other sources of support, such as a mortgage-paid house or spousal support. Victor described the situation for his family and the reliance on spousal support:

"What I'm bringing into the family is through my music for the last two years really, and before that I was kind of heading that way but I was trying to hold down a job which became increasingly part time. In the end what happened was, when it was kind of crossing over - my wife was studying and financially it was very tricky - as soon as she finished studying and became a teacher, I got the heave-ho from my job and it was like 'it's your turn now' " (Victor, independent label artist)

Alternatively, the ability to subsist on minimal income – levels far below the minimum wage - requires familial support or for housing costs to be taken care of. Indeed, Brian, an independent label musician, and his band have committed full-time and achieved award nominations and critical acclaim, yet the incomes they receive from the music is minimal:

"Our personal income year on year has varied from about £4000-£9000. Yeah! [laughs]. We've managed to keep going through a combination of being frugal and at various times our wives have had OK enough jobs for us not to need extra money. [We've] been incredibly lucky that me dad had a massive windfall and enough - because the company he worked for was sold just before the financial crisis - to have paid for us to have a house. So I don't have to pay rent - if I paid rent I'd be bugged." (Brian, independent label artist)

Furthermore, nearly every musician interviewed, stated that the ability to earn enough money to support a full-time career was the main aspiration of their music. However, the inability to perform music work full-time, or earn sufficient money from their music work, was common for the majority of artists, most of whom had to engage in other part-time work. Some participants, by virtue of their institutionalised cultural capital, are able to find alternative forms of related work,

such as teaching music Quentin, talked of his full-time commitment to the band led him to taking on all sorts of part-time “crap jobs” to get by:

“Well, with the [band], from the very, very ... when I said we did it full time, what I mean is we committed to it full-time so what that means is that we always worked; every single one of us had part-time jobs and we had awful part-time jobs, you know, because you can only get the type of part-time jobs that allow you to leave, you know, to then come back to. So... the drummer, [name] and I worked in a ... worked packing T-shirts; I've cleaned toilets; I've worked in kitchens; we've worked in bars.” (Quentin, independent label musician)

The resulting “double life” (Taylor and Littleton, 2008) of being one foot in and one foot out of the music business was stressful for those concerned. Indeed, Greg (unsigned musician) stated at times he felt his “day job” was “using up” all his creative energy and the restricting time available for music work. For some musicians the inability to fit a day-job around their music work was a key motivator in their decision to work full-time as a musician. Within the current research, the organisation of a day-job and part-time or seasonal music work leads to a situation where musicians require flexible work as a way of supporting their participation in the recorded music industry. The ability to maintain flexible working arrangements is a constant source of difficulty however. As Zoe explains, her ability to find a service industry job that has other artistic professionals in a similar position has overcome some of the difficulties in finding ways of earning a living around her music work:

“I think the hardest thing is I have to be careful about what kind of jobs I do because there are certain things that I would maybe like to do but they need more commitment. I am torn between committing to them and committing to music because I know if I committed to them I'd have to turn down certain gigs I really want to do and certain musical opportunities working on collaborations and stuff because I would need to be more committed to a job. So, I have a job that is quite flexible, just working at a venue café and they understand that everyone there is in a similar situation you know, they are all musicians and artists so people can make their own schedule. So if you need a weekend off to go and play at festival or whatever it's fine.” (Zoe, independent label artist)

The discussions within this subsection have developed an understanding of the pay and conditions received by the musicians within the current research. Following from this subsection, the rest of this section will consider the role of employment status and money in developing a sense of artistic identity.

6.2.2 *Employment Status*

The lack of money and the inability for many musicians to feel they are working full-time makes it difficult for many of them to identify with the term “musician”. Writers such as Bourdieu (1993) however, see cultural production as based on the denial of money; musicians themselves reveal a contradiction between money and artistic status. Musicians’ ability to work full-time and subsist from their music work is seen as key in how they identify themselves professionally. The inability to fully identify as a musician considered by Catherine, an independent label musician:

I would like to say that but I guess on paper it wouldn’t seem like that because most of my working week is obviously what I do with the bank, I would love to be a full-time musician. I’d probably call myself a part time singer / song writer at the moment but I would love to be full time. That’s the plan anyway. (Catherine, unsigned musician)

Indeed, a number of musicians feel they are lying when they identify themselves as a musician when they are not performing music work full time. Such findings tie in well with Coulson’s (2012) research into the working lives of professional musicians in North East England, where the status of being a musician is strongly linked to being in full-time employment. The musicians in the current research occupy the full ‘continuum’ from very low paid music work to full-time music work (Coulson, 2012) and for many of the musicians there is a relationship between being nearer full-time work and more fully self-identifying as a musician. Jane, a former major label musician, observes that the form of work that provides subsistence is often the source of professional identification:

Interviewer: Would you consider yourself a musician first?

Jane: It changes, I used to consider myself a musician first but I suppose I have to be honest and have to consider myself... I’m a musician second these days.

Interviewer: Second to what?

Jane: Hmm, good question. Don’t know... to the part of me that needs to earn a living?

For many other musicians, “official” definitions help musicians arrive at their professional identity. A number of participants cited visa applications for foreign travel as the affirmative experience of their professional identity. For full-time

musicians, professional definition was something that they were confronted with when associated with the bureaucracy of touring, as Neil explains:

"Yeah, it's a strange one. I think the first time I really properly thought it was when you get your visa to tour in the US... and I was like you have to write your occupation on your visa and I thought 'I suppose that's it then' " (Neil, major label musician)

The "professional identity" of a proportion of the research participants appears to be determined by the relationship of the work of musicians to full-time employment. In addition, "official" definitions and the time spent making music are key determinants of how musicians identity themselves. As has been noted in the literature (e.g., Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Smith and McKinlay, 2009), work in the cultural industries is low paid and individuals need to participate in other forms of work to support themselves. As many of the musicians' financial income is derived outside of their music work, a musical or artistic identity is only partly and often quite weakly determined by a notion of being in an employment relationship.

6.2.3 Musicians' Relationship with Money

The essential notion of Bourdieu's work on cultural production (1993; 1996) is that cultural production operates on a principle in reverse to economic production and is essentially opposed to money. Research within cultural studies (e.g., McRobbie, 1998; Taylor and Littlejohn, 2008) has attempted to establish whether, in light of the more neoliberal economic practices of contemporary work and governmentality-influenced approaches to cultural work, cultural workers no longer see money as something that opposes notions of good work and instead see it acts as a form of validation. The findings demonstrate here suggest, while it is common for musicians to articulate a discomfort with the commercialisation of their work, the relationship between money and artistic identity is more complicated. In a similar fashion to how employment status influences perceptions of possessing an artistic identity, musicians in the current research did not see monetary rewards as corrupting of their work. Within the current research, being paid and being able to work full-time on music is a common goal for the musicians in the current research. Wendy is representative of the aims of many musicians in the current research and argues that being able to work full-time on her music is her overall career goal:

“My main intention has been to get to a point where I can just write and play music and get paid enough for that to live. So just to have it as a living, just that aspect of it. That was really my aim. It wasn’t really to sell a certain number of records, although that’s related to that I suppose. I mean, I’d have little goals along the way, like I wanted to tour in America or I wanted to play on Radio 2 or something like that, but basically just to be able to have enough money to be able to focus as much as I need to focus on creating the best music that I can.” (Wendy, independent label artist)

Previous writers (e.g., Bourdieu, 1998; Ross, 2000) have discussed the need for cultural producers to declare a disinterest in money as a requirement for artistic success. The acceptance of the music industry’s poor pay is widely acknowledged throughout the current research and is reflective of the musicians in Gibson’s (2003) research. The difficulties faced by musicians in the current research are seen by many of the musicians to make the work more rewarding. Whether the inability to make a living was commensurate with good art was found to be a key source of debate with the participants in the current research. In one sense, musicians believe financial hardship is a good motivator and a source of inspiration for their work. Julian, who views struggle as a positive influence on his art, sees the difficulties to make a living as a source of material for his writing:

“I think struggling is definitely good when it’s... as you get older you know more about how to write songs but you have less things to write about.” (Julian, independent label musician)

Conversely, it was also evident that other musicians did not believe financial hardship was a key factor in the creative process. Wendy, whose aim of achieving full-time work was shared by a number of musicians, disagrees with a view that comfort would negatively influence her song writing:

And it’s a constant debate back and forth between whether—I mean some people think that struggle is a part of the process, and if someone just came along and said, “I’ll give you 20-grand a year just to sit at home and write songs and play them,” then would that—excuse me—take away something from your process? The struggle of having to survive—does that add something? Me and my friends often talk about that, and I really don’t think that’s the case. I think I would create really kick-ass music if I had enough time and money to be freed from all that stress. I really think that would help my process, but for other people maybe the struggle is part of their process. I don’t know. (Wendy, independent label artist)

As other writers have suggested (e.g., Banks, 2007; Ross, 2003), autonomy in the performance of work often acts to offset many of the disadvantages felt by workers in the cultural industries. Such factors are reflected in the current research, with

many musicians seeing freedom to do as they please and at their own pace as the key advantage of their work. With the musicians who are relatively successful, the ability to have control over how they use their time is a key source of “luxury” in their work:

I feel as though one good thing about this particular job is that it does give you a lot of free time. Obviously there was years that we were on the road a lot and that was all consuming for a couple of years but you have a lot of time to yourself and you can just be. It's a very indulgent lifestyle in that sense and you can maintain your interests in lots of other fields and whatever. So, I feel as though that, as opposed to being a chef or a doctor or somebody else that has a day in day out existence, it doesn't really compare to that kind of lifestyle because you have these huge expanses of time... which we do particularly when you end up being in the studio a lot but if I decide I don't want to be then that is fine. I'll just, like, lie in that morning and go for a walk or go to the museum or just spend some time with my wife or whatever. I have got that kind of luxury to do that. (Bill, major label artist)

