Foreword

In October 2010, a first meeting took place with board members of the IASPM Benelux branche and representatives of the Inholland University of Applied Sciences to explore the possibilities to organize a IASPM Benelux conference at Inholland Haarlem. By then it had been almost ten years since the IASPM Benelux branche had organized a large scale conference with international speakers. The previous conference took place in October 2001 and was organized by René Boomkens, who was then the first Dutch Professor of Popular Music at the University of Amsterdam. Back then I was still a master student and through the course taught by René I was introduced to popular music studies. I became the student assistant to René and a member of the IASPM and helped organize that conference. At the time, I would have never thought that 10 years later I would have written a dissertation on the careers of pop musicians and be a popular music scholar myself. Moreover, I had become a board member of the IASPM Benelux and I was now responsible for the organization of a conference myself...

Obviously that first meeting between IASPM Benelux and Inholland went well and together we were able to organize a great two day conference with an excellent programme consisting of two keynotes by prominent international popular music scholars and no less than eight parallel sessions making up a very inspiring list of more than 30 speakers from ten different countries including Australia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Finland, Germany, France, Poland, Sweden and, of course, the Netherlands and Belgium.

To conclude (and to paraphrase the title of one of the papers), I have to give credit where credit is due and I want to express my sincere gratitude to everyone involved in the organization of this conference in making it a great success, most notably I want to thank Lonneke Schellekens and Bas Reijken for all of their hard work in the production of the conference and Regine von Stieglitz, Dean of the Faculty of Communication, Media & Music, of the Inholland University of Applied Sciences for making this conference (financially) possible. Of course, also thanks to all participants of the conference. We look forward to meeting you all again in the future.

July 2012
Koos Zwaan
- Secretary for the IASPM Benelux branche
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Keynote 2 – **Music, Media and Copyright: Australian Contexts**
- Shane Homan (*Associate Professor in Media Studies, Monash University, Australia*)

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The 6th continent, the ocean as crucial transmitter in the globalization of popular music
Stan Rijven (*World Music Forum NL/ Trouw/ Ritmundo, the Netherlands*)

'Double Take': A dialogue on Zulu popular music on a world music platform
Kathryn Olsen (*University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa*)
Barbara Titus (*Utrecht University, the Netherlands*)

Popular Music Heritage, Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity (POPID)
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1B – Research Methods in Popular Music Studies
Visual identity of Finnish heavy metal bands
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Christian musicians versus musical Christians: Combining rock and religion in Amsterdam
Linda Duits (*Independent social scientist, owner of Diep Onderzoek, the Netherlands*)

It's only part of the process! How the analysis of music can impart knowledge about popmusic as cultural practice
Bernhard Steinbrecher (*University of Weimar, Germany*)

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Business models in the music industry: in search for the Holy Grail
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Business cycles and music cultures
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The music industry: changing practices and new research directions
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"Word just in - the world loves Dutch trance" The representation of Dutch dance and rock music export successes in British and German music magazines
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Lieselotte Goessens, Katia Segers, Kristin van den Buys & Francis Maes) (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)

Arno van der Hoeven (Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands)
Towards a Political Aesthetics of Music
- David Hesmondhalgh

This chapter outlines a political aesthetics of music. The aim is to produce a framework that would allow for the evaluation of musical institutions, processes, and developments, in terms of how music, in its various institutional, technological, and textual forms, might inhibit or promote human flourishing. This aesthetics is “political” in a broader sense of politics than that which is concerned with analysing, for example, how social movements use music or whether certain musical texts reinforce or resist ideology - though this is not to deny the importance of these matters, and it can include them too.

In modern capitalist societies, music is a mode of communication and culture oriented primarily towards artistic expression and experience. To consider music’s ability or otherwise to enhance people’s lives, requires engaging with the significance of the domain of art and aesthetics in modern society. I mean “art” in a broad sense: the use of skills to produce works of the imagination, to invoke feelings of pleasure, beauty, shock, excitement, and so on. The social value of artistic practices and experiences, like education and culture more broadly, has come under attack in recent years. Politicians and commentators question the value of art (see O’Connor 2006 for a brilliant critique of one such case) and in the British context in which I write, savage cuts in education, library, and arts funding are under way. This will almost certainly have an enormous effect on musical practice. The UK case is not untypical: in many societies, music and other forms of culture and knowledge are increasingly prone to being treated as activities inferior to the accumulation of profit, or the pursuit of personal and corporate advantage. Artistic practices and experiences can, it seems, only be defended on the basis of their contribution to the economy, or to some kind of amelioration of social damage (Miller and Yudice 2002).

In such circumstances, it is my view that the artistic practices and experiences afforded by music need defending in other terms – in terms of their ability to promote human flourishing. However, this needs to be a critical defence, which recognises the ways in which power, history, and subjectivity interlock in the highly complex and unequal societies of today. Massive inequalities persist in the realm of culture, information, and knowledge, just as they do in the economic sphere.
Defending Artistic Experience – and Musical Experience

Where, in such circumstances, might we turn for a critical defence of culture, of artistic experience, and of music? Disappointingly, much serious analysis of culture has only offered occasional and limited resources in this respect. There is no space to back up my point by surveying all the different fields. But a brief look at one especially important set of approaches – those associated with the interdisciplinary project known as cultural studies – might help contextualise my approach here. Cultural studies has been highly influential on the cultural study of music, the subject of this volume.

Cultural studies developed in the 1960s and 1970s, with the explicit aim of contributing to a democratisation of culture. It did so partly through critical analysis of how inequality was etched into artistic and cultural expression in modern societies. It also aimed to question the way that humanities scholarship had been approached, and in particular the idea of studying culture as the analysis of the “best which has been thought and said in the world,” to quote Matthew Arnold’s *Culture and Anarchy* (1869). Cultural studies developed important insights concerning the way in which audiences contributed to meaning, and the importance of class, ethnic, and gender difference in relation to culture. As much a movement across disciplines as a discipline in itself, cultural studies drew on the new social activism of the post-countercultural period, notably feminism and anti-racism, and also on longer traditions of socialism that sought to defend working-class cultural experience. Post-structuralist versions claimed to offer much more developed conceptions of relations between culture, power, and subjectivity than “traditional” or classical Marxism. The influence of the Marxist political theorist Louis Althusser was important in this respect, as was that of the radical psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, and the historian Michel Foucault. As these authors were translated and imported into Anglophone cultural analysis (and eventually the cultural analysis of music), their work encouraged much greater engagement with the incomplete, uncertain and open nature of human subjectivity.

But this engagement came at a cost. The profound hostility of these writers and their followers to humanism swayed many cultural studies analysts towards a suspicion of categories such as aesthetics, experience, and even emotion (“affect” being the preferred anti-humanist concept). Such ways of thinking – which were by no means peculiar to cultural studies but influenced a range of critical thought in the humanities and social sciences - may have ended up unwittingly strengthening the hand of social groups who might seek to benefit from the erosion of intellectual and artistic autonomy, especially big business and its allies in the state apparatus. (Of course not all cultural studies followed this course. Exceptions include Frith 1996; Negus and Pickering 2003; and the work of Raymond Williams).
Times change, and different approaches are called for. I believe that we need a much richer account of the role of culture in people’s lives, and the relation of culture to people’s attempts – always uncertain, constrained and uneven, often failing – to live a good life. This particular focus on experience needs an account of subjectivity that understands people as emotional beings, recognising that culture has a problematic but important relationship to this dimension of our lives. Dynamics of power, history, and inequality, forefronted by the best versions of cultural studies, need integrating with these issues.

I believe we must turn to other traditions if we are to evaluate in a more rounded way the role of artistic experience in modern societies, and specifically music as a form of artistic experience. I have chosen to address only two here, neo-Aristotelianism and pragmatism, since they raise questions of emotion and experience in relation to artistic practice, questions that I find of particular interest. This is necessarily abstract, and abstraction is good because it allows for the identification of underlying principles. But I’ll then make the discussion more sociologically concrete by discussing some potential relations of music to human flourishing (or otherwise) in modern societies. As I do so, I’ll explore in greater depth what I mean by a critical defence of music - one that recognises that the deeply scarred nature of modern societies is bound to affect music.

Music, Emotion and Experience

One notable tradition that has been neglected for many years by those who pursue the critical cultural study of music can be designated “Aristotelian.”. The concept of human flourishing that I have already referred to in passing derives from there. The neo-Aristotelian philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2003) has provided one recent attempt to explain how the experience of art might enhance human life. The context for her account is an analysis of the ethical importance of emotions, against the preference for the application of detached intellect apparent in much philosophy (and reflected in some forms of cultural policy). Nussbaum first argues that emotions have a narrative structure. “The understanding of any single emotion is incomplete,”, she writes, “unless its narrative history is grasped and studied for the light it sheds on the present response.” (236) This suggests a central role for the arts in human self-understanding, because narrative artworks of various kinds (whether musical or visual or literary) “give us information about these emotion-histories that we could not easily get otherwise.” (236) So narrative artworks are important for what they show the person who is eager to understand the emotions; also because of the role they play in people’s emotional lives.
Importantly, Nussbaum grounds her conception of emotions in a psychoanalytically-informed account of subjectivity. Rather than the bizarrely non-feeling subject to be found in the Lacanian tradition favoured by much post-structuralist cultural studies, she draws on object relations analysts such as D.W. Winnicott (1971). For Nussbaum and Winnicott, the potentially valuable role that artistic experience might play in people’s lives is suggested by studies of infant experience of stories and of play. Storytelling and narrative play cultivate the child’s sense of her own aloneness, her inner world. The capacity to be alone is supported by the way in which such play develops the ability to imagine the good object’s presence when the object is not present, and play deepens the inner world. Narrative play can help us understand the pain of others, and to see them in non-instrumental ways. Children can be given a way of understanding their own sometimes frightening and ambivalent psychology, so that they become interested in understanding their subjectivity, rather than fleeing from it. Stories and play can militate against depression and helplessness, by feeding the child’s interest “in living in a world in which she is not perfect or omnipotent.” (237) They contribute to the struggle of love and gratitude versus ambivalence, and of active concern against the helplessness of loss. These dynamics continue into adult life – this of course is a fundamental insight of psychoanalytically-informed thought - and adults too benefit from narrative play.

How might this relate to music as a special case of cultural and aesthetic experience? Rightly, in my view, Nussbaum claims that much music, in most modern societies, is closely connected to emotions, or at least is ideally thought to be so. But music as such doesn’t contain representational or narrative structures of the sort that are the typical objects of concrete emotions in life, or in other kinds of aesthetic experience such as films or novels. This makes it less obvious how music itself can be about our lives. Music is of course often linked to stories, in songs, operas, ballads, and so on, and even when it isn’t, is often highly discursively mediated, by the use of titles, instructions on scores, or critical discourse that seeks to interpret what music means. But we still need an account of the way musical sounds address emotion and feeling.

Nussbaum delineates (272) a number of ways in which narrative fiction, such as novels and plays, allow for emotion on the part of the reader/spectator. Emotions can be felt

- towards characters, sharing emotion through identification or reacting against the emotions of a character;
- towards the sense of life embodied in the text as a whole, reacting to it sympathetically or critically;
- towards one’s own possibilities;
- in response to coming to understand something about life or about oneself.
Musical artworks can play the same role, says Nussbaum, but with the emotional material embodied in peculiarly musical forms. Music’s distinctive language is one of compressed and elliptical reference to our inner lives and our prospects; for Nussbaum, it is close to dreaming in this respect. Our responses to music are crystallisations of general forms of emotion, rather than reactions to characters, as in narrative fiction; so most musical emotions, for Nussbaum, fall into the second and third of the categories listed above. Nussbaum agrees with Schopenhauer that music is “well-suited to express parts of the personality that lie beneath its conscious self-understanding” (269), bypassing habit and intellect. Music “frequently has an affinity with the amorphous, archaic, and extremely powerful emotional materials of childhood’ (ibid). Its semiotic indefiniteness gives it a superior power to engage with our emotions.

Using examples from Mahler, Nussbaum claims that musical works can contain structures in which great pain is crystallised and which construct “an implied listener who experiences that burning pain” (272); or they may “contain forms that embody the acceptance of the incredible remoteness of everything that is good and fine” and construct a listener who experiences desolation. Or a musical work may contain forms that embody the “hope of transcending the pettiness of daily human transactions.” Music is somehow able to embody “the idea of our urgent need for and attachment to things outside ourselves that we do not control” (272). This capacity is not natural; it is the product of complex cultural histories, and experience of such emotions depends on familiarity with the conventions that allow them, either through everyday experience of musical idioms, or through education. These emotions might be hard to explicate as they happen, and not all works invoke deep emotion – they can just be enjoyable or interesting. But music provides its own version of the ways in which stories and play potentially enhance our lives, by cultivating and enriching our inner world, and by feeding processes of concern, sympathy, and engagement, against helplessness and isolation.

Nussbaum suggests the fruitfulness of an approach that relates the value of art to human well-being, emotion, and experience, and which also addresses the specificity of music as part of that account. Of course, music might fail much of the time to do this. Nussbaum is suggesting what music can offer, how it might add to our capabilities, our prospects for living different versions of a good life. It may be however that her explication is too much centred on a model of a listening self that is contemplative and self-analytical. This suggests that the defence of a wider range of artistic experience might need to look to other sources. One potential starting point is the American educationalist and pragmatist philosopher John Dewey, who, in the helpful gloss of Richard Shusterman, argues that art’s special function and value lie “not in any specialized particular end but in satisfying the live creature in a more global way, by serving a variety of ends, and above all by enhancing our
immediate experience which invigorates and vitalizes us, thus aiding our achievement of whatever further ends we pursue" (Shusterman 2000, 9). Art is thus at once instrumentally valuable and a satisfying end in itself. Art “keeps alive the power to experience the common world in its fullness,”, in Dewey’s words ([1934] 1980, 138), and provides the means to make our lives more meaningful and tolerable through the introduction of a “satisfying sense of unity” into experience. This emphasis on experience in no way precludes the importance of meaning and reflection, and does not rely on a naïve romantic notion of immediacy as the basis of art’s power. Dewey confusingly merged artistic and aesthetic experience, but to see the experience of music, stories, and visual art as ordinary, as part of the flow of life, and as continuous with other forms of aesthetic experience (such as finding a person or a landscape deeply attractive) fits well with Raymond Williams’s statements about the simultaneous ordinariness and extraordinariness of culture and creativity (for example in Williams 1965). It makes room for forms of artistic expression and entertainment that are less about contemplation, and more about energetic kinaesthesis, and (thoughtful) engagement of the body. Shusterman (2000, 184) gives the example of how funk embodies an aesthetic, which he sees as derived from Africa, of “vigorously active and communally impassioned engagement.” Shusterman is rather too inclined to dismiss other experiences of music as “dispassionate, judgemental remoteness” in his efforts to defend popular art; and not all dancing experiences are as communal as he suggests. Simon Frith’s sociologically-informed aesthetic of popular music (1996) may get closer to what goes on in music which is focused more on rhythm than on harmony and melody. A steady tempo and an interestingly patterned beat, observes Frith, enable listeners to respond actively and to experience music “as a bodily as well as a mental matter” (144). This is often as much about order and control as going wild – a pronounced steady beat often underlies dance music. The point though is that a whole range of popular musics offer deeply pleasurable, feelingful, and absorbing experiences – and Frith (who is not a pragmatist in the philosophical sense), Dewey and Shusterman help us to see the value of this combination of mental and bodily experiences through music.

Nussbaum and Dewey/Shusterman come from very different philosophical, intellectual, and political traditions, but their Aristotelian and pragmatist ethics can be mutually complementary. They suggest ways in which artistic experience, including musical experience, might be valued in modern societies. Now, however, I want to elaborate on the suggestion I made earlier, that the kind of defence of such experience I have in mind needs to be a critical defence, so that we avoid producing the kind of pious, ethnocentric, and complacent celebrations that now seem to characterise some earlier writing about culture and music, and which post-structuralism and cultural studies did such important work in helping us to de-mystify.
Music and Human Flourishing: Five Dimensions

How might a more critical orientation towards culture, and towards music, balance the claims we might want to make for its emancipatory potential to allow human flourishing? To put this another way, how might we incorporate into our analysis the recognition that the world is severely marred by injustice, inequality, alienation, and oppression, and that music is unlikely to remain unaffected by these broader social dynamics? Perhaps the most durable body of critical work on culture and music in modernity is that of Theodor Adorno. No-one applied a historical understanding of power and subjectivity so relentlessly to musical culture as a whole than did Adorno. For Adorno ([1932] 2002, 393), music could only contribute to bettering the world through "the coded language of suffering." From the perspective sketched here, Adorno’s work is limited by its excessive austerity, his idealist requirement that art should aspire to extremely demanding levels of autonomy and dialectic, by his failure to recognise adequately the ambivalence in both “high culture” and “popular culture,” and, linked to all this, his seeming contempt for everyday cultural experience in modern societies. A significant challenge for critical analysts, then, is to produce a historically-informed but *non-Adornian* account of music-related subjectivity (see Hesmondhalgh 2008). The next section merely sketches such an account, based on Nussbaum, Shusterman, and others. I try to make the discussion more sociological, more concrete, by listing just five ways in which music might enhance well-being or flourishing in modern societies. At the same time I address some aspects of music-society relations which prevent music from fulfilling that potential.

1. Music can *heighten people’s awareness of continuity and development in life*. It seems powerfully linked to memory, perhaps because it combines different ways of remembering: the cognitive, the emotional, and the bodily-sensory (van Dijck 2006). It allows us to remember things that happened, how we felt, and what it’s like to move, dance, and feel to a certain set of sounds, rhythms, textures. This ability for music to get stuck in our minds has surely been enhanced by recording technologies: most of us hear a lot more music now than most of our ancestors, and we are likely to hear some of it repeatedly, often in great bursts of repetition over a few weeks when a recording is initially a hit, when it's played regularly in public spaces. This tends to happen to people more when they’re young, and so for older people, music can be powerfully evocative of loss as well as continuity. Nostalgia is neither good nor bad in itself, as it has the potential to make us aware of things that we might be justified in regretting (Boym 2002). But it can involve a negatively sentimental
relationship to our past: for example, older people might project on to their youth the feeling that things were better then, when in fact life involved a mixture of different emotions and processes, and may often have been extremely difficult. Attachment to the familiar records of the past can crowd out the inclination and desire to add new experiences to people’s lives, inhibiting development and flourishing. Arguably, the commodification of music has encouraged that negative sentimentality through economics and aesthetics that make it cheaper and easier to invoke musical pasts than to encourage real innovation.

2. Music might *enhance our sense of sociality and community*, because of its great potential for providing shared experiences that are corporeal, emotional, and full of potential meanings for the participants. Parties and festive occasions are, for many people, unthinkable without music. This sense of sociality and community can be pleasurable, moving, and even joyous. They provide opportunities for the forging of new friendships, and the reaffirmation of old ones. Music plays an especially powerful communal role by encouraging people to move to the same sounds at the same time, but in different ways (wilder and more restrained, skilfully and not so skilfully, ironically or sincerely). Music, then, combines a responsive form of individual self-expression with the collective expression of shared taste, shared attachments. But, as I tried to show in earlier work (Hesmondhalgh 2008), building on the insights of social theorists such as Axel Honneth (2004), dynamics of emotional self-realisation through music are closely linked to status battles in contemporary societies marked by competitive individualism; indeed, music, precisely because of its links to the emotions, and therefore to privileged modes of modern personhood involving emotional intelligence and sensitivity, might be a particularly intense site for such struggles.

3. Music can combine a *healthy integration of different aspects of our being*, combining *reflection and self-awareness with kinetic pleasure*, as Shusterman (2000) suggests. The connecting glue is some kind of emotional awareness. Musicians consciously and sub-consciously seek to produce certain moods in those who are hearing or who at some time will hear their music. In moving to music, from almost imperceptibly tapping a foot or a steering wheel while the radio plays at a traffic light, through swaying at a concert, to full-on dancing at a club or party, people are both thinking and feeling. Of course, those thoughts might involve the mind wandering along a chain of associations; and they will feature preoccupations that have nothing to do
with the music at all. It often takes us a while at concerts to “attune” ourselves to music, and, in a live music setting, after the initial rush of excitement when a band or orchestra begin playing, we might lose our way for a while. But when certain kinds of music work, they put mind and body together. This is one of the reasons why “the primitivist understanding of black music” (Danielsen 2006, 27, 28) is so objectionable. It reduces the complex interplay of thought, reflection, and skilful practice in the varieties of African-American music she examines to an unmediated expression of some inner essence, and in so doing often reduces people of color to one aspect of themselves: their sexuality. As Danielsen shows, the skill of great funk musicians is to conceal the remarkable amount of work that goes into making their music sound as though it flows naturally from the impulse to dance. But the common misreading of such forms of music suggests, again, how difficult it is for even the most remarkable genres and practices to escape the effects of the inequality and racism that so profoundly scar modern societies.

4. As Nussbaum suggests, music can heighten our understanding of how others might think and feel. It can do so because music encodes human emotions into sounds that can be transmitted and transported across time and space, and because the understanding of these sounds is not limited by the need to learn verbal languages (which makes it easier to transmit than stories and poems). This has synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Synchronichally, it is true of our potential understanding of music that comes from other societies in our own time; diachronically, it’s true of music that comes from previous eras. This potentially sympathetic (sym = with, pathetic = related to feeling) quality of music is severely limited however by the deceptively transparent nature of musical communication. All communication, including spoken language, relies on convention. When we hear a foreign language, of which we have no knowledge, we are completely reliant for our interpretation of what is happening on the paralinguistic features of speech – tone and volume of voice, and so on. We will always be aware of the “gap” left by not knowing the language. When we hear music from a society that we don’t know well, by contrast, we may often be deceived into thinking we understand its resonances and potential meanings better than we really do. Of course, some musical features may “translate” – certain combinations of musical sounds may reliably indicate happiness or sadness whether emanating from Nigeria or Nebraska. But many more subtle indications of mood, emotion, and purpose will be much more elusive. The sympathetic quality of music – its potential heightening of our understanding of how others think and feel - is also limited by the same dangers of projection that I discussed in the previous
point: inequality and ideology might mean that musical practices and values are radically misunderstood -- either devalued, or highly valued for the wrong reasons. This is one reason why education about culture might be life-enhancing. The sensitive teaching of conventions and discourses can help us to get more realistically at what kinds of experiences and emotions are being coded into music.

5. Music is potentially very good at being a practice in the Aristotelian sense, where practice is used to mean co-operative activities which involve the pursuit of excellence, and which emphasise the “internal” rewards of achieving standards appropriate to those forms of activity, rather than external compensations of money, power, prestige, and status (MacIntyre 1984, Keat 2000). It is an activity deeply loaded with ethical significance for many people. Musicians put enormous amounts of time into practising so that they can be adept in making the sounds that they are required to make, and this is often for the intrinsic rewards associated with making music, rather than for fame itself. As Mark Banks (2012) has aptly put it, jazz is a particularly acute example of a practice in this sense, because of the “sharply delineated contrast and tension between the durable ethical pull of the internal goods of the practice (the virtues of community participation and engagement and the ‘good of a certain kind of life’ that jazz provides) against the contingent external goods that musicians and institutions might seek to accumulate in jazz.” But this emphasis on intrinsic rewards can lead to self-exploitation in artistic labor markets characterised by massive over-supply of willing workers, and reward systems hugely skewed towards the successful few (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011).

Concluding Comments
There are of course many other ways in which music might contribute to human well-being, even if, in doing so, it is subject to constraints. But in this final section, I want merely to address a couple of potential objections to the way of thinking about music that I have advocated in this essay. First of all, given its emphasis on emotion and experience, is the critical defence of music sketched here an attempt to smuggle back bourgeois individualism into the critical cultural analysis of music? We experience the world as individuals, and it is good to recognise that fact, while understanding that individual experience is always socially determined and mediated. Aristotelianism and pragmatism can be complements to the socialism, feminism, and multiculturalism that guide much progressive thinking. Marx himself had a deeply Aristotelian conception of humanity (Elster 1985).
Second, is this outline of a political aesthetics of music based on human flourishing an abnegation of real politics, given that politics is inevitably about collectivities? It is certainly a counter to the equation of a politics of music with the question, “Can music change the world?” There is nothing wrong with this question, as long as it is not assumed to exhaust our understanding of the politics, or social significance, of music. Nothing can change anything by itself! However much we want to see the world become a better place, surely none of us would want to see music evaluated solely on the basis of the degree to which it contributes to social change. It has other purposes which might be thought of as indirectly political. What I’m suggesting is that the best way to approach this array of potential functions is in terms of the distinctive abilities of music – distinct from other forms of human endeavour, and from other forms of artistic practice and experience - to contribute to human flourishing, and the ways in which social and political dynamics inhibit or promote these capacities.
References
Introduction

So, yeah, pirates and slave owners. Which one do you want to pick from, you know? Well, you don’t have to. You’re both bastards (Musicians’ Union executive, Melbourne).

Today I’m exploring recent events in the digital rights battle in Australia, for a number of reasons. Firstly, I’m involved in an Australian Research Council project, the Policy Notes project, looking at music policy in Australia, Scotland and New Zealand with Martin Cloonan, Roy Shuker and Jen Cattermole. All the quotes from industry people here derive from this project. Digital copyright issues, unsurprisingly, dominated our interviews with key policy-makers and industry CEOs. Secondly, Australia has some claims to being at the forefront of law and policy reforms in these areas over the last decade. Thirdly, I remain interested in how discourses of nation are played out amidst a mixture of global shifts in technology, and attempts by music industry bodies in some respects to fashion global responses in law and legislation. And, in the context of the theme for this conference, it’s interesting to reconcile the theory of original copyright laws with the contemporary realities of industrial practice. Of course, media rights remain a crucial area of debate, not just for consumers, but producers. Creator of the Madmen TV series in the U.S., Mathew Reiner’s recent battle with Lionsgate over the number of ads, product placement and cast members for series 5 is a good example of how rights is an issue for all.

I got a sense of the bitterness of the digital rights debate when I attended a one day forum organised by the Music Council of Australia to discuss future policy strategies. Divisions quickly emerged between copyright ‘freedom fighters’ such as Queensland University of Technology’s Brian Fitzgerald, other ‘creative commoners’, and hardline rights campaigners who believed in greater enforcement strategies.

Australian cultural policy has in the main been driven by a fairly deep sense of cultural nationalism, keenly aware of our status as a net importer of audio-visual goods and services, and the need to retain a distinctive sense of ‘Australianness’ within our television, music and film content. That said, it has also involved a good dose of policy pragmatism, where decisions have often been reactive rather than proactive. While the Australian Labor government’s Creative Nation document in 1994 preceded other nations’ creativity policy blueprints, this has been the historic exception, leading cultural economist David Throsby
to state that Australia has not had a ‘clear and comprehensive cultural’ policy since. So here I’m offering an unashamedly national perspective which at the same time feeds into contemporary debates elsewhere.

**Roadshow Films v iiNet Ltd (2010-2011)**

_The government desperately needs to intervene in the relationship between ISPs, consumers and content owners in some constructive, clear headed way. And I just think the government’s been absolutely weak kneed in its response to that issue, and is bullied by a very small but loud voice in favour of some really undergraduate idea that if it’s available it ought to be free_ (Copyright Body CEO, Sydney).

Australia now has a considerable array of case law regarding music copyright. The Australian Recording Industry Association (ARIA) followed the lead of other national recording industry bodies in a dual process of litigation and legislation. In 2003 it launched cases against three universities, citing large volumes of downloading by students using university computers. In 2004 it initiated court action against Kazaa, a file-sharing company based in Sydney, with an estimated 60 million users globally. In 2005 the Australian Federal Court ordered Kazaa to implement software changes to prevent file sharing.

However, these and other prior cases (e.g. Moorhouse v University of New South Wales; Cooper v Universal Music) have not provided the unambiguous statement that the recording companies have clearly sought. In this sense, the case brought against iiNet, Australia’s second largest Internet Service Provider, by Roadshow Films and 33 other multinational film companies in 2010, was seen as important. Local music and television industries hoped the case would set a precedent in ruling that ISPs were ultimately responsible for any illegal downloading on or connected to their sites. Before the case, AFACT (Australian Federation Against Copyright Theft) had presented iiNet with infringement evidence, demanding that a system of warning / suspension / termination process be applied.

Evidence provided by AFACT had convinced the Federal Court that infringing had occurred through iiNet customers’ use of BitTorrent. For Justice Cowdroy,

_The critical issue in this proceeding was whether iiNet, by failing to take any steps to stop infringing conduct, authorised the copyright infringement of certain iiNet users_ (Federal Court of Australia 2010: 3).
And this was an important difference in terms of how the film companies viewed the case. Roadshow hoped to provide certainty for all audio-visual content providers in arguing that the host company’s knowledge of the existence of copying amounted to authorisation. This seemed to be the understanding of the Minister for Broadband, Communications and the Digital Economy, Stephen Conroy in statements before the case:

*I saw iiNet's defence in court under oath ... they have no idea if their customers are downloading illegally music or movies ... Stunning defence, stunning defence ... I thought a defence in terms of ‘we had no idea’ ... belongs in a Yes Minister episode* (Conroy cited in Tindal 2009).

The court adopted a more procedural stance that contrasted source and effect:

*In summary, in this proceeding, the key question is: Did iiNet authorise copyright infringement? The Court answers such question in the negative for three reasons: first because the copyright infringements occurred directly as a result of the use of the BitTorrent system, not the use of the internet, and the respondent did not create and does not control the BitTorrent system; second because the respondent did not have a relevant power to prevent those infringements occurring; and third because the respondent did not sanction, approve or countenance copyright infringement* (Federal Court of Australia 2010: 6).

The opposing views have been neatly summarised by Julian Thomas and Ramon Lobato of Swinburne University, Melbourne: “where the screen industries see a crime scene ... ISPs see a basic service industry connecting customers...” (Thomas and Lobato 2010). The ruling was appealed in the High Court by Roadshow, principally on the emphasis made on the means of infringement. The court clarified the original ruling in the broader context in the subsequent appeal case, noting that:

- That companies not doing anything against infringing customers is “constituting at least tacit approval” (while noting the “cost and complexity” of doing so);
- The authorisation ruling was in the spirit of the WIPO Copyright Treaty: “It is understood that the mere provision of physical facilities for enabling or making a communication does not in itself amount to communication within the meaning of this Treaty or the Berne Convention”; and
- Previous rulings (the Moorhouse and Coopers cases) found other ISP behavior that led to ‘authorisation’ (Federal Court of Australia 2011).