Money in itself was not found to be opposed to art, as many of the musicians in the current research have explained. While the struggle to make a living is seen as a source of stress, the ability to be able to manage on money and work full-time on music is repeatedly argued to be a key aim for the participants. Failure is not seen by the current musicians as a sign of artistic integrity, reflective of Taylor and Littleton's (2008) view of money-as-validation. Rather, it is possession of high levels of economic capital that has a greater effect on the social identities of musicians. Musicians within the current research are aware of the possibility of being accused of “selling out” when they move to major label music companies after an early career working in independent music companies. This move, from the subfield of small-scale production to large-scale production places economic capital rather than symbolic capital as the structuring form of capital in the field (Bourdieu, 1996). The notion therefore of “selling out” and the relationship with greater levels of economic capital reflects a stigma (e.g., Goffman, 1963). Many of the participants stated their identity is tainted by an association with money. Jane, a former major label musician, explains how the signing to a major label deal – and subsequent loss of the deal – acted to stigmatise her social identity within the subfield of small-scale production:

“So [the label] offered us a fair bit of cash, so we had to take that route which is slightly unfortunate in the end 'cos we got dropped about 6 months later, and it was really hard for us to reintroduce ourselves to the independent world 'cos they – I suppose quite rightly – kind of thought you know ‘Who cares, you turned your back on us 6 months ago when you took the cash? So we're not gonna welcome you with open arms now’” (Jane, major-label musician)

The recognition that Jane's peers were “quite rightly” rejecting their attempts to reintegrate within the “independent scene” following her major label career reflects a recognition of the field of cultural production. In terms of Bourdieu’s (1993; 1996) formulation, the field is based on a rejection of economic capital. The change from a smaller independent record label to a major label signals a transgression of the boundary between small-scale and large-scale production. With large-scale production, production is influenced more toward economic capital. The influence of economic capital – or being seen to have an interest in economic capital - affects the reputation of the musicians. Indeed, the presence of high levels of economic capital acts to spoil the social identity of the musician (Goffman, 1968). In Goffman’s (1968) terms, economic capital represents a stigma that is “mutual”: stigmatised individuals understand that they have a stigma (Burns, 1992). Indeed, such a shared belief in the stigma carried by musicians represents the shared understanding of the “doxa” of the field (Bourdieu, 1998). Musicians accept the rules of the game and accept the game as valid. When Jane says the independent sector “quite rightly” did not accept their return to small-scale production, this represents a mutually accepted stigma. Interviews revealed terms such as “organisation” or “pop” to be viewed negatively by participating musicians. Neil (major label artist), moreover, believed his major record deal, which includes money made from touring and recorded output, has a stigmatising effect on his social identity:

Neil (major label artist): We signed a deal which is, the format of which, is 360.

Interviewer: Touring and that...

Neil: Yep. And as a result, a lot of people think I work for the devil.

For many of the musicians, there is a distancing between overt commercialism and their work. Being seen to “take the money” or be associated with chasing money appears to have a negative effect on their sense of social identity. This is an important contrast with the musicians who wish to achieve full-time work, where the ability to get by and work full-time on music is the ideal. The art-commerce relation therefore is a complicated balance concerning money. Indeed, for some musicians, they seem to revel in their apparent “disinterest”, with these musicians seeing the struggle as inherent to making good music. The following subsection will

consider the role of technical ability in determining identification with an artistic or musical identity.

6.2.4 *Technical Ability*

Another key element of how musicians identify themselves is through their musical ability – or perceived lack of ability. The production of music requires some degree of musical ability in order to produce symbolic goods – or in Bourdieu’s terms, participation in the field requires individuals imbued with cultural capital in order to engage within the field (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993, 1996). Saleable labour power in the field is therefore based on the cultural capital of the musicians. However, participation in the musical field does not require formal academic or technical qualifications, as can be the case in other cultural industries (Bain, 2005). As has been noted by Thompson et al. (2007: 634, also Jones, 2012), “what is marketed is more than music, it is the ‘uniqueness’ of the act, its look, its ‘story’, as well as its sound.” The musical capacities of the participants do not necessarily include superlative musicianship, but are often based on the combination of music performance, lyric writing and melody creation. For Evan, a record producer and engineer, explains, that as there are several aspects to recorded music production, technique is not necessarily a key motivator to get involved with a musician:

“There are so many aspects that affect a record, the playing ability, arrangement ability, performance ability. You need characteristics. I mean, it’s important that the singer has something unique about them and it’s almost more important to have that than it is to be a good technical singer. I would accept working with a singer who can’t sing in tune very well if the feeling or the character they had was unique.
(Evan, producer)

As discussed previously, identifying as a musician was largely based on their relationship to employment (Coulson, 2012). Within the current research, employment and the relationship are two aspects that determine whether musicians actually consider themselves a ‘musician’. Identifying as a “musician” required the participants to reflect on their own musical abilities and indeed, how they felt their musical abilities were perceived. The participants who had received classical music education through to degree level more readily identified themselves as musicians than those who did not. The ability to identify as a musician based on musical ability indicates the awareness of the participants to their possession of cultural capital. In contrast, the acknowledgement from the participants of their lack

of cultural capital, either as expertise in their musical instruments or institutionalised cultural capital as degrees and qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986), suggests musicians can feel unable to appropriate a full “musical” identity. Musicians adopt other terms, such as “songwriter” or “composer”, when in the presence of “actual” musicians: those with greater cultural capital. Indicative of this inability to identify as an “actual” musician is Miles, an independent label musician, who explains how he would often change identification based on who he was talking to:

“Whether or not I think of myself as an actual musician is, if I actually met a proper musician I would probably say I’m a producer or I am a song writer because my musicianship has all been self-taught so there is no theory. If someone said ‘play this by that person’ I wouldn’t be able to do it. I am not that kind of musician. I am more of a musician to suit my own needs. So, I can do tons of stuff and figure out bass parts and figure out other things but it takes me a bit of time. So if I were to describe myself as a musician every time I say it I actually mean producer / song writer / guitarist / singer type thing but it’s a lot easier just to say musician despite the fact that I would probably feel like a fraud saying that I am a musician because that’s what goes down on any form where it asks what’s my occupation. It’s just a lot easier to say musician than to say all those other things that I do.” (Miles, independent label musician)

Miles’ explanation is not unique within the group of musicians interviewed; more so than professional status, musical ability offered musicians a greater capacity to determine identification with the professional identity of “musician”. It would seem that a lack of perceived music ability in comparison to other musicians decreases the salience of identifying as a musician. Importantly, the preferred alternate identifying terms included “songwriter” or “writer” – based on what appears to be a lack of confidence in musical ability and perception of not being “actual” musicians. Indeed, Victor, an independent label musician, asserts that song writing rather than music defines his professional identity:

“I think of myself as a ... maybe a songwriter, I think. I’d say ... because actually, you know, like my musical chops, I’m not ... without the songs they’re not really up to much, you know? It’s not like I could be a session musician or something. So I think of myself as a songwriter and I still cling on to this idea that I’m going to, at some point in the future, go back to visual art but at the moment, like song writing is the vehicle for my kind of creativity sort of thing.” (Victor, independent label musician)

This example is illustrative of how musicians’ musical identity is related to Bourdieu’s forms of capital. When musicians lack the requisite cultural capital to appropriate the identity of a “musician” – for many participants, based on the musicians’ technical abilities – the musicians are deferent to certain labels. The

musicians attempt to "repair" this perceived public image (e.g., Jenkins, 2014). Within Scarborough's (2012) study of jazz musicians' live performance, musicians would emphasise certain attributes of embodied cultural capital to cover deficiencies in other areas of technical ability. Reflective of Scarborough's study, musicians in the current research who lack certain forms of cultural capital – for instance, technical proficiency – would emphasise their abilities in another aspect of their musical abilities, such as song writing. Musical ability has been noted to have a variable effect on critical acclaim, with many forms of music – such as jazz – emphasising expert ability on a musical instrument (Pinheiro and Dowd, 2009). Many other styles require less technical proficiency – or alternatively place an emphasis on amateur skills. The musical styles that many of the musicians in the current research operate within do not necessarily emphasise technical ability. When musicians in the current research encounter "real" musicians – individuals with high forms of "legitimate" cultural capital – alternate social identities are sought. The encompassing term "artistic" identity therefore is used within this section to include musician, artist, songwriter or composer.

6.2.5 *Competition Between Musicians*

In terms of conflict and competition *between* musicians, the data collected suggests that there is little overt discussion of conflict within the 'indie' music area. Indeed, for many of the musicians the chance to work or perform at gigs with other musicians offers a source of satisfaction and inspiration to many of the musicians. Reminiscent of Banks' (2012) discussions of emulative competition, Quentin illustrates an 'us and them' divide in his discussions of other musicians, that while he is inspired by other musicians, he is aware of the competitive pressures with other musicians in the industry:

There are some people that you sit and you will continually ... you think, "We wipe the floor with them." And then there are other people you get completely humbled by. It happened the other night, actually. I was playing in a kind of social, a wee festival in the East End and [a friend] played his set and it was just incredible, you know, he was just ... he played like I want to play and that to me is what's quite exciting about music. I think when you stop getting inspired by other people, when you stop getting excited and motivated by other people, I'd say there's maybe something wrong. That's how music should be. (Quentin, independent label musician)

Though many musicians share Quentin's sentiments, what does emerge from the interviews is a divide between what constitutes good music and bad music. Bourdieu's (1996) division of the field of cultural production into two subfields is supported by the interviewees' discussions. Musicians are aware of the stakes on offer within the field, but they often do not see other 'indie' musicians as direct competition, rather they are opposed to more popular forms of music. Within the interviews, many musicians were keen to emphasise distance from more recognisable – or bestselling – bands. Wendy for instance, emphasises her links to the "true sense" of the folk community, rather than the folk music connected to the popular band Mumford and Sons:

But I guess I'm more connected to the kind of American strand of that than I am to the British strand, because I guess the British strand would be kind of London-based, people at *Laura Marling* and *Mumford & Sons*, people like that. It's a lot less folk-based in the true sense of the word than their music, and it takes—it's more influenced by instruments from around the world I guess and more unusual sounds than that I suppose. (Wendy, independent label musician)

Much of this discussion is reminiscent of the musicians' attempts to maintain a distance from 'stigmatised' forms of capital in the previous section (i.e., Goffman, 1963). With fields, in Bourdieu's terms, representing positions differentiated by forms of capital, many of the musicians interviewed here will see their competition with other musicians in terms of being against 'pop' and commercialism. Helen is representative of the more overt disdain felt by some of the interviewees for current pop music. For her, many of the bands out there do not even make music, so for her she is differentiated from pop music because she writes her own music:

there are bands out there now that are pulling in thousands and thousands of people to all the shows around the world and if you had to listen to the music they make, you would not discern a single, unique idea or melody or song, actual song-song if you like, I am a big fan of the song, you know you don't necessarily understand what the appeal is. And I think that is because of the power of marketing, and when the face fits the band members are of a certain ilk, they dress a certain way, and they represent certain moods in the younger generation. That's no longer about music, that is about social statement (Helen, independent label musician)

For a number of the musicians however, their main source of angst is towards a group of popular musicians who they see as changing the wider music industry into a more 'middle-class' occupation. Indeed, Julian echoes many of the previous discussions of class by the other interviewees. Rather than simply people being

lucky in terms of getting contacts, Julian sees these as career choices available to the 'posh kids' who enter into the music industry:

"How you get your name known and you'll notice or I notice that the rise in five years the kind of Brit school you know, posh Brit kids go to a school, come out and make posh rich kids music and that seems to be like, it's almost like banking. And they go and they learn this is how we make and this is how we sell it or I'm going to be this or I'm going to be that, we're going to be an Indie band, I'm going to be a rapper, I'm going to be this. Right, but that is like a production line of kind of posh kids who are never going to be the most interesting. The most interesting music is always going to be made by people who come together not really knowing what kind of music they just kind of like I said they have a feeling, they want to hear it and that might be hip hop, that might be jazz, it might be indie, rock, it might be any kind of music but it's that driving force behind it, you know, 'not we studied this genre'; so people like characters and I don't have much time for that, I have much more time for a band coming together and doing something thrilling. I mean you can have Lily Allen can make pop songs but it's never going to be thrilling, you're never going to hear it and think 'oh my God, what the fuck is that' like some of my favourite bands have done over the years and that is the thing that I think how those bands find their way and I think it is going to be a bit harder now." (Julian, independent label musician/owner)

6.2.6 Section Summary

This section has attempted to demonstrate how the art-commerce relation is negotiated through an acted artistic identity. Within this section, musicians' social identities are strongly associated with their possession of the various forms of capital. The ability to subsist on their music work through attaining moderate levels of economic capital was not found to be actively opposed to perceptions of good art. Rather it was larger levels of economic capital – or association with economic capital – that cause a negative sanction on social identity. For many of the musicians, the association with economic capital or the subfield of large-scale production acted as a stigma on their social identity. Similarly, the inability to appropriate a full "artistic" identity is related to the relevant amounts of embodied cultural capital a musician possesses. For many musicians they do not feel as if they are a "real" musicians in comparison to fully trained musicians based on their levels of cultural capital. This results in musicians taking on different identifications – such as songwriter – to avoid embarrassment. The following section considers the role of habitus in the musicians' sense of personal identity.

6.3 The Role of Habitus in Relation to Artistic Identity

The aim of this section is to examine the role of Bourdieu's concept of habitus and its relationship with the artistic identity discussed in the previous section. Habitus, as used throughout Bourdieu's work (1977; 1990; 1993; 1998), acts as a set of dispositions formed through exposure to the various forms and volumes of capital (Crossley, 2001). As developed through the conceptual framework in Chapter Three, habitus forms an element of the personal identity of individuals (Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). This sub-section will start with a discussion of habitus formation, including the use of interview data, with two themes emerging from the data on how habitus is formed. Firstly, there are those that have been educated in music from an early age. Within this first grouping, the musicians had taken up a classic instrument such as the piano or violin and received lessons. Second are those who did not have any early age musical education, but have had an interest in music from an early age and have predominantly learned the guitar in their teenage years. The sub-section will then go on to discuss these differences in terms of social class, making a clearer link between the musicians in this study and their class location in Bourdieu's terms (e.g., Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; 1993; Savage *et al.*, 2015). The sub-section will then go on to consider the influence of habitus within the art-commerce relation. Specifically, many musicians see making music as an internal and largely unconscious drive to make music. As an element of their personal identity, musicians' habitus acts as a drive that justifies the acceptance of poor conditions and the rejection of money as a motivation. This discussion of the acceptance of poor conditions and low pay will again be linked to discussions of social class.

6.3.1 Formation of Habitus

For Bourdieu, participation within the field of cultural production is predicated on cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996). Cultural capital exists in three states – embodied, institutionalised and objectified – and of particular relevance to this section is the embodied form (Bourdieu, 1986). Exposure to cultural capital results in the acquiring of dispositions and capacities; these capacities in the field of cultural production include artistic appreciation and ability in the form of a habitus. Within this research, the formation of musicians' habitus is reflective of Bourdieu's initial formulation (1977; 1990). While the influence of early socialisation in the development of a "musical" habitus is considered by some to be overstated (Wright,

2008), early exposure to music was a key feature of the majority of participants early lives. The form of that this exposure takes separates the musicians in to two groupings. The first grouping consists of musicians who have had lots of informal and formal exposure to music. Standard music education in the form of private tuition in “classic” instruments like piano and violin are also features in the development of habitus of this first grouping. Experiences, like Zoe’s, an independent label musician, are typical of the findings from this first grouping:

“Basically I started playing violin originally when I was really small. There was a free course at my Grammar School, I don’t know what you call it here in the UK, grade school... Primary? I was about 6 years old and so I took that and I kind of took to it really quickly and I just really liked playing music. I kept that up on and off and was classically trained.” (Zoe, independent label musician)

This classically trained grouping is associated with exposure to forms of ‘legitimate’ culture (Bourdieu, 1984). While not a component of the current research, the exposure to classical forms of music education is consistent with Bourdieu’s (1984) linking between cultural capital exposure and class position. Though the classically trained group of musicians have forms of classical music education, the informal and family influences are just as important in the development of habitus. Reflective of Coulson’s (2010) examination of the accumulation of musical capital and development of a musical habitus, for this first grouping it was more likely that music would be going on around the home as well as in school. Melanie’s experiences, recalling her early exposure to music, are similar to many of the other musicians of this first grouping within the current research:

“Well, I suppose my interest in music... I suppose the easiest way to say is I can’t remember a time when I wasn’t interested in music at some level and I can’t remember a time when there wasn’t music, you know, in the house or at school or in the community. It was just... it was very much part of everything that we did” (Melanie, independent label musician)

For the second grouping - musicians who did not have a formal music education – informal exposure is more important. For this second grouping, exposure to music is not necessarily based on music performance or a family that had musicians. Rather, a significant amount of musical exposure came in the form of consumption of their parents’ music collections. The form of cultural capital received through such processes would be popular or low culture in Bourdieu’s (1984) high culture/low culture distinction, or what Savage et al. (2015) would term “emerging

cultural capital". Regardless however, of the cultural merit, popular forms of music are a key component of musical socialisation in the current research. Typical of this second grouping is Mitchell who explains that it was his father's love of music that gave him the motivation to get started making music:

"I would suggest, just very briefly, my dad had the biggest influence on me on music. He was the one that brought me passionately into listening to music and music was definitely a kind of outlet for me growing up and I always wanted to be, to play ... I started off learning the drums, then switched to the guitar so I could write my own stuff." (Mitchell, independent label musician)

However, both groups converge in the teenage years with a movement away from simply learning or listening to music toward music making. Indeed, Wright (2008) would argue that this is indicative of the later socialisation to popular music genres. For most of the musicians in the sample, it at this point they started to learn the instrument(s) they currently use in their music work. Characteristic of the types of music made within the sample, the majority took up the guitar in their teenage years and were influenced by contemporary bands at this time:

"My background in music, if you want to go really far back, was at school and I was a saxophonist at school and in the school bands and all that, I used to play them in bands and area bands and I've got about 16 or 17, it was in the days of starting *Nirvana* and you know all these other really good bands that were out so I got to play the guitar when I was quite young, self-taught on the guitar and I really started writing songs when I was about 19 or 20 but didn't have the confidence to go out and do a performance or anything like that all, it was more like a hobby in my bedroom." (Catherine, independent label musician)

The analysis of data, therefore, suggests that the formation of the participants' habitus broadly follows two pathways. Firstly, one pathway based on formal music training, resulting in high levels of embodied cultural capital coupled with institutionalised forms of cultural capital. The second pathway is based on the consumption of objectified cultural capital, developing an interest in music making. The formation of the musical habitus is an important consideration within this research as it explains the embodiment of forms of cultural capital – assumed here to be labour power.