It should be noted that Australia’s Copyright Act was amended in 2006 to encourage ISPs to work with copyright holders. The government plans to unveil a National Digital Economy...
Strategy in May 2011; and a Convergence Review, which also includes copyright issues, is also under way. iiNet have also proposed an independent commission overseeing infringement and delivering penalties.

Left without a further breakthrough that associates ISPs directly with illegal copying, the case has nonetheless been useful for the content industries. Firstly, the judges in both the original case and the appeal provided them with clear signposts about how to build a future case against ISPs. Secondly, it fits with a broader strategy to convince the Federal government to enact legislation forcing ISPs to liaise with content holders to reduce unauthorised activity:

_If the iiNet case fails, then I think really copyright owners under the current regime are left with no alternative but to sue individual uploaders, begin that process. And I think that’s the great insanity of the ISPs in not adopting a notice and a service compromise regime, because if they don’t do that, they’re forcing copyright owners to sue individual uploaders. And that is just crazy for everyone_ (recording industry CEO, Sydney).

**Secondary Rights**

It is clear that as revenues from primary sources (CD sales) decline, attention is being focussed elsewhere for alternative income streams. The battle for related rights and incomes is not new. Australian radio stations in 1970 refused to play the majors’ recordings for nine months, believing the royalties paid to copyright collection bodies to be unreasonable. In the 1980s, recording companies attempted to extract fees from television stations for airing music videos, conveniently ignoring the promotional benefits of such arrangements for their artists.

Previously dormant licensing arrangements are now being re-examined. In 2006 the Phonographic Performance Company of Australia (the PPCA), a non-profit organisation that issues licences that grant businesses the right to play or broadcast copyright recordings, launched its campaign to increase the licence fees paid by nightclubs and dance venues for the use of sound recordings. In 2007 the Federal Court’s Copyright Tribunal awarded the PPCA a substantial increase in how much dance venues should pay for recorded music, based upon parity with overseas licence fee models; the capacity for venues to accommodate increases; and the centrality of music to the venues’ popularity. Arguing strongly that current rates were (quote) “so low that they do not reflect the significant role and function that playing of music has in the business”, the PPCA achieved a rise from 7.26 cents per person in 2007 to an eventual $1.05 per person in 2011. I was asked by the PPCA to submit a report to the Copyright Tribunal on the cultural and economic contexts of pubs...
and nightclubs, with the central argument that popular music was central to both the industry and their patrons' understanding of a nightclub; put simply, “a nightclub could not operate without music”. This was reinforced by evidence revealing the key role of (national and international) DJs in providing stylistic innovation and the desired ambience that brands a venue as the place to be. In contrast, the venue bodies (including the Australian Hotels Association and Clubs Australia) were unsuccessful in arguing that music was at best a secondary input into their businesses, as simply a background function to drinking and socialising. The provision of music was at once a major cost that was, perversely, also inconsequential:

> Today, dancing is merely a part of the social experience which patrons of Home come to enjoy. Whereas 5 years ago, I would see the entire club dancing, now the majority of patrons spend their time talking, socializing, drinking and walking about from room to room looking for other people to talk to and drink with. But, at any given time, the overwhelming majority of patrons inside Home are not dancing (Simon Page, owner of Home superclub, Darling Harbour, Sydney, cited in Homan 2010: 386).

Alternatively, it was proposed that live performances provided a viable and cheaper option. According to one economist, clubs should:

> Find out what it would cost to get some other performer to perform a song on behalf of all nightclubs. They could then avoid the fee entirely. Let’s face it, with fees in the millions, it may not be hard to find a dance band to do this (economist Joshua Gans cited in Homan 2010: 388).

So we have a classic economist’s solution, that does not understand the “subcultural capital” of club scenes, and where a venue’s environment is predicated upon audiences’ preference—indeed, insistence upon—the sound recording.

The PPCA adopted a similar strategy in seeking a review of royalty rates for recordings used in fitness classes. It argued that fitness chains had experienced substantial rises in profits and that the average rate of a casual class was $14, which for a gym class of 40 people amounted to revenue of $560, of which 94.6 cents was deducted for the use of recorded music. After a heated court hearing, the Copyright Tribunal awarded a new rate of $15 per class. Again, as in the nightclubs case, the PPCA successfully argued that music was a central input into the business: that gym participants “could not imagine the classes without music”. Surveys commissioned by the PPCA sought to distinguish between ‘favoured and preferred music’ (i.e. original recordings) and ‘likeable but not preferred music’ (covers). Unlike the nightclubs case, the use of non-protected recordings is more realistic, with web sites offering gym clubs to sign on for the use of non-copyright music at
much lower fees. In addition, Australia’s other major copyright body, APRA, is seeking to lift the cap placed on royalty payments from radio broadcasters.

Conclusion

[Industry strategy] ... it’s not based around ‘what does our customer think of the product, how do they value the product, what uses do they have for it, how do they want to access it, and how can we deliver it to them in a way that we can make money out of it’. They did it with CDs, ‘we’re going to deliver it in a format that works for us, and you’re going to pay for it, and you’re going to thank us for it’. That doesn’t work any more, and you can just see them going ‘why won’t they do it the way we want them to?’. That says to me that they don’t understand their consumers. For a business that’s built around marketing, they seem to have terrible market research (State arts administrator, Sydney).

I think one of the problems from my perspective over the years is that government has been in support of an arts sector, it’s not seen as an industry, it’s not seen as part of the economy, and so decisions are taken based on cultural outcomes, not business outcomes. That’s not universally true, of course, but there is a lot of government action and sometimes government inaction is because it’s just seen as an arts initiative, and therefore nice to have, but not necessary. I think that differs from other governments around the world, and I’m thinking say the UK, which has a very positive attitude to its arts sector, and essentially the money, and the percentage of GDP it can generate, particularly in export income, and there is some very active support of the music industry in the UK ... and I don’t think we’ve had quite the same attitude from the Australian government, and I think that is probably true of both sides of politics (recording industry CEO, Sydney).

Australian governments and industries have been predictable in echoing developments in the United States and Britain: successive extensions of the period of copyright protection for sound recordings (which potentially enables the majors to recoup their costs in perpetuity). Under its recent Free Trade Agreement with the U.S., the government went further, removing media quotas for all new digital media forms across television and radio. The failure of legislatures and the courts to enforce rights in an era of abundance leads to ever shriller calls for more legislation and enforcement based upon older eras of scarcity of distribution and content. In the meantime, the ramparts are being fortified through considerable royalty wins in secondary media contexts.
Both industries and governments have clearly been confounded by what we might call the ‘revenge of the carriageways’, and have only recently discovered that distribution, and not merely content, is now the key. This is particularly ironic in the Australian context, given the 1970s and 1980s history of Australian recording companies demanding payments from the broadcast media of radio and TV for ‘distributing’ their product (unsuccessfully).

The Roadshow case is also interesting on this point, in revealing that the specific contexts of media content consumption remain crucial. The film companies privileged the content in their arguments, while in some important respects, the Federal Court privileged the communications technology. While copying for the copyright holder was viewed through the prism of a new, unlimited technological means, a qualified defence of the internet by the judges proved to be an important subtext of the case, and its importance to contemporary life. In relation, the government is looking to broaden its ‘carriage service provider’ definition to include online giants like Google and Yahoo. So, use and distribution functions will further blur and require sorting out in digital media never designed for traditional copyright mechanisms and policing.

In interviews conducted with the Australian music industry and government figures for the Policy Notes project, we found considerable confusion about future strategy and the Federal government’s intentions. Many of those in charge of state arts bodies remained advocates of copyright as a ‘regulatory mechanism’, designed to facilitate distribution and uses in the public interest. Not surprisingly, most copyright and recording industry players still viewed copyright as a ‘proprietary mechanism’ of the major publishers and copyright owners (Rushton 2002: 56). And it’s not only “ideological” because “[downloading] suggests that the copyright regime for the circulation of music goods may not be necessary at all’ (Frith 2002: 199). It’s also economic: according to one copyright body CEO we talked to, “you’re dealing with a whole lot of transactions worth 15 cents or potentially less”. Interviewees were also divided on the ability of ‘cloud’ models such as Spotify to create a system that both content holders and consumers could be happy with (and they raise new issues in de-emphasising ownership, while emphasising portability and access).

So where does that leave the policy terrain? I’d like to finally turn to where the copyright debate sits within broader “questions of value and the economics of culture” (Throsby 2001). The plea by the recording industry executive to not solely look at music as an arts portfolio item of course reflects older debates about the extent to which the cultural industries have constructed their own ideological prison by emphasising the economic contribution of the music industries to Gross Domestic Product. This discourse is even more in evidence as cultural funding declines, and the agenda, to use Tom O’Regan’s phrase in 2001, is one of “market liberalization, technological developments and trade treaties”
(2001: 1). The extent of this can be depressing, if not alarming: witness the British Recorded Music Industry’s recent call in its intellectual property review against introducing a fair use exception in U.K. law.

Certainly, cultural nationalist arguments have become harder to sustain as music fans increasingly become global shoppers, and, indeed, national industries globally shop for the ‘right’ parliamentary approach to copyright. It’s much easier for governments to concentrate on the distinctly local, talking up how many Australians went to a music festival, learnt an instrument and so on. The ‘national’ remains in touring funding for emerging bands, or export tours to conferences and festivals like SouthxSouthwest, for example. And it’s clear that federal governments remain confused by the many different industry voices, and the lack of a national music industry body. As ever, as with much policy, Australian governments remain determinedly pragmatic in areas of music copyright, preferring to react (slowly) to legal stoushes rather than incorporate into a broader music or cultural policy. To say the least, what Terry Flew (2006) has previously called the Australian media “social contract” – a safety net for local production through quotas and funding of local content – is now a very shaky proposition in globalised media contexts.
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The 6th Continent: The Ocean as Crucial Transmitter in the Globalization of Popular Music
- Stan Rijven

Abstract
Before radio and digital media a wide range of musical styles was already transmitted by the 6th continent that connects all others. The development of 20th century popular music is unthinkable without the role of oceans and its ‘bordercities’. No Mersey beat without Liverpool, no jazz without New Orleans. The same goes for tango (Buenos Aires), highlife (Accra) or son (Havana) to name a few.

On the high tide of colonialism (1880-1940) the sea functioned as a highway for the massive migration of migrants, missionary and military. They carried instruments in their luggage, rhythms and rhymes in their hearts. Seaports transformed into melting pots where different cultures creolized into new hybrids.

This paper focuses on the processes how yesterday’s sea waves turned into today’s airwaves. It also explains why pop history did not start in the 1950’s but was linked already by the 6th continent in a chain of long-term developments.
‘Double Take’: A Dialogue on Zulu Popular Music on a World Music Platform
- Kathryn Olsen & Barbara Titus

Abstract
Maskanda is a South African performance practice grown by young Zulu men in the “in-between spaces” occupied by labour migrants at the turn of the 20th century. Its status as “Zulu music” results in various (and sometimes contradictory) notions of authenticity and constructions of identity.

In South Africa, maskanda functions as pop music and traditional music at once. It is included in every aspect of life as entertainment, and actively responds to national and international popular performance trends. Its “traditionality” comes most obviously with its visual cues, its inclusion of izibongo (spoken self-praise), accompanying dance routines, and sonic references to musical practices associated with a rural lifestyle that is to a large extent imagined.

In an international context, maskanda’s popular and traditional status as “Zulu music” accounts for its marketability as a “world music” category. In this paper, we elucidate this by focussing on maskanda musician Shiyani Ngcobo and his short tour of The Netherlands in June 2010. We look at the (implicit and explicit) exchange of Dutch audience and South-African performer expectations in an attempt to tease out the aesthetic criteria that are called into play to render what is perceived to be a successful “world music” performance.
Popular Music Heritage, Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity (POPID)  
- Susanne Janssen, Amanda Brandellero & Arno van der Hoeven

Abstract
POPID explores the relationship between popular music and contemporary renderings of cultural identity and local and national cultural heritage in a pan-European context. By looking at the articulations of popular music heritage in specific European localities, POPID examines popular music's contribution to the narratives of cultural identity and representations of cultural memories. Furthermore, it explores how these articulations are negotiated in the business practices of the global popular music industry.

The overall aim of the project is twofold: (1) to assess the role played by local popular music in the negotiation of cultural identity in a local, national, and European context; and (2) to specify how the European music industry can feed into Europeans audiences’ ongoing connections to local popular music heritage in a way that continues to be meaningful for local audiences.

To this end, the POPID research team will carry out extensive research among archivists, music industry workers and audience members in four countries. In each country, the research will zoom into a combination of sites, some of which have rich musical histories and have made a contribution to the national and global music industries, and others which are less readily recognised as having strong local popular music heritage.
Escapism Signified: Visual Identity of Finnish Heavy Metal Bands
- Toni-Matti Karjalainen & Antti Ainamo

Introduction

An essential part of the attraction of metal music is not only how it sounds but also how metal looks. Album covers, dressing, stage constructions, posing in photos, facial expression, postures, spectacular shock effects, and small details telling about the extremely precise aesthetics of the sub-culture constitute the visual code system of metal. The visual imagery of metal may appear as a stream of frequently repeated clichés for the external world, but with a deeper scrutiny it is full of nuances and signals that unfold only for the true fans. The external appearance of Finnish metal may look consistent in its dark seriousness when looked from the distance, but with a closer look it can reveal surprising tones.

This extract is taken from the 9th episode of the ten part TV documentary “Rock-Suomi” (“Rock Finland”), produced and presented by YLE, the main national public service broadcasting company, in the autumn of 2010. Heavy metal that has grown into a mainstream genre in Finland has also become the main export article of Finnish music abroad. Along with an increasing success of bands like Nightwish, HIM, Children of Bodom, Apocalyptica and Sonata Arctica, to name a few, a term of “Finnish Metal” has appeared.

The visual imagery has been a notable dimension within the entire global heavy metal scene, and also played an increasingly important role in the communication of the Finnish metal bands. In a way that is very similar to other product and service fields, visual elements are used in an intentional, say strategic manner, to co-create and reinforce a distinctive narrative story of the band to foster attraction and recognition within the field. Such a use of visual communication and design as a strategic “branding” element, if we are allowed to use the term in this context, is highlighted by the following comments from two Finnish metal musicians in the same Rock-Suomi program. As put by Tuomas Holopainen, the founder and leader of Nightwish, the most successful and best selling Finnish metal band internationally:

It is particularly important that the looks reflect the contents of the album, the songs. For example in the latest album, there was an own artwork done for each song. We try to create our own Nightwish universe, imagination land, own NW mythology.

The importance of a recognized visual identity is also highlighted by Marko Annala, the singer and main man behind the band Mokoma, a nationally gold selling band from...
Finland, who works in close collaboration with a Finnish cartoonist, artist and graphic designer Ville Pirinen:

“We probably have been taking part in breaking the visual world of heavy metal. We have brought out our own visual identity through our cover art and the works of Pirinen... To use for example a photo-based album cover [instead of Pirinen’s graphics] feels as fierce a thought as changing one of the dudes in the band. We have marked that a band can perform metal music without mimicking any internally written aesthetics of the genre.

As a phenomenon, the visual imagery of metal music and communication of culture-specific characteristics, especially when contemplated from the viewpoint of specific case bands, offers a wide ground for academic research in design and strategic management. However, despite this evident richness of the symbolic contents, let alone the cultural, social and economic significance of music industry in general, and heavy metal in specific, no major studies exist in the areas of design or management. It would be particularly interesting to approach the phenomenon from a communicative and semiotic point of view.

Bogfires study
An attempt to explore visual meaning creation is undertaken within the BogFires Research Project (Best Practices of Globalization in Finnish Rock Export, http://bogfires.blogspot.com, 2008-2012), conducted in the IDBM Program of the Aalto University. The project, in general, focuses on the commercial side of music export and production and comprises three main areas of inquiry; “contents, concepts, and brands” being one of them. The purpose of this area is to identify the instrumental, aesthetic and symbolic mechanisms in Finnish metal; to understanding both the various band-specific and collective strategies as well as their interaction at play.

In practice, the study explores how band (brand) concepts are built in the music industry, within the genre of heavy metal in specific, and how they become manifest in the visual (and other) offerings of the bands. These explorations happen through a number of case studies encompassing the most notable Finnish metal bands in international markets (Nightwish, HIM, Children of Bodom), other influential Finnish bands in the field (e.g. Amorphis, Sonata Arctica, Mokoma, Stam1na) and a complementary collection of certain foreign bands (e.g. Tool, Dream Theater, Bigelf, Dark Tranquillity, Katatonia, Opeth).
Initial works within some of the cases and theoretical development have been reported in a number of papers published in the project (Karjalainen et al. 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, Karjalainen 2010, Karjalainen 2011). The aim of the case studies – that are currently in progress – is twofold:

(1) To get an overview of visual communication and design strategies in the field of heavy metal music, resulting in generic categorizations.

(2) To generate in-depth descriptive information from selected examples.

This paper falls under the second aim. Data is collected through three major methods: (1) qualitative semi-structured interviews with band representatives as well as graphic designers and visual artists working for them, (2) analyses of bands’ visual artefacts, and (3) observations in concerts. Some fifteen formal interviews have been conducted so far, and since the beginning of 2008, I have witnessed around 400 concerts if festival gigs are included.

In this paper, two cases, Nightwish and Mokoma, are taken into closer analysis. As mentioned in introduction, they both are notable and recognized bands in the field, and highly interesting from the visual communication point of view. Moreover, the bands represent two quite different stylistic approaches. In addition to ‘public and other secondary material, the data of these two cases includes in-depth interviews with the band leaders: Tuomas Holopainen of Nightwish and Marko Annala and Tuomo Saikkonen of Mokoma. The visual artists/designers of both bands have also been interviewed: Ville Pirinen who works with Mokoma, as well as Janne Pitkänen and Gina Pitkänen who has illustrated the recent Nightwish products and Ville Juurikkala who has worked as a photographer for the band. I also attended six concerts during the Nightwish 2007-2009 world tour of Nightwish and a similar number of Mokoma gigs over the last couple of years. During these and other “ethnographic” occasions, scarce information is collected and many observations made in order to get deeper involved with the narrative of the bands.

Conceptual framework

The focus of the study is on the process transforming a deliberate “strategic intent” into an artefact-mediated experience. The data shows that in addition to the elements of the musical offering itself, various supporting or self-standing visual artefacts, carrying strong symbolic meanings, have been used by the bands to a great extent. Building recognition is getting increasingly important, as the bands are facing an increasingly growing competition in the rapidly changing global music industry.
In this regard, visual communication seems to have a very similar starting point as in many product and service industries more commonly studied in design and management literature. In this community of practitioners and academics, communication of strategic intent and brand values through distinctive and meaningful visual identity has been the key interest. It is discussed how design can be used as a cue to help consumers relate products at hand to other products that they have previously seen and used and that represent specific brand style, periodic style, life style, or other category (Karjalainen 2004 and 2007, Kreuzbauer and Malter 2005, Underwood 2003, Steffen 2000) and to create brand value in general (Schmitt and Simonson 1997, Stompff 2003, Borja de Mozota 2004). The goal is that consumers, especially the potential customers, would attribute products (through their appearance) with specific meanings. With such meaningful attributes, the product and brand, as well as the whole customer’ experience, can become unique and personal.

Communication, in general, may occur as an intentional (conscious) or unintentional (un- or subconscious) act. The focus here is on the intentional dimension of communication, on choices that the bands make with a specific purpose in mind. This view highlights design as a strategic activity, concerned with how things ought to be, and devising artifacts to attain goals (Simon, 2001). Strategic communication occurs through a process that has been modeled in design research and related areas from various perspectives (for an overview, see Crilly et al., 2008). In the process, three main parts – intent, media, and response – are distinguished. To follow this model, and by focusing on the connection between the intent and media (fan response is not deliberately addressed here), figure 1 illustrates the tentative conceptual framework of this study.

![Conceptual framework of the study](image-url)
The band idea

In each act of visual communication – when artwork is being produced for an upcoming album, poster or another printed or electronic artifact, T-shirts and other merchandise, or when the stage design and construction of a concert is being planned – there is a certain “big” idea or desired identity at the background. The band may wish to build and nurture a distinctive and consistent concept, reflected in their musical profile. And there might be a specific idea for specific occasions, such as the albums and other deliverables the band creates.

In the branding concept, practitioners and academics talk about concepts such as brand essence, brand theme, core values, the big idea, and so forth, to highlight that the essence and existence of a company and product is (or at least should be) reduced to a short list of key words, as sentence or even a one single concept or word. How consistent such an idea is then over the product portfolio and subsequent product generations of the brand, is another key strategic issue to be made (Person et al. 2007 & 2008, Karjalainen and Snelders 2010).

Communicative intent

Through the analyses of interviews and other material, numerous reasons for intentional choices for visual communication have emerged in the case bands. The main themes, or “intent categories” include: personal ideology of the establishing member(s), overall narrative of the band, cultural context, position within the visual traditions of heavy metal, sub-genre imagery, and unique visual identity (for more discussion concerning the development of these categories, see Karjalainen et al. 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, Karjalainen 2011).

On the higher level, to highlight the ever-present tension between the artistic volition commercial imperatives and that the bands face, communication has both endogenous and exogenous goals. In the former category, intent primarily reflects the artistic concept of the band, “inside-out”. In the exogenous category, the primary intent is to address market competition “outside-in” by building recognition and reinforcing differentiation or resemblance in comparison to other bands and the visual conventions and traditions of the genre.

Designing recognition
Endogenous and exogenous intent both aim to generate a desired response in the audience of the band. In creating attraction through design, three processes are of specific interest (Person et al., 2007). First of all, design has to capture and maintain the attention of consumers before they are able to derive any information, thus generate meanings, from it (Schoormans and Robben 1997).

Second, establishing and maintaining recognition is needed in order to get consumers specifically attached to the products of a specific brand. As defined by Krippendorff (2005, p.91), recognition is a mode of attention that is as “identifying something by its kind (name) and in view of the use to which it could be put”. This definition regards recognition as a process of identification (connected to the work of e.g., Biederman, 1987; Biederman and Ju, 1988) that results from semantic memory (enabling classification of the product) as well as procedural memory (which helps to understand product usage).

Symbolic meaning creation forms the third process of attraction in design. The ability of design to embody symbolic meanings in products of a specific brand, such as specific geographical or cultural origin, premium or luxury versus value-for-money status, certain lifestyle category, subculture or use purpose. Such symbolic meanings go beyond utilitarian product functions and are vital in generating product attraction. They are capable of forming the substance in the brand’s communication and differentiate products that from a mere functional or technical point of view are relatively similar.

Applying this view into our case and connecting it with the communicative intent the bands may have, it is proposed that the process of symbolic meaning creation is particularly stressed in endogenous communication where the band wishes to transform its idea to the visual media. In addressing the market needs, thus following exogenous intent, visual media has the primary role of raising attention by building visual references in relation to the visual imagery of heavy metal and the particular sub-genre in which the band operates, the cultural context and background of the band, as well as other context the band positions itself. Both processes are needed for the band in order to be recognized.

![Diagram of Processes of Creating Attraction](image-url)

Figure 2: Processes of creating attraction
The sign: Gestalt and signature elements

Recognition is created and meanings mediated by the various elements of the music itself; its individual tonal, structural and lyrical elements and their total gestalt composition. The aesthetic experience of music has yet its psychological, auditory, physiological, sensorial, even neural dimensions, both emotional and cognitive, but the symbolic and social dimension is always strongly present (for a comprehensive review of various psychological and social dimensions of music, see e.g. Hallam et. al, 2009 and North and Hargreaves, 2008).

In this study, the focus is on the visual media of the band, particularly its album artwork and stage design, from the strategic design point of view. The concept of “sign” is applied from the area of semiotics. To address the visual artifacts of the band as signs, attention is first given to the generic view of design stressing the division between the so-called “gestalt” theory and compositionality of meaning.

Each artifact, such as an album cover in our case, has an interface that we can describe broadly as the aggregate of characteristics with which the user initially engages in order to make sense of it (Margolin, 1997). This aggregate forms the “gestalt” of the product. It is the holistic appearance that dictates the initial response to a product and dominates meaning creation in many areas, such as in the case of product packages (Orth & Malkewitz, 2007). To come up with the “right” gestalt, or, if using the everyday language, the overall “feeling” that communicates the desired intent is important also for the bands studied in this project.

The gestalt view suggests that the meaning is carried by specific product features, interacting with other features of the product. Albeit somewhat problematic, these individual features can be categorized and analyzed in detail by using a semiotic perspective. In this study, the representations of bands’ intent are traced to certain features of their visual artifacts. In other words, the aim is to identify how certain elements “signify” the intent of the bands, if using semiotic terminology. In this signification context, so called “signature elements” of the bands are to be identified and analysed and connected back to the underlying constructions of the intent, namely the endogenous band idea and exogenous market imperatives.

To trace the meanings of the sign through specific signature elements, the theory of signs by Peirce (1955, 1998) provides a potential entry point, especially as it has been

In this view, the semantic references of objects (of communication) can be regarded as modes entailing a fundamental division (as “trichotomies”). Peirce’s theory of signs suggests that the process of signification is regarded as a triadic relationship between the Representamen (“perceptible object”, R), Object (of reference, O), and Interpretant (meaning of the sign, I). Signs are divisible by this triadic construction.

Firstly, the Representamen, the sign in itself, is a mere quality, actual existence, or general law. The idea behind the Representamen is close to what other semioticians have called symbol, sign vehicle, signifier, or expression (Nöth 1995). Secondly, in relation to its object, the sign has some character in itself, or is in some existential relation to the object or to the Interpretant (reference relation). Thirdly, the Interpretant represents the sign as a sign of possibility, fact, or reason (interpretation relation).

When applied to the purposes of this study, R can be regarded as consisting of a specific signature element that functions as a replica of the sign through its characteristics (form). The object of reference relates to an attribute (intent in our analysis) with which the signature element has a reference relation. Interpretation is connected to the interpreter (fans or potential audience of the band) within the semiotic process and thus involves subjective interpretation that occurs within a certain context.

The notion of Interpretant highlights that meaning creation is always context-sensitive: The more familiar a person is with the context of the artifact, the more and deeper meanings she or he is able to derive (intentional) meanings from it. As noted in the very first quote of the paper, for example the visual imagery of metal comprises nuances and signals that may unfold only for the true fans. The same of course applies to specific band cases. The gestalt and signature elements of Nightwish have a different meaning for a fan than for an “outsider”, and possibly quite different meanings for different fans as well.

To take a brief look at the signification process in the context of heavy metal bands, brief examples are next discussed in two different cases: Nightwish and Mokoma.

**Nightwish case**

Nightwish was established in 1996 in Kitee by the songwriter and keyboardist Tuomas Holopainen. The band, known for its symphonic metal, has not only become the leader of Finnish rock music with millions of albums sold in international markets, but also acted as a pioneer of its own sub-genre characterised by female voiced atmospheric and operatic music with richness of nuances and references to various music styles.
The Nightwish idea

In the Nightwish case, the communicative intent appears to be quite strongly driven by endogenous motives. The very idea of the band is crafted around the ideology and dreams of Tuomas Holopainen. His interest in the notion of “escapism”, fleeing from the real world into the land of imagination, is what motivates the song writing, music and lyrics, of Nightwish. The lyrics and music is written to reflect fantasy and mythology. As noted by Holopainen, he does not want to deliver any political, social, or concrete meanings, at least not in a very direct manner. A song like “Eva” from their “Dark Passion Play” album may concern school bullying, but from a more symbolic and perhaps personal point of view than providing any literate discussions.

The idea of escapism involves subtle references to the worlds created by J.R. Tolkien and Edgar Allan Poe, personal favourites of Holopainen. Elements from the Lord of the Rings, even from some Disney fairytales, are subtly referred in the Nightwish concept and blended together with the context of Finnish nature and remoteness as well as the (stereotypically) melancholic Finnish state of mind. As mentioned in the quote of introduction, the intent is to create a unique and closed Nightwish universe and mythology.

The idea of Nightwish is manifest in its musical identity, characterise with big productions that give the band a unique and rich sounds. This “landscape metal”, as Holopainen has also heard as a definition, comprises a high degree of dynamism and contrasts: the style varies from moody ballads to aggressive metal thumping, from straightforward and simple pop passages into complex and progressive passages, even within the same single song. In its recent albums, the band has used full orchestras and a number of different instruments in its recent recordings. In its essence, the band performs very colourful and imagery music to support its concept. The variety was realized it its full form in their latest studio Album “Dark Passion Play” that became the most successful Nightwish album so far, followed by a nearly two years long world tour reaching all the main continents and millions of people.

Gestalt and signature elements

Nightwish has used different artists and designers in its catalogue consisting of six studio and two live albums (see e.g. www.nightwish.com for images of the albums and other visual material). The most recent and most extensive collaboration, realised in the last two studio albums and the new one to be released at the end of 2011, has been conducted with artists
Janne and Gina Pitkänen. They were responsible, in particular, for the various images produced for Dark Passion Play and numerous related products.

As for the music, Tuomas Holopainen has been in charge of the visual concepts of the albums, although their realisation has been done in close collaboration with the visual artists. The Nightwish ideas of escapism, fantasy and mythology are quite visibly communicated by the gestalt of the artwork. Nature, romantic themes, lonely people in fantasy worlds, strong symbols, colourful landscapes, dark and blue atmospheres are typical for the visual appearance of Nightwish. The motives for the visual imagery has raised both from Holopainen’s visions (even dreams in some cases) and the lyrical themes of the songs.