While habitus represents the dispositions acquired from socialisation – with the implication on the social classed nature of these dispositions. For Bourdieu (1993), cultural producers were members of the "dominated fraction of the dominant class": possessing high levels of cultural capital, inherited generally, but possessing lower

levels of economic capital. The findings of the current research area reflective of recent studies utilising Bourdieu to analyse social class (e.g., Bennett et al., 2009; Savage et al., 2013; Savage et al., 2015). The following quote from Catherine exemplifies the differences between the traditionally schooled musicians and the musicians who acquired music abilities in their teens:

“What I would like to do is do it full time so that I can get better at what I am doing because all these guys, when I read about them, they have always just done music, went to music school and they studied music and they just live and breathe music and, okay, I could have done that if I wanted to but the background I had was always to get a good job and do well at school and you know just look after business really and so that’s what I ended up doing. And when you get into having a mortgage, when you get into a certain lifestyle when you are making money you just think well, why would I give this up at the moment to do, what was at the time, a bit of a hobby. Why would I throw it all away to do music and not actually make any money and the reason I am still working at the moment is because there is not a lot of money to be made in music now unless you have got a massive record deal like, seriously, for people that want to perform and they want to write there’s not a lot of money any more for a gigging musician that is not a big name. So where I see myself as hopefully getting a lucky break so that I can do music full time and get a lot better at it.” (Catherine, unsigned musician)

For Catherine, the group who are able to dedicate themselves to their music full-time and “live and breathe music” are naturally better disposed to have music careers. In Bourdieu’s terms, the musicians have a freedom from necessity, which represents their class position. Class represents a recurring undercurrent from the discussions with the interviewees, particularly with the previous chapter’s analysis of social capital. In Bourdieu’s formulation, and more recent cultural class analysis (e.g., Bennett *et al.*, 2008; Savage *et al.*, 2015), the intertwining of the forms of capital and their polarisation in the upper classes is consistent with some of the musicians’ observations. In the previous chapter, the lack of social capital was bemoaned by Edward as a possible reason for his less successful more career. Within the interviewees, there was a feeling that class was increasingly becoming an issue in the music industry. Coupled with this is the belief that there is a professionalization occurring within the music industry and it is benefitting the upper classes. This section has shown how many of the musicians actually lack cultural capital from childhood and are disadvantaged in their attempts to get ahead in the music industry. The two groups identified in the current section represent – an imprecise – divide between individuals who were exposed to ‘legitimate’ forms of culture and possibly a more readily convertible form of cultural capital. The second group have

cultural capital that could be classed as “emerging” (e.g., Prieur and Savage, 2013; Savage *et al.*, 2015), based on more contemporary forms of culture. The social inheritances of the first grouping are indicative of a more privileged position, suggesting some musicians are better able to “live and breathe” music than others.

6.3.2 *Influence of Habitus on the Art-Commerce Relation*

The sense that the production of music is the driving purpose for the lives of the participants is a common thread throughout the interview data. The data revealed the existence of an internal “drive” for engaging in music work. This recurring theme of a “drive” is discussed by Mitchell and Quentin, two musicians, who have varying levels of engagement with the recorded music industry. For both of them, music is just something they have always done and will continue to do as they feel it is a part of their very being:

“Nothing about being a musician is particularly significant to me - I just *am* a musician. I’ll never stop writing songs or playing instruments. I hope that makes sense. There’s no single reason I do it. In fact there is no reason, I just do it.”
(Mitchell, unsigned musician)

“It’s definitely a drive, if you’re a writer you write, if you’re an actor you want to act. It’s not something I think about much. It’s just an inbuilt drive and an inbuilt desire to do it.” (Quentin, independent-label artist)

This drive was also often described by many of the participants as a physical urge to do work. Such descriptions resonate with Oakland *et al.*’s (2013) social psychological research, where the physical stimulation of performing music for the opera singers in the study acted to affirm their sense of self. The sense of self is separate to the social identities of musicians and does not require external validation from others (Jenkins, 2014). This sense of self reflects the dispositions of the habitus within the participants of the current research. Habitus forms a source of personal identity and importantly, the belief that this drive is the main purpose of the participants’ lives. Important to the art-commerce conflict, is the drive to make music often determines the willingness of the musicians to put up with insecure employment or a chaotic balance between full-time work and part-time music work. Wendy, an independent label musician, explains how this drive justifies the struggle to make a living from their work:

I guess it’s the only thing in my life that is a real passion—I’m driven. I’m really driven to do that more than I’m driven to do anything else. And I enjoy it. I enjoy

other things, but I don't feel driven to do them. I was thinking about this the other day because I was speaking to a friend of mine who's an artist, and last year we both had quite a bad financial year and we're finding it a bit of a struggle and thinking, "Why? Why do we push on with this? Why don't we go out and get a desk job or something like that?" And we were both just marvelling at what a strange thing it is to have such a drive to do something and whether that exists in other areas. I guess it must be because people have ambition don't they, but something peculiar to the arts where you just have to make stuff, and other goals kind of bow down to the goal of just being able to do that more. (Wendy, independent label artist)

Wendy's perspective is typical of the contrast found in the current research between individuals' "struggle" and their sense of self that is driving their desire to make music. This struggle reflects other research where the drive to create music outweighs, and even overrides, awareness of the poor pay and conditions (e.g., Gibson, 2003). Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) found that the pleasure of performing work often leads to situations where cultural workers self-exploit, where cultural labourers continue to offer up their labour for free in the hope of better conditions in the future or simply for the chance to perform the work. Wendy's questioning of why she continues to accept the conditions is a key question of Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) research. A possible explanation is linked to Menger's (1999) citing of the "labour of love" argument: the oversupply of young talent is often argued to be because many see it as 'a calling' or their purpose in life. Within the current research, this is often articulated in terms of the internal drive that defines the sense the musicians' have of themselves. The source of this drive is the musical habitus that presents an element of the personal identity of musicians.

In Bourdieu's terms, the exposure to cultural capital and participation in the field enables the generation of musicians' dispositions or "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1977; Thompson, 1991). Such a feel for the game would incline musicians to feel that a lack of economic capital is a necessary part of participation in the field. Yet, habitus is not a fixed point in time and social space (Sayer, 2005; O'Mahoney, 2007). In contrast to habitus acting as a drive that justifies the hardship experienced in music work, the habitus also adapts to new contexts. As Sayer (2005: 25) observes, individual's habitus is open to change and such change could lead to situations where these individuals "may feel comfortable in contexts where they might not have done earlier". Examples of the adapting dispositions of participants in the current research show that in many cases it influences the song-writing process:

"My music changed when we started playing concerts and people started singing along. That's when I started writing songs that had almost included that element already within the song you know - it was really weird. I didn't notice it happening until we did the record before last and I said 'Ah fuck, I've done all these chants and like melodies that are easy for a crowd to sing in unison'" (Neil, major-label artist)

Neil's statement is indicative of the influence changing levels of capital in the song writing process. Despite maintaining an apparent anti-commerce viewpoint, Neil acknowledges the greater levels of success and increasing exposure to economic capital have affected his song-writing process. This apparent contradiction reflects the differing influences between habitus and acted social identity. In the previous section, the artistic identity of musicians led musicians to desire the security of stable incomes but need to reject the overt commercialisation of their work. A recurring theme of this subsection discussing habitus shows how the influence of habitus within the art-commerce relation is for musicians to forgo concern with commercial imperatives to satisfy their sense of personal identity. The following section, however, discusses the role of interests where musicians actively negotiate the art-commerce divide within the recorded labour process.

6.4 Interests and the Recorded Labour Process

Labour process research has made a point of emphasising the role of active agency in the employment relationship, with the consideration of worker interests inseparable from any study of identity (e.g., Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Delbridge and Jenkins, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010; Taylor and Moore, 2015; Thompson *et al.*, 2015). Within Bourdieu's work, his concept of interest (Bourdieu, 1998) has a strained history throughout his work. For Bourdieu, individuals have interests within fields, whether they are displayed as overtly *interested* or apparently *disinterested*. The field of cultural production acts as a site where disinterested acts are privileged – the *apparent* rejection of money and promotion of an ascetic life (Bourdieu, 1993; 1998). For Bourdieu, however, these disinterested acts are inherently interested, where a denial of all capital is done in the hope of long-term symbolic profits (Bourdieu, 1998). This section, as such, considers the role of two forms of interests. Firstly, Bourdieu's concept of disinterest is examined to consider whether disinterested acts are possible within the field. Secondly, this section examines conflicts of interests more attuned with the labour process perspective. The aim of this section is consider the extent to which the art-commerce relationship is negotiated through a series of interests. These interests are based on

defending a positive social identity, defending the autonomy of their labour and often in shared responsibility for the risk of releasing symbolic goods in small-scale producers.

6.4.1 A “Disinterested Act”?

A key focus of the current research is examining the nature of the art-commerce conflict within the music industry. One of the assumptions of many of the theoretical approaches to cultural work is that money, financial success and mass-market appeal has a negative relationship with the artistic merit of a symbolic good (Bourdieu, 1993; Ross, 2000). For Bourdieu (1990; 1998) the generation of symbolic capital is said to be the legitimate form of participation in fields. Within cultural production, the generation of symbolic capital is predicated on this denial of interest in the reception of art (Bourdieu, 1993; 1998). For the musicians in the current research, there is a denial of interest in generating future exchange values through their music. Reflective of Eikhof and Haunschild’s (2007) take on artistic logic, the act of making music itself is the priority regardless of any external validation. Typical of this apparent disinterest is reflected in the thoughts of Melanie, an independent label musician, who explains that the purpose of her music is not about external validation but attempting to make the best music she possibly can:

“And as I say, I don’t do it for, you know, to try and get in the charts or to make money. I just want to make music. I just want to create something that I can be proud of and then I guess, through the four albums that we’ve done, I’ve been always striving to make it unique, the recordings better, to make my performance better and to make the whole product, you know, a better one. I think that’s what most artists I think try and do.” (Melanie, independent label)

Most of the interviewees, however, argue the purpose of their music is “communicative” or even “therapeutic”, with some of these musicians acknowledging a positive peer appraisal was a motivator for their work, although this would be based on recognition of the artistic merit of the symbolic good itself. Musicians’ interest in recognition is in terms of the use-value – the symbolic good – being positively received, rather than for levels of critical acclaim. Miles, for instance, demonstrates this to be the case concerning being recognised for a good example of song writing, rather than being interested in what this recognition can generate as an exchange value:

“I think everyone would like to be popular and well liked first of all amongst their peers and I’d like to be recognised by people in the music industry and then for song writing. It’s not really about record sales it’s more about the recognition I think. I know they probably come hand in hand but it would be nice for someone to say “yes, this is an example”, take one of my songs as an example of great song writing. That would mean everything to me.” (Miles, independent label musician)

Miles’ view represents the importance of being appreciated for producing “good song writing”. Miles view can be seen as reflective of the jazz musicians in Banks’ (2012: 73) research, where he distinguished between “internal” goods – such as “creative, technical and aesthetic (co)accomplishments”. The distinction between types of recognition – one based on communicating the best music possible, the other on the possible reception of the music by other people - reflects a difference between exchange-values and use-values. Sayer (1999; 2005), for example, argues that Bourdieu understates the distinction between use-values and exchange-values. The current research however demonstrates that there are implicit use and exchange values within Bourdieu’s framework, supportive of Skeggs’ (2004a) view. Bourdieu’s (1986) distinction between objectified, institutional and embodied cultural capitals essentially operates as a distinction between use and exchange values. Objectified cultural capital is only useable by an individual possessing appropriate cultural capital, otherwise it is exchangeable through economic capital. Yet, as Sayer (2005) argues, there are non-instrumental motivations for producing capital. This view is reflected in the current research, where a proportion of musicians demonstrate an art for art’s sake logic where no external validation is required (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). Victor, an independent label musician, argues that it is only pressures from his home life that have motivated him to earn a living from his work. Victor is however keen to state such pressures have no bearing on the music he produces:

But the aim of it for me is to articulate something, I think. It’s to like ... you see I still approach it from how I used to think about artwork because all my formative years were spent kind of thinking in terms of like an artistic life, you know, a life spent chasing down some sort of truth and at the expense of like some luxury items or whatever, you know, or holidays or whatever. I got such a kind of romantic thing of this when I was a teenager but that’s still how I think about kind of everything pretty much. And the only thing that tempered that was having children and thinking, “Ah shit, man! I need a like steady income,” and then being like, signing more of my life over to menial work, really, for a few years. (Victor, independent label musician)

For musicians like Victor, the implication is that music production is not an instrumental strategy to deny interest in capital (e.g., Bourdieu, 1998) but is an entirely personal experience that happens to make them money. This would suggest that Marks and Scholarios (2007) distinction between an instrumental sense of self-interest is distinct to a “disinterested” sense of self-esteem to be found making music. Rather than appearing disinterested, in Bourdieu’s sense, in order to attain symbolic capital, many of the musicians in the current research are simply concerned with “communicating” and producing a work to their own satisfaction. Following this discussion of disinterested music production, the next section will attempt to explore the role of interests further by exploring interests within the employment relationship.

6.4.2 Conflicts of Interests within the Labour Process

While identification and the existence of an artistic habitus that guides influences musicians, the key concern within this research is the active agency of musicians within the employment relationship. Art-commerce conflicts emerge within the employment relationship when there are differences in interests between music companies and musicians. Such tensions are have been long commented on in labour process analysis (e.g., Edwards, 1979; Edwards, 1986, Edwards *et al.*, 2006). As the previous chapter demonstrated, the employment relationship of musicians differs from other forms of capitalist production partly due to the autonomy granted to the musicians based on the value attached to the name of the musicians in cultural output and the resulting inability to fully rationalise the cultural labour process (Banks, 2010a; Ryan, 1992). Similarly, the artistic authority attached to the various sources of cultural capital in the employment relationship often acts in contradiction to the control capital attempts to impose. Recent labour process research (e.g., Jenkins and Delbridge, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010; Taylor and Moore, 2015; Thompson et al. 2015) has turned to the role of interests and identity within the employment relationship. Interests within the labour process approach are the key concern of this section. Moving on from Bourdieu’s notion of interests based on the rejection of economic capital, this section will show how interests influence the art-commerce relation in recorded music production. As Jenkins and Delbridge (2006) observed, interests of employees and employers allow for resistance *and* consent within the workplace; indeed, the art-commerce relation can be conceived as a source of conflict and consent. Yet, most accounts of interests acknowledge the

fundamental basis for structured antagonism is the economic inequality of the employment relationship. Within the recorded music industry, the wage-effort dynamic is already heavily skewed in favour of the record label. As previous sections have demonstrated, conflict based on financial arrangements however was not found within the current research. Rather, Rhys, an A&R manager, sees an industry where two types of musicians exist:

“...it’s two very different sorts of artists. It’s the ones who will never compromise a vision and the other ones who have a sort of wider business aspirations where it’s a product and you can put them in situations where will make a product and that is an equally valid form of A&R.” (Rhys, A&R Manager)

Rhys demonstrates a view reflective of Bourdieu’s (1996) field of cultural production, with one set of interest pursuing economic capital, with the other set pursuing disinterest. This broad-brush description however, is found to be more nuanced within the current research. Arguably, the key interest discussed in interviews with musicians was the maintenance of autonomy in creative decision-making. In the previous section, the internal drive to create music - exhibited by the musicians’ habitus - allowed musicians to accept poor employment conditions within the music industries. Curtailments on creative autonomy, however, were a key source of conflict for the research participants. In this particular example, Chris, an independent label musician, tested how far he could take his autonomy with his label:

Interviewer: And from the management of a record label point of view, what sort of pressure, can you expand a little bit on the pressures that you were getting from maybe the management?

Chris: Yes... well, it was... it was just what you’d expect, really. It was just conversational, really. It was phone calls. There were certain things I turned down as well. There were certain opportunities I turned down, which irritated the record company a lot. There were some tours and opportunities I said no to that frustrated the record company because they thought I should be taking as many of those opportunities as possible. But as always, my priority was always to sort of get back in the studio to record as much as possible. So that frustrated them. And then there was the fourth [band name] album, this album called [*fourth album*], which was quite electronic and a little odd in its sound and I guess towards the end they were just... they would just persuade me not to, I suppose. They just... and I gave it to them and they said, “We’re disappointed; we wanted something else.” I said, “Well, that’s it; I’m not changing it.”

Chris's example is representative of how the imposition of managerial control is experienced by musicians in the current research. Previous sections in this chapter have found that autonomy and flexible work arrangements are part of the key appeal of working in cultural industries. Challenges to this autonomy therefore result in the musicians defending their interests by resisting managerial control. In previous research (e.g., Marks and Scholarios, 2007), self-interest acted as a determinant in how software workers identified with their profession or organisations. Reflective of Marks and Scholarios's (2007) work, self-interest also acts within the current research to minimise damage to social identities. Within the section 6.2.3, economic capital was shown to have a stigmatising effect on the social identities on musicians (e.g., Goffman, 1963). It would seem that for many of the musicians then, it is in their interests to resist the commodification of their work as it affects how they are perceived within the music industries. As discussed in Chapter Five, many of the musicians are often asked to perform work or adapt existing work to broaden their potential commercial appeal. Attempts from record label management to control the work of the musicians are often met with scepticism from musicians. Melanie, a Scottish musician who often performs in a minority language, demonstrates this scepticism in relation to being encouraged to increase her appeal through making her work more popular or even, through singing in English:

Yes, I've always been encouraged to do things to, you know, be more... you know, to open doors or to widen your appeal and that inevitably means, you know, do something that maybe dumbs down the music. For me, anyway, you know, "Why don't you sing *Loch Lomond*?" or "Why don't you sing, *The Skye Boat Song*?" or "Sing something in English," or "Sing something with a dance track behind it," or... I'm saying any of those things couldn't be done really well because I actually believe that they could but I also firmly believe that the audience... audiences aren't as stupid as that; they are actually far more intelligent than a lot of the media and the industry give them credit for it. (Melanie, independent label artist)

While Melanie's example is unique, due to the native language element, it is not unique in terms of being reflective of many of the other participants' experiences of broadening their appeal. For musicians within the current research, they have greater faith in their ability to appeal to their established audiences and not treat them as "stupid". Such examples of not treating audiences as "stupid" are reflective of research in other industries, such as Taylor and Moore's (2015) study of airline workers and Sosteric's (1996) study of bar workers, where the encroachment of

managerial control in autonomous forms of work results in worker resistance. Within the current research, most musicians appear to object to forms of control and are able to resist the imposition of creative control. Importantly, the art-commerce relation also affects the interests of the intermediaries involved. As discussed in Chapter Five, the desire of producers to exert their artistic authority reflects the interests and social identity of many of the producers; for instance, Evan, an engineer and producer, who sees himself as a “failed musician”. These instances of failing to exert artistic authority often result in the intermediaries relenting from imposing artistic control on their musicians, despite record label pressure. Indeed, the findings from this study are reminiscent of Beer’s (2014) research where producers balance an artistic and technical identity and usually work to satisfy their artistic needs.

The art-commerce relation, however, is not simply art versus commerce. On the contrary, for a proportion of the musicians this relation is seen as art *and* commerce. Burawoy’s (1985) assertion that the capital-labour dynamic is not necessarily antagonistic is reflected in the current research, where there are more commercially interested musicians, as well as musicians who feel they have a shared responsibility to help their record label. Bill, a major label artist, refutes any “disinterest” characteristic of independent label production, stating that his primary intention is for his music to be heard:

I think also that definitely part of it is bringing some kind of response and joy from other people. That is definitely something that is, I’m not one of those sort of people who, wants to... or finds any value in necessarily being obscure or anything like that or underground. I am very interested in as many people as possible listening to what I and others produce.” (Bill, major label artist)

For unsigned musicians, taking a more commercial approach to attract attention of intermediaries may be rewarded with an employment relationship with a music company. Indeed, for many unsigned musicians, generating “buzz” is a key strategy to build forms of symbolic and social capital in the absence of money (Scott, 2012). Catherine’s discussion of the commercial pressures of her work illustrates the conflict between “money-as-validation” and money-against-art views (e.g., McRobbie, 2002; Taylor and Littleton, 2008). Within the money-as-validation view, the earning of money from the work performed acts to make cultural labourers feel valid in contrast to a form of compensation that needs to be rejected:

“If, for example, somebody wanted to snap me up and say ‘Right, we’d like to buy all your songs off of you do you have any more?’ Then I would purposefully sit down and write songs like I have done before without being precious over them and think “well, I can do this, this is my style”. If somebody sat down and said “I’ll give you a million pounds if you can write a hit song for JLS” for example I’d struggle, it would be really, really difficult to sit and do that but you’d give it a pop” (Catherine, unsigned musician)

While the purchase of music characterised by her own style of music would act as a form of validation, she sees little appeal in mimicking other more popular styles. Other musicians in the current research have a similar interest in gaining the symbolic markers of being artist – not the money itself, but that money acts as a form of validation. The accumulation of some economic capital acts as a source of self-esteem (e.g., Marks and Thompson, 2010).