The same fantasy world appears also in the varied artwork that Janne and Gina Pitkänen produced for the Dark Passion Play album. The idea in that project was that each of the songs will be pictured with a unique piece of art, resulting in tens of different works produced by the Pitkänen couple during the long project. The stories behind each of the songs and works are different; some resulted directly from the idea and vision of Tuomas Holopainen (as the old home of Tuomas used as inspiration for the picture of “Meadows of Heaven”, the lower right hand picture), while others were more freely conceptualized by Janne Pitkänen who produced most of the images for the album.

The Finnish background, one of the main themes of the BogFires project, is not used as a strong exogenous intent in the Nightwish case, not in the same explicit manner as for instance Amorphis, another Finnish metal band, is utilizing. Certain closeness to the nature, and some characters motivated by that the wilderness, and if you will, Finnish background like the owl wolves are yet to be find in the visual imagery of Nightwish, but they are not lifted to the forefront and they are implemented in a more universal visual tone.

As signature elements, the band has used some repeated themes and objects such as the owl, little lonely boy, girl or woman, and angels. But they have different incarnations and not, as such” regarded absolutely necessary in every product. The pendulum, especially when used in the cover of the Dark passion Play album and motivated by the fabulous opening song of the album, “The Poet and the Pendulum”, have become a sort of a symbol for the band in its many recent artefacts. As noted by Holopainen, it is good as a symbol, while it is quite a strong object, denotes well the Nightwish idea, and is also not commonly used by other metal bands.

The Nightwish logo, as logos generally, is a strong signature element, particularly as it has remained the same from the very beginning of the band’s history. The logotype was “invented” straight from some standard font collection of a word processing program. But
as the style fits well into the Nightwish context and fans have learnt to recognise it, the band has not seen any need to modify the logo. A blue colour scheme is typical for Dark Passion Play and many other artefacts of that era. It is reflecting the “sea theme” of the album, which is also visibly present in the stage design of the following tour in the form of the large anchor and the boat around the keyboard (see figure 3). Blue is also a colour of distance and coldness, illustrative of escapism and fantasies.

In the stage design (figure 3), the Nightwish idea is realised through the construction and visual elements of the stage itself, and extremely strongly also through the versatile use of lights and pyrotechnics as mood creators. With the help of the visual elements, a convincing dramatic cycle has been designed for the concert, as the visual landscape and moods are constantly varied in accordance to the different themes of the songs. There are blue songs and red songs, songs with lingering smoke clouds, songs with fire torches, and so on. A Nightwish concert aims to deliver an emotional and powerful experience that, in its own sake, reinforces the Nightwish narrative and adds new layers onto its core idea.
Mokoma case
Mokoma was also established in the 1996, the same year with Nightwish, in the south-eastern Finnish city of Lappeenranta by Marko Annala, the singer of the band and its only original member left. The current line-up of the band was mostly set in the early years of the band. After the first two albums, including rather mainstream styled rock and not gaining wider popular recognition, the band took a new direction. It established its own record label, Sakara Records (that along with the success of Mokoma and later with another gold selling Finnish metal band, Stam1na, has become a highly appreciated independent label in Finland), shifted its musical style towards thrash metal that the band members felt more personally rewarding.
On this watershed, Mokoma also devoted to create its own recognisable and, especially when analyzed from today’s perspective, an extremely consistent visual language (see www.mokoma.com for images of album covers and other visual material). The band started collaboration with Ville Pirinen, a Finnish cartoonist, artist and visual designer. As commented by Annala and Pirinen both, nowadays it would be almost impossible to think about Mokoma without the graphics of Pirinen. And vice versa, Pirinen’s artwork has become an organic part of Mokoma’s concept.

**The Mokoma idea**

Unlike Nightwish, it is not as easy to characterise Mokoma with a single concept or narrative lines as Nightwish. However, the band has a consistent and recognisable concept, tangled around its’ characteristic and edgy Thrash-motivated modern metal with Finnish lyrics. The idea is to produce tight and energetic riff-based rumble that has its roots, particularly lyrics-wise, firmly in the Finnish soil. The band advances themes motivated by the Finnish heritage and, again, the close relationship to the nature, and aims to reflect the cynical and melancholic yet honest thoughts of a Finnish man.

These topics are even reinforced in the eyes of the Finnish audience by the band’s decision to use Finnish lyrics. This is still not very typical within the metal genre, particularly not in thrash metal, a fact which has presumably contributed to the success of the band inside the Finnish borders but, at the same time, functioned as an obstacle with regard to wider international recognition.

Even though Annala often reports rather personal feelings through the lyrics, the overall idea of Mokoma is more neutral, certainly not so strongly tied around any personal ideologies as Nightwish does. Whereas Tuomas Holopainen reported often having a very finalized picture of the song and its elements in mind when starting composing them, resulting in multilayered song compositions, in the Mokoma case the music is composed and arranged in a more transient and handicraft fashion venture of error and trial –based method.

**Gestalt and signature elements**

The visual appearance of Mokoma and Pirinen, as said, is highly recognisable among the Metal bands and even more widely. Therefore, it functions as an exogenous aspect while making Mokoma distinctively recognisable and different in the field. The appearance also reflects the Mokoma idea, however bringing a more colourful component to the otherwise rather dark lyrical landscape of the band.
As such, the highly graphical style of Pirinen, combining simplicity and complexity in an interesting manner, works as a strong signature elements of the band. The motives for the artwork are drawn from the nature and the mental imagery of Finnish men, but there are no single repeated images in different albums. The Mokoma logo is even not usually used in the album covers, however working as a distinctive and stylish signifier in their stage sheet (see figure 4), T-shirts and other unique Mokoma artefacts.

Interestingly, the high contrasts in the visual style created by strong colours and lines are indicating the edgy and in a way dry tonal and musical profile of the band. It works as a type of an instruction to the Mokoma music, how it should be read and understood. The visual and musical communication seems to have a strong indexical relationship, if using the semiotic terminology. The same sense or purity, honesty and undressed appearance also dominate the stage design of Mokoma. With larger resources, like in the Nightwish case, the concerts could of course include more visual ingredients but, as commented by Annala, the Mokoma style would still be rather straightforward and unaffected.
Concluding remarks
These brief reviews of the Nightwish and Mokoma cases may not do justice to the multifaceted and colourful concepts and histories of the bands, but hopefully provide the reader with insightful examples of visual signification in the area of music. The individual albums and their artwork as well as the numerous other artefacts of the bands have their own stories and nuances rich in meanings. Due to the length limitations of this paper at hand, these explorations are left for future publications. More descriptions and new perspectives into visual signification will also emerge from other cases analysed in the project.

The cases illustrate two rather different approaches to visual communication and use of stylistic features, dictated by different external realities but, and even more importantly, notable differences in the idea and ideology of the band, resulting in different communicative intents.

In the light of this analysis, both of the bands have implemented their communicative intents in a rather successful manner. A specific style of music and narrative requires specific visual media to be meaningful, believable and honest, values that are particularly important in the eyes of the bands’ fans. Comparing the band idea and its visualisation between these two cases: It would be extremely difficult to imagine Nightwish with the visual appearance of Mokoma, and even more difficult the other way around.

To proceed with these visual and semiotic explorations in the field of music, at least two interesting themes require wider attention. The first, only lightly touched in this paper, concern the design process and the relationship between the musicians and the bands (who define and nurture the band idea and communicative intent) and the visual artists and graphic designers working with the band (realizing the idea and intent).

Second, more scrutiny is needed to investigate the reference relation between the signature elements and the endogenous and exogenous aspects of the bands’ communication. Following Peirce (1955, 1998), various iconic, indexical, and symbolic references may be traced in the visual features to shed more light to the visual signification of this area. An interesting detail concerns the relationship between the visual artifact and the music itself that may manifest in a predominantly symbolic manner, as in the Nightwish case, or more as the indexical reference relation of the Mokoma case.

Finally, to conclude the paper, it is suggested that the view presented in the paper is applicable to other areas of design as well. The study of visual artifacts as carriers of
intended meanings in the music context is relevant for many other culturally signified products and services, as well as to the more traditional product fields of design and design management research.
References


Christian Musicians Versus Musical Christians: Combining Rock and Religion in Amsterdam
- Linda Duits

This study addresses the question: How do young Christian musicians and producers in Amsterdam give meaning to religious rock music? Put differently, I am interested in how to ‘do sex ’n drugs ‘n rock ‘n roll’ without the sex and the drugs. This is what one of the respondents says about that.

“Sex is great, but only with one person.

Drugs: well, alcohol is also a drug and that’s just plain enjoyment. I’ve never done other drugs, because that doesn’t interest me. It doesn’t help you advance in life.

Rock ‘n roll: all the way.

Pieter, 32
Why study that?

Christian rock music makes an interesting case, because it allows us to study three key concepts:

- **religion**
  What is the relationship between religion and identity in our time of high modernity, that seems to have no space for religion? In the US, the focus is on coming to terms with own religiosity. In Europe, the question is how to integrate the multicultural. Secularisation, then, can be understood as a restructuring and reconceptualisation of religion rather than a decline. Religion is central to modernity.

- **young**
  I am interested in ‘non-problematic’ young people, the ones we hardly read about, the ones that are not sexualizing or addicted to games. Christian youngesters fit this profile.

  Young people are particularly interesting here. It is often said that "If you're not Liberal when you're 25, you have no heart. If you're not Conservative when you're 35, you have no brain.". At the same time, fanatics are often young people. The question then becomes: what does this mean for young Christians? And what does this mean particularly for young Christians engaged with rock?

  Study here: young people between 18-35, struggling with their faith.

- **music**
  When religion is in the news, it is usually extreme, even though the general public is religious. In the entertainment sector, we see more religious aspects than in journalism. Entertainment is filled with ritual and worship. Simultaneously, many churches use secular popular culture.
Christian music started in 1970s to counter popular music. Christian pop culture follows ‘normal’ pop culture but they fear it when it happens the other way around (e.g. when secular music has ritual elements). The central idea behind Christian pop is “If you get stuck with a song in your head, it’s better if it’s about God”.

‘Evangelicals have created their own niche in popular music, offering Christian contemporary music as an alternative to the ‘mainstream’ popular artists they often condemn. This particular music scene is very much rooted in American Christian culture, thus making it potentially difficult for non-American Christians to adopt, which – I will argue – holds true.

**Christian music in the Netherlands:**
40 Christian publishing houses and 8 record labels.

Strong guidance by the EO, the evangelical broadcaster part of the public broadcasting system. For instance, they have a radio show called Xnoise on Sunday night that draws in many listeners. The EO provides a stamp of approval: if the EO airs it, it is acceptable (i.e. Christian) music. Another element is the Flevo festival that attracts 10,000 visitors.
How study that?
The best approach to these concepts is via small projects and qualitative research to do right to lived experiences. The focus is not on truth, but on constructions and processes of meaning making.

For this study, we conducted participant observation in a Christian bar in Amsterdam called Dwaze Zaken (Foolish Things). This bar is located on the edge of the red light district. Many guests do not it is Christian, but it attracts a steady clientele of loyal visitors who come especially for the Christian artists performing. With a team of students, we conducted 2 months of participant observation. In addition, I did in-depth interviews with five musicians and producers from this scene. The topic list was informed by the participant observation an earlier work with young Christians.

The presented results are very much work in progress and the analysis has not been finalized.
How can you be a Christian café? I think it’s arrogant to say that that’s something in your client orientation.

Thijs, 27

Cafe on the edge of the Right Light District, that serves great cakes and cheap dinner. Open every day except Sundays, always closes at midnight. Crowd is mixed. Many tourists who have no clue, also many Dutch who don’t know it’s Christian. Loyal steady clientele, mostly on nights with live music (Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays). One bartender (Bas) characterized the crowd as “arty farty” because many of them are artists. however, we did not share this characterization, as Thijs – see slide – says.

The bar was at all as expected. It is light with high ceiling. The music is varied rock, like Radiohead’s OK Computer. The bands who perform there are different to the regular Amsterdam fare. They are dressed more conservatively. The scene of visitors is small, everybody knows each other. There are strong ties to the Dutch provinces (Arnhem, Zwolle). The scene is white and mainstream in gender terms (girly girls and no feminine men). Many of the young people are married, which is not common among secular peers.
The respondents criticize the notion of JPM: Jesus per minute. They feel Christian rock is judged on that, and not on merit. Therefore, all respondents stressed a difference between music as a goal and music as a means. For instance, one of them simply wants to make music with the talent God has given him.

“...That you just stand in the world as a Christian, without making a big deal of it or to have an underlying motivation. I think that’s abusing art. Like ‘you want to convey a message and then you use music as a medium. That takes quality off of the art form.

Thomas, 36
Towards a conclusion:
There is a Christian rock subculture in Amsterdam, but it is not very large. However, it is an interesting subculture that makes an excellent case study for analysis of the relationship between religion and identity.

There are three tensions of interest that I want to highlight here.

1. Relationship with commercialism
There is a particular tension between capitalism and Christianity, both in the music and in the café. The dislike of JPM also points to this: music is art, it is about creativity. The respondent consider it wrong when music becomes a means. (See quote next slide.) These people consider themselves to be alternative. Evangelicals used to be against making money with sex, drugs and rock ‘n roll, but now they are making money off of Christianity.
Christian musician is someone that has a christian identity, which motivates him in everything so also in music. Musical Christian is someone who uses music to convey a message. Both are fine, but with one the artistic element is a little less important than with the other.

Thijs, 27

2. Relationship with orthodox faith
All respondents have a stricter background and come from outside the city. They are all new to Amsterdam and they are all ‘shopping’ for religion. The evangelical movement is liberating to these youngsters, as it succeeds in providing (a) space for young people and popular culture. This is contagious, also for these respondents. At the same time: the evangelical movement starts to have a monopoly on christianity. The respondents reject their production of christian music. According to Antonie, the music played during the EO Youngsters Day and Flevo Festival is so foundational (with high JPMs) that is has nothing to do with rebellion: “Look, we’re in church with an electric guitar so now we’re hip.”
It’s been about 10 years that Christians are fed up with being put in a box: if you’re Christian, you should play in a Christian band, you should make Christian music. Like ‘you’re a journalist and if you’re a Christian journalist you only write for the EO [Christian Broadcaster]. You don’t want that.

Pieter, 32

3. Relationship with the local indie scene → notion of normality
The respondents fight notions of essentialism – as seen in the quote. They want to be accepted as musicians by their secular peers.

This case study investigating young Christian musicians is still a work in progress, but the three tensions show promise for social change. This youngsters form a small subculture that is marginal yet avant garde. It is indicative of how larger, global and historical processes shape local practices, and of how young people construct their identity through popular culture.
Thank you!

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Introduction
Musicological approaches to popmusic still lack of appropriate methodologies to establish a relation between the musical material and the cultural practice in which it is situated. Following the concept of structural homology, the question is „how far, in their structure and content, particular items of culture reflect the structure, style, typical concerns, attitudes and feelings of the social group“ (Willis 1978, 191). Therefore, musical analysis must be capable to generate knowledge about how far musical characteristics reflect and/or influence these social actions, related to the question of musical signification. With the help of process oriented analysis it is possible to bridge the gap between social-cultural oriented approaches and the music/sound of popculture, considering the context of reception and cognition as an elementary aspect.

The significance of the sounding elements
First of all, it has to be said that the analysis of the music, of the sound of popmusic still remains subordinated in the area of popular music studies. Analytical approaches regarding popmusic are done unassertively and are accompanied by disbelief (Pfleiderer 2008, 153). The reasons for that can be found in a fundamental scientific discourse about the significance of the sounding elements.¹ Theories, which stand in the tradition of cultural studies take the view, that the meaning of popmusic is predominantly determined by its context. The music itself is therefore exchangeable, a product of sociocultural and economic processes. On the other hand, there are traditional-formalistic musicological approaches assuming that there is an implicit meaning in the musical material, unmediated by external influences (a conception which has, seen from an aesthetic perspective, it’s roots in Kant’s theory of fine arts).

For me, as a musicologist, the position on the part of cultural oriented approaches seems quite comprehensible because the analytical instruments, used by traditional musicology, are not adequate to describe musical phenomena in popmusic. Established analytical methods are focused on the functional harmonic qualities of western art music and are therefore restricted to noticeable and discrete parameters regarding melody, harmony and rhythm. These parameters do of course play a major role also in popular music, but only to some extent. At least as important are those qualities of sound, which cannot be easily described or transcribed, like timbre, dynamics, articulation, rhythmic and tonal nuances etc. Above all, I would like to make very clear that the purpose of my work is not to define which parameters are more important than others. It’s about creating a methodology, which enables the analyst to work out a wide range of musical aspects, in order to open perspectives for various fields of research (like a construction kit for musical analysis). Such a methodology must always bear the listener’s position in mind, as someone who is usually not as skilled in music theory as an educated musicologist. Therefore, the knowledge about how music is perceived, psychologically and sociologically, is an essential requirement and leads us to the following question:

„How and why does popmusic have what kind of impact on whom?“

Process oriented analysis offers quite a suitable basis to approximate to this question because aspects regarding cognition and experience do play a major role in processual concepts.

**Process oriented analysis – under the angle of cognition and experience**

Following Wallace Berry (1987), the intention is to explore how a piece of music can generate the impression of intensity and release, divisible in processes like progression and recession, density and attenuation, contrast and similarity and compression and diffusion.

The capacity of related musical events to convey the sense of intensity and release is of fundamental importance in the musical experience, especially in that stimulating kind of experience in popular music, in which thought and feeling are co-functionally engaged. Furthermore, empirical-sociological studies have proven, that recipients of popular music predominantly refer to processual qualities of this kind when they try to describe musical characteristics. Take, for example, a song like Smells like Teen Spirit – you will rather be inclined to talk about the intense sound of the guitar, the impulsive power of the drums and the increasing tension towards the chorus than to be impressed by the sophisticated harmonic qualities of the song. While listening to music, we usually do not pay attention to

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2 See also Middleton (1990).
singular musical events. We are more likely to experience what is metaphorically referred
to as contour and texture of a musical piece, constituted by various elements sounding
together as soundmovements or soundstreams. Contour and texture can be seen as the
most characteristic dimensions of a musical piece, especially in consideration of processual
activity. Therefore, musical analysis must be capable to gain insight about how these
dimensions are constituted on different levels.

**The methodology - analysis in practice**

I will now draw my analytical approach on a practical example to show how the song
**Turnover** from the band Fugazi can be examined using a multilevel analytical model.3

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<td>Contour of Motion</td>
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<td>Vertical Level (Soundfigures)</td>
<td>Contour of Colour</td>
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As you can see, my model is subdivided in three major levels: The macro level, which
represents the overall impression of a song without going too deeply into the structure.
The micro level, where the sounding parameters are analysed very detailed constituting

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3 The song was released in 1990 on the album *Repeater* (Dischord).
elements of the perceived music and the meso level, as intersection between macro level and micro level. Starting from the macro level, we can construct theses about the overall characteristics of a song, then look at the single voices in detail and, as a final step, we can make statements about the interaction of the different voices, contributing to our processual reception of a song. The three levels are further divided into different sublevels considering the horizontal (temporal) and vertical (spatial) aspects and, on macro level and meso level, we do also have texture as the combining level. It is crucial, that every single parameter can possibly generate linkage to the cultural practice, according to the respective field of research. The strongest links are certainly detectable in the meso level, having in mind the already mentioned characteristics of processual reception.

To not only remain theoretical, as most of the studies concerning popular music, I am going to show how this kind of methodology can be applied in practice.

![Flowchart of Macro Level Texture](image)

**Fig. 2: Macro Level – Texture (Flowchart)**

**Macro Level**

First it is recommendable to illustrate how the different voices determine the overall texture of the song. The different bars illustrate when the different voices are played – for example the lead guitar, which is played all of the time, while the vocals are used not so regularly. Using a flowchart, you get an impression how dense the texture is in general. You see, which voice delivers a stable texture, as maybe some kind of background voice, where breaks disrupt continuous processes etc. The different sections you see, named A, B etc., are just deduced from the first listening impression, not particularly determined if, for instance, section C is really the chorus. To remain on the macro level, the second image shows the texture more detailed:
It has a sonagram as basis, which is enhanced by graphical illustrations. What you see is the distribution of overtones on a time axis and therefore the intensity and density of the processed signals. The red line, which indicates the characteristics of loudness, shows that the most intense parts of the song are on the beginning of the chorus and during the interludes while the verse is significantly less intense. Similar observations can be made if we take the overall characteristics of motion into perspective. The orange arrows show that the verses are way more stable and linear than the choruses and interludes. These parts are characterised by a high level of activity.

**Micro Level**
Skipping to the micro level, it is important that analysis always means to take a deep look into a subject. In this regard it is recommendable to accurately transcribe a song, both with traditional notation as well as with objective measurement methods. I did this for the whole song and combined both methods visually. The following transcription displays the intro, the first verse and the first chorus of the song:
Going more deeply into the structure, we can investigate the specific melodic, harmonic and rhythmic qualities of each voice, as you see through the example of the bass guitar:

**Melody / Harmony**

*Fig. 4: Micro Level – Overall Impression*

**Rhythm (Accentuation)**

*Fig. 5: Micro Level – Bass Guitar*
It is obvious, that the bass guitar operates differently in verse and chorus as there are comparatively short melodic figures with leaps and breaks in the verse while the chorus is way more continuous and even. This observation is also applicable concerning rhythmic aspects. The black dots visualise the metrical accents on different level – the isochronic pulse, the specific accents of the bass guitar and the heavy accents on the beginning of the four quarter measure. As you see, the verse is characterised by slight aberrations form the isochronic pulse resulting from irregular accentuations, while we have a very straight, isochronic accentuation in the chorus. It is interesting that, on the micro level, there is obviously more activity in the verse than in the chorus. Because in the overall texture, which was shown before, the situation is quite the opposite.

The next step is to analyse the constituting elements of what is referred to as timbre or coloration as well as the characteristics of dynamics and layout:

![Fig. 6: Micro Level – Bass Guitar](image-url)
With the help of an overall amplitude, it can be seen that the highest peak of the bass guitar signal is at about 20 percent of the possible dynamic range. So the bass is not really an abnormaly loud element in this song. The use of stereoeffects can be explored by creating a phase analysis, visualised in the second image. As we see, the bass guitar is quite in the middle of the mix, so there is no evidence of possible stereoeffects. On the third image, we see another amplitude which is way more detailed than the first one. It helps us to visualise the characteristics of articulation by means of a hypothetical envelope. The relatively slow increase in the attack phase as well as the dominance of the sustain phase demonstrate, that the bass guitar in this song is determined by quite a smooth and even sound. Furthermore, we can notice that the sound of the bass guitar is quite definite and undisturbed, as we see on the regular distribution of harmonic overtones in the spectrum.

**Meso Level**

Switching to the mesolevel, we are able to relate and combine the analytical results from micro level observations to gain insight into superordinate characteristics of contour and texture:

![Melodic Contour](image)

*Fig. 7: Meso Level – Melodic Contour*

If we take a look at the melodic contour, it becomes clear that there is a high degree of tension between the voices in the verse. This observation can be made because the melodic...
motions of the involved voices act quite independently from each other, reaching their peaks on different points in time. In the chorus, the tension is not so obvious as the voices interact way more target oriented and simultaneous. But there are still a lot of shiftings and individual progression-nuances which produce rubbing points on a more sophisticated level. The same implications can be made by analysing the rhythmic contour:

**Rhythmic Contour**

![Fig. 8: Meso Level – Rhythmic Contour (Verse)](image)

In this illustration, we see how the involved voices interact rhythmically on the already mentioned metrical levels. Although the key aspects of activity are situated on the beginning of the four quarter measures, the accents in between these measures are set quite differently, not to mention the microrythmic phenomenons.

In the chorus, the accents are definitely more oriented on the heavy accents one and three, especially in the first part. In the second part, this stability is undermined, as the voices aspire towards the central word turnover in the vocals:
Beside those temporal characteristics, I do also consider spatial aspects of contour, referred to as contour of colour. These aspects can be made visible by correspondingly apply the spatial-temporal information of a sonagram to display how the voices interact, by means of their specific temporal and spatial prolongation and articulation:
Each voice is represented by a different colour, the drums in blue, the bassguitar in red, the guitar in green and the vocals in violet. Furthermore, the specific articulation characteristics of each voice are made visible by the use of gradients. Again, we do see significant differences between verse and chorus. While the verse is characterised by a broad spectrum up to thousand hertz, with a lot of sustaining tones sounding together, the chorus is way more compact, synchron and the instruments are played more tightly.

Finally, all these exploration will be brought together to figure out the characteristics of texture, with the objective to determine how the specific soundstreams of this song, as the essential part of processual listening, are constituted. Right now, I’m in the process of developing an appropriate way to analyse these textural aspects. The results can be seen in my upcoming dissertation (Steinbrecher 2011).

It’s only part of the process...

It can be noted, that process oriented analytical methods take the human cognition as a central aspect. Therefore, the musical characteristics to be extrapolated, as same as the used terminology, do represent the common discourse about popmusic and can be linked to questions regarding cultural practice. With the intention to contextualise popular music comprehensively and produce correspondances between the different kinds of experience, it is necessary to implicate interdisziplinary approaches. The analysis of verbal and non-verbal experiences of popmusic, by means of metaphorical descriptions, adjective ratings, motion patterns, kinaesthesia aspects etc. demands the comprehension of various methodics from different kinds of research fields. For example empirical social research, ethnographic studies, experimental psychology and media analysis.

But no, it was ’Rock’n’Roll [...]’ They wanted a frozen frame, not knowing that whatever they were listening to was only part of the process; something had gone before and it was going to move on (Richards 2010, 83).
References


Business Models in the Music Industry: In Search for the Holy Grail
- Victor Sarafian

In 1998 Shawn Fanning did not realize that he would put into jeopardy an entire industry with a click on his mouse. Since the advent of Napster and the digital revolution it unleashed, the music industry has spent a lot of time, effort and money fighting the Internet, blaming piracy for the decline in CD sales. In the last few years however the industry has been forced to recognize that fighting the rise of the Internet to save the industry is a futile fight. Even if piracy remains a major concern the sole use of litigation will not save the industry.

As more and more companies and artists have been assessing the opportunities the Internet provides, many new business models have emerged and new players have entered the market. In the search for the Holy Grail no clear new model has emerged yet. However we can observe several trends. In this paper I will examine three trends: DIY, 360° deals and Fan-funding, looking at the problem of value creation, innovation and the viability of the models. Before examining the new models, we will briefly review the traditional model.

The traditional model
In this model the value chain can be represented in five stages: Artist / Record Label / Production / Distribution / Promotion

The artist signs a contract with a label, which then takes care of the production, the distribution and promotion of the record. Some cynics would point out that in the traditional model, unless you are unusually successful, you spend the rest of your career in debt to the label, paying back your advances. There is a certain amount of truth to this but unless you come from a rich family or your father or mother already work in the music business, most bands do not have the financial resources or marketing clout to make albums and promote them. Signing a contract with a label has traditionally been a major stepping-stone to success.

Record labels provide a number of services, the most important being; the discovery of new talent, giving advice to artists on their career and recordings, financing the recordings, promoting and distributing the music. This was the model that grew over the past century without undergoing major changes. Over the past decade however, technological innovation has profoundly transformed each stage in the business of producing and selling music.
Advances in computer technology have drastically reduced the cost of recording an album. As David Byrne has pointed out: “an album can be made on the same laptop you use to check your email”. The advent of the MP3 format has also reduced manufacturing and distribution costs to near zero. The Internet has radically changed the way in which talent is discovered. Simply having a MySpace page or a video on YouTube, will not by itself guarantee stardom for Bands, but it certainly has become a major platform to increase exposure and bring artists to a global audience.

So where do artists stand in this new digital environment? There are many options and models. One option is to completely abandon a record label and do everything yourself. This model came to the head lines in 2007 when Radiohead, after saying goodbye to their label EMI, released their seventh album “In rainbows” on their own.

**DIY Radiohead**

The album was released on their website as a digital download with a pay-what-you-want model. In the first month, the album was downloaded by about a million fans. Approximately 40% of them paid for the album at an average price of $6, the band receiving nearly $3 million. As the band owned the master recording, which in the traditional model the record label usually owns, Radiohead was able to license the album for it to be distributed physically the old-fashioned way.

Although, financially the pay-what-you-want model was a success, Radiohead did not use this model for their next album “The king of Limbs”. Several reasons could explain why. In 2007, after having separated with EMI, Radiohead had no longer the marketing clout that a major label could offer to promote the album. Offering an album on a pay-what-you-want model was quite a radical idea at that time so the group could get a lot of buzz going on social networks as well as in traditional media – and a lot of buzz they did get it. However re-iterating this model for the release of their next album would certainly not have been as effective in generating buzz.

The pay-what-you-want model also showed that fans were willing to pay different prices for an album and depending on the “version” of the album, fans were willing to pay

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4 [www.wired.com/16-01/](http://www.wired.com/16-01/)

more or less. In Rainbows for example, was released in a special physical boxed set, priced at $80 and sold more than 100 000 copies. Although Radiohead have abandoned the pay what you want model they have retained and developed the use of “versioning” or “bundling”. “The King of Limbs” is being sold in four versions. Two digital only versions: an MP3 format sold at €7 and a better quality Wav format for €11. Two “newspaper album” formats, with a lot of extra goodies costing €36 or €39.

Radiohead are here playing into trend, which is notably offering consumers a range of products with different values and prices depending on the options chosen. This model has grown recently and the options go from giving your music for free to selling a deluxe

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edition CD for $300. Trent Reznor, the front man behind the band Nine Inch Nails has been a key player in the development of this model.

**Nine Inch Nails**

Just like Radiohead, NIN, left their label and released the album Ghosts I-IV by themselves in 2008 on their website. There were 36 tracks on the album. There were numerous options for fans to obtain the music.

![Nine Inch Nails: Ghosts I-IV](image)

Ghosts I-IV is available in multiple digital and physical formats. Select the items you would like to order using the check boxes, then choose CONTINUE.

- **$5 Download**
  - Ghosts I-IV
  - All 36 tracks in a variety of digital formats including a 40 page PDF. [more info]

- **$10 2CD Set**
  - Ghosts I-IV on two audio CDs in a six panel digipak package with a 16 page booklet. [more info]

- **$75 Deluxe Edition Package**
  - Ghosts I-IV in a hardcover fabric slipcase containing: 2 audio CDs, 1 data DVD with all 36 tracks in multi-track format, and a Blu-ray disc with Ghosts I-IV in high-definition 96/24 stereo and accompanying slideshow. [more info]

- **$300 Ultra-Deluxe**
  - We have SOLD OUT of the Limited Edition Packages.