Within employment relationships, the shared interest in becoming successful is reflected particularly in smaller employers. The “survival of the firm” (Jenkins and Delbridge, 2006: 198) for instance is particularly felt as a responsibility for a number of the musicians sampled. For Ben, an award winning independent musician, his disinterest in his own prospects contrasts with the responsibilities he feels toward his record label:

Interviewer: Do you ever feel any commercial pressures on your music?

Ben: From myself or from the label or just in general?

Interviewer: Well from whoever really.

Ben: None whatsoever from *[the record label]*. Actually it only dawned on me after the fact that they only actually asked to listen to the record after it had been mastered. They were going to release whatever I gave them which is a great deal of trust to put into anyone. I feel responsibility to them and to the promoters that put me on and my booking agent and other people that spent a lot of time on my behalf. I feel responsible. I don’t want it to fail because I don’t want them to fail, it doesn’t really bother me so much but I do feel responsibility to anyone that’s put enough time and money into what I do.

Again, reflective of a relatively benign employment relationship, a number of musicians share this sense of responsibility for the reception of their music. While Thompson et al. (2015) show that, within the context of games development, interests mediate the sense of artistic identity with commercial imperatives, the musicians here do not feel commercial imperatives themselves. Indeed, rather than

feeling they need to make music more commercial or try to sell more records, most musicians within the small-scale producers feel they should take on more touring or promotional work to ensure there are sales to justify the trust the independent labels have given them.

6.4.3 *Non-Instrumental Motivations*

One of the widely shared criticisms of Bourdieu's work is his inability, or unwillingness, to consider the non-instrumental, non-strategic – or truly 'disinterested' – motivations for social actions (e.g., Banks, 2006; 2012; Jenkins, 2002; Sayer, 2005). For the vast majority of the musicians, while they discussed artistic merit, critical acclaim and money, there was often a discussion of something else that kept the musicians making music. Bill is representative of this as he discusses his achievements in the industry thus far:

I think also that definitely part of it is bringing some kind of response and joy from other people. That is definitely something that is, I'm not one of those sort of people who, wants to... or finds any value in necessarily being obscure or anything like that or underground. I am very interested in as many people as possible listening to what I and others produce. I feel as though that... well first of all it makes the project somehow, you know you have more responsibility that way to deliver something that is going to be seen by a lot of people but also going to potentially bring a lot of people happiness and joy. I mean that is something that I selfishly really enjoy basically. I particularly like being on stage and just like having a lot of people moving in unison to what you are doing. It is a big thrill and I think a big drive to make me want to carry on. I wouldn't want to be doing what I am doing in a vacuum is what I am saying. (Bill, major label musician)

Indeed, the belief that the musicians interviewed would be making music regardless of any external influence is a recurrent theme throughout the interviewees. Many stated that being a musician, or more specifically making music, was a part of who they were. Illustrative of this is Helen, who discusses the centrality of music in terms of identity, suggesting that the act of making music is an essential part of her life despite of the money she has made previously in the industries:

So you come to the end of that financed thing and you think 'I wonder why I've been doing this?' I do love making the music but I have also been getting a good wage from it. I don't mean a great one, I just mean enough. And then suddenly that disappears and you think 'well, how do I feel now? How do I feel about making that music?' And it becomes clear, maybe very quickly or maybe very slowly but it becomes clear that it's kind of in you and you kind of have to keep doing it otherwise you feel it just gnawing away and making you feel that you are doing yourself a disservice and that your whole identity becomes a little questioned, how whole a

person you feel. I don't mean to get too spiritual about it because I am not a spiritual person really. I suppose I am really talking about a sense of whole, sense of who you consider yourself to be. If you lose that ability to express yourself in that method, in that way, what does it say about how you feel about yourself? Well, it doesn't make me feel terribly good that I haven't put an album out for a while and I really, really need to rectify that balance. So it's not about the money. (Helen, independent label musician/owner)

A further motivation that emerged from the data and shared by a minority of musicians was that making music either helped their mental health or allowed them deal with some personal issues that they had in their lives. For one of the participants, music gave them an outlet to deal with depression and the loss of family members. Illustrative of this calming effect is Chris, who explained that he found music "therapeutic" and that although he found the success useful, the song writing would remain regardless:

But, still, if no one was buying my records, I would still do it because of the reason I said before, because of this thing that to me it's quite therapeutic, it's quite calming. So an audience in some measure of success is handy but I know that it's not the first reason I do it. I would happily be someone who had a day job and just, you know, sometimes in the evening wrote some songs. I know that the writing the song thing would still be important to me even if everything else disappeared. (Chris, independent label musician)

As has been a recurrent theme in the current research, the existence of 'external rewards' has been seen as something desirable but not decisive in the practice of music. External rewards – such as recognition and financial rewards – "might be viewed as desirable, this is primarily because they offer a means to ensure the continued pursuit of artistic excellence" Banks (2012: 77). Melanie's exposition perhaps best sums up a view shared by many of the musicians in the current research who share a belief that music is central to their self-concept, but do not see the external rewards as contrary to artistic integrity:

I guess now, the purpose of my music is, you know, it's... half of it, fifty percent of it is definitely now making a living and looking after my family because I have two kids now, so fifty percent of it is that. But fifty percent of it... well actually, that's not even true. A hundred percent of it is still because I absolutely love it and I can't actually imagine doing anything else now. Now that I've actually kind of come down this road, I cannot imagine going back to anything else. I don't know what I would do now. It's just so part of like everyday life. It's just like... it's like – it seems a bit heavy – but it's just like breathing or something. You get up every day and I'm thinking about songs and trying to learn songs. I'm thinking about composing new tunes, thinking about what thing is going to come up next. Who are you going to

play with next? It's just... it's on your mind constantly. (Melanie, independent label musician)

6.5 Chapter Discussion

From the discussions in the previous sections, three key themes emerge that influence the art-commerce relation from the experience of work. Firstly, an acted artistic identity emerges that is influenced by perceptions of forms of capital musicians possess. The perception of this identity results in attempts to manage the reception of this social identity. Secondly, the sense of an internal drive found through the habitus of the musicians in the sample often over-rides other concerns, with musicians considering the drive as a part of their life purpose. Thirdly, the role of interests was found in the current research to show musicians engaging in the defence of their autonomy and artistic decision-making. This section will therefore discuss the implications of the findings of this chapter.

Through considering the elements that constitute an artistic identity, the current research found that musicians were engaged in a process of managing a perceived social identity. For this artistic identity, the relationship between identity and Bourdieu's forms of capital is essential. While Bourdieu (1993) argues that cultural production is actively opposed to economic capital, the current research found that there was a somewhat more complicated relationship between art and money. Reflective of other research into musicians (e.g., Coulson, 2012), many of the musicians in the current research felt they were not able to fully appropriate an artistic identity if they were not performing music work full time. Most musicians in the current research aspired to earn enough money to be able to support themselves full-time in music work. While some of the musicians see the struggle as part of working in the industry, a further proportion of the musicians see the difficulties in make a living as something that benefits their work. Yet, in contrast, the appearance of having larger amounts of economic capital or being seen to actively pursue money has a stigmatising (e.g., Goffman, 1968) effect on the artistic identities of the musicians interviewed. Deficiencies in the possession of cultural capital also influence how musicians are able to appropriate an artistic identity. The ability to identify as a "musician" or "songwriter" often depends on the perception of the relevant outgroup; when talking to non-musicians many of the musicians would self-identify as musicians for simplicity. When the relevant outgroup is perceived to be endowed with high-levels of cultural capital, musicians will identify with

“substitute” identities to cover their lack of cultural capital. The relevance of the *acted* artistic identity to the art-commerce relation is that musicians act to avoid spoiling their identity through associations with economic capital. While the need to appear to deny money is of some relevance, especially with musicians who see struggle as part of the job, more relevant is the need to not appear to be associated with large amounts of economic capital or commercialisation. Indeed, for many of the musicians, identifying with small-scale producers often meant that they did not feel competitive pressures over the scarce resources in the industry. In contrast, most competition was felt against pop music producers; often feeling that the indie musicians are the producers of ‘real’ music.