![FREE DOWNLOAD](image)

Ghosts I
- The first 9 tracks from the Ghosts I-IV collection available as high-quality, DRM-free MP3s, including the complete PDF. [more info]

No credit card or payment information is required for this download.

Figure 2. Nine Inch Nails: Ghost I-IV

The first 9 tracks out of the 36 were free to download. For $5 you could get the whole album plus a 40 page pdf file. For $10, you got a 2 CD set plus a 16 page booklet. For $75 you received a deluxe edition package including all of the above plus a DVD, Blu-ray disc and a nice booklet. For $300 you were entitled to the ultra deluxe limited edition package, which was limited to 2500 copies and all signed by Trent Reznor himself.

In less than 30 hours the $300 packages sold out making a gross profit of $750 000 for the band and if you include all of the other options the total amount earned after the...
first week was $1.6 million. What was so surprising about the NIN model was that the band was making a lot of money while giving their music for free.

Just a couple of months after the release of Ghosts I-IV, NIN released their next album, The Slip. This time, the entire album was available to download for free but fans were also given the option of buying the album in different physical formats, CD/DVD or vinyl with lots of extra goodies.

The Slip and Ghosts I-IV were both were released under a Creative Commons license, which means that fans could share the songs legally online. NIN even encourages fans to do this. As it is clearly stated on their download site:

we encourage you to remix it
share it with your friends,
post it on your blog,
play it on your podcast,
give it to strangers,
etc.

Trent Reznor has certainly understood that giving music for free opens up new opportunities to reach a bigger audience. Giving music for free has real economic value. Mike Maznik has formulated this concept as: Connect with Fans (CwF) + Reason to Buy (RtB) = The Business Model. Since fighting piracy is a hopeless battle, instead of treating fans as criminals, you have to connect with them and give them a reason to buy. It is essential to build and develop your fan-base. Offering free MP3 downloads is an essential marketing tool to give reasons to buy: be it deluxe DVD editions, merchandising, T-shirts or concert tickets. It was no surprise that on the same day The Slip was released, Trent Reznor announced the next NIN tour. So when you downloaded the album you also learned about the tour and the tickets for the concerts were sold quickly.

Income from live concerts has also become an important source of revenue for artists and in many cases can generate far more income than CD sales. Table 1 lists the gross income from touring for the top ten income earners in music for 2002. As we can see from the table, income from touring highly exceeds income from recordings. For example Paul McCartney received around $65 million from live concerts while only receiving $2.2 million through recordings. The Rolling Stones pocketed more than 39 million from concerts while earning less than 1 million in record sales.

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Concert-ticket sales have become the music industries fastest growing source of revenue. Worldwide concert revenues increased from $16.6 billion in 2006 to $22.2 billion in 2010. As the live music industry is far from being in crisis, it has given rise to a new model: the 360° deal.

### 360° deals

The 360° deal is an alternative to the traditional recording contract where record labels receive a percentage of all of the artists earnings instead of just record sales. These include revenue from merchandising, ring-tones, and concert tours. In exchange for receiving a proportion of all revenue streams from an artist, the label commits itself to provide greater support.

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support to the artist on a long-term basis, including a higher upfront, as well as funds for promotion and touring.

The 360° model has been gaining momentum since it emerged in the early 2000s when Robbie Williams signed a record breaking $157 million deal with EMI. Edgar Bronfam, CEO of Warner Music Group announced in 2008 that all new artists would be signed under 360° deals and that about a third of their artists were already under those contracts. Traditional record labels are not the only businesses using the model. New actors have entered the market such as the concert tour promoter Live Nation. In 2007, Madonna was the first major artist to sign a 360° deal with Live Nation. The deal was worth $120 million dollars giving Live Nation an all-encompassing stake in the music and music-related businesses of Madonna including albums, touring, merchandising, Website, film projects and sponsorship agreements. Other artists joined the Live Nation bandwagon, including the rapper Jay-Z, who signed a deal worth $150 million. The singer Shakira left Sony BMG to join Live Nation for a contract worth $70.

The growth of 360° deals has not gone without provoking a certain amount of controversy. Some analysts would question the profitability of the massive advances Live Nation has paid. After all, why would a concert tour promoter working in a growing and profitable market ever want to enter a declining recording business? After the announcement of the Madonna deal the value of Live Nation stock did drop significantly. The fall in prices could surely be explained by a combination of many variables. Executives at Live Nation attributed the decline to a problem of “timing of large tours” 9. However the drop in the stock price also suggests that investors were dubious as to the profitability of such contracts. The fact that Madonna’s label, Warner did not match Live Nations offer also casts a doubt about the financial viability of such a deal.

Like many innovations, the 360° model was born in a period of turmoil. Due to the dramatic decline in record sales over the past decade, traditional record labels have desperately been searching new remedies to stay alive. In the search for the holy grail however some see 360° deals as just a new cash cow for labels who are desperately seeking to maintain their profit margins by tapping into the money that bands earn from playing shows and selling merchandise. Labels defend 360° deals as a justification for investing more time and money in the career of an artist without worrying about recouping investments from album sales. After all, the argument goes, labels take the risk in developing artists, so why shouldn’t they get a bigger share of the pie when an artist succeeds?

One of the problems in the traditional model is the fact that the success rate is very low. Only a small fraction of artists developed will be commercially successful. Estimates of the success ratio vary between one in five and one in ten. Even though that one record can usually make enough money to cover the losses of the others, it does show that investing in new talent is a risky business. Discovering new talent is the lifeblood of record companies and the digital age has certainly changed how talent is discovered.

There are numerous examples of success stories fostered by the Internet. One of the most talked about and well documented is the British rock band, the Artic Monkeys. In France, the rapper Kamini became an overnight success after shooting a video, with just a total budget of 100€, and putting it online on YouTube and it’s French equivalents WAT.tv and Dailymotion.com. Although the Internet has become an incredible promotional tool it has become a victim of its own success.

The number of bands using the web has increased tremendously. MySpace alone had more than 2.5 million hip-hop and 1.8 million rock acts registered in 2009. Quantity of course does not mean quality. In this vast arena of potential talent, how can A&R teams spot the next jewel in the crown, and reduce the investment risks incurred in developing new talent? One option is to use fan-funded sites.

**Fan-funding**

Fan-funding or crowd funding is based on the theory of the "wisdom of the crowd", where the collective opinion of a group of individuals is considered to be better than the opinion of a few experts. In the music industry it consists of asking your fans to help raise funds for a new project; an album or a tour for example. Although the model is not new it is gaining steam. More and more fundraising websites have been popping up. Although there are a lot of similarities between the business models used there are also differences. We will look at two examples.

**Sellaband**

Sellaband was created in 2006 and is based in Amsterdam and Munich. Like many other fund raising websites, individuals interested in supporting an artist buy "parts" in the project. An artist sets a fund raising goal and once that goal is reached, those who have invested in the project get rewarded. Depending on how much an individual invests, the rewards can vary between receiving a free download of the album, to exclusive CDs, or having lunch with the band, and event a cut in the revenues from future sales. Sellaband generates income by taking 15% of the artist’s goal amount once the artist has reached his

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goal. There is also an administration fee added to every deposit made by individuals who buy parts.

Success stories include the Dutch singer Hind whose album Crosspop entered the Dutch album charts at number 8 just behind Robbie Williams and Phil Collins. The Japanese metal band raised $50 000 in just two months, which lead to a deal with Universal music Japan. Sellaband has also attracted major artists, such as the American Hip Hop group Public Enemy who achieved a record funding project of $75 0000. The group stating, “we are proud to have broken ground into a new paradigm of music financing”.  

**MyMajorCompany**
MyMajorCompany was created in France in 2007. The business model differs slightly from sites such as Sellaband in that artists featured on the website are proposed by the sites own A&R team. MyMajorCompany functions more like a traditional label but with the help of crowd-funding. Before an album is released the artist has to raise 100 000 euros from its fan base. Since its creation MyMajorCompany has launched a number of acts, one of the most successful being the French singer Grégoire who has sold more than 1 million copies of his debut album. Fans who initially invested in him saw a return of around 20 times their initial investment.  

The business model developed by MyMajorCompany has certainly been successful. The company launched its UK platform in 2010, MyMajorCompany UK and the first band to reach the £100 000 target, Ivyrise, did so in 4 days.

**Conclusion**
To conclude we could say that more than a decade after Napster shook up the music industry, the growing popularity of the Internet may actually be its greatest opportunity. Traditional record labels have been slow in adapting to the numerical revolution and we have only seen the tip of the iceberg of the effects that this revolution has brought and it well certainly continue to transform the industry in the future.

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Music and Business Cycles
- Wes Wierda

Introduction
In this paper I will try to explain the dynamic connection between the economic conjuncture and the cyclic downfall or upswing of music cultures. Cultural production like genres of popular music are coming and going. Sometimes they rejuvenate and even start a new lifecycle. If we oversee the past hundred years we could easily point out the dominant music genres. Thought it is even hard to estimate the importance and value of a new genre when you are in the middle of its peak. Therefore you need some distance in time so longitudinal research is wished for. This relative context is a part of my PhD research project at the University of Leiden. Within my PhD research I will focus merely on the role, position and the influence of Music Publishers in the Music Industry within the last centennial. My assumption is that the economic conjuncture influences the music culture and indirect the music publishing industry. On the other hand a flourishing music genre stimulates cultural and economic activity, though this is minor in macroeconomic perspective.

A rather similar longitudinal research approach has been published in the article 'Cycles in symbol production' (Peterson and Berger 1975) a discussion started concerning the connection between market concentration, diversity and innovation and output in the music industry. The analysis showed a negative correlation between concentration in the recording industry and the diversity and innovativeness of the music. Though repetition of the analysis using the same data from the 1980s (Burnett 1990; Lopez 1992) has shown that for this period the hypotheses of Peterson and Berger's should be somewhat rejected. The common assumption that culture forms go through cycles is not questioned. Their focus on data concentrates merely on the economic behaviour and the shape of competition on the market of music companies. The logic assumption is that periods of competition tends to diversity and periods of concentration to homogeneity. The degree of virtual integration on their research; creativity, merchandising and distribution is a different approach than this study aims at. The main focus in this research will be on the success of the creative output in terms of music publishing revenues as representative data of the music industry. The link between macroeconomic business cycles and the creative cultural output of the music industry is crucial and by analysing the collected data of music publishers and collecting societies, we hope to find relevant information. Successful compositions in terms of performing and mechanical rights gathered from the European and North American market are dominant data. Economies also develop in a dynamic way. Periods of growth lead inevitable to periods of depression. In the upcoming phase
consumers are opportunistically spending their income easier than in a declining economy. The assumption that consumers are spending more on culture goods in periods of growth is quiet plausible. The music industry known as a participant of the cultural industry, benefits as a whole. As a result the profits are increasing as well as the capital and reserves of music companies. In that perspective more funds are available to invest in music content and one expects creative florescence and higher cultural output. The central question is; is there a connection between conjuncture and the cultural dynamics of music genres?

Music Genre Cycles
Music is intrinsic hybrid. Styles follow and flow over each other. Though sometimes one can hear a clear novelty in sound, rhythm, structure, cord scheme or a total different combination which earthquakes the music industry. I remembered for instance the shock when I first met with grunge (a sub-genre of rock/pop), overhearing a song of Nirvana over and over again. I tried to figure out what is new about it. Fresh music spreads like an oil spill, uncontrrollable fast. The lead users already picked up the new trend and suddenly grunge was everywhere. What marks the beginning or the end of the music genre cycle? The mainstream majority audience adopts a music genre which the popularity rises shown in terms of record sales, downloads, life entertainment, radio performances, airplay and other media forms. We always have to remember that every music market has its own differences. Virtually no market is exactly the same in age, sex, racial, economic, social or cultural structure. Adoption of music styles and genres follow a different pattern. Every market really has its own unique makeup and differences, including how the market is laid out based on media forms like radio and television stations and formats. So what is introduced as ‘dupstep’ in Amsterdam may be considered ‘drum ‘n base’ in Paris. The music cycle and its effects remain the same, but how programmers, bookers and consumers interpret the introduction specifically, depends on the uniqueness of their markets characteristics. The shape of a music cycle is also based on the music and media industry's reaction to these stages of the cycle. Sometimes the introduction takes years, sometimes weeks. The stages are also depending on competition of music genres. There are overlaps but also cannibalistic behavior. Success and failure of songs moves the music market and changes the shape and style of a genre. What is defined as a successful hit of its style or a complete doldrum is based on what the public thinks is mainstream or too cutting edge? This changes every single music cycle. Songs that were once considered ultimate cool are now their dad’s favorites, and music that was mainstream is today’s Burt Bacharach’s elevator music. Of course the same ‘the look of love’ or ‘close to you’ can also marks the beginning or a revelation of an old style. New genres need media exposure and the most common way to do so is still via radiostations.
Zapoleon\textsuperscript{14} concludes “From the 60s on the mainstream popular radio has always been the key to how soft or extreme the music cycle gets, based on owners/programmers’ reaction to the cycle. Mainstream radio has the most dramatic effect because it’s the format where a song reaches its highest point with the largest possible audience and the widest age group to become the biggest hit. Whether they come from Rock, Urban, AC or even Country”. To stay successful in the music market radio stations move toward mainstream music. Successful commercial orientated stations have to deliver to the expectation of the target group and indirect the advertisers. Listeners are vulnerable to a radio format competitor who is more true to its core audience. Music scientists identify, mark and identify new music genres. From the music publishers point of view, the introduction moment of composition and lyrics tags a song to a genre though sometimes compositions could be used throughout different genres.

One of the most complete music genre monitor which is orientated in terms of music publishing is the Golden Standard Song List (GSSL). The list indicates a substantial amount of the most successful popular music songs in music publishing terms. Roedy Black Publishing assigned a committee in 2002 of outstanding music - and media journalists to create the list. The GSSL is an indexed database of information on more than 5,000 of the greatest songs in popular music, composed over a 100-year period. It identifies 14 genres, ranging from rap to ragtime. The criteria for success are merely selected songs on their excellence, performance and educational value within the context of the genre. Every song is associated with only one genre. Sales figures and chart ranking are certainly not the only source of information. The list of songs is mainly English orientated as the most important music language of the past century in terms of popular music. The Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony is rather evident. Media catalyzing these songs over the globe. ‘False consciousness is the desired end product of the process of hegemony’; which U.S. cultural historian Williams (1977) applied in relation to the mass media, as does the tradition of British cultural studies extended by Stuart Hall. Marxist Antonio Gramsci states hegemony as ‘the ruling class’s domination through ideology and the shaping of popular consent’. Cultural hegemony unites persuasion from above with a major consent from below. A dominant music genre follows a similar pattern defined as the music genre life-cycle in the figure below. Once the popularity rises the genre disappears from the underground phase and heads for the break-out. It then stabilizes at a certain level after reaching its crest, then the genre becomes obsolete, and eventually becomes a mainstream genre.

\textsuperscript{14} G. Zapoleon is president of ZMS a full service programming consultancy bureau specialized in contemporary music formats. Zapoleon is recognized as one of radio’s most trusted company with a strong track record of ratings and revenue success for radio stations in the US.
The committee of the Golden Standard Song List finally constructed a model that illustrates the development of the most important popular music streams of the last decade in. Folk and Roots could be defined as music of local culture. We compares this historical approach to other music genre schemes (appendix I).
How to create copyright revenues in the music publishing industry

Hit songs are written by authors/songwriters with the composition interpreted by an artist or a band. The original recording of the band or artist is the work carried out within the music industry and is defined as the ‘master’. In most cases the record label invests in recording, manufacturing and marketing of the master and gains legal right to multiply. The composition is operated by the music publisher and the authors of the song (both text and music). Music publishers invest in the acquisition and production of compositions. If the work is in any way reproduced, it must be officially authorized to be obtained from the owners, but how is this achieved?

Music publishers started out trading sheet music right after the invention of the printing press by Gutenberg in the 15th century. Composers either got a flat fee for their work or a royalty per copy. During the following age’s composers found it unfair that no compensation whatsoever was agreed upon, when these compositions were live performed by artist (Weber, M.). In carrying out the work in a live performance (this could also be later on the radio or television) a fee per second was agreed upon following the Berne Convention of 1889 which provided for agreements on international harmonization of copyright law. Music composers and music publishers organized themselves into a 'Collecting societies' which took care of the exploitation of the copyrights of the compositions by demanding compensation from users. The fee is subject to the scope of the implementation where the composer received a greater part in a larger number of music listeners and the music style (serious or light). The exploitation of copyright royalties started out as a performing right.

Gradually the music industry introduced the physical sound carrier. Record companies stem from American technical hobbyists who in those days had mastered the technique for a live radio recording to be engraved in a cardboard disc. This disc (the phono recording) has taken the record for a sound reproduction when played through a turntable. But in time technology progresses and there is a certain degree of quantitative reproduction of sound recordings possible. The music publishers and collecting societies ‘sign up to the gate’ of the recording ‘technicians’ and force a portion of the proceeds (a percentage) of the albums sold in exchange for the use of the compositions. This term is known as ‘mechanical law’. There is a strict distinction between the original work and composition. This seems artificial; however, the success of a musical work is heavily dependent on the performer (Wierda, 2009, pp. 33-51). This mechanical law is through the 'collecting societies' only real assessed in the nineteen thirties. In the current era, the largest source of revenue for music publishers is still the revenue generated by sales of physical sound carriers, however, within the digital arena this income is declining. Record companies and music publishers traditionally took over all related business activities. They
financed and marketed recordings and compositions in order to sell as many physical products as possible. The catalogue of compositions is owned by the music publishers and the composers; the master recording is financed and owned by the record companies.

**Business cycles**

Not only music genre cycles have a recognizable pattern, this also accounts for business cycles. The term ‘Business Cycles’ will always be scientifically connected to the Austrian Economist Joseph Schumpeter of the thirties. Although the date of publication of Business Cycles (Schumpeter, 1939) proved singularly unfortunate because three years before John Maynard Keynes introduced his General Theory (Keynes, 1936). The theory of business cycles appeared just as the outbreak of the Second World War raised economic problems to which Keynes’s tools, but not Schumpeter’s, could be directly adapted (Clemence, 1950). After 1945 it might have profited from growing interest in the theory of economic development. The centre of the theory of Business Cycles that has been published concerns the themes innovation and entrepreneurship. A macroeconomic capitalistic view on decline and prosperity of large economies. Schumpeter struggled mightily with the writing and research of Business Cycles. He told his friend economist Wesley C. Mitchell in 1937, “In order to carry out so detailed an investigation as would be necessary, I would have to have a whole research staff working for me”. Schumpeter is not a liberal economist like Ludwig von Mises an Austrian Economist known for his theories on monetary economics and inflation, the differences between free markets and government controlled economies.

Joseph Schumpeter can properly be regarded as a man of the left wing economists. He developed a theory of business cycles which puts its emphasis on industrial innovations rather than banking or monetary dynamics. Most business cycle theories put their emphasis the other way, and are essentially monetary orientated. Schumpeter focuses in business cycles at the top rather than the bottom of the cycle. He argues; “These booms consist in the carrying out of innovations in the industrial and commercial organisms. By innovations I understand such changes in the combinations of the factors of production as cannot be effected by infinitesimal steps or variations on the margin. They consist primarily in changes of methods of production and transportation, or in changes of industrial organisation, or in the production of a new article, or in the opening up of new markets or of new sources of material. The recurring periods of prosperity of the cyclical movements are the form progress takes in a capitalist society.” His vision consist an economic historic perspective of ‘Neue combinationen’. “The reader needs only to make the experiment. If he comes to survey industrial history from, say, 1760 onwards, he will discover two things; he will find that very many booms are unmistakably characterised by revolutionary changes in
some branch of industry which, in consequence, leads the boom, railways, for instance in the forties, or steel in the eighties, or electricity in the nineties…” He concludes “booms and consequently depressions are not the work of banks: their cause is a non-monetary one and entrepreneurs demand is the initialing cause…” Schumpeter’s research not only covered economic evolution but also the coevolution between socio-political life and economic life.

Schumpeter was not the first scientist and definitely not the last who is concerned with business cycles. There are several scholars who researched and described different longitudinal economic cycles. Studies on cycles in the historical economic domain can be deterministic or stochastic or both. Most well-known business cycles are those named after of their founders Kitchin, Juglar, Kuznets and Kondratieff. Cycles have been documented for a wide variety of economic variables. The consumer price index, employment rate, interest, commodity goods or prices, GDP and so on. Also, a range of methods for identifying these cycles has been used, from advanced econometric tools to simple graphical analysis. Scientists do not provide any consensus on which method is the best to use. There is consensus on the notion that historical economic variables experience cycles with certain reasonably constant cycle periods. There is no consensus, however, on which variables are most interesting and important to consider. Thought the long wave debate started by Kondratieff in 1925 and flourished during the depression before World War II.

It was in fact Schumpeter who gave names to the various cycles in 1939 (Kondratieff, Kitchin, Juglar and Kuznets) and took a lead in the debate. Schumpeter put the theoretical approach before empirics. Kondratieff long waves cycles concern surges in economic development that last for about 50 to 60 years. long waves (K-waves) are described as sinusoidal cycles in the modern capitalistic economy. K-waves focuses on major innovations which change the world wide macroeconomic environment substantially.

![Kondratieff cycle](Source: Marksman, 2001)
At the time Business Cycles of Schumpeter was written, work on Kuznets cycles concerning the long swings of fifteen to twenty years, was still at an early stage. The Kuznetz cycle is claimed as a medium-range economic wave with a period of 15–25 years found in 1930 by Simon Kuznets. He connected these waves with demographic processes. He used for the rate and structure of economic growth from the available time series data on national income, labor force, and population for up to eighteen developed countries. Kuznets swings have been interpreted as infrastructural investment waves. Kuznets also recognizes the existence of variability among countries and cultural importance of economic growth. He was the first to demonstrate that all capitalistic countries undergoing economic growth change in a similar dramatic way accepting the cultural influences of growth.

Thought cycles are characteristically persistent and pervasive, they interact with the longer growth trends and show many important regularities of relative timing and co-movement. Business cycles have a predictive function and one can predict relative amplitude of different economic variables. A reliance on the stochastic approach runs the danger of assuming that business cycles are caused only by external disturbances about which little or nothing can be done. It is important to note that the shorter the wave the stronger it could be influenced. In the figure below you see the several dominant waves illustrated. There is a mathematical connection between waves like figure IV indicates.

![Leading business cycles](image)

Figure 4: Leading business cycles
Strangely enough scientists lost interest in the long wave discussion and until the depression of the seventies and the debate revived. Mainly because in the 1950's the worldwide economy got back on track. In “Cycles in American Politics: How political, economic and cultural trends have shaped the nation” Micheal Alexander (Alexander, 2004) noticed a connection. Our concern is to retain a full account of the interpretation of the economic and cultural cyclical history of one country, in preference to partial accounts of the three countries that Schumpeter discussed at length. The nature of the theory, which includes a Kondratieff cycle sixty years in duration and later the Kuznets wave calls for a longitudinal study. That the country chosen should be the United States rather than England or Germany reflects more than the national origins or residence of Schumpeter and Kuznets. The United States of America was the country Schumpeter and Kuznets devoted most attention to. The U.S. is the one that best illustrates the working of their theoretical models.

Cultural and economic hegemony
In our research we try to find a longitudinal match between business cycles and music cycles and their cultural behavior. We first have to identify not only the dominant music genres and business cycles to find comparisons, we therefore have to identify similar cultural as well as economic hegemony. Gramsci originally created the concept of cultural hegemony. Although 'Selections from the Prison Notebooks' were not translated until 1971, his influence was substantial. 'Hegemony' in this case means the success of the dominant classes in presenting their definition of reality, their view of the world, in such a way that it is accepted by other classes as 'common sense'. This general 'consensus' is the only sensible way of seeing the world, the right paradigm. He explains how cultural hegemony exists. Any groups who present an alternative view are therefore marginalized: "the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'", and "The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent." (Gramsci, 1971, p. 215) In Gramsci's view there is not in any sense a single dominant class, but rather a shifting and unstable alliance of different social classes. The unstable classes create dynamics which in the end have political consequences. Thought Gramsci is in ideologically Marxist orientated, he foresees the power of a similar direction of a culture and therefore its dominance. Thought a continuing struggle for dominance between the definitions of reality (or ideologies) exists which serve the interests of the ruling classes and those which are held by other groups in society. Cultural hegemony is more or less seen as a product of vigorous struggle. Fiske states; “Hegemony is a constant struggle against a multitude of resistances to ideological domination, and any balance of forces that it
achieves is always precarious, always in need of re-achievement. Hegemony's 'victories' are never final, and any society will evidence numerous points where subordinate groups have resisted the total domination that is hegemony's aim, and have withheld their consent to the system.” (Fiske, 1987, p. 41). Gramsci's 'class orientated' theory points at the ruling capitalistic political and military hegemony. His imprisonment by the Italian fascistic Mussolini regime led to unfortunately to his tragic dead at the age of 46. Seen as an enemy of state Gramsci foresaw the dangers of absolute hegemony and saw a democratic role for the working class modeled like Lenin did. Thought the American forces took over fascistic Italy after the second World War another cultural hegemony started then Gramsci had wished for.

In 1945 the United States of America emerged as the undisputed power of the post second world war area. The US produced 50% of the world manufactured goods and owned half of the world’s shipping (Kennedy, 1988, p. 358). Kennedy argued that amongst the inventory of the global might, there was the technology of atomic bomb which made previous military instruments seem rather insignificant. While the technology itself was unique, the advantage and dominance was clear. The role out of the Marshall-plan were economic aid was offered to Western orientated capitalistic countries, developed in a dramatic pace. Along with the military and economic dominance the American culture was introduced on a massive scale in the Western European Economies. The US became the ruling music cultural hegemony. Not only did the pr-war US cultural invasion brought film and music but also technology came along. Introduction of hard-ware like recording machines, record players, film equipment also brought content to the West European and Asian market. Todd Gitlin (a leading left wing sociologist) analyses that hegemony is secured when those who control the dominant institutions impress their definitions upon the ruled (Gitlin, 2003). In Gitlin’s analysis of cultural studies he concludes that ruling elites control media to spread a blanket of false consciousness over dominated classes. Gitlin suggests; “The dominant class controls ideological space and limits what is thinkable in society. Dominated classes participate in their domination, as hegemony enters into everything people do and think of as natural, or the product of common sense—including what is news, as well as playing, working, believing, and knowing. Hegemonic ideology permeates the common sense that people use to understand the world and tries to become that common sense”. Gitlin states ; “Cultural studies includes primarily modern industrial societies, insists on treating high and popular culture as equals of cultural production, and compares these cultural products to other social and historical forms include elements of domain and methodology and ideology.” Culture itself is both conceptualized as a way of life which includes artistic forms. Thought cultural studies can be stressed in multiple perspectives and dimensions the scholars Steven Best and Douglas Kellner (1991) created a
critical theory of the media and society. It relates all dimensions of society, from the cultural to the political, social, and economic, to each other, creating culture. The hegemonic cultural ideology is reproduced by media forms in practices like books, music and filmed entertainment.

**Research findings**

Trying to define the cultural movement of a decade music publishing value we sum the various music genres of the GSSL into a timeframe per year. We calculated and categorized almost 5,000 songs and put them into all different music genres. Although you could see a trend line and some kind of sinusoidal movement we need to define a periodical approach.

![Graph showing music publishing success over time](image)

Figure 5: Summery of successful Music Publishing Songs per year. Source: Wierda & Reijken, 2011. Also see Appendix II

We further extrapolate the numbers into a timeframe of ten years and sum all genres and discover patterns of music genres illustrated in Figure I. After defining a trend line we
discover a sum of all genres as a sinusoidal movement in time over a timeframe of hundred years of successful songwriting of popular music in the Anglo-American popular music market. This pattern follows the trendline of \( y = 99,0709 - 48,4 \). The peaks of hits are just after the economic stock crises of 1929 and just before the seventies started. The downswing is the lowest round 1919 after World War I, after World War II 1949 and 1989. Another interesting remark is that in this perspective several dominant music genres started after both World Wars. Jazz/Blues after the W.W. I and Rock/Pop after World War II. If we interpret the graphics we can also expect a substantial amount of successful popular songs written in the coming twenty years.

![Graph of music genres and successful songs](image)

- **Figure 6:** Interpolation of decades of successful Music Publishing songs per decade of the GSSL; Source: Wierda & Reijken, 2011. Also see Appendix II.
Matching culture and business cycles

Culture and business goes through cycles. Is there a connection? The logic assumption that higher consumer incomes leads higher spending on culture goods and therefore the spinning wheel of these product tends to upswing and created cultural activity. ‘Cycles in symbol production’ (Peterson and Berger 1975) discussed the output in music industry terms which cannot be totally compared to the GSSL output. Their focus is also on innovative output but not compared to a macroeconomic dimension. One tends to think that the music industry market concentrates in a baisse period (a few big companies survive) and diversifies and innovates when the economy climes up again (much more research is needed to make final conclusions on this assumption). So let’s find out if there is a match. If we study the time schedule of the upswing and downswing of Figure VI, we recognize a pattern similar to the sinus of the Kuznets wave. Following the data of the latest economic data of American Politics (Alexander, 2004).

We can only reproduce accurate numbers from the early seventies due to lack of valid sources. If we integrate the sinus of the Kuznets and we compare it to the total value of American Music Industry (Yearly rapports IFPI15 and RIAA16) we see a rather similar pattern ((red line figure VII). The total net turnover (the green line figure VII) of the Dutch Music Industry follows the same trend (Middendorp van, 2009). Though the trend line of the Kuznets wave tends to upswing after 2008 we know that due to the digitisation threat the music industry goes further down. Each period has its opportunities and threats so due to previous historical information the changes that the value of the American music industry will upswing again, is still possible.

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15 IFPI: represents the recording industry worldwide, with a membership comprising some 1400 record companies in 66 countries and affiliated industry associations in 45 countries.

16 RIAA: The Recording Industry Association of America is the trade organization that supports and promotes the creative and financial vitality of the major music companies.
The final comparison is the Kuznets wave to the summary sinus of the GSSL. Thought the pattern shows roughly the same line on tends to believe that most hit songs are written at the peaks of the economic upswings and follows the pattern of the total Net value of the American Music Industry (red Line). The decline of the music industry as a whole is also a fact loosing approximately 5% year (IFPI 2009). The amount of hit songs are increasing when the economy boosts. If songs are successfully marketed the value of the total American Industry rises. Though accuracy lacks.
Figure 8: Value comparison of American (red) Music Industry to the GSSL to Kuznets (blue) Business Cycle. 
Source: Wierda & Reijken, 2011
Conclusions

The central question is: is there a connection between conjuncture and the cultural dynamics of music genres? Do business cycles forecast the cultural development of the music industry.

Our research mainly is focused on the American music market due to the cultural hegemony after the Second World War. Indeed we can find a rather similar sinusoidal pattern in music publishing output terms. If we follow the Kuznets wave which is based on the economic development of the American economy as a whole we can conclude that the creative output in music publishing terms tend to follow the same pattern. The amount of hit songs written in economic prosperity are substantial higher than in the low conjuncture. The music industry profits from economic prosperity and so songwriter do. Income out of mechanical – and performance rights will rise. Though much more research is needed to make final conclusions on this subject. One can question the validity of the Kuznets Wave if you for instance prefer other crucial variables. We may carefully conclude that a connection between cultural dynamics in case of music genres has a positive correlation with economic conjuncture in the US.
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Appendix I.
### Appendix II: GSSL quantitative

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Abstract
Traditionally, large international music corporations and (inter)national superstars have been the most prominent representatives of the music industry and attracted most research attention. Declining sales, disruptive technologies, digitalisation, online platforms and changing business models are profoundly changing the structure of the industry (cf. Leyshon et. Al. 2005, Wikstrom 2010). Such changes challenge traditional research approaches.

Furthermore, many innovations and dynamics occur on the periphery or even outside the traditional music industry. As the industry is struggling with its product conception (Dowd 2006), computer and mobile hardware corporations and internet entrepreneurs are becoming central players in the industry. Consumers, on the other hand, not only download their favourite music onto their mobile phone, iPod or computer, they increasingly enjoy live performances in music venues, stadiums, festivals or bars. The live experience has become a tremendously important and economically significant aspect of the music experience. Sofar, the vivid live scene is often not seriously investigated as part of the music industry.

These developments ask for a reconsideration of our research directions and approaches. In this paper, we will discuss developments and actors in the music industry that are often overlooked. Based on those ‘invisible’ activities, we will propose some data sources and research directions and methods to obtain a better and more up to date view of the current music industry.
Remixing Jazz Culture: Dutch Crossover Jazz Collectivities and Hybrid Economies in the Late-Capitalist Era
- Kristin McGee

Abstract
Recently, crossover jazz has profited from fruitful collaborations between a broader array of arts participants. These fluid collaborations depend upon both live dance culture and the highly-mediated world of domestic digital networks. Simultaneously, the renewed interactivity of crossover European jazz collectivities betrays a growing interest by participants and producers to disrupt normative expectations for live music. In 2010, for example, the Dutch crossover jazz collectivity, Kyteman, a hip-hop, jazz group led by Colin Bender sometimes features thirty musicians on stage, with a revolving line-up of mc's, instrumentalists and symphonic musicians. Online remixers enlist the group’s work to actively participate in the collective, prompting references to Lessig’s "rewrite" conception of contemporary culture. The impact of social networks in promoting this group further challenges traditional music industry structures. In this presentation, I investigate the Netherlands’ most interactive crossover jazz collectives, assessing their impact upon dance culture, traditional jazz culture and popular culture. I further highlight the fluid and intermediated nature of translocal collectivities. In particular, I query the activities and musical performances of organizations within Utrecht to illuminate intersections between public culture, digital media and crossover jazz collectivities as they transform European hybrid cultures and musical values in the late-capitalist era.
Where Credit is Due: Structures of Social Reward in Three Musical Practices
- Bas Jansen

Abstract
Copyright, new music technologies, and the future of popular music have been subject to fierce debate over the last years. Underlying the argumentation of various parties are implicit ideas on how a phenomenon I call “credit-giving” works in popular music culture.

“Credit-giving” refers to the matter of what the payment, admiration, acknowledgement, et cetera, actors receive in return for contributing to a practice. The traditional ‘implicit theory of appropriate credit’, associated with the business model of the phonographic industry, says that there is an artist who deserves financial facilitation and admiration for pursuing her art, a music industry that deserves a financial reward for performing a service, and a consumer who provides these rewards and in return is able to enjoy music. Recently, a number of competing views have sprung up.

I have performed case studies on three cultural practices, namely mix taping, remixing in the ccMixter community, and deejaying. Comparing the results of these analyses I argue that some way of credit-giving is indispensible to keep cultural practices in existence. I also argue that, rather than pop music culture resting on a single overarching way of distributing credit, each cultural practice has its own ‘style of credit-giving’.
Do-It-Yourself: The Role and Perspectives of Popular Music Within Experimental Music Practices
- Monika Zyla

Introduction

If something is boring after two minutes, try if for four. If still boring, try it for eight, sixteen, thirty-two, and so on. Eventually one discovers that it’s not boring at all but very interesting. John Cage (1974)

Contrary to appearance, John Cage’s words above did not serve me as a motivation to write this paper. This quote helps me rather to indicate some clues of tendencies and mechanisms that contribute to music popularity. These tendencies aim at, and often result in, reaching the peak positions of different popularity charts. Especially those which are based on radio and music television’s playlists, which obviously lead to an increase in its popularity and in turn affects its sale figures at levels of mass distribution. To paraphrase Cage’s words: the more we listen to a particular song, the more we like it. Conversely: the more we like one song, the more we listen to it, and thus the more popular the song becomes.

This process is founded on our natural predisposition to establish our inclinations and preferences by continuous repetition of particular sounds. This essential feature of human perception seems to be widely explored and involved in music promotion undertaken by the music industry companies. We are more fond of things we are acquainted with and our tastes are shaped by our experiences. Moreover, we are attracted to particular songs because the aim of the music industry is to reach the broadest audience possible which they achieve by involving radio and television stations with their symbolic capital, as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value to disseminate music as a commercial commodity

This process is circular. However, in my paper I would like to glance at what lies beyond that circle. As such, I would like to examine first, how popular music can circulate in the broader cultural context; second, how it can stimulate and influence the so called ‘alternative’ or ‘periphery music’ which is perceived as being in opposition to mainstream music; and third, what happens when popular, i.e. mainstream, music meets musical and artistic practices that do not exist within a so called ‘blockbusters culture’ and lie outside mainstream music.

The goal of my paper is to depict how mainstream music intersects with the experimental music, and what results from that intersection. In order to elaborate on these issues I will examine three cover projects by Ergo Phizmiz. First, *Plays Aphex Twin*, which includes an acoustic recreation of the recordings of the “pope” of contemporary electronic music and the ‘Mozart of techno’ - Aphex Twin. I will then go on to *White Light, White Heat*, which comprises the Ergo Phizmiz version of Velvet Underground’s second album. Finally, his last project *Arff and Beaf* which contains covers of R&B top hits by Destiny’s Child, Kelis and Missy Elliot amongst others. Simultaneously, I would like to point out that plain dichotomies between mainstream and periphery, mass culture and elite culture, global and local, professional and amateur, hybrid and homogenous, are of less use in describing the increasingly complex practices and experiments in the music field.

One of the main motives to write this paper was my necessity to understand the gap between popular music and alternative, avant – garde music. What makes them so contrasting and oppositional, what differentiates them and, consequently, places them at the opposite ends of the spectrum? The contrast manifests itself right from the initial stage vis-à-vis the methods of production, through the stages of promotion, commodification and distribution, to end with the values, aesthetics and ambitions. How would it be possible, when so separated at each level of musical practices, to accommodate both in some common space? What attracts them, if at all, towards themselves? And how, finally, can popular music provide a more intricate and implicit underlying association that gives rise to a new creation, in which material gets transformed in a process of reinterpretation and reinvention? The last element subject to analysis in this paper is the new contexts and meanings for experimental music that create such intersection.

**Popular music versus experimental music**

*Postmodernism*

*..time when no orthodoxy can be adopted without self-consciousness and irony because all traditions seem to have some validity.* Charles Jencks (1986)

Postmodernism with its values and features seems to enable music practices which largely express doubts about established aesthetics. Those of music practices which I mentioned in the introduction appear to me as postmodern achievements which make it possible and attractive to glance at postmodernism though ‘praxis’ lenses rather than only through theory. The three albums of Ergo Phizmiz comprise and generate a heterogeneous and complex picture of postmodernism with particular way of manifestation of its parodic and pastische characteristics. All of them deal with different established traditions and cultural
contexts, questioning and refusing to accept either original or the new as valid concepts of the artistic expression. All of them are placed somewhere between music commercially produced and experimental music, basing their audible representation on familiar patterns, invoking total emotional engagement of the audience thanks to the stark resemblance they bear with the original material.

Ergo Phizmiz’s music blends with the eternal ability of culture to exist within certain ‘massive distributed cognitive networks, involving linking of many minds’ (Donald 2006). His music equally blends with the ingenious way of bypassing strict copyright policy exerted by the oligonomy of the leading ‘Big four’ labels in favor of transition of creative works into public area. Jack Bishop argues that such dominance and hegemony ceded in small numbers of producers poses a threat of deficient diversity of creation, increasing homogeneity, predictability and to some extent boredom (Bishop 2005). Music of Phizmiz produced and distributed outside the mainstream music industry, represents the fresh ability that dares to stand completely outside the ‘Big four’ labels circulation at each level and which at the same time refers to it by using recognizable musical material which is exposed once again to be analyzed and synthesized. These means of reinventing and reinterpretating musical material originally provided by popular music and its incorporation to the music practice perceived as experimental, therefore lead to a new relation between mainstream and periphery, ensuring further circulation of culture products.

**Experimental music**

The New Grove Dictionary of American Music defines experimental music by its continuous search for radically new modes of composition, music making or musical understanding. Such need for novelty places experimental music in opposition to ‘conventional’ music and depicts it as a bolder, more individualistic, eccentric and less highly crafted kind of musical exploration (Mauceri, 1997). This definition places experimental music at the periphery, always in opposition to some aesthetic values or categories established in the past, sanctioned by the authority of tradition. In my paper I define experimental music through its very ability to differentiate itself from the mainstream and to be indeterministic, where the quality of not being already settled becomes independent aesthetic value in-and-of itself. Such understanding of experimental musical phenomenon leads me also to approve and incorporate experiment into music practice. Experiment in music is an innovative act that results in drawing new tendencies and perspectives, thanks to ingenuity and imagination of its initiator. Experiment creates an alternative to the established aesthetics provided and explored by the mainstream and hit – driven music culture.
Popular music

Popular music, in academic as well as in everyday discourse, acquired an ambiguous position. On the one hand the term ‘popular music’ may emphasize the dissemination, recognition and easy accessibility to the large numbers of listeners through mass mediated devices. At the same time popularity figures used to estimate the popularity of particular songs or albums may run the risk of being confused with sales figures. Such definitions of popular music may also evoke the false impression to be of the lower value or complication than an art music in order to attract musically uneducated masses audience. Simultaneously, popular music cannot be precisely related to one fixed music genre but can be rather defined by its ability to intersect social boundaries embodied in particular social group’s tendencies to prefer or identify itself with more or less specified music styles and to accumulate often contradictory musical categories. Eventually popular music can be explained in comparison to particular cultural ideas that become fashionable because of their symbolic meanings and values that are spread by simple process of imitation and repetition. Most of my references to the popular music will pertain to the mainstream with its intuitive definition of exhibiting dominant courses, tendencies and trends in musical styles.

Experimental music associated with popular music

Recontextualization, reinvention, reinterpretation

In his book *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy*, Lawrence Lessig describes the dichotomy between “Read Only Culture” and “Read and Write Culture”. The former is connected with the traditional depiction of culture with its clear demarcation line between artists and consumers where artistic product is shaped only by the professionals and as such is presented to the audience. The latter makes these demarcations blurred and become more and more crucial for culture existing in the digital era where digital content can be easily made over. In my paper I will investigate distinct artistic strategies which are providing a fascinating and striking example of Lessing’s Read/Write Culture, at the same time broadening his approach to it. These strategies are not based on the use of existing recordings. They adapt recorded material only in its substance and not as a recording per se, as it happens in case of mash-ups or plunderphonics. Those artistic strategies are immediately associated to the mainstream music they evoke, which allow listeners to recognize the original piece, and have ability to extend the practices of simply using *ready mades* or *found objects*. Those strategies I would call here the acts of recontextualization, reinvention and reinterpretation of the popular music.

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Ergo Phizmiz’s complete project includes covers of pop music from various meanings of the word ‘pop’. The whole project is like looking into the distortion mirror. Phizmiz’s interpretation reflects characteristics and features of the underlying tune in a grotesque way, using wit and irony to blow them out of proportion and imitates them to make a new appearance often absurd and ridiculous. The thin line between parody, satire, imitation and stylistic allusion smoothly blend together in Phizmiz works and varying in the extent of modification.

In the first album Plays Aphex Twin (Mukow Productions 2004) Ergo Phizmiz and his Orchestra decompose and deconstruct the distinctive style and technique of one of the most inventive and influential electronic artist Aphex Twin. With great precision Phizmiz imitates the melodies, harmonies, textures, tune and mood of Aphex Twin’s distinctive style at the same time exaggerating those features of his music that are most prominent for his works. To a great extend Ergo Phizmiz simplifies Aphex Twin’s complicated rhythmic flow which determined his style and which contributed to coining a more specific and accurate style for his music genre such as “braindance” or “intelligent dance music”, among others. Phizmiz’s simplifications and reduction of the intricate and carefully elaborated electronic rhythmic structures and textures, produced by using sophisticated electronic hardware, allow us to understand his project in terms of pastische and parody. Ergo Phizmiz appears to deride Aphex Twin’s musical idiom, with its precision derived by using synthesizers, drum machines and prepared piano as well as acid-techno-based electronic sound and music samples, by turning it into a more childlike and amateur form of expression.

Phizmiz’s interpretations of Aphex Twin’s music keep and sustain the overall impression and the aura of the earlier recordings, sometimes applying greater or lesser alternation to a particular music element which constitute identity of the music piece like melody, rhythms, harmony, dynamics, articulation or phrasing towards simplicity, formulated entirely by live instruments that leads to the grotesque and frequently humorous effect. Simultaneously, Aphex Twin’s ability and potential to create and use catchy, simple and highly recognizable melodies seems to be employed by Ergo Phizmiz and serves him as an immediate reference to the original piece. He easily modifies melodies used by Aphex Twin, reducing them to pleasant acoustic ones which undoubtedly appeal to listeners. Moreover, Ergo Phizmiz uses material previously provided by Aphex Twin, creating a sound universe where the desire to avoid literalness establishes its most remarkable characteristic. Using distorted vocals reminiscent of children songs, cabaret, nightmares or mockery singing, deepens our feeling of witnessing and experiencing a somewhat surrealistic sound reality. This attitude of inventing a highly imaginative
fantastic world in Phizmiz’s arrangements can be easily traced in the vocal layer of his outcome, sometimes overlapping with a semantic layer.

In the second album of Phizmiz’s cover project called *White Light, While Heat*, which contains arrangements of The Velvet Underground’s second album by the same title, references to the original songs written by Lou Reed are more obvious thanks to the semantic layer of the recreated pieces. In *White Light, White Heat* Phizmiz maintains original titles, lyrics as well as the song’s order. In this case he again makes creative allusions, this time to the loud, harsh, raw and distorted electronic timbre of the band. He deforms in an inventive way the band’s sound expression, consisting of densely layered textures, white noises and feed backs, and plays with popular band’s alternative punk image which resembled their unambiguous approach to drugs, sex and drag queens. Ergo Phizmiz decomposed band’s radical experimentalism using acoustic instruments and caricatured childlike imitation of Lou Reed’s voice, bringing to mind out of tune gypsy orchestras with extended percussions or more general non-western way of performing including elements of improvisation and indeterminacy expressed by not fixed pitches and fluent measures. These fluctuating and flickering textures, tunes and rhythmic structures concur to create grotesque and comic effect absorbing listener with its complexity and richness.

Third album from Phizmiz’s cover trilogy: *Arff and Beaf* (Womb Records 2005), most diversified from all three in terms of used material, is described by author in his blog as a *set of versions of 90s and noughties R&B classics* and includes songs of such artists like Destiny’s Child, Kelis, Missy Elliot, Justin Timberlake, Lauryn Hill and Gwen Stefani. “Survivor” (Columbia 2001) is a song in the third album by hugely successful American R&B vocal quartet *Destination’s Child* that climbed rapidly up at the US and Europe charts and won Grammy Awards 2002. Ergo Phizmiz imitates in his decomposition of this song its characteristic rhythmic patterns as well as melodies and lyrics. Again, he applies freaky vocal parts and set them into dialog between child and castrato voices. At the end of the song Phizmiz pooh-poohed the featured sexual connotations of the “Survivor” video clip adding repetition of the words *penis* and *vagina* accompanied by the vocal percussion. “Trick me”, second position in Phizmiz album, is a song originally released in Kelis’ third album called *Tasty* (Star Trak/Arista, 2003). Kelis, an American singer incorporates between R&B, funk, soul and hip hop into her music. Ergo Phizmiz considerably modifies its tempo to very slow and reduces its characteristic rhythmic layer turning it into a low tempo lyric ballad. In the next song, “Get ur freak on”, performed by Missy Eliot in her

album *Miss E... So Addictive* (The Goldmind/Elektra, 2001), Phizmiz pertinaciously repeats one melodic phrase supported by a simple rhythmic accompaniment.

With his cover project, which is wholly arranged, performed and produced by him, Phizmiz plays emotional and intellectual game with his audience, a kind of musical hide-and-seek, seducing the listener's ear and mind. Phizmiz relates to his listener's acquaintance with diverse musical practices known from the past and gathered under the extensive definition of the term *popular music* as well as by making an appeal to the various personal and emotional connections that popular music evoke. However, it is not only his ironic and mocking tone that delights his audience, but also the ingenuity with which he transforms these particular texts from the popular music corpus. Ergo Phizmiz has extremely profound ability to create detailed and imaginary sound universes where indeterminacy, blurred tunes and an amateurlike way of performing bringing to life joys of experiments and acoustic playing.

**Production and distribution strategies**

**Copyrights**

Ergo Phizmiz’s cover project clearly exemplifies the new model of the sharing economy, as coined by Lawrence Lessing. Phizmiz released his cover project first in mp3 format on ergophizmiz.com, free of charge to download and licensed by Creative Commons, organization in connection with free cultural works, promoting the idea of the free flow of cultural products.

However, music practices based on covers may at the same time raise the question of to what extent, if at all, the law can restrict such abstract properties of artistic works like mood or overall impression or style, terms more difficult to define, and at the same instant not interfere with the economic viability of the initial piece.

Cover works by Ergo Phizmiz, published free of charge on his website and blog, as well as available on the website associated with the open source software movement and Creative Commons: freemusicarchive.org, which is an interactive library of legal audio downloads that otherwise would be disallowed by copyrights restrictions, assured him from being taken to the court for his activity.²⁰

Conclusion – function of popular music in experimental music practices

The phenomenon of popular music, with its diversity and different means of production, distribution and promotion became an inspiration, and frequently something more than just an inspiration for experimental and avant-garde artistic practices. This body became a considerable source material to be shaped anew by the inventiveness of the artist. In the digital era, Phizmiz’s work raises questions about the obsolete policy of copyrights. Examples included in this paper helped me to follow and depict the places where popular music meets avant-garde and experimental practice and what results from these intersections for the future of hybrid culture and sharing economy of digital content. I have also paid attention to the aesthetics of such intersections and significance of their existence in the postmodern and self-reflected world in order to enlarge and differentiate our experience of beauty in music.
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Music Brands as a Replacement of Music Records

- Jonathan G. Shaw

*MUSIC BRANDS AS A REPLACEMENT OF MUSIC RECORDS*

Presented by
Jonathan G. Shaw

*WELCOME*

✦ Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen
ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGES

- There has been a stark decline in record sales over the last decade.
- Record companies, a critical participant in the value chain, are seeing a decay in their main revenue stream.
- To replace lost income, they look to other revenue streams that an artist generates through “360-degree” deals.

Do we still need to sell records?
Which music records do you still buy?
What is a record?
Do we consume artists or records?
Qualifier: this presentation is based on commercial music artists.
360 DEALS

- A 360 deal tends to allow the record company to share in revenue the artist generates in other areas besides records:
  - Endorsements, sponsorships, or other business relationships with third parties relating to artists
  - The exploitation in any media of the artists’ names, likeness, logo and/or biographical material, including by way of merchandise, premiums, games, and/or cartoons of any kind
  - Artists’ live performance engagements, whether dramatic or musical, in concerts, on television, on radio and/or “webcast,” and all other means
  - Books, magazines, or other publishing materials written, co-written, created or co-created by artists, or written about the artists

Are these not areas typically driven by artist management?

SHORTENING OF THE VALUE CHAIN

- Event companies are also looking at 360-degree deals:
  - Live Nation
  - Are we seeing an amalgamation of roles?
  - Is there an inherent conflict of interest for artists and these “unspecialised” role-players?

- Artists are finding that DIY options are far more appealing:
  - Activities often exclusively reserved to the label are now accessible to the artist
  - Internet is providing market access opportunities
  - How viable are the opportunities?
  - Do they really want DIY?
OLIGOPOLY TO PURE COMPETITION

- What happens when all music is controlled instead by artist/songwriters themselves?
  - Can it ever?
- Differentiation and ability to stand out become critical
  - Why would you pick out one artist from another?
  - Why do you choose to “buy-in” to some artists and not others?
  - How do we break “double jeopardy”
  - Dumb questions: Why do big artists tend to control their own business affairs? Why do they rely less on value chain participants?
  - How do smaller artists achieve this freedom?

ARTIST AND RECORDS

- So, if records are truly on the demise...
  - Artists (and other role-players) will place more emphasis on other products and services that generate income
  - Consumers will derive value from free records, and will only “buy-in” to artists they feel deserving
  - Thus, artists that stand out, in this way, will be the next superstars in the “recordless” era
  - “I buy the artist” instead of “I buy their record”
  - I buy their BRAND
BRAND

✦ Branding has been a business buzz word for 2 decades
✦ It refers to using a name to generate better exchanges
✦ Brand equity is the value this name holds in the mind of consumers:
  • Loyalty
  • Familiarity
  • Positivity
  • Repurchase
  • Comfort
  • Acceptance
  • Peace

BRAND AND REVENUE STREAMS

✦ Branding is not a foreign or new concept
✦ Artist managers have typically concentrated on this more than record companies
✦ Simply, ways of packaging the artist into various saleable units (360-degree revenue streams)
✦ Brand extensions?
DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT

- The internet has always been about interactive communication.
- To what extent will it replace traditional media?
- It is now possible for a fan to receive instant messages from the artist.
- These messages (read “status updates”) are also entirely voluntary and provide ideal marketing communication opportunities.

BRAND TOUCHPOINTS

- Touchpoints are all the possible ways that an artist affects the lives of fans on a daily basis.
- Social network status updates provide a perfect brand touchpoint.
- Content of status updates provides multi-media of interactive consumption.
- Overcoming bandwidth limitations will allow for almost perfect content delivery system - text, audio, video, take-away.
- Why wait for radio to tell you about an artist?
PERSONAL BROADCASTING

- Artist can now grow an audience base in much the same way as radio and television do.
- Number of “friends” is an indication of popularity
  - Number of involved friends indicates sales base
  - Involvement is the level of personal relevance a fan has for an artist
- Search engine ranking are now the music charts
- Biggest problem is creating involved social networked fans.

MARKETING OPPORTUNITIES

- Establishing an involved fan network allows you to service corporate communication ambitions:
  - Sponsorship (other brand promotion)
  - Artist content (publishing, events, records, merchandise, videos, causes)
  - Corporate communication (pushing viable promotion to your fan base)
  - Cross-promotions (film, TV, advertisements)
- Blatant promotions must be avoided and subtle “product placement” preferred.
CONCLUSION

- The real fight for success is control of media to reach as many people as possible.
- Multiple revenue streams can be leveraged through brand touchpoints in social media.
- Artists can leverage 360-degree models themselves and push themselves to the centre of their business and craft.

THANK YOU!

- IASPM
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Stars in the Recording Industry: Structural Functions and Changing Dynamics
- Lee Marshall

Abstract
It has been readily acknowledged that pop stars have always played a significant role in how popular music generates meaning. Unlike in Film Studies, however, stars’ role in the economic organisation of the music industry is a less well-developed area of our understanding of popular music. Yet from Caruso to Lady Gaga, the production of stars has been a central plank of the recording industry’s attempts to maintain and expand its profitability. Arguably, with the emergence of the Idol phenomenon in the last ten years or so, the centrality of stardom and celebrity has become even more pronounced. This paper discusses the economic structuring of stardom within popular music, emphasising both historical continuities and the possible transformations currently being witnessed. The paper concludes by considering what the current changes in the music industry could mean for pop stars, and pop music, in the future.
Abstract
In mass communication theory the relation between culture and the cultural industry which exploits cultural products is mostly mentioned to be problematic. It is often said that culture and industry, creativity and commercial motives exclude one another (de Meyer & van Raemdonck 1999).

Digitisation, globalisation and technical developments appear to have a larger impact on the music industry. They are the main reason why this work field is changing. To find out what kind of effect this changing environment has on the professional relationships pop musician have and will have in future, I interviewed Dutch pop musicians. How did they cope with the major changes in the music industry during the last decade? What kind of relationship do they (wish to) have with on the one hand the music industry, and on the other hand their fans? There will always be musicians (and music listeners) but their need of support from an industry might change.
Only in America: The Popularity of Domestic, European, and American Pop Music in Western Countries
- Hidde Bekhuis, Marcel Lubbers & Wout Ultee

Abstract
This study examines the origin of popular music in national hit charts and the language in which the hits are performed. Two perspectives on globalization explain trends and cross-national differences in music origin and language performance: one as the larger supply of alternative music and one as the larger threat to the national culture. To test our hypotheses we coded over 30,000 chart positions in the year-end hit charts stretching from 1973 to 2006 for nine Western countries. Since the late 1980s there is an upward trend in the popularity of domestic artists, both when they perform in English or in the mother tongue. For EU countries, this upward trend of domestic music is coupled with further EU integration.
Academic research into music fanzines has largely focused on the study of the sub-cultures they represent (Atton 2010), the alternative models of politics that they offer (Duncombe 1997), or the aesthetic aspects of text, graphics and design (Triggs 2006). This type of research usually focuses on the text, design and graphics of the fanzines, or the cultural contextualization (Hebdige 1979) but not the photography they contain. A relationship between music and photography has been established (Keightley & Pickering 2006) but our understanding of music ‘fanzine photography’ has not yet been addressed and needs to be given research attention. There is, therefore, a need to investigate the intersection between music fanzines and photography.

From a political perspective, music fanzines can be seen as ‘home-made’ propaganda machines promoting alternative tools of communication and contributing to the expansion of alternative music networks. This divergent perspective is based on the fanzine ‘de-professionalised’, ‘de-capitalised’ and ‘de-institutionalised’ characteristics as noted by Chris Atton (2001a). The fanzine experience is also, as Stephen Duncombe describes, a ‘refusal to be passive’ (1997:179), ‘the negation of what is’ (1997:183), and ‘politics by example’ (1997:188). While 1970s punk fanzines embraced their misuse of English grammar and disregarded established publishing traditions thus creating their own form of communication (Triggs 2006:76-77), fanzines in the 1990s were not borne out of the same political and social frustration of the late seventies. Atton (2001b:38 & 2010:518) notes the change in aesthetics of fanzines in the 1990s with fanzines becoming more conservative in their layout, highly organised in their content, and illustration used ‘straight’ rather than ordered at random.

Photographs of artists and celebrities have an important, perhaps too important, place in modern society. The incessant display of photographs of, for example, troubled artist Amy Winehouse under the influence of drugs in the tabloids and various magazines in 2007 springs to mind. What does this kind of photography bring to the music industry apart from sales? When used with this purpose photography becomes, as French poet Charles Baudelaire (1855) suggested, ‘art’s most mortal enemy’. One might say of popular music what Roland Barthes (1957:101) said of cars and Gothic cathedrals: ‘conceived with passion’ and ‘consumed in image’.
Professional photographic images contribute to the strengthening of genre categorisation. Semiotics is one of the key rules defining the musical genre along the ‘formal and technical’, ‘behavioural’, ‘social and ideological’, and ‘commercial and juridical’ as first developed by Fabbri (Frith 1996:91). Semiotics and the photographic image of bands play a crucial role in constructing the musical genre. As such they have become a means for fans to attach to a particular genre using the images inherent to the genre as a fashion, behavioural or social model. The ‘destroy’ image and aggressive behaviour of punk rockers encapsulated in the punk imagery send a simplistic message to the mass, one that replicates Roland Barthes’ process of filiation (1977:160) and conformity of music taste, clothes sense and behaviours that are associated with the musical genre. As Levi Strauss points out (2003:10) ‘such images may work as propaganda (the effectiveness of which is quantitatively measurable), but they will not work at other points on the spectrum of communication’. Levi Strauss also notes that this simplistic message reduces the viewers to accept or reject the message, thus reducing listeners to be either part of a genre or not.