The role of personal identity in the art-commerce relationship was then considered. Previous contextualist research (e.g., Hallier, 2004; Marks and Lockyer, 2004; Richards and Marks, 2005) has utilised social psychological theory, such as SIT (e.g., Ashforth and Mael 1989; Tajfel et al. 1971), to examine social identity processes in the workplace. More recently, writers have argued about the weaknesses of the SIT, of particular relevance being that SIT understates the role of the self and overemphasises the role of group memberships in the formation of personal identity (Jenkins, 2014; Marks and O’Mahoney, 2014). While acknowledging the separation between a professional identity and a subjective identity (e.g., Mills, 2004; Oakland et al., 2013), the current research utilised Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984, 1990) notion of habitus to develop an understanding of elements of personal identity. Habitus was consistently found in the current research as an internal drive that to the musicians interviewed felt like their purpose in life. The development of the “musical” habitus within the current research followed two paths. Either a habitus formed by musicians following a formal music education from youth, or through being exposed to music through their family and taking up music later in their lives. The relevance to the art-commerce relation that concerns the current research is that many musicians felt that this drive over-rode any concern over the poor pay and conditions of working in the music industry. Previous writers (e.g., Menger, 1999) have used arguments that cultural work is a labour of love – or a “calling” (Weber, 1930) – in order to explain the reasons for self-exploitation or putting up with poor conditions, insecure employment and low pay. Within this research, it was found that music production was something that all participants were engaging in regardless of future reward and that they would perform this work regardless of

contractual relationships or as a means to earn a living. For the musicians interviewed, music is a part of who they are. Yet how much of their ability to commit to the low pay and poor conditions is down to their social background and forms of privilege can be debated with the current research. Social class has provided an undercurrent to the discussions of the previous two chapters. For many of the musicians, there is a feeling that a better connected, more professional, middle-class group is becoming prominent within the music industry. Limited access to social capital, and peers with greater cultural and economic capital all give rise to the feeling that music is progressively becoming more 'posh'. Such discussions are reflective of the work of cultural class analysis (e.g., Bennett *et al.*, 2008; Savage *et al.*, 2015), and most pertinently recent cultural industries research (e.g., Banks and Oakley, 2016; Oakley and O'Brien, 2016).

Interests have long been argued within the labour process perspective to be inseparable from consideration of identity (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999). Recent work by labour process theorists (e.g., Jenkins and Delbridge, 2006; Marks and Thompson, 2010; Taylor and Moore, 2015; Thompson *et al.* 2015) has placed the role of interests as a key development in identity theorising within LPT. While cultural production is considered a distinct form of capitalist production (Hesmondhalgh, 2013), the consideration of interests within this chapter reflect work in the labour process perspective more broadly (e.g., Marks and Scholarios, 2007; Taylor and Moore, 2015). Within the current research, interests are influenced too by Bourdieu's usage of the term (Bourdieu, 1994, 1998). As has been repeatedly discussed, Bourdieu's (1993, 1996, 1998) work on cultural production is based on the notion of appearing disinterested – either for material or symbolic concerns. Within the current research, this was found to be inadequate to explain the various interests held within the employment relationship. More satisfactory is a less instrumental view of interests (e.g., Banks, 2012; Marks and Scholarios, 2007; Thompson *et al.*, 2015), reflective of the affective and indeed artistic interests as well as self-interest of musicians. Within the employment relationship, musicians had interests in rejecting managerial control directed at increasing their overt commercial appeal. While part of this was understood as the musicians knowing their audience best, musicians too have a self-interest in avoiding economic capital for fear of a stigmatised social identity too. Importantly, interests do not necessarily conflict with the concerns of commerce (e.g., Burawoy, 1985). Indeed, within the

subfield of small-scale production a number of musicians acknowledged that they felt a shared responsibility to the record labels who had invested in them. Otherwise, the musicians display an apparent disregard for economic capital. Reflective of Banks (2012) work, many of the musicians were engaged in a form of emulative competition, where the musicians engage in music out of a passion that overrides concern for external goods – such as the forms of capital – but does not preclude accumulation of them.

The three levels of analysis conducted within this chapter have provided a basis to evaluate how the art-commerce relation is experienced by musicians in the current research. The social identity of musicians needs to *appear* as if it is opposed to overt commercialisation. The habitus of the musicians often overrides concerns for exploitation and emphasises the individual drive to create art. Interests mediate the two, with some musicians appearing to be disinterested in the reception of their work, while others have interest in the concerns of their firm or achieving a degree of notoriety. Having summarised the findings of this chapter, the following chapter will summarise the contribution made by this thesis and discuss the implications and limitations of this research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The research conducted within this study has considered the labour process of musicians within the recorded music industry. The thesis broadly considers the “dynamics of control, consent and resistance” (Thompson and Smith, 2009: 995) by firstly reappraising labour process theory’s concept of value with Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, and secondly contributing to the contextualist approach by considering the role of artistic identity and interests in negotiating the art-commerce relation. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the extent to which the aims of the current research were achieved.

This chapter will draw conclusions from the empirical research and assess the theoretical contribution to knowledge made by the current research. The chapter begins by considering the empirical work conducted in relation to the questions of value production and managerial control. Secondly, the chapter then considers the “contextualist” approach taken to identity and considers the research questions related to “artistic identity” and the denial of commercial and critical interest. Thirdly, the theoretical contributions to knowledge are discussed. Finally, the chapter considers the limitations of the current research and the possible directions for future research.

7.2 Value Production in the Field of Cultural Production

The aim of this section will be to assess the empirical research conducted within this thesis and consider the research questions concerned with value production and managerial control within the recorded music industry. Indeed, Chapters Two and Five of this thesis have been concerned with answering two of the research questions.

- What forms of value are produced within the labour process in the recorded music industry?
- What is the nature of managerial control in the recorded music industry?

The empirical work conducted within this thesis has given insight into forms of non-economic value produced within the labour process. The primary concern of this thesis has been to demonstrate that the art-commerce relation is conflictual in terms of how potential exchange values can be generated from the objectified cultural

capital produced. The evidence presented in the current research suggests that most musicians deny an interest in many forms of critical recognition or achieving financial success from their work. However, the research participants acknowledge that they would like their music to be heard and often appreciated by their peers. The important aspect of the current research has been to further demonstrate the relevance of Bourdieu's (1977, 1990, 1993, 1996) work in developing understandings of work in the cultural industries from a labour process perspective. Surplus value produced through work in the recorded music industry broadly takes two forms – economic capital and symbolic capital – and both are produced as a result of a conversion of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is also a form of value produced within the recorded labour process, created through the relationships made during the production process. For unsigned and independent musicians, amassing and converting social capital into the other forms of capital is a key task, reminiscent of Scott's (2012) work. Labour process theory is predicated on the indeterminacy of labour, where the purchased labour power needs to be converted into actual work as efficiently as possible. Yet this research suggests that the art-commerce relation can be seen as a further indeterminacy, between the potential conversion of objectified cultural capital into exchange value – reflective of the risk seen as inherent of cultural production (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013).

Managerial control therefore is enacted in the recorded music industry to reduce the potential risk of conversion into exchange values. Indeed, managerial control within the recorded music industry is reflective of previous studies into cultural production (e.g., Ryan, 1992) and the recorded music industry more specifically (e.g., Negus, 1998). The approach taken within the current research is different based on the focus on the labour process of musicians within record production. In contrast to recent studies which either focus on small-scale producers, a focus of recent Bourdieusian analysis by Scott (2012), or the working lives of musicians – a focus of Coulson (2012) and Umney and Krestos (2014). Recent research into record production has often taken the recording studio and record producers as their focus (e.g., Beer, 2014; Watson, 2013). While the focus of much of Negus's (1992, 1998, 1999) work has been on corporate music production, little attention has been paid recently to the labour process within the major-labels. The use of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and labour process analysis has shown how forms of objectified cultural

capital is produced and later converted into symbolic and economic capitals. Control, in the forms of second-wave labour process theories of control (e.g., Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977; Ryan, 1992), is used to reduce the uncertainty of conversions into economic capital in larger scale production or to ensure accumulation of symbolic capital in smaller-scale producers. Furthermore, the nature of managerial controls in the current research was found to depend on field location. While small-scale production could be considered fully autonomous and with a lack of concern for exchange values, the current research has demonstrated how symbolic capital is an aim of these small enterprises.

A further important aspect of this work has been to highlight the role of “artistic authority” within the employment relationship of the musician. Considered in terms of the forms of capital (musical capital, e.g., Coulson, 2010) in the embodied form, artistic authority is the ability of individuals – particularly intermediaries – to enact control over the music work performed (Ryan, 1992). In regards to the record producers, the forms of capital bring about their participation within the recording process. The forms of capital possessed by record producers act as their sources of artistic authority: their cultural capital acts allows their knowledge and experience to be applied, the recognition of these capacities as symbolic capital allows their reputation – or charismatic authority in Weber’s (1947) terms – to exert control. Yet, of all the intermediaries, producers are the least likely to exert their control against the interests of musicians. Previous research has shown the conflicted role that a producer has within the recorded music industry (e.g., Beer, 2014), with the current research reflective of those findings.

7.3 Artistic Identity, Interests and the Art-Commerce Relation

Chapters Three and Six of this thesis have primarily been concerned with answering the third and fourth research questions.

- What role does social identity have in mediating the art-commerce conflict?
- Do musicians have an interest in denying commercial or critical acclaim?

The consideration of the subjective factor – or “content” of work – has often been neglected within critical studies of the cultural industries (Banks, 2007; Smith and McKinlay, 2009). The first half of the current study has been to examine “the extent to which it enables participants to pursue their own artistic objectives” (Umney and

Krestos, 2014: 573) in the face of record label management. The concern of the second half of this thesis has been the notion of an artistic identity and how the identity is managed within the art-commerce relation. Chapter Six illustrated the link between Bourdieu's forms of capital and social identity. Money exists in a complicated relationship, where many musicians aspire to be able to work full-time on their music work but also acts as a stigma on artistic identity. Reflective of Coulson's (2012) musicians, participants in the current research felt that they could not claim a full "artistic" identity without working on music full-time. Yet, the money earned by musicians also acted to maintain artistic identities. The independent versus major label conflict – or divide between subfields (Bourdieu, 1996) – is maintained by stigmatising those that transgress the boundaries of the fields. By attaining excessive economic capital, or being perceived as having "sold out" as a result, this capital acts as a stigma on the artistic musical identity. Indeed, this is reminiscent of Frith's (1981) assertion that "creativity is sapped not by profit seeking, but by big profit seeking", acquiring symbolic capital does not require "asceticism" in the face of all economic capital (i.e., Bourdieu, 1993) but the denial of overt interest in or possession of high levels of economic capital. Within Bourdieu's work, symbolic capital is generated by the apparent disavowal of interests – whether that is in the apparent gift economy of the Kabyle in Algeria (Bourdieu, 1990), or the rejection of interests in cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993). In Bourdieu's terms, symbolic capital obscures recognition of the translation of the denial of money into long-term financial profits. Many musicians may in fact make substantial amounts of money from their work but, with symbolic capital, they do not receive the negative sanction of pursuing economic capital. The role of interests within the current research is to manage the perception of the social identity.