Mainstream media images affect our social remembering because they form part of Guy Debord’s ‘projected reality’ (1967:36) produced by those who are paid by the ‘Authority’ to construct that reality. As a consequence our personal memory is affected. In contrast, fanzine photographs affect our personal memory directly thus helping individuals construct their own separate type of remembering because the fanzine photographs act as unfiltered documents. Indeed they are published without ‘process of filiation’, most of the time without the permission of the ‘Authority’, thus without its interference. Fanzine photographs are not intended for mass consumption. The primary function of a fanzine photograph may not be aesthetic but informative, social and political. By political, I do not mean that it tries to emulate photojournalism, rather it is the anti-expert techniques and the (perhaps utopian) attempt to break the ‘projected reality’ that are political. Indeed, a fanzine photographer can be seen as an amateur photographer with a political and social conscience. Fanzine photography, through the lens of unskilled photographers, acts as a document aiming to break away from the popularised imagery of musical genres fabricated by the professional photographers.

I have been involved in the production of a fanzine, called Uzine, from 1991 and have been single-handedly producing and publishing it online since 2005 on www.uzinemusic.net. I am a fanzine photographer and have been shooting and publishing photographs for my fanzine for over twenty years. I shoot the ordinariness that surrounds me at concerts without paying attention to the rules and technical aspects of photographic shooting. I am not a trained or skilled photographer and as such I am Baudelaire’s ‘would-be painter’ (1855) and Bourdieu’s Corsican peasant all the same and make no apologies for shooting concerts or family gathering with the same ‘technical clumsiness’ (Bourdieu
The case study below was featured in my exhibition entitled ‘Photo/Music/Text’, which ran at Southampton’s Bargate Monument Gallery in the UK from 1 April to 1 May 2011. It featured some of my fanzine photographs spanning twenty years of fanzine photography. The photographs can be viewed by following the following link: http://www.uzinemusic.net/reviews/photomusictext_2011.php

Case study: Kurt Cobain from Nirvana, Rennes (France), 16 February 1994 by Aline Giordano

‘Many professional photographers have tried to capture the genius, the madness or the despair of Cobain. They photographed him posing with a gun, in a wheelchair, with oversized fashionable sunglasses and, more humanely, just slouching on a sofa playing his Fender guitar. They also pictured him as a family man, with wife Courtney Love and baby girl Frances. I was fortunate to see Nirvana twice and be given permission to photograph the concert on both occasions, in 1991 during the French festival ‘Les Transmusicales de Rennes’, and at one of their last ever concerts, again in Rennes on 16 February 1994. I took many photographs of the band and Cobain in particular. To me they are archetypal examples of Bourdieu’s (1965) ordinary photographs - often clumsy, blurred, and without any artistic flair. They are like snapshots that I would be ashamed of sharing outside of the family circle. Imagine, if Kurt were your brother and you were looking at my photograph of him, you would laugh at him and comment on his dress-sense, his spots or wasted figure. And yet, you might say that this photograph shows the real Kurt Cobain. I have been hunted down by people who have looked at the one photograph of Cobain published on my website. They wanted to know if I have other photographs, or information about Cobain, and whether I know of other recordings (visual or audio) of this particular show. Sometimes they just wanted to share their experience with someone like me who saw him in the flesh. My photograph of Cobain has no aesthetic value whatsoever to the Nirvana fans, and actually nor to me. It represents a part of their personal memory about Nirvana that they are trying to complete, either individually or as part of a community, if they belong to the various popular ‘official’ Nirvana websites. My fanzine photographs help fans fill out their personal narrative of popular music by offering an alternative image of the artist. This photograph not only acts as a document but also has the potential to link people who share common interest, or a common fantasy’. 
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The Social Distinction in Listening to National Versus Foreign Musical Artists
- Roza Meuleman & Marcel Lubbers

The social distinction in listening to national versus foreign musical artists

Roza Meuleman (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)
Marcel Lubbers (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)

Background and Research Questions (1/2)

- Music as group-specific symbol to distinguish the own group and to express social position
- Previous research: differences between ‘high’ and ‘low brow’ tastes
- Distinction between music of national artists versus music of foreign artists has been overlooked
  - Globalization: increasing flows of goods from abroad providing alternatives for domestically produced goods and culture
- Stratification of this new dimension
  - Socialization: family background and people’s own socio-economic characteristics
Background and Research Questions (2/2)

1. To what extent are respondents from privileged families (who’s fathers are higher educated and from a higher social class) less likely to favor national artists?

2. To what extent are higher educated people and people from higher social classes less likely to favor national artists?

3. To what extent do these differences between social categories in favoring national artists remain when taking into account the genre and language of the favored artist?

Theory and hypotheses (1/3)

- **Primary socialization**
- Higher social strata prefer ‘high brow’/‘elite’ goods
- Confirming social position through cultural behavior
- Higher social groups transmit valuable cultural resources from one generation to the next
  - Knowledge of and receptivity to the arts, appropriate manners, cognitive sophistication and ‘good taste’
  - Acquired by primary socialization in the family
  - Musical taste of parents; also regarding national/foreign
Theory and hypotheses (1/3)

- H1: The higher father’s educational level (H1a) and social class (H1b), the less likely one is to favor national artists

Theory and hypotheses (2/3)

- Secondary socialization
- Education and social class
- Two mechanisms:
  - People confirm their own social position through cultural behavior
- High social strata prefer more complex goods
  - Information processing theory
  - Foreign cultural goods more complex
Theory and hypotheses (2/3)

- H2: The higher one’s educational level (H2a) and social class (H2b), the less likely one is to favor national artists.

Theory and hypotheses (3/3)

- **High brow and language**
  - Two mechanisms at the same time

- **Status**:
  - also marked by high brow consumption
  - Overlap between high/low brow and national/foreign goods
  - E.g. within high brow genres, both national and foreign musical artists
  - Controlling for high brow taste

- **Complexity**:
  - Controlling for the language of the artist
Theory and hypotheses (3/3)

- H3: Controlling for genre and language, education (H3a) and social class (H3b) have a negative effect on favoring national artists.
Data and Methods (1/2)

- SOCON  2007, The Netherlands
  - Follow-up of 3 surveys from 1990, 2000, 2005 (n=1299)

- Favor to listen to national musical artists
  - To the music from which three artists do you prefer to listen? (open answers)
  - Teen years and present

- Online databases to assign country of residence, genre and language
  - Dutch artists: online musical encyclopedia by the Musical Centre of the Netherlands
  - Foreign artists: mainly official website and last.fm

Data and Methods (1/2)

Country of residence of mentioned artists

- The Netherlands: 27%
- USA: 25%
- Great-Britain: 28%
- Other European countries: 15%
- Other: 4%
Data and Methods (2/2)

- Restructured dataset: nesting mentioned favorite artists within respondents
  - min 1, max 6 artists per respondent
  - people who did not mention any artist were excluded (15%)
  - 75% mention 5 or 6 artists

- Multilevel logistic regression, MLWIN

Results (1/3)

Multilevel logistic regression analysis on favoring national artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.454</td>
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<td>-0.676</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education father</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.055</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social class father (High=ref)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education resp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social class resp. (High=ref)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>High brow</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

SOCGEN 2007, N artists=1385; N resp=1000; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001
Note: controlled for sex, age, teen years; interactions not shown

Universiteit Utrecht
Results (2/3)

- Language
  - Is related to, and partly defined by, nationality
  - Hardly any foreign artists performing in the Dutch language

- Multilevel multinomial logistic regression analysis
  - Dependent variable: combination between origin and language
    - Foreign artists who perform in a foreign language (ref)
    - Dutch artists who perform in a foreign language
    - Dutch artists who perform in the Dutch language

Results (3/3)

Multilevel multinomial logistic regression analysis on the language and origin of musical artists in 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Foreign artist, foreign language = ref)</th>
<th>Dutch artist, foreign language</th>
<th>Dutch artist, Dutch language</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education resp.</td>
<td>-0.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0.628</td>
<td>** 0.524</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>* 0.370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCON 2007, N artists=5345, N resp=1090; * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001
Note: controlled for sex, age
Conclusions (1/1)

- Family background
  - The higher father's educational level and social class, less likely one is to favor national artists.
  - However, ruled out by respondent's own educational level and class, and their high brow taste.

- Respondent's characteristics
  - Higher educational level and social class, less likely one is to favor national artists.
  - Even when controlled for high brow taste and the language of the artist.
Music Enculturation and Gendering of Music Experience
- Danijela Bogdanovic

The context
The work presented draws on a number of themes and findings from my PhD research; an ethnographic study of the ways in which masculinities are ‘made’, shaped and performed through popular music (Bogdanovic, 2009). Informed by the interdisciplinarity inherent in popular music studies, as well as sociological understanding of music as practice and process of enculturation, the thesis examined a range of music settings such as “the band” (often defined as a closed unit, a homosocial space marked by hegemonic masculinity), live performance (where masculinities are performed and authenticated) and online settings that continue to provide novel representational and communication opportunities. It foregrounded and discussed the multiplicity of “everyday” musical masculinities, thus shifting the focus away from the most visible, popularised and the spectacular masculine types.

Terminology
Popular music spaces are often described and defined as “masculine”, or at least determined by some degree of “masculinism”. In this paper I wish to explore the importance of music activities of listening, collecting and socialising, for the production and maintenance of such spaces. In doing so I utilise the sociological concept of enculturation “the process by which an individual adapts to a new culture, eventually assimilating its practices, customs and values”. (Reber, 1985, p.240) Green (2002) expands the concept to encompass musical enculturation thus referring to “…the acquisition of musical skills and knowledge by immersion in the everyday music and musical practices of one’s social context.” (Green, 2002, p.22) Green’s musicologically informed approach is significant in mapping out informal processes of learning in music such as learning to play an instrument, composing and listening. In order to appreciate the ways in which gender identities are constructed and performed, the concept of enculturation calls for an incorporation of a wider range of social activities that individuals undertake. In addition to learning to play an instrument and early listening of music, the empirical data collected during my participant observation and 20 formal semi-structured interviews foregrounded socialising with one’s peers, networking within music spaces, event promotion, djing, recording and producing music, and attending live gigs as relevant activities to be examined if one is to understand the many nuances that the participants attach to music as well as the complexity of interactions occurring within music spaces.
The notion and practice of “forging masculinity” (Walser, 1993) denotes a process, and I suggest that its usefulness lies in its semantic potential, namely the duality implied by it. Undoubtedly, music practices do not simply present an opportunity for a performer to express their gender identity and/or sexuality, but to construct it through their chosen mode of expression (musically, performatively). Forging denotes shaping, forming, moulding, framing, constructing, creating (Kirkpatrick, 1996, p. 303) as well as fabrication, invention, falsification, imitation. Furthermore, it connotes the dynamic of pressing on, of pushing on such as in the expression "forging ahead". The two denotative levels (creation and falsification) are entwined; creation of gender identity is falsification of established ‘rules’ that regulate it, while falsification is informed by the existing creative processes.

It could be argued that popular music’s appeal lies in its accessibility and multi-contextuality, its permeability of otherwise often unconnected spheres of social lives, and lately its increased portability. Such features foreground its potential to bridge perceived gaps between production and consumption, work and leisure, the intellectual and the popular, the everyday and the spectacular.

Reflecting on DeNora’s (2000) approach in the study of music and everyday life, Frith (2003) recognises the importance of extending analysis of popular music beyond listening, to integrate the study of music making. He calls for ethnographic approaches which would map out and examine a “timetable of engagement” (Frith, 2003, p. 101), that is the reasons and the manner in which music constitutes both people’s lives and plays a part in their social networks. For Frith too, contextual and participatory aspects of music are essential, “…music making is less about managing one’s own emotional life than about enjoying being together in groups, real or imagined” (Frith, 2003, p. 100). As suggested by Hesmondhalgh (2002), when seeking to understand the role of music in everyday life we need to engage with a multiplicity of musical experiences; music as an activity situated and performed among other cultural practices, involving a number of roles, processes and relationships.

By engaging with music as practice, and music in context of everyday life, my work delineates the centrality of music in the lives of the participants regardless of their goals and musical ambitions. By giving a voice to a number of older musicians (those in their 30s and 40s) it exposes a range of meanings associated with the music making, but also the ways in which music has shaped and marked their identities, often existing alongside careers and family life, and sometimes retaining the most prominent position after many years of involvement.
In socialising with musicians as well as in more formally structured research I often came across the expression “doing a band”. It is used by musicians to describe their overall involvement in music, with the phrase not simply relating to making and performing of music, but including everything else associated with being in a band – managing relationships, resolving tensions, booking rehearsal spaces, transporting equipment, dealing with correspondence and so on. Although obvious, the fact that there was a phrase encompassing such wide range of practices was quite revealing. It reinforced my view that much can be learned about music and musicians by studying them within the context of their day to day lived experiences, instead as purely in its most spectacular manifestations (e.g. the most popular musicians or readings of music as ‘text’).

Listening, collecting and socializing
The following sections address, illustrate and discuss listening, collecting and socialising in music spaces as activities constitutive of musical experience as well as activities determinant in shaping of popular music gender identities. It is, however, important to note that the above activities are not exclusive and bounding, and that music experience incorporates a myriad of other practices.

Listening
Playing a record, that is putting a record on a record player, is an act commonly performed and appropriated by men. In a room full of people men are most likely to be in charge of their or someone else’s record collection, skilfully selecting records and with a perfect sense of balance and timing placing a needle on the [first] groove of the vinyl.

But what is the link between simply listening to music (getting into music) and a more formal processes associated with forming and joining a band? Are men and women acculturated to music in very different ways? And furthermore, assuming that they are, how early in their musical experience does the process of differentiation occur?

21 I read this section to my partner, thinking he may find it amusing. He interrupts: “You can’t say ‘the first groove’”. Me: “How do you mean?” (I am convinced I am right and pick up an LP that is laying next to his record player). “Look, there are many grooves here, and here is the first groove, ha!” Him: “No (firmly), there is only one groove, it is like a spiral. It is known as ‘the groove’”. I am defeated.
Through interviews and less formal interaction I discovered that only three out of 20 respondents had some degree of formal music education. The rest claimed to have developed an interest in music through listening, rather than through a tradition of formal learning or playing an instrument associated with the culture of learning to play an instrument present in their family units. Green's (2002) work on informal music education provided some pointers:

Listening of any kind is a crucial activity for all musicians. Purposive listening, in particular, is a part of both informal music learning and formal education. However, for those who become popular musicians as well as other types of vernacular musicians, all types of listening – including attentive listening, distractive listening and even hearing – also form a central part of the learning process. (Green, 2002, p. 24)

Informal learning involves a range of practices associated with listening, and it is through observation of those practices that much can be learned about forging of gender identities. The phrase “getting into music” does not denote just an act of listening, rather it incorporates a variety of social practices associated with it, such as purchasing of music, discovering and taking part in a “scene”, attending live gigs and so on.

When questioned about listening habits the majority of the respondents associated listening with the past, and spoke of it with a sense of nostalgia for early, “innocent days”, before they were involved with a band and had developed clear goals and ambitions associated with the band’s status. Most avoided direct references to their current taste, instead referring to the live gigs they have attended for the purpose of keeping up with what is happening within music scenes. The former can be seen as integral in enculturation, taste formation and forging of gender identity; the latter in taste maintenance as well as in expectations of knowledge and behaviour placed on those who aim to become professional musicians.

John is a filmmaker who writes his own music. For him, listening to music is associated with the family and the memory of places and events:

John: Listening to music has played a huge part in my growing up. Music has always being listened to by parents and older siblings. Because we moved so much, songs often have a special significance that relates to a time and a place.
Carl, a musician in his early 40s, who has been writing and performing music in a number of punk bands since his mid-teens, explained the development of his listening habits:

Carl: I listened to music since I was really young cause my mum and dad used to play a lot of records. I had a load of 78s... Elvis and stuff like that that I used to listen to. Then I started to listen to stuff like Sweet and T Rex. Then I got into punk as well. Not so much because it was punk, but because I liked the music. Most of my friends were into it at the same time, which was 1977 and I was still at school. We were all listening to the same type of stuff but it was...smaller groups rather than the main stream ones.

James was in his late 30s at the time of the interview, and has been involved in making and performing music since the age of 12:

James: I guess it is a sense of identity with my peers, but also linking my identity with a wider group of people. For instance the type of music I listened to was punk and new wave, and indie at a later stage. But punk and new wave in 78, 79 when I was at school. There were other people at school who liked punk. Also, it was on the TOTP. There were three types of music you could listen to at that time in the North; there was Northern Soul, later on there was mod, and punk... Mostly male friends were into punk. It is an aggressive type of music.

Kieran, an established drummer talks about his music teacher:

Kieran: ...there was this teacher who was a music graduate. And ...he always used to play Bach, Bach was his love...Bach was always getting on his piano, he would set us some work, and he would sit and practice Bach. Which was a bit annoying. We also had two snare drums in the corridor and I kept wanting to have a go...

The above examples illustrate the significance of the family, one’s peers and teachers in early music enculturation. In the majority of the musicians’ narratives, listening and the acquisition of taste led to the idea of forming a band. Once the participants are acculturated to a particular sound or a range of sounds, and their taste is established, the desire to replicate it begins to grow. Stuart explains on the surface seamless transition from listening to performing, and like the majority of other participants associates early listening with media influences shared with his peer group during his school days:

Stuart: It was not a musical family, it was a peer group thing. I became sort of aware of music at the very early age, infant school, junior school. There were a few of us who used to go mad about TOTP and certain bands. I suppose looking back you could say they were glam rock bands, it was sort of Slade, Sweet, T Rex, Suzi
Quatro, those sorts of acts. And at age of nine or ten we used to go to our friend’s house on Saturday afternoon and we were a “band”! No instruments, we had a drum kit, just mimed playing the guitar in the air.

After pursuing Stuart’s early ‘band’ story I quickly learned that girls who constituted his circle of friends have not been involved in it, because according to Stuart, it was not something girls were expected or wanted to do. Despite punk’s status as the genre that paved the way towards greater gender equality in both consuming and performing music, James too informed me that in the “early days” most of his female friends listened to “electronic type of music”. This indicates that both gendering of a music genre and gendering of music associated practices occurs quite early on in participants’ musical enculturation. It is important to note that Carl, James and Stuart had not received any formal music education, and hence were not directly exposed to gender associated choice of music instruments, usually done in a formal school setting, and still prevalent today.

“Exscription of women”, defined as a deliberate and active strategy employed by male counterparts (Walser, 1993, p. 110), does not seem to exist in listening as one of the practices that inform music enculturation. Listening takes place in both private and public domains which provides enough scope for a range of listening practices. Women are not excluded from listening to music, but what and how they listen may be determined by wider socio-cultural factors, such as the manner in which music is spoken about, the status of certain music genres with music genre hierarchy and existing associations of femininity with emotional responses and thus certain types of music. In a daily newspaper article Laura Barton (2008) examines the notion that there is men’s and women’s music based on stereotypes associated with masculinity and femininity. Leslie Douglas, the co-ordinator for the BBC’s popular music coverage, is reported as suggesting the following in her reference to 6 Music:

For a station that has music at its heart, it is only right to make it more open to female listeners. It’s partly how you talk about music. For women, there tends to be a more emotional reaction to music. Men tend to be more interested in the intellectual side: the tracks, where albums have been made, that sort of thing. (as cited in Barton, 2008, p. 24)

Douglas’s suggestion extends to adding more personality djs with the aim of enticing a greater number of female listeners. It represents a falling back onto the stereotypical associations of the female taste with the mainstream, and the male taste with the obscure, alternative and underground thus demonstrating the degree of institutionalisation of gender associated taste and practices.
While music enculturation points to the roles played by immediate and extended families in the introduction of music, if not shaping of musical taste, music identities seem to be significantly developed and reinforced through peer group interaction. Moreover, music genres with their associations with a particular gender, play a part in choices and practices male and female participants engage in. As listening takes place in both private and public spheres, it is interwoven in other music activities such as collecting music artefacts and knowledge, socialising within music spaces and exchanging musical knowledge. Self-presentation within music spaces thus extends beyond stories about “getting into music”, listening to music and physical behaviours such as dressing up or dancing at a gig, to presentation of musical knowledge:

Males police themselves, not only in terms of the looseness or control which mark bodily gesture, but in the way they ‘wear’ and release the knowledges they have cultivated. (Straw, 1997, p. 7)

The following section extends the argument about processes involved in music enculturation by examining the significance of the practice of collecting, both of artefacts and knowledge, for music enculturation generally and shaping of masculine identities more specifically.

**Collecting**

…the dark destroyers of all great music, reference points and irony. (Bill Drummond)

Collecting, as a social practice and a form of consumption, has been explored from psychological, sociological, anthropological and other (mostly market research) perspectives. Pearce (1995, 1998) found that while motivations for collecting and the type of artefacts collected may vary among individuals, collecting was not a gender or class specific pursuit. Similarly, based on interviews with 67 self-identified record collectors, Shuker (2004) found a combination of motives for collecting, which included “…a love of music; obsessive-compulsive behaviour; accumulation and completism; selectivity and discrimination; and self-education and scholarship”. (Shuker, 2004, p. 311)

Of all forms of collecting and of all music experience constitutive practices, the one that stands out most as “masculine malady” is that of record collecting. Motivations for collecting music artefacts can vary, from simple love of music to accumulation of cultural or
even economic capital (Shuker, 2004). *High Fidelity’s* engagement with the theme of record collecting through representation of a “dysfunctional” male character has inspired many responses both in terms of confirming and challenging a stereotype of a record collector. My interest and engagement with the issue resided not in the act of record collecting per se, but in examining how this complex and varied social practice fits within wider narratives of musicianship and gender. On one hand collecting can be seen as an act of “defining self through aesthetic choices” (Reynolds, 2004, p. 290) or a “surrogate for connecting, a fantasy of total possession through hyperconsumption” (Reynolds, 2004, p. 292). At the same time, collecting I refer to here is more akin to what Shuker (2004) terms as “self-education” of a collector, related to collecting information and building a body of knowledge about music and its contexts, rather than an exclusive accumulation of the artefacts. In my study, the age of the participants surfaced as a significant category in determining what types of artefacts and information were collected.

Albert: *I really loathe the music press. I still buy the NME every week, and it gets trashier and trashier as the weeks go on. This group of girls at Uni, they are from London and they call it the indie Heat. And that is all it is. It is a celeb mag... I get Mojo, I have got a subscription to Mojo. I used to get Q but then that was just too poppy. It is kind of where a lot of my music knowledge comes from. They do cover a lot. This month it is Iggy and The Stooges on the front cover, and I really like Iggy and The Stooges, well The Stooges. And they had an article a few months ago about the band called Talk Talk, from the 80s that I never heard of. So my friend Simon mentioned them and I knew about them and I could talk to him about them, you know. So Mojo I really like. For the articles more than the reviews. I do like reviews cause I can see what is coming out and I can get some idea of what is worth buying.*

Albert, unlike some of his peers, and some of his young fellow musicians, is disparaging about the *NME*. His ambition is to be seen as a more sophisticated and better informed reader and collector of music related knowledge, hence his preference for and subscription to *Mojo*. Since even “girls at Uni” have dismissed the *NME* as gossip populated, music celebrity magazine (*indie Heat*), it would be extremely “uncool” for Albert to be associated with it. The other issue in this instance was my status and role. Through our informal socialising Albert learned something about my own taste, attitudes and pursuits; research in music being at the forefront of my activities at this time. It is possible that this knowledge affected his response. Irrespective of its status, the music media that Albert

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22 *High Fidelity* is a 1995 novel by Nick Hornby, and a 2000 film directed by Stephen Frears. Rob Fleming, the protagonist, is a record store owner in his 30s, with an obsession for record collecting, and a series of failed relationships.
claimed to be reading provided an introduction to a musical canon which he then continued to explore:

Albert: The new Scott Walker got a lot of press. I have heard Jarvis Cocker talk about it. A lot of times things I get into are recommended by artist I like. Primal Scream got me into MC5. Jarvis Cocker got me into Nick Cave and Scott Walker who are two of my favourite artists now. They are the holly trinity to me: Cocker, Cave and Walker. I wanna check some Jacques Brel, cause Scott Walker did some of his songs. I have looked at some YouTube footage, but my French is not that great.

Scott is in his late 30s and has been involved with making and performing music for about 20 years. When I asked him if he read any music press or collected music related knowledge in some other way he responded:

Scott: Sometimes. If I am taking a train journey, or there is nothing in the house to read or there is a good article I would buy either Record Collector or Mojo. Not religiously or anything. I have had phases. But I have not read the NME for a long time. Now and again I would buy the Wire. I still get some fanzines, there are still a few. And I am on a mailing list. And I appreciate those a lot more than I do music press. Ullum...it is an important thing when you are younger. You really take it seriously when you are a teenager. I remember buying the NME and Sounds when I was 17, really wanting to be in there. As you get older you realise, oh yes...this is tomorrow’s chip wrap! It is not much better.

For Scott, there is a clear distinction between the mainstream press (the NME, Mojo, Record Collector, the Wire) and fanzines, as the remnants of the underground scenes that he sees himself and his band belonging to. Both his music ambitions (to appear in the NME or Sounds) and his attitude towards the role of music press, have developed and changed over the years. His reference to music papers as “tomorrow’s chip wrap” simultaneously represents an ideological position associated with his views on the role and status of art in general, and his realisation of the limitations and the glass ceiling that he has perhaps reached with his band. Both stand in a stark contrast with Albert's enthusiasm and attachment of value to the collection of music related knowledge.

On the whole, the respondents were more willing to talk about their knowledge of music spaces, music activities associated with performing and the music canon, than provide me with detailed accounts of their record and music artefacts collecting practices. I believe there are two main reasons for this, associated with ideologies of musicianship and authenticity. First, musicians strive to be seen as active producers of music, rather than the consumers of music artefacts and sound. Second, knowledge of the music spaces, their
characteristics and norms that govern them, the key actors inhabiting them and codes of behaviour appropriate to them, provides them with a degree of credibility unattainable by a non-musician.

Within the debates about popular music and gender, the masculinism of the popular music record collecting is seen as a material practice “around which the rituals of homosocial interaction take shape”. (Straw, 1997, p. 5) For musicians, such interaction most commonly takes place in music spaces and alongside other related activities which are addressed by the following section.

**Socialising**

Going out, coming out into the world of music involves a number of formal and informal practices. One of the established practices of “getting into music” is going to see other live acts. This serves several purposes. First, it is a way of keeping up with what is going on musically within a particular music “scene” and wider. All of the respondents in my sample reported going to see both less known local bands and bigger, more established national or international acts. Second, it represents an opportunity for face-to-face networking (as opposed to increasingly popular networking in virtual environments). Third, musicians go to see other musicians play live in order to learn. And last, there is an element of simple enjoyment, of loving music and taking pleasure in socialising with a group of friends within music settings.

Social enculturation in terms of negotiation of interaction and behaviour in live venues is undertaken by both men and women, but the female route is often described as more challenging. Bayton (1998) makes a connection between exclusion of women from public space in general (e.g. pubs, parks, sports facilities) and monopolisation of music spaces by men (e.g. music rooms, music shops, live venues).

Here a female musician describes how she “missed out” on seeing certain bands, due to her gender and the perception of her partner that for a woman certain music spaces were “too violent”:

Marianne: *The first gig I went to knowing that there was a gig on was when I was 16 and I have met Carl. But he used to go to bigger gigs like The Damned and The Stranglers at the Apollo in Manchester. And I wanted to go, but he was always very protective cause it was very violent in them times. But he did not seem to realise that I could stand up for myself. And he always said “Oh no you can not come because it is too violent for you. “ So I missed out on all that and...I do not know and it pisses me off sometimes cause I could have experienced it. But what he did say was “do you want to come to the local youth club?” and that was the first place*
where I saw a live band playing. And after that he must have realised that yes I could look after myself and then I started going to the Apollo, seeing the Damned.

While she seems to be won over by Carl’s “protectiveness”, she clearly feels that she had missed out on certain experiences because of his assumptions about her gender (that she could not look after herself) as well as about the nature of a gendered space (“it was very violent”). She had to prove herself in a local youth club (Westhoughton) before she could engage with and participate in music activities under the bright lights of Manchester. Marianne’s enculturation into a particular scene occurred later and took much longer than that of her partner. He combined going out with rehearsing with his first band and writing music. Marianne was more focused on activities that could be done from home such as running a music “distro”.

Socialising in music spaces extends beyond a shared experience of seeing a band. The band one goes to see is often just a backdrop to numerous other “masculine” activities such as drinking, exchange of information related to music scenes, events, gig opportunities, new venues and generally networking with other musicians and personnel involved with music. Increasing one’s visibility in music spaces is often seen as increasing one’s credibility.

Intricate and complex networks made up of musicians, their friends and fans, venue owners and leaseholders, people who run rehearsal spaces, djs, gig promoters, sound engineers, local radio and TV journalists, music photographers, and many others taking on formal and informal roles, have to be negotiated. Women are significantly outnumbered and fill a set of recognisable roles: friends, fans, bar maids with interest in music, photographers and journalists; while sound engineers, gig promoters, djs, venue and rehearsal space owners on the whole tend to be male. Such a split along gender lines provides young musicians with pre-existing structures that they must learn to negotiate and adapt to. What comes to constitute their wider music experience is forged through a series of gendered roles and behaviours.

I learnt that formally structured socialising by musicians is referred to as the “band’s night out”. I attended one such night out with a band I was observing. The idea, I was told, was to get away from the rehearsal space or the recording studio and just “hang out” as a group of friends. It was explained that there can be a lot of tension during the process of creating music and that the group felt it would be good to socialise with each other in a different context. During the evening there was some talk about music in general, but none directly related to the band’s musical output and goals. It appeared that the purpose of the evening was to re-iterate and strengthen friendship and bonds between band members.
rather than turn it into a discussion about which gig promoter to approach next and how much money they have to pay for the next session in the recording studio. Two out of the five band members mentioned female partners, and I learned that they were not invited to the band’s nights out. Somebody pointed out that the drummer had a small child and that for him nights like these represented a break from his domestic responsibilities. This is a common theme within homosocial spaces and the one that Sara Cohen encountered during her research of the music scene in Liverpool in the mid 1980s:

The five members of one particular band got on well with each other, frequently enjoying what they called ‘having a laff’, particularly on a Saturday night when they went clubbing. Their girlfriends stayed at home. I only met one of the women once…Months later I discovered that three of those ‘girlfriends’ were in fact wives and mothers. (Cohen, 1991, pp. 208 - 209)

Those accounts signify that while women may be a potential target audience for bands, women as girlfriends and partners who are not involved in music directly tend to be sidelined and marginalised within the public image of a band, even though they may play substantial supporting roles, such as being the main earner in the household, facilitating and guaranteeing their male partner’s involvement in music making. There are, however, exceptions to this ‘rule’, with visible presence of women in all spaces that are perceived as male dominated. Such presence, however, often has to be legitimised through some kind of involvement in music related activities (e.g. taking photographs of the gigs, distributing leaflets, running a merchandise stall), thus providing support to men who play in bands and facilitating male visibility.