Of importance to the current research has been to examine Bourdieu's notion that musicians in the field of cultural production are required to disavow any interest in increasing forms of capital and, in particular, any interest in economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996, 1998). The findings, however, show that it is the interaction between interests and perception of social identity that is of greater importance. While musicians may deny interest in increasing their stores of economic capital, many of the musicians appear more concerned with preserving the autonomy of their labour process and ensuring the affective motivations for their work are

preserved. Indeed, reflective of Sayer's (1999, 2005) and Banks (2006) criticisms of Bourdieu's lack of consideration for non-instrumental motivation, the recurring theme with regard to interests is how many musicians are only concerned with making the best possible music they can and the feeling of being "communicative" without necessarily profiting from their work – either economically or symbolically. The application of Bourdieu's concept of habitus to the findings has been to highlight that many musicians' habitus acts as a personal drive that displays this non-instrumental purpose and negates many of the commercial concerns of the art-commerce relation.

7.4 Theoretical Contributions to Knowledge

The empirical research conducted within this thesis has been aimed at addressing the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry. The key theoretical contribution of this thesis has been to locate labour process theory within Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. Labour process theory has been criticised for lacking an ability to be applied to work within the cultural industries without modifications of utilising other theoretical resources (Böhm and Land, 2009, 2012; O'Doherty and Willmott, 2009). The use of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice – and in particular, his forms of capital and field – have aided a labour process analysis while maintaining many of the central tenets of the core theory (i.e., Thompson, 1989). The current research, however, found that the privileging of the labour process, as the source of value producing activity, needs loosening. Work within the cultural industries often occurs outside an established employment relationship. Indeed, the central problem with LPT acknowledged by Ursell (2000) - that forms of value production occur outside an established employment relationship – was supported by the current research. Yet, without adopting a Foucauldian position like Ursell (2000), this thesis contributes the notion that value production is structured by the field of cultural production. The musicians participating within the current research all acknowledged an interest in being "taken up" (Jones, 2012) within the industry and thus performed practices in line with attracting the attention of intermediaries. The importance of improving capital to some extent was central, allowing for a continued materialist understanding of the symbolic aspects of the labour process.

The importance to separate out use-value and exchange-values has been an important aspect of the thesis. Drawing on Skeggs' (2004a, 2004b, 2005) and Sayer's

(1999, 2005) modifications of Bourdieu's forms of capital, this research more clearly demonstrates the conflict within the employment relationship between values. Scott (2012) was able to demonstrate how musicians needed to mobilise forms of capital in order to perform music work in the absence of economic capital. The current research was able to demonstrate how, within employment relationships, the production of a symbolic good requires a consideration of its future exchange value. Within small-scale producers, the emphasis is on creating good music and therefore generating exchange values of symbolic capital. Within large-scale production, music production is directed at ensuring the eventual exchange of symbolic goods into economic capital (e.g. Bourdieu, 1993). Furthermore, the current research has developed second-wave labour process theories that have arguably been "gathering dust" (Thompson and Callaghan, 2001: 15). Edwards' (1979) formulations of simple and bureaucratic controls have been arguably the most relevant conceptualisation of control to the current research. Likewise, Ryan's (1992) under-utilised work within the labour process community represents a second-wave account of cultural production that still offers a theoretical inspiration within work in the recorded music industry. Ryan's (1992) notion of artistic authority, adapted to take on a greater relationship with Bourdieu's work. By adapting Edwards' (1979) use of Weber's sources of authority and replacing it with this Bourdieusian conceptualisation of artistic authority, this thesis has shown how the multiple sources of labour power – taken to be "musical capital" in Coulson's (2010) usage, the embodied cultural, social and symbolic capitals of the musicians and intermediaries – result in contradictory lines of authority. The "rational legal" economic sources of authority of the record label over the work of musicians are simply inadequate alone to exert any authority over the employment relationship.

While much of this thesis has supplemented core LPT with Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, the current research has used core LPT's contextualist approach to gain greater understanding of the role of identity in the work of musicians. The thesis offers a strong link between the dynamics of control as well as the dynamics of consent and resistance through a focus on the 'content' of work and the role of artistic identity (Banks, 2007; Smith and McKinlay, 2009; Thompson and Smith, 2009). The use of a three level analysis of identity – based on the critical realist framework developed by Marks and O'Mahoney (2014) – provides a unique contribution to the contextualist approach. An acted 'artistic' social identity,

sensitive to the accumulation or lack of capital, negotiates the commerce of the art-commerce relation. The maintenance of the barriers between large and small-scale production (e.g., Bourdieu, 1996) is conducted by the stigmatising of identities, in Goffman's (1963) sense, that overtly pursue money or become associated with excessive economic capital. The relevance of interests, in the contextualist sense rather than Bourdieu's sense, is to preserve a positive social identity through the denial of overt commercialisation.

Importantly too, the context of the current research is an important development for labour process theory. There currently is a dearth of studies of cultural production drawing from the labour process perspective with only some recent exceptions (e.g., Umney and Krestos, 2014), while other contributions can be best described as researching the wider creative industries (e.g., Thompson *et al.*, 2015).

7.5 Limitations and Future Directions for Research

Several limitations emerge from the current research. While considering the production of symbolic capital, this study is limited in its lack of consideration for the cultural intermediaries who "produce" critical acclaim. Bourdieu's (1984) work focused on the role of taste and how taste is maintained within the field by cultural intermediaries. The motivation to avoid considering the role of these cultural intermediaries, such as reviewers or DJs, is because it broadens the boundaries of the research outside the point of production. Strongly linked to the neglect of cultural intermediaries, the "normative" content of work and considerations of "good" work are not sufficiently developed within this research. While Chapter Six engaged with debates of non-instrumental motivations for performing music work, the overall purpose of this thesis has been to demonstrate the different nature of value production, forms of control and dynamics of control and resistance within the recorded music industry. By drawing on Bourdieu's work, and by extension Skeggs (2004a) and Sayer's (1999, 2005) critiques and developments, the normative dimension is inescapable. As Banks (2006: 458) suggests, "the shadow of influence cast by Bourdieu's work has meant more recent observers have neglected to address non-instrumental aspects of cultural work." The use of contextualist approach from labour process theory was in part aimed at addressing aspects of disinterestedness that are often ignored within Bourdieu's work (e.g., Bourdieu,

1998). Yet, aesthetic content was not generally considered within the current research.

A second limitation related to the current research's methodology can also be identified. One of the limitations of the current research was the ability to recruit participants. The difficulty of recruiting participants in the cultural industries has been noted before (e.g. Deacon *et al.*, 1999). While cultural intermediaries, in Bourdieu's sense, were purposefully avoided within the sampling strategy, the inability to access greater participants in major labels was problematic. Marketing staff and record label management in large independents and major labels were not recruited, as were additional major label musicians. Further research however could be undertaken to gain a greater insight of major label production. In addition, further research could reappraise the methods chosen. Though semi-structured interviews were used successfully, the main motivation for their use was pragmatic. In order to examine issues of class further - and therefore the links with habitus - that were tentatively discussed within the current research, a biographic-narrative or life histories approach might prove more fruitful to examine these issues.

Future research can be directed towards addressing the meaning of work for musicians. The current research has examined the art-commerce relation within the recorded music industry and how it is negotiated by musicians. The approach taken within this thesis has allowed for a consideration of the dynamics of control and autonomy and how musicians consent and resist to the control of their work. While the exploration of the role of habitus has given insights into musicians whose habitus acts to overcome the negative effects of commerce and pursue art, the affective dimensions recognised within the current research could be explored further. Indeed, the relationship to Banks' (2007) third strand of cultural labour theorising - the reflexivity theorists - could be explored in detail and in particular the relationship with the work of Margaret Archer. Furthermore, recent research using Honneth's (1995) recognition theory (e.g., Hancock, 2013) or MacIntyre's (1984) ethical practice (e.g., Banks, 2012) could prove fruitful for further research.

Importantly, the use within this thesis of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and labour process analysis allows LPT to move beyond a sole consideration of the production of economic capital but also other forms of capital. Inceptive attempts at producing a labour process analysis of language revival in public sector work (e.g. Maclean,

2013) have attempted to conceptualise the production of new forms of linguistic capital and their exchange within an organisational context. Reflective of current debates over the dominance of creative industries discourse in moving cultural forms to the centre of the economic action (Banks *et al.*, 2013; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2013), the use of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice allows for labour process analysis to understand the links between fields and the commodification of "symbolic" forms of work.

The current research has examined one of the more overt conflicts between what can be understood as "substantive" and "instrumental" social actions, in the terms of Max Weber. The benefit of examining this conflict from a Bourdieusian perspective is that the relationship between the field of cultural production and wider social space is integral to Bourdieu's theories. The field of cultural production is structured by the forms of capital, with the greater levels of economic capital drawing the field closer to the field of power (Bourdieu, 1996). The mapping of fields and how they are structured by capital, as well as their heteronomy with the fields of power allows for a greater understanding of the increasing pressures inherent in neoliberalism towards economic accumulation in these fields. The theoretical contributions made within this framework allow for consideration of the dynamics between the substantively rational orientation of a form of work and its conflict with instrumental rationality. Of particular relevance would be the fields of health-care and education – where the field is structured with reference to values that are usually in opposition to economic capital.

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