Conclusion
The paper has outlined the significance of early musical enculturation and learning for the formation, performance and maintenance of both musical and gender identities. Forging of taste, musical knowledge and gender takes place within the context of day to day interaction where family, peer group and musical educators (in the case of formal learning) play significant roles.

Experience of music, as a constitutive element of social life, extends beyond music making, covering a range of extra music activities such as listening, collecting and socialising in music spaces. Those activities and associated practices are both gendered and gendering.
There appears to be a three way relationship between listening, collecting and socialising. For musicians, listening is an integral part of developing their musical vocabulary. It can precede or follow collecting, or take place simultaneously. Listening is a form of collecting as it expands musical knowledge. Collecting results in exchange of information or artefacts, and those who possess ‘collections’ demonstrate their enthusiasm and commitment to music. This in turn can lead to gaining a higher status within their social group.

There is a significant amount of pressure upon musicians to know about music as such knowledge represents a form of cultural capital (musical cultural capital). Both age and gender are significant determinants in what type of musical knowledge or artefacts are collected. In my sample, the older male participants and women had a greater tendency towards presenting musical narratives and nostalgic accounts of music related activities. In contrast, the younger male participants strived to demonstrate an encyclopaedic knowledge of music.

Finally, acquiring and demonstrating musical cultural capital is an important part of becoming accepted as a researcher and observer of music activities.
References:
The Streaming Music Revolution: An Empirical Study on Streaming Music Service Spotify
- M. Deniz Delikan

Introduction
The ice age of the music industry started right after the launch of Napster in December 1999. Napster was the first example of a worldwide, digital, consumer distribution channel with an extraordinary library size. Back in the early 00's, the vice president of the new media of EMI Jeremy Silver mentioned, "the threat to the music industry is not the MP3s, but the arrival of a consumer distribution channel that is not controlled by the music industry" (Lam & Tan, 2001). This statement was perfect support for the argument of Meisel and Sullivan (2002), who pointed out that the real value out of Napster's innovation was not that it was free, but that it provided access to a virtual library, which contained all songs you desire, as well as the flexibility in the listening experience accompanying that access. Flexibility and free access was so appealing for some of the music consumers, which in return led them to start to share their music files and thereby became distributors. This disintermediation process, which lately named as "napsterization", caused the music industry to lose control over its customers (Lindqvist, Bjørn-Andersen, Kaldalóns, Krokan, & Persson, 2008).

After Napster, music industry players adopted different business strategies to get back their control over consumers. Zero tolerance against piracy and launching their own digital distribution channels were the main actions of the industry. However, the recent growth of so-called streaming music services is forcing the world of music industry to change its business practices again. After struggling with illegal file sharing during the past ten years, it would not be wrong to say that once again we are on the edge of next digital music revolution. While there are many different companies offering the streaming music service, which based on different business models, some are shining in the crowd. In the IFPI digital music report 2010, Spotify, a Swedish music service company founded by Daniel Ek, is mentioned as the highest profile of among the advertising-supported streaming services (IFPI, 2010). Spotify managed to take the attention of music consumers and music industry players in a short time, and the service attracted more than seven million users across six different countries up to date (IFPI, 2010).

As "music consumption" is moving from tangible products to online services, the music industry is facing a rapid change (Johansson & Frejman, 2008). We have seen that media formats like Vinyl replaced by cassettes and cassettes replaced by CD, and we are
about to see that the digital media storage formats such as MP3s are being replaced by streaming audio.

The research of Pew Internet Project (2009) assumes that eventually there will not be any difference between downloading and streaming. The rationalization of streaming also makes the up coming “cloud computing” trend viable, and it is also stated in the same research report that a big part of the population has already started to switch to “cloud computing” (Pew Research Center, 2009). The cloud computing where the actual data is not stored in personal computers but accessed trough servers can be seen as a window to the future of the use of Internet and there is no doubt that it will totally change our media consumption habits. The streaming music services can be considered as niche services that are emerged with cloud computing. These services allow consumers to reach to their playlists from any computer without the need of transferring files, even without any files involved. Despite the traditional monetizing methods streaming music services charge their members with a flat rate membership fee or allow free access to the library in return for the exposed advertisement. Kuzma & Oestreicher (2009) predict that, in 2015 not only music but also other multimedia formats like live videos will be dematerialized by flat rate services.

“Streaming in place of downloading will only be viable, once networks provide acceptable sound quality and accessibility (Kusek & Leonhard, 2005).”

The authors of “The Future of Music: Manifesto for the Digital Music Revolution”, Kusek and Leonhard, were assuming that music would be ubiquitous and available in our homes like water and electricity (Kusek & Leonhard, 2005). As of today, IP-TV and streaming media solutions are already started to be a part of daily life at our homes. However, there was one thing that Kusek and Leonhard was missing which was mobility and flexibility. The improved mobile broadband solutions took their assumption to another level, where any music track is available in our pockets anywhere, anytime. Today music is ubiquitous as they forecast, and in addition, it is mobile.

Jones (2000) has explained the possible challenges for the future of music business by stating “recording sound matters less and less, and distributing it matters more and more, or, in other words, the ability to record and transport sound is power over sound” (Jones, 2000). As he assumed, today it is easier to distribute the sound and it is possible at almost no cost, but it is now more important to distribute it in a way consumers want since they are power over all. The Net Generation music consumers have grown up and they have completely different consumption habits than the consumers ten years ago. We do not
know much about how consumers use the new streaming music services, and how does these services effect their music consumption habits.

Therefore, the primary purpose of this study is to analyze the use of streaming music services, and the factors affecting the adoption of streaming music services, by studying Spotify. While this is the primary subject, the study also aims to present the motivational factors for music consumers to use the streaming music services.

**Digital Music Service Models & Spotify**

An online music service is a distribution channel that gives users access to a digital music library. Two types of online music services, downloading and streaming, use the same distribution channel but differs in how consumers acquire the tracks. The services that are based on downloading use ownership model, and consist of the transfer of digital media to the local drive of the user. Whereas services based on streaming can be considered as rental, and gives user temporary access to digital media content.

Wikström (2009) classifies the different business models for digital music distribution in four different categories, as (1) **single** - song download, (2) **membership** - limited download quota, (3) **membership** - all-you-can-eat and (4) **ad-based**. The first two of these models, “single-song download” and “membership-limited download quota”, are directly related to ownership model in which consumers pay and download tracks of their choice. On the other hand, although “All-you-can-eat” and “ad-based” are also a part of the ownership model, they are more flexible that can give consumers access to the all library content either free or with a flat-rate subscription. The combination of these last two models also serves as basis to streaming music services, which are subject to this study. Users of streaming music services mostly have two subscription options. They can either, choose free subscription and listen to advertisements between songs, or they choose to pay a flat-rate subscription fee in order to avoid advertisements and to benefit from extra offers. The only difference from the ownership is that music is not downloaded to the listener, but is streamed, and compared to “downloading” users can start to listen a streamed song almost immediately after the transmission has been initiated (Wikström, 2009).

Spotify, the streaming music service subject to this study, is an online music streaming service, which offers legal and free access to an extensive library. As of the day that data was collected, the service was available in seven countries, Finland, France, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and UK. The subscription methods that are offered by Spotify can be grouped into two. The first group, ad supported free accounts, consists of unlimited and 20 hour limited membership options. The second group that is contains...
subscription based paid premium accounts consists of premium membership -no advertisement, mobile phone application and offline mode option- and unlimited membership just without advertisement.

Spotify uses the basic concept of peer-to-peer sharing to operate. Software keeps the index of the content that users listen to, and once a user requests a track it makes connections to other users that have previously cached it. We can say users are still using the old Napster but without downloading the tunes, they have temporary access to music in everywhere they have Internet even without Internet if they hold a premium account. The biggest difference is that it is legal now. The goal of Spotify is “To help people to listen to whatever music they want, whenever they want, wherever they want” (Spotify Ltd.).

The Net Generation Music Consumers
The Net Generation music consumers were blamed as thieves, and assumed to be raised to believe that “property” should be “free”. However, Tapscott (2008) claims that they are not thieves but a new consumer generation that wants something which -so called- fits them. In addition, he also points out that they are no more the passive consumers, as they were before in the broadcasting model (Tapscott, 2008).

There is no doubt that piracy became a part of the practices of everyday life of a certain generation. Internet as a medium is essential for most of us therefore it is no surprising that a generation forms its’ practices with the opportunities of digital-free-economy. Premkumar (2003), Kusek & Leonard (2005) states that the average consumer, the net generation, prefers the Internet to any other medium.

One simple and direct answer that many of us can give to why internet is the primary choice and why online piracy exist, is most probably that the internet eases access to content and there is no control over it. Wikström (2009) proposes that music consumers do not have a problem with access to content. In fact, easy navigation and manipulation of the music in the cloud is more important for them. Based on this proposition, the author points out that the primary reason behind the success of Spotify is not that it has fair relations with right holders, nor its extensive catalogue, but the future and the structure of its service (Wikström, 2009).

Before naming a generation as thieves or pirates, we should first analyze whether if the music piracy was a deliberative behavior or was the most efficient and effective option among other alternatives to experience music. In order to find the right answer we should also see the option value within digital music. Shapiro and Varian (1999) describe the Internet as a fantastic new medium for distribution, and point out the importance of
repeated behavior what economists call as option value, in media product usage. Since consumers do not know if it is worth to consume until they experience it, Internet plays an important role in eliminating the asymmetric information, via free sampling of the information goods.

The first wave of digital music consumption defined by the consumption practices of music consumers themselves. Digital piracy as the music industry players called it was in fact processor of a digital revolution.

**Theoretical Bases for the Study**

The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) of Davis (1989), which models the adoption and the use of a technology, is the overarching theoretical framework of this study. The TAM of Davis (1989) is influenced and derived from the Fishbein and Ajzen's Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (1975). Therefore, it is important to understand the TRA in the first place.

**The Theory of Reasoned Action**

The theory of Reasoned Action of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) suggests that a person's behavior is based on his/her behavioral intention and two other factors, attitude towards behavior and subjective norm, determine behavioral intention of the person, and aims to explain the individual's behavior. TRA has three main components that determine behavior; these are attitude toward, subjective norm, and behavioral intention. Attitude toward use and behavioral intention are used in the proposed model.

*Attitude toward behavior (A)*: refers to the sum of one's beliefs about performing the target behavior, which can be evaluated positively or negatively. In TRA, attitude toward behavior determines the behavioral intention to perform a behavior. Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) states that a person is more intent to perform a behavior when he/she has a positive attitude toward a behavior, and he/she is less intent to perform when he/she has a negative attitude. To give an example, you might be favorably evaluating “using an online music service”, thus you are more likely to use the service than someone who thinks that using an online music service is unfavorable.

*Behavioral intention (BI)*: is jointly determined by attitude toward behavior, and subjective norm. BI refers to the likelihood of a person to perform a behavior. According to Fishbein & Ajzen, the weight of these factors on BI may be not be equal, and depends on the importance in relation to the behavior. Moreover, a component may have not a weight at all (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).
Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)
The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) of Davis (1989) is an adaptation of Fishbein’s TRA. The base TAM aims to explain and predict the user acceptance of information technologies. The main goal of the model is to predict and explain the determinants of computer acceptance, and to generate a model, which is capable of explaining user behavior when applied to different end-user information technologies and user populations (Davis, Bogozi, & Warshaw, 1989). As it is in TRA, TAM also agrees that actual use is determined by BI whilst BI is jointly determined by A and U. A and BI are the two components that are adopted from TRA, however subjective norm component is not included in TAM as a determinant of BI. Instead, the model uses “Perceived Usefulness” (U) and “Perceived Ease of Use” (EOU) components to posit the two specific beliefs that are incidental to the behavior of information technology acceptance (Davis, Bogozi, & Warshaw, 1989). In his study, Davis (1989) uses these two factors in order to answer, “What causes people to accept or reject information technology?”

Perceived usefulness (U): refers to the degree of a person’s belief that using a specific system would increase his/her performance (Davis F. D., 1989, p. 320).

Perceived ease of use (EOU): refers to degree of a person’s that using the same specific system would be free of effort (Davis F. D., 1989, p. 320.)

TAM is widely used, modified, and extended in numerous studies to cover the acceptance of different information technologies (Venkatesh & Davis, 1996; Venkatesh & Davis, 2000; Malhotra & Galletta, 1999; Hiramatsu, Yamasaki, & Nose, 2009).

TAM2 and Extensions of TAM
The base model, TAM, aims to explain user acceptance of information systems within organizations, and lacks of accounting in some important factors to understand the individual behavior. Therefore, the introduction of subjective norm component to TAM plays an important role in explaining the user acceptance of Internet applications by individuals.

The study of Malthorta and Galletta (1999) also argues that TAM is incomplete since it does not account social influences in adoption and utilization of information. The psychological component in their extension model is a determinant of attitude towards use and behavioral intention. Malthorta and Galletta (1999) use Kelman’s study of social influence (1958) as a theory base, and aims to develop an extension for understanding the role of social influences in TAM. Kelman’s (1958) explanation of social influence includes three different processes, compliance, identification and internalization.
Compliance: occurs if a person accepts influence because the person hopes to get a reward or avoid punishment. In this context, a person does not accept the influence because of the belief that it is favorable. If we consider the use of legal, online music services, one can be using a specific legal music service not because the service is the best option to fill the music listening need but because it makes it possible to avoid the legal punishment against illegal usage.

Identification: is defined by Kelman (1958, p. 53) as acceptation of an influence in order to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person to a group. In this case, regarding to the person, who uses a legal, online music service in the compliance example, the reason of the influence can be the popularity of the service in his or her social community.

Internalization: applies if the influence is matching a person’s value system. For example, a person, who uses a legal music service, may have a belief that supporting artists and listening to music legally is important. In this case, the user may have influenced not because of the quality of the service, or the benefits of it, but because the service carries the same values in terms of supporting the artists and doing it on a legal base.

The results of Malhotra and Galletta (2002) show that Kelman’s three processes of social influence are directly correlated with A, and they have indirect influence on BI. The results also show that social determinants derived from compliance have a negative influence on A; while the social determinants derived from identification and internalization have a positive influence. Furthermore, internalization of an induced behavior by users plays a stronger role in shaping acceptance and usage behavior than perceived behavior (Malhotra & Galletta, 1999).

Finally, Hiramatsu, Yamasaki and Nose (2009) extends existing TAM model in order to explain why Japanese students use online video service. Their study plays a fundamental role in explaining the acceptance and the use of current Internet based services by including ad-charge and flow components to the model. The TAM extension of Hiramatsu et al. (2009) also includes the social influence factor. However, their interpretation refers to the influences from TV & magazines, and does not include Kelman’s (1958) explanation of social influences that was used by Malhotra and Galletta (1999).

Ad-charge (D): factor in the study aims to cover the effect of advertisement and charge on service use. The relation between ad-charge and flow is supposed to be negative. Factor questions included in the questionnaire cover different factors such as, the effect of free acquisition of online video on the use frequency or restriction of service use by users because they worry about a charge (Hiramatsu, Yamasaki, & Nose, 2009).
Flow (F): experience factor is defined as the degree to which a user feels pleasant by watching online video content. In other words, the integral experience that users feel when they act with total involvement, while using an online system (Hiramatsu, Yamasaki, & Nose, 2009).

The findings of Hiramatsu et al.'s study (2009) show that ad-charge factor is correlated with F and A. It is certain that ad-charge has influence on use but the coefficients are small, and it does not show a strong influence. On the other hand, F and A factors are highly correlated and it shows flow has a strong influence on attitude toward use (Hiramatsu, Yamasaki, & Nose, 2009).

**Research Questions and Proposed Model**

This study proposes a hypothesis model derived from the TAM of Davis (1989) and its extensions that are previously explained in the theoretical perspective section. The proposed research model for extending TAM to account streaming music services is presented in Figure 1, aims to explain the motivations of the consumers’ and the adoption of the streaming music services, within a theoretical framework.

![Research model of acceptance of streaming music services](image)

Social influence, flow experience, ad-charge and account type components are attached to the base model to examine external and internal factors related to the actual usage of streaming music services. One of the main components of TAM, “perceived ease of use (EOU)”, is subtracted for the model since its main purpose is to indicate the effect of complex computer technologies on adoption.
The relations between the extension components of the hypothesis model are expected to be as follows.

SI influences U, A, and BI.
D influences A, F.
F influences A.
Account type influences SI, U, D, and F.

The proposed model includes eight components, which result in the following hypothesized relationships. The factors in Figure 1, together with the H₁ hypothesis are explained as follows.

*Influences of Perceived Usefulness, Attitude toward Use, and Behavioral Intention:* The H₁ hypotheses that directly derived from TAM examine the influences between perceived usefulness, and attitude toward use and behavioral intention. In addition, the influences between attitude toward use and behavioral intention are also examined.

H1a: *There will be a positive relationship between Perceived usefulness and attitude towards use.*

H1b: *There will be a positive relationship between Perceived usefulness and behavioral intention.*

H1c: *There will be a positive relationship between Attitude toward use and behavioral intention.*

*Influences of Social Influence:* Social influence (SI) component of the model is a factor concerning the influences from user’s value system and from their social environment. The social influence factor concerns the effect of social environment’ and user’ perception of music piracy, to the effect of anti-piracy regulations, and to trendiness of the streaming music service.

H2a: *There will be a positive relationship between Compliance and attitude toward use.*
H2b: There will be a positive relationship between Internalization and attitude toward use.

H2c: There will be a positive relationship between Identification and attitude toward use.

H3a: There will be a positive relationship between Compliance and behavioral intention.

H3b: There will be a positive relationship between Internalization and behavioral intention.

H3c: There will be a positive relationship between Identification and behavioral intention.

H4a: There will be a positive relationship between Compliance and perceived usefulness.

H4b: There will be a positive relationship between Internalization and perceived usefulness.

H4b: There will be a positive relationship between Identification and perceived usefulness.

Influences of Ad-Charge: Influences from ad-charge is represented as dotted lines as it is represented in Hiramatsu et al.’s study (2009), in addition it is expected to have the same negative influence on attitude toward use and flow. The primary aim of the ad-charge factor is to cover the effect of advertising on streaming music service usage, but it also indicates the influence of ad-charge on account type.

H5a: There will be a negative relationship between Advertisement & charge and attitude toward use.

H5b: There will be a negative relationship between Advertisement & and flow.

Influences of Flow: Flow factor indicates the attachment level to the streaming music service, and flow can be defined as the degree to which a user feels pleasant by using streaming music service.

H6a: There will be a positive relationship between flow and attitude toward use.
**Influences of Account Type:** Account type refers to the subscription method of users, which can be “free”, or “premium” for streaming music services subscription method can.

- **H7a:** Free and premium users differ in terms of their social influences on streaming music services.
- **H7b:** Free and premium users differ in terms of their perceived usefulness of streaming music services.
- **H7c:** Free and premium users differ in terms of flow.
- **H7d:** Free and premium users differ in terms of ad/charge.

**Methodology and Data Collection**

The quantitative survey method was chosen for the study. The designed questionnaire consists of close-ended, standardized questions that target a specific group, and designed as a self-administered questionnaire that is completed by the respondents. When designing the questionnaire, the measurement scales and the questions regard to base TAM were adopted from other questionnaires designed for the previous TAM studies. In addition, new questions were developed for the new attachments of the proposed model.

The questionnaire contains eighteen questions. The first question in the questionnaire aims to exclude responses besides the target group, and the following questions from three to sixteen includes include factor questions that try to capture different aspects based on the theoretical framework model. The last two questions cover the demographics. In order to be able to test each component of the proposed TAM for streaming music service, the part of the questionnaire related to these components divided into seven parts, which consist of factors concerning perceived usefulness, attitude toward use, behavioral intention, social influence, ad-charge, flow, and account type.

Between 10th of March 2010 and on 18th of April 2010 600 Spotify members were asked to fill in the questionnaire and 246 fully completed responses were achieved. The achieved response number resulted in an increase to in the margin of error to 6.25 percent, and decreased the confidence level to 88.3 percent.
Results

Mann-Whitney U Test Analysis on Account Preference

The account type variable in the dataset contains results of the service subscription preferences of respondents. According to the account type, the respondents are divided into two independent groups as free and premium users. Mann-Whitney U test used to examine the differences between two independent groups and the continuous variable.

The research hypothesis 7a, 7b, 7c, and 7d assert that the users differ in terms of social influence, perceived usefulness, flow, and ad/charge according to their account types. In order to test the hypotheses the account type variable was used as an independent grouping variable input to the test, and U, F, and D factors were defined dependent variables.

Table 1 shows the results of the Mann-Whitney U test for account type and SI. According to the analysis, the differences in the identification and internalization scores of free and premium account users are not statistically significant. Most of the (p) values for identification and internalization are bigger than .05. On the other hand, the (p) value for compliance is less than 0.5, and this represents that there is a significant difference. Therefore, the research hypothesis 7a is partly accepted.

Table 1 Mann-Whitney U test statistics of account type & social influence

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</tbody>
</table>

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for account type and PU are listed in Table 2. Concerning PU, almost all of the variables have a significance level below 0.5, so it is clear that there is no significant difference in the perceived usefulness scores of free and premium account users. Therefore, the research hypothesis 7b was rejected and H0 retained.

Table 2 Mann-Whitney U test statistics of Account type & perceived usefulness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PU1</th>
<th>PU2</th>
<th>PU3</th>
<th>PU4</th>
<th>PU5</th>
<th>PU6</th>
<th>PU7</th>
<th>PU8</th>
<th>PU9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Z</strong></td>
<td>5.155</td>
<td>1.886</td>
<td>1.072</td>
<td>2.220</td>
<td>-.150</td>
<td>.420</td>
<td>-.096</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.284</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.881</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>.923</td>
<td>.223</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research hypotheses 7c and 7d were asserting that free and premium users differ in terms of flow and ad/charge. Table 3 shows the results of Mann-Whitney U test for account type and F & D. According to the analysis, the two F variables had a significance level less than .05. Therefore, the result is significant. The research hypothesis 7c was accepted, and proved that there is a significant difference in the flow scores of free and premium account users. In addition, the most of the ad/charge variables also showed a significance difference at .05. This in result showed that there is a significant difference in the flow scores of free and premium account users, and the research hypothesis 7d was accepted.

Table 3 Mann-Whitney U test statistics of Account type & flow and ad/charge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>D1</th>
<th>D2</th>
<th>D3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>-2.360</td>
<td>-2.986</td>
<td>-.818</td>
<td>-6.654</td>
<td>-7.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.413</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regression Analysis of the Research Model

In the second section of the research model analyses, the individual components of the research model tested with linear regression analysis. The following equations that were estimated aims to tell how much of the variance in the actual use of streaming music services can be explained by the independent variables.

\[
\text{Equation1: } U = \beta_0 + \beta_{\text{SI.it}} + \beta_{\text{SI.id}} + e_1 \\
\text{Equation2: } A = \beta_0 + \beta U + \beta_{\text{SI.c}} + \beta_{\text{SI.id}} + \beta F + e_2 \\
\text{Equation3: } BI = \beta_0 + \beta A + \beta U + \beta_{\text{SI.id}} + e_3
\]

In order to be able to test these equations with the regression analysis in SPSS, sub-factors of the each factor were grouped into one variable by calculating the mean of all sub-factors.
Table 4 lists the correlation coefficients between calculated variables. As presented, all of the variables are correlated at 0.01 levels.
### Table 4: Correlation coefficients between the components of proposed TAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>BI</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SI.it</th>
<th>SI.id</th>
<th>SI.c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>.715**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>.548**</td>
<td>.516**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>.509**</td>
<td>.463**</td>
<td>.404**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>.241**</td>
<td>.169**</td>
<td>.179**</td>
<td>.283**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.it</td>
<td>.316**</td>
<td>.278**</td>
<td>.295**</td>
<td>.335**</td>
<td>.315**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.id</td>
<td>.388**</td>
<td>.380**</td>
<td>.368**</td>
<td>.405**</td>
<td>.337**</td>
<td>.406**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.c</td>
<td>.190**</td>
<td>.188**</td>
<td>.226**</td>
<td>.211**</td>
<td>.207**</td>
<td>.599**</td>
<td>.281**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Significant at 0.01 level

According to the findings of the regressions analyses, listed in Table 5, identification and compliance found out to be not the significant predictors of attitude toward use. All relations besides that are approved as significant predictors of the dependent variables. Furthermore, Beta-explains the individual contribution of each factor- and R²-expalins how much of the variance explained by independents variables- are also listed in the table.

### Table 5: Results of the linear regression models for TAM variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived usefulness</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Attitude toward use</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Behavioral Intention</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.744**</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.393**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.220**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.id</td>
<td>0.268**</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.160**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI.it</td>
<td>0.151**</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.072**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.643</td>
<td>0.437</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>0.730</td>
<td>0.593</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Significant at 0.05 level

With the information gathered from the regression analysis, the research hypothesis 2a and 2c, which were partially supported by correlation tests, were rejected. On the other hand, the hypothesis 3c that was also partially supported accepted and retained in the model.
Moreover, the hypothesis 4c also found out to be significant predictor and retained. The resulted equations from the findings are:

Equation1:  Perceived usefulness = 2.643 + (0.268*SI.it) + (0.151*SI.id)

Equation2:  Attitude toward use = 0.437 + (0.744*U) + (0.72*F)

Equation3:  Behavioral Intention = 0.593 + (0.393*A) + (0.220*U) + (0.160*SI.id)

**Table 6 Results of the research hypotheses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis 1a</th>
<th>Supported</th>
<th>Hypothesis 3a</th>
<th>Rejected</th>
<th>Hypothesis 5a</th>
<th>Rejected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1b</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>Hypothesis 3b</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Hypothesis 5b</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1c</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>Hypothesis 3c</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>Hypothesis 6a</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2a</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Hypothesis 4a</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>Hypothesis 7a</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2b</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Hypothesis 4b</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Hypothesis 7b</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2c</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Hypothesis 4c</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>Hypothesis 7c</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze the factors effecting the adoption of the streaming music services by modeling a new TAM extension for streaming music services. As seen in Table 6, most of the hypotheses of the social influence component were rejected. The rejected hypotheses were referring to compliance and the internalization factors of SI, and the analysis showed that only the identification and internalization factors were related to streaming music service acceptance. However, the compliance factor had an exception on hypotheses 7a and kept in the final model. The actual TAM for streaming music service acceptance is presented below in Figure 2.
The findings of the study suggest that identification, internalization and compliance factors of social influence, flow, and ad/charge play a role in determining the acceptance and usage of streaming music services. Moreover, it is also clear from the findings that the effect of ad/charge, compliance and flow differs according to the account type of user’s. Interpretations of the findings as follow:

**Social influences**
Concerning the social influence, the study did not show any statistically significant relation between compliance and perceived usefulness, attitude toward use, and behavioral intention. The finding means that the users’ attitude toward using the service and their behavioral intention is not linked to any punishment or to a reward. In this study, compliance was aiming to cover the effect of the legal punishment against music piracy.

On the other hand, the influences of identification on perceived usefulness and behavioral intention are clear from the analysis. The identification factor assumes that acceptance of an influence results from the instinct of establishing or maintaining a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person to a group. In this case, the findings suggest that external effect of the social community is an important factor on, how useful the users’ perceive the service, and why they intent to use it.

In relation to the internalization factor, the findings show that there is statistically significant relation between internalization and perceived usefulness. The finding means that their value system does not have an influence on their attitude toward use and behavioral intention, but their perception about the usefulness of the service is directly
related to their value system. One possible interpretation of this finding can be that users' intention toward actual use is influenced by the quality or the benefits of the service. In this case, users do not care about if their value system is matching with the service or not. However, in relation to perceived usefulness they do care about their value system.

In the question 5 of questionnaire, respondents were asked to rate two statements in order to examine their value system about music piracy in relation to internalization. These two statements were “music should be available for free”, and “downloading illegal music is stealing”. The frequency statistics of music should be available for free variable provided 57.3 percent of the respondents agree on this statement. In addition, the analysis of downloading illegal music is stealing variable provided 47.6 percent agree on this statement. Furthermore, in the question 6, the respondents were also asked whether they care if the music they listen to is provided legally or not, to have deeper information. The frequency statistics showed 54.5 percent do not care about the source of the music they listen. The findings of these factors show the users “grown up digital generation” do not have strong value system about music piracy. A big portion of the respondents thinks music should be available free and downloading music is stealing. However, the finding of the question 6 clearly shows that they do not care if the music they listen to is provided legally or not.

Flow
Concerning the flow factor, the research hypothesis was accepted as expected. The flow factor was indicating the users' attachment level to the streaming music service would have an influence on attitude toward use. As it is confirmed with the test of the research hypothesis, the findings of the study present that the respondent's attachment to Spotify has a positive relationship with their attitude toward using Spotify.

Ad/charge
The aim of this factor was stated previously, as to cover the effect of advertisement and charge on the streaming music service use. In order to find if a relationship exists or not two research hypotheses assigned to ad/charge were tested. H15a and H15b were asserting that advertisement and charge would negatively influence the attitude toward use and the flow. The findings show a statistically significant relationship between ad/charge and flow components, however the research hypothesis 5b was rejected since the direction of the relationship was positive. Surprisingly, the finding shows that the amount of advertisement and the charge for premium account came out to have a positive relationship with the attachment level. This can be a possible error of grouping the factors related to the advertisement and the charge for premium account in the same component. Those factor questions were answered by both account users, and in Spotify, the users are object to different levels of advertisement and charge according to their account type. During the
questionnaire design stage, this problem was not stated. However, if there is no error, the findings shows that charging the users for premium accounts or objecting them to advertisement to offer a free service positively influence their attachment to the streaming music service.

**Account type**

Lastly, the relation between account type and social influence, perceived usefulness, flow, and ad/charge examined in order to find out if the these influences differ for free and premium users. The findings showed that users perceived usefulness does not differ according to their subscription method, whereas social influence, ad/charge, and flow differ. It is not surprising that all members of the service share the same perceived usefulness of the service. In Spotify case, both free and premium users have the same basic features in terms of usefulness. The extra features of the service can differentiate between the two different account models. However, because of the limitations of the internet-based questionnaire service used in the data collection it was not possible to construct a questionnaire that addresses different questions to different user groups. Therefore, the perceived usefulness was measured with basic features and it is found out that it does not differ according to account type. On the other hand, findings showed that the compliance differs according to the account type. Possible interpretation of this finding can be that free account users use the service in order to avoid the legal punishment against music piracy, whereas the premium users who pay for the service to use it not to avoid punishment but to get extra benefits. The second relation that was found out with the findings is that the effect of advertisement and charge differs for premium and free account users. The findings present, while listening to an advertisement to listen to music or using the service only with a free account can be OK for the free account subscribers, it cannot be OK for premium account subscribers. The same goes for the relation between flow and account type. The finding of the study shows that the attachment level of free account users and premium users is different. This result can be explained by the extra benefits that the premium users have and by the influence of ad/charge on flow that was previously discussed.

**Conclusion**

This study takes a step to understand the streaming music service use. In conclusion, the actual TAM model provides a validated metric, which is applicable to other cloud based media services. The music & media service entrepreneurs or the future research can benefit from these findings to explain how consumers feel, and what do they think when using the streaming music services.
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PricewaterhouseCoopers.
The Influence of Social Media on the Artistic Experience of the Consumer within the Field of the Popular Music Venue

- Karlijn Profijt

With the rise of the Internet, our understanding of the term ‘media’ has dramatically changed. Whereas according to Castells traditional media – such as newspapers, television and radio – send information uni-directionally, social media applications bring consumers and businesses together multi-directionally. Social media allow users to create their own content; send and share discussions and post photos, videos and reviews. Because music venues currently incorporate new resources offered by digital platforms, as in participating in online discussions and responding to questions and comments, fruitful long term relationships can be established between a venue and its consumer, which was previously not possible. In my thesis, I address the question whether social media positively contribute to personal artistic experiences for consumers within the field of popular music.

First, I will start with an explanation of the term ‘social media’, followed by a short outline of the artistic experience. After that, I will talk about the case study on the pop music venue AB in Brussels. I will end my presentation with a conclusion and some recommendations for further studies.

Social media

Social media are, to begin with, social. They are being described as tools that enable people to communicate with each other on the web. This communication may manifest itself in generating content, sharing ideas and opinions, conducting interviews and in forms of cooperation. Examples of social media are blogs, chat rooms, discussion forums and more specific websites such as YouTube, Twitter, LinkedIn, Wikipedia, Facebook and MySpace. According to Erwin Blom, an organization can use social media to listen, by analyzing the behavior and needs of consumers, to tell, by showing your organization and to communicate, by starting a dialogue. Social media can achieve the same goals as standard marketing tools such as newspapers, television, radio and magazines. Yet, there are a number of specific advantages of using social media within a marketing strategy. Social media can encourage the idea of an organization as a "person", which can strengthen an organization in its unique character. It can differ the organization from its competitors and encourage word-of-mouth advertising, or rather ‘mouse-to-mouse advertising’.

Conversation

But most of all, social media is according to Erwin Blom and Lon Safko and David Brake "about conversation". The social element is the largest common factor of social media, as any website or application is based on participation and interaction. Where the use
of traditional media implicates a break or disruption of daily life, consumers provide in the case of social media in part or in whole their own media, photographs, videos, blogs and reactions. It seems that the process of publishing ideas, opinions and comments as it were, has become the product itself.

**Co-creation within social media**

For pop music venues, social media can be used in marketing strategies. Here the co-creation of the personal experience of the consumer plays an important role. Co-creation means, according to Prahalad and Ramaswamy, that both the organization and the consumer, through interaction, create a personal experience. Social media marketing may therefore enhance the unique image of the organization and let the consumer feel involved, creating a long term relationship. This long term relationship is beneficial for an organization if it ultimately leads to higher profits, a better image or a higher visitor rate.

![Co-creation diagram](image)

**Arts marketing**

What is important within the field of arts marketing is to optimize and support the core product, without touching or changing the product of art itself. Social media therefore relates, according to Miranda Boorsma to other features around this core product. She shows this within a model, which you see below.
There are ways for an organization to influence the personal experience, which is the subject of social media marketing. Social media can first of all be used as facilitating and supporting features, for example with providing basic background information about an artist, and of audio and video material. This can occur before and even during the concert, if the consumer has a mobile phone with internet. Social media can be the subject of ‘added features with other marketing variables’ when it enables online sales and promotional campaigns. Social media can also support the core product with contextual factors by showing reviews, opinions of friends and other consumers. Finally, social media can affect the personal experience, which is subject of the perceived consequences and procedures.

**The Artistic Experience**

In these ways, social media can have an effect on the personal experience of the consumer, before, during or after the concert. But can social media have an effect on the artistic experience? And what exactly is an artistic experience? Miranda Boorsma sees the artistic experience something where the consumer - through the use of the imagination - constructs new meanings. This in contrast to what Hans van Maanen calls decorative or comfortable
communication, where art is valued for its form without meaning anything, or where existing schemes or representations are being recognized and confirmed. The artistic experience is seen as a value specific to an art object that can lead to functions of art such as coping with change and watching the world in a different way. These functions are important for daily social communication. The term co-creation in this case is used by Miranda Boorsma to indicate the mental process used by consumers, encouraged by the personal experience and supported by the organization. This mental process can ultimately lead to an artistic experience.

Co-creation within the artistic experience

“The artistic experience is a rewarding value that consumers receive in return for their efforts to complete the work of art” - Miranda Boorsma

The artistic experience itself is one of the perceived consequences and procedures within the model of Miranda Boorsma. According to Boorsma, arts marketing can enhance the artistic experience by laying a foundation for the consumer. This foundation exists from having confidence in the organization, minimizing distraction from the mental process and the support of the subjective experience by the organization. Here, the similarity is seen between the co-creation as defined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy and co-creation as described by Boorsma. In both terms, the personal experience of consumers can be affected by contextual factors, added features with other marketing variables and facilitating or supporting variables, as seen as in the model of Boorsma. The difference is that the co-creation as defined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy relates to the general personal consumer experience before, during and after a rock concert. This with a major emphasis on the interaction between the organization and the consumer. Co-creation as described by
Boorsma specifically relates to the use of the imagination during the actual pop concert itself. To show how these two definitions of co-creation can relate, I will now tell something about the case study I used in my thesis.

**Case Study: AB in Brussel**

AB is a pop music venue in the centre of Brussel. AB has 320 production days and receives about 300,000 visitors a year. The music that is programmed in AB can be described as alternative. The genres vary from dance, rock, metal, jazz, spoking words, world, cabaret and all belong to a small niche meant for the active music lover. The largest amount of the visitors is between 25 and 40 years old.

**AB's use of social media**

AB uses social media in an innovative way. AB wants to be distinct from other music venues and other social networks by using its own community with added functions such as carpooling, ticket exchange and ABtv. In this way, AB tries to grow as a brand, to proliferate and arouse consumer confidence in order to build a lasting relationship with them. Information is disseminated as objectively as possible by including criticism and negative reviews of shows. Both positive and negative feedback - for example about the sound being too loud during a concert - is taken seriously, and is being discussed and passed on within the organization.

**AB and co-creation of the personal experience**

AB encourages consumers to be active on social media. They use a blog, Facebook, Twitter and MySpace to keep everyone updated about their concerts and about developments as well as within the music business as within AB itself. Through social media, the public is being involved as much as possible. That is why social media can become a part of the daily lives of consumers. With AB, various social media come together, although one gets more attention than others. The emphasis is on Facebook and its own community, where there are more opportunities to interact with consumers and to let consumers communicate information to friends and acquaintances. Consumers can create their own profile, with personal information and personal favorites and preferences. They can show which artists they like and to which concerts they are planning to go to. Consumers can also get in contact with likeminded people and arrange meetings. Tickets can be sold and rides to a concert can easily be arranged. Therefore, here the co-creation in terms of the personal experience as defined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy is high. Consumers have access to interviews, information and to videos which they can watch before or after the concert. ABtv provides unique live-material. Therefore, here the possibility of co-creation in terms
of the personal experience as defined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy is very high. With the help of the community, the personal experience begins earlier and is stretched through time.

But what is the effect on the artistic experience? This is shown with an example of AB’s community. First, the artistic experience can be encouraged by providing extensive background information with the use of social media in the form of text, audio and video. By mentally focusing on the actual aesthetic experience as much as possible, the chance of using the imagination and thus the probability of an artistic experience increases. Secondly, the interaction between the organization and the consumer through social media increases the reputation of the organization and thus the consumer confidence in the organization. Consumers receive a "place" within the organization, can associate with the organization and feel at ease. This trust ensures that the consumer is open to any artistic experience.

Thirdly, social media bring consumers with shared interests together and provide opportunity to share interests and experiences. Information and opinions regarding the organization are being transmitted and distributed by using social media. If the "word of mouth" has a positive nature, it can affect the image of the organization. It can also provide more confidence in the organization, so that the consumer is more focused on the artistic core product and thus the artistic experience. Finally, social media can make the artistic experience possible by promoting value-enhancing support services. An example of a social medium as a value-enhancing service is an application for the mobile phone, so that during the concert can be communicated with the organization or other consumers. Here, experiences can be shared and additional information can be provided to enhance the artistic experience. A disadvantage is that not everyone has access to the Internet on their mobile phone and that the use of this mobile phone consumers can also distract or hinder the deployment of the - subjective - imagination.

There is a great possibility that in the case of AB, social media can help shape the artistic experience. Although the promotion of the interaction between the organization and consumers through social media in the case of AB is not fully exploited, there are plenty of opportunities to promote the artistic experience of consumers prior, during and after the pop concert. Yet it must be said that only 13% of the consumers actually create content on the internet. That is why there are still plenty of opportunities for AB within the offered social media to increase the personal experience. AB could improve its interaction with consumers - and thus the co-creation of the personal experience of the consumer - by addressing the consumers in a personalized manner en anticipate more often in discussions on Facebook and within the community.
Conclusion
In conclusion, the use of social media co-creation in the field of personal experience as defined by Prahalad and Ramaswamy, can stimulate the co-creation in the artistic experience as described by Boorsma. Social media can enhance the personal experience by facilitating and promoting the interaction between the organization and the consumer. Within this personal experience, social media can enhance the imagination before the rock concert by providing basic information, and by stimulating the image and confidence in the organization which increases the chance of using the imagination by the consumer. The use of the imagination could then eventually lead to an artistic experience.

Within this thesis, only the possibility of the possible influence of the artistic experience of consumers using the existing theory is being discussed. A further investigation could be going deeper into the artistic experience and the question whether this is actually achieved during the pop concert through the use of social media. It would have to take a closer look at the use of the imagination during a rock concert and at the possible new concepts and meanings being constructed during an artistic experience. The possibility of using social media on the mobile phone as expanding this service could also be reviewed. This by examining what effect the use of mobile phones has on the imagination of consumers.
References
Music Analytics: Connecting Music and Audiences
- Michael Christianen

Abstract
In the past 15 years, there have been irreversible changes in the way music fans discover and consume music. Traditional mediated discovery has been accompanied by social discovery, music is no longer connected to a physical medium, online has become the primary distribution channel. This new infrastructure contains a building element which is invisible to users, but which is a very important factor that determines the customer experience: analytics. For institutions that operate within this new environment, customer behaviour can be observed in great detail. Using this data, those institutions can develop systems that provide functionalities that help customers to optimize the music discovery process as well as the music consumption process. Michael Christianen has pioneered the development of such smart personalization and recommender systems in the 90’s, and has implemented those systems at bol.com in the 00’s. This presentation highlights those concepts and the results of the R&D-work done in the past 15 years.
Rock-'n-Roll or Rock-'n-Fall? Gendered Framing of the Rock 'n Roll Lifestyles of Amy Winehouse and Peter Doherty in British Newspapers

- Pauwke Berkers & Merel Eeckelaer

Abstract

“A drunken, ‘raddled,’ woman remains a potent image of ugliness; a haggard Keith Richards retains a far more glamorous appeal than a haggard Janis Joplin or Grace Slick.” (Frith 1983: 242-3) However, surprisingly few studies systematically compare how journalists address female artists differently vis-à-vis male performers. Therefore, this article addresses to what extent British elite newspapers frame Amy Winehouse and Pete Doherty differently with regard to their rock-'n-roll lifestyle? To answer this question, we content analyzed all articles discussing these artists in The Guardian and The Independent published from January 2006 until January 2009.

Our findings show first of all that Pete Doherty’s excessive lifestyle is often framed in positive terms (rock-'n-roll), while the media discuss similar behavior of Amy Winehouse more negatively (rock-'n-fall). Secondly, most the newspapers articles about Pete Doherty stress his courage to maintain such a lifestyle (living on the edge frame). Moreover, journalists often defend his irresponsible behavior arguing that he is a free, independent spirit (individual frame). Such adoration is absent when Amy Winehouse’s escapades are reported on. On the contrary, most articles express a – more or less sincere – concern regarding her poor health (concern frame).
"Word Just in - the World Loves Dutch Trance": The Representation of Dutch Dance and Rock Music Export Successes in British and German Music Magazines
- Nienke van Olphen

Abstract
In the field of popular music the Netherlands is located in the periphery. The two most exported genres dance and rock make exceptions. Export successes are mostly located on the continental European and the English speaking market. The export of dance is more widespread. Popular music’s export is argued to contribute to the representation of the Netherlands abroad.

To what extent and how are Dutch represented as Dutch and linked to the Netherlands in British and German music magazines?

In order to answer this question this study examined fourteen dance (e.g. Tiësto) and thirteen rock acts (e.g. Within Temptation) that gained international success in 2006, 2007 and 2008. The media representation of these acts was studied by content analyzing British magazine DJ Mag (dance) and German magazine Rock Hard (rock). Results indicated that the Dutch were known for their trance and female-fronted metal music. Their reputation in dance music was impressive. DJs were considered superstars. Articles on Dutch dance acts contained more extensive and positive references to the Netherlands. Within the articles the Netherlands were almost promoted, providing Amsterdam-, festival- and DJ-tips, whereas in the articles on Dutch rock acts more dissatisfaction with the Netherlands was found.
- Lieselotte Goessens, Katia Segers, Kristin Van den Buys, Francis Maes

This paper is part of an interdisciplinary research project, which is supported by the centre for studies on media and culture at the department of communication sciences of the Vrije Universiteit Brussels and by the Brussels Royal Conservatory. It is a historical research on the cultural policy of the Flemish radio-associations that broadcasted in the 1930s in Belgium, their discourse on Flemish musical culture and their contribution to the construction of a Flemish musical identity through this discourse and above all through their music programming. The research will consist on the one hand of a content analysis of the few preserved audio-fragments of broadcasts and of the radio-magazines of the radio-associations, which were considered as side-notes to the music programming, and on the other hand an analysis of the actual music programming of the broadcasters, put in a database during the project.

It is not the aim of this paper to present the results of this research, since the empirical part is still in a preliminary stage, but the paper will lay out the basic assumption and theoretical framework underlying this research. The central issue at stake here will be to show how music on the radio can be considered to contribute to the cultural emancipation of a region, by offering a cultural national identity that incorporates ideals of emancipation.

Because an understanding of the Flemish case of radio requires some background information on the history of Flemish cultural emancipation and the nature of early Flemish radio, this paper starts with a rough sketch of Flemish emancipatory and radio history. To follow, a theoretical elaboration on some important theories on cultural nationalism shows how cultural nationalism takes on a momentum of its own, drawing on an own dynamic, and requiring own methods of analysis, different from political nationalism. Radio will be introduced as a cultural institute of possible importance for cultural nationalism, attributing it the power to offer a distinctive national identity to its listeners, enhancing the cultural emancipation of the region it represents. This issue brings the paper to an introduction into the study of cultural, and, more specific, national identity, leading eventually to the theory that music can be an active element in enhancing group identities and thus also national identities, which is the basic assumption of a study of the (discourse on the) construction of a Flemish cultural identity through music programming on the radio. The case of Flanders will be developed throughout these chapters.
Contextualization: The Flemish case

Flemish cultural emancipation

Since the independence of Belgium in 1830 a strong Frenchification of the country was noticeable. Belgian administration was French and the bourgeoisie spoke French, but the vernacular of the population of Flanders consisted of Flemish dialects. Since French was considered a language with prestige, a language of culture, men of letters and vocal composers in Flanders had great difficulties gaining support for works in their own Flemish language. The Flemish movement, which had started off as a request by Flemish men of letters for the re-appreciation and acceptance of Flemish language in literature, gradually became a cultural crusade of artists – among which also composers – for the regeneration and (re-)vitalization of Flemish culture, as a reaction against the domination of French culture in Belgium. This enforcement of a Flemish culture served a growing sense of identity and community among Flemings. According to Witte (Witte, Craeybeckx & Meynen, 2005: 61-4) this first generation of ‘Flamingants’ only had cultural, linguistic demands and only later generations would include social and political demands, resulting in the formation of a Flemish-nationalist political party demanding the acknowledgement of Dutch/Flemish as an official language in Belgium and demanding political self-determination.

We prefer to refer to the cultural national movement amongst artists and intellectuals in Flanders as ‘cultural Flamingantism’, to avoid confusion with a political Flemish nationalism. Although there have always been connections between those two, we follow Hroch in making a distinction between a ‘national movement’ and ‘nationalism’. Hroch defines a national movement as the organized endeavours of selected groups within a non-dominant ethnic community ‘to persuade their compatriots of the importance of consciously belonging to the nation’ and ‘to achieve all the attributes of a fully-fledged nation (which were not always and everywhere successful)’, while nationalism strictu sensu is defined by Hroch as ‘the outlook which gives an ‘absolute priority to the values of the nation over all other values and interests’’ (Hroch in Balakrishnan, 1996: 80) Not all the patriots in national movements have been nationalists and nationalism seems only one of the forms of national consciousness, which is the why the difference is of great importance here. We will come back to this topic later on.

The establishment of Flemish radio

Now where is radio’s place in this story? Radio broadcasting in Belgium originated in the late 1920s when a political Flemish-nationalism was gaining ground (on the history of Belgian politics see Witte, Craeybeckx & Meynen, 2005). After six years of exclusively francophone national radio (Radio Belgique), and after several efforts to start a Dutch-speaking public radio station, in 1929 a Flemish, Catholic radio-association named KVRO
(Katholieke Vlaamsche Radio Omroep) was finally providing Dutch-speaking broadcasts. This was soon followed by the foundation of the National Institute for Radio-broadcasting (NIR, Nationaal Instituut voor Radio-omroep), which provided both a French- and a Dutch-speaking channel. The Flemish radio that existed since 1929 offered important opportunities for the Flemish emancipation, not only because it was a psychological strength to have a mass medium in the Flemish language, but especially because radio offered the first large-scale opportunities for the regeneration and reassessment of Flemish culture. Radio contributed to the construction of a Flemish cultural identity and helped Flanders to free itself from a position of cultural inferiority in Belgium (on the position of the KVRO in this development see De Cang, Goessens, Segers & Van den Buys, 2010).

Cultural nationalism
The interest in the origins, consequences and evolution of nationalism resulted in a vast body of literature, in which names as B. Anderson, A.D. Smith, E. Gellner, M. Hroch or E. Hobsbawm cannot be left unnamed. Discussions, however, do seem to be divided by a primordialist-constructivist dichotomy. While primordialist theories on nationalism appeal to instinctive and emotional constraints and ethnic differences to explain nationalism, constructivist or instrumentalist theories claim that nationalism is a social construct, in which ethnic group boundaries are externally controlled according to their strategic utility (for a useful overview, see Conversi, 2007: 15-26) One of the recurring presumptions of theories on nations and nationalism is that national movements in Europe were triggered by modernization processes. The study of Gellner was especially illuminating on this point, describing national movements as a result of the structural requirements of the industrial revolution, like the mobility and interchangeability of members of a society, the need for standardization of language and communication, the development of an educational system, etc. Benedict Anderson (2006) stressed the importance of print capitalism in the enhancement of what he calls ‘imagined community’, which can be considered the basis of national sentiment.

According to a majority of the studies the basic principle of nationalism – most theories do not make a distinction between a national movement or nationalism – is a coinciding of political and national units, of the nation and the state (see e.g. Hobsbawm, 1990: 9). Although existent studies do acknowledge culture and the arts as important elements for national movements, the focus of most studies lies on political goals and implications, and underlying social evolutions, resulting from e.g. modernization processes, while national/nationalist art and art-institutions are rather treated as a side-effect or precursor to the political and social emancipation process, or, as Joep Leerssen describes
the role of culture in Gellner’s theory: ‘the rhetorical ammunition of nationalist activists’ (Leerssen, 2006: 560-1). Cultural national movements in these studies figure, so to speak, as an instrument to prepare people’s minds for political changes (see also Leerssen on this point, Leerssen, 2006: 560-2), or, like Hroch (in Balakrishnan, 1996: 81) argued, a Phase A of the national movement. Some authors do not, like Hroch, make the difference between national movements and ‘nationalism’, but some do make a clear distinction between ‘cultural nationalism’ and ‘political-nationalism’. Of the few authors writing on cultural nationalism in its own right, with an eye not fixed solely on the political conclusion, but on the continual dynamic of cultural national movements, John Hutchinson (1987) and Joep Leerssen (2006) are especially illuminating for this particular study – they both use the term ‘cultural nationalism’.

Hutchinson noted in his 1987 book on The dynamics of cultural nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State that up till then the extensive literature on nation-building touching on cultural nationalism revealed four common assumptions about cultural nationalism, with which he did not agree (Hutchinson, 1987: 8-9):

(1) It can be conflated with political nationalism.
(2) It is primarily a linguistic movement.
(3) It is a ‘regressive’ response to modernization.
(4) It is a transient phenomenon, destined to disappear with full modernization.

He instead tried to show that (1) cultural nationalism is a movement quite independent of political nationalism with its own distinctive aims and a distinctive politics – on this point he was later supported by Joep Leerssen (see infra). Hutchinson described the cultural nationalist as one who aims to preserve the cultural individuality of the nation (which is often threatened by another), while the political nationalist aims at political autonomy and believes in the people’s self-determination as citizens of an independent state (Hutchinson, 1987: 1-2). (2) Historical memory rather than language defines the national community for a cultural nationalist (p. 9). This is why, according to Hutchinson, struggles for nationhood in modern post-eighteenth century societies have always been preceded by historicocultural revivals. These revivals were a response to the erosion of traditional identities and status orders by the modernization process (p. 2-4). (3) The cultural nationalist’s interest in the historical past of the nation does however not indicate a ‘regress’ into an arcadia, it serves not to restore some antique order, but rather ‘to inspire his community to ever higher stages of development’ (p. 9-10) (4) Hutchinson added to this that it is probably this positive vision that makes cultural nationalism a recurring force, ‘regularly crystallizing at
times of crisis generated by the modernization process with the goal of providing ‘authentic’ national models of progress.’ (p. 9)

Hutchinson admitted that phases of cultural nationalism are often followed by phases of political nationalism, but he refutes the theory that cultural nationalism serves as a kind of preparation phase in function of the political developments, because, he states, not only doesn’t cultural nationalism in itself aspire political goals, it is also a recurring phase, a way to cope psychologically with modernization processes. Cultural nationalism does not originate as an ‘instrument’ in a political process, but serves the moral regeneration of the nation as a community, which seeks to ‘re-unite the different aspects of the nation – traditional and modern, agriculture and industry, science and religion – by returning to the creative life-principle of the nation.’ (Hutchinson, 1987: 14) This is why its protagonists are no politicians or legislators, but historical scholars and artists who form cultural and academic societies, ‘designed to recover this creative force in all its dimensions with verisimilitude and project it to the members of the nation.’ (p. 14) Hutchinson described these agents as ‘moral innovators, constructing new matrices of collective identity’ (p. 9) establishing ideological movements at times of social crisis in order to ‘transform the belief-systems of communities, and provide models of socio-political development that guide their modernizing strategies’. (p. 30-1) History, the arts,… become symbols which serve to identify the nation, to differentiate it from others and integrate national identity in everyday life (p. 16). Nationalist symbols, however, do change over time, Hutchinson stresses. The effectiveness of revivalism rests on its ability to appropriate them (p. 20).

Joep Leerssen (2006) agrees with Hutchinson that cultural nationalism in 19th century Europe followed a separate dynamic and chronology from political nationalism, but blames studies dealing with nationalist culture a.o. that they often deal with cultural activities as ‘manifestations of the nation’ rather than as ‘preoccupations of nationalism’ (Leerssen, 2006:561).

Leerssen praises Hroch’s ‘three phase’-model because it singles out nationalism among other ideologies in ‘that it formulates a political agenda on the basis of a cultural idea’, which means that nationalism is in some way always cultural nationalism. (Leerssen, 2006: 562) He does however agree with Hutchinson that it would be wrong to see cultural nationalism as a passing phase in nationalist processes, as something that ‘has played out its role’ once social and political activism gets going. It would be wrong to see it as ‘the match that lit the fuse, and in the greater conflagration ceases to be of particular importance’ (p. 563). Hroch’s naming of the phases as A, B and C would imply a neat succession of these phases, which is – as Hutchinson already pointed out – contradicted by the fact that ‘the cultural agenda of nationalism does not cease when subsequent, more activist phases swing
into action, but continues to feed and inform these’ (Leerssen, 2006: 563). The undiminished concern for the cultivation of the national culture makes a study of cultural nationalism as a phase preceding more political nationalist phases unsustainable.

Although Leerssen acknowledges the important contribution of Hutchinson to the field of nationalism studies, he criticizes that although Hutchinson’s study aims at defending cultural nationalism as a process independent from political nationalism, with its own logic and dynamic, it still deals with cultural nationalism as a national phenomenon, punctuated by important social and political events, not taking into account the international character of the intellectual cultural nationalist ideas and trends. Leerssen thus goes further than Hutchinson by arguing that it would be wrong to study cultural nationalism on a national level. He argues that cultural nationalist processes beheld cross-border exchange and transfer of ideas and intellectual activities and should thus be studied on a supranational comparative basis from a cultural historical perspective, which takes into account the general intellectual, cultural climate in Europe, European transnational cultural developments, the existence of intellectual networks, etc (Leerssen, 2006: 560).

‘Whereas nationalism as a social and political movement takes place in a geographical space, cultural processes take shape in a mental ambience which is not tethered to any specific location.’ (Leerssen, 2006: 565)

Leerssen argues that ‘cultural nationalism needs another explanatory context beyond the socio-political infrastructure of its home country.’ (Leerssen, 2006: 566) The analogy Leerssen has in mind is Romanticism: ‘another European pandemic, almost contemporary with cultural nationalism (and with many points of overlap).’ (p. 566) Just like Romanticism is not studied country by country, but as a poetical programme spreading across networks as a kind of epidemic, ‘triggered by the cultural communication and dissemination of ideas’, Leerssen argues that a similar approach should be used to study cultural nationalism (p. 566).

Leerssen’s main critique of other nationalism studies involving the field of culture is that they never specify the field and often use some particular examples to illustrate the whole field. Leerssen presents a model, a heuristic device that can help researchers to sort out and situate various aspects and practices of cultural nationalism – or cultural national movement, as I prefer to call it, following the definitions of Hroch (1996, see supra). By structuring this field of cultural activities, Leerssen hopes to enable more detailed comparative studies (Leerssen, 2006: 572). He admits that his model is artificial and rather arbitrary, but it enables a workable systematization, a ‘set of coördinates’ in which to locate certain pursuits or practices.
In this model, first of all the cultural activities of cultural nationalism are divided into four fields (Leerssen, 2006: 569):

- The first field is the field of language. Many cultural-nationalist activities are concerned with language, which is often seen as ‘the essential soul of a nation’s identity and position in the world’ (Leerssen, 2006: 569). Activities range from language revivalism to language planning or purism.

- The second field is close to the first one: ‘the discursive realm of literature and learning’. The field includes not only novels, theatre and verse, but also antiquarianism, cultural criticism and history-writings.

- A third category is that of material culture, ranging from artefacts such as paintings or monuments, flags and heraldry, to architecture.

- A fourth and last realm consists of the performance of immaterial culture, involving cultural practices such as dance, sports, manners and customs, and, of course, music.

These fields are not strictly separated and cultural nationalist activities in these field know many overlaps, but the systematization is sustainable. Leerssen not only divides the field of cultural activities, he also defines three types of ‘cultivation’ of culture that can be found in cultural nationalist movements (Leerssen, 2006: 570-1).

- The first type of cultivation of culture is called ‘salvaging’ and involves inventorisation (of the four fields mentioned above). It is often part of ‘a romantic mindset to celebrate specimens of ancient tradition as [...] final remaining samples of a vanishing [...] inheritance’. One of the examples is the inventorisation of folk music as part of a world ‘swept away by modernization’. There is thus a strong link between the emergence of folklore and of nationalism.

- A second type of cultivation involves fresh productivity, by which Leerssen refers to new initiatives inspired by the inventories of ancient traditions. Inventorisation is not sufficient and we see the emergence of standardizations, criticism, the formulation of a canon, the establishments of museums, active restorations, the writing of patriotic stories, the revival of traditional dress, sports, the rise of national music schools,…

- A third kind of cultivation is the propagandist proclamation. It is an attempt to actively ‘suffuse the public sphere with a sense of collective national identity’. National symbols such as the national vernacular, literature and history are spread by the educational system, public space is ‘dedicated’, festivals and other public
manifestations celebrate the national heritage and involve ‘linguistic, literary, historical or folkloristic agendas’.

Leerssen adds two important categories in which this cultivation of culture functions, which is on the one hand the ‘social ambience’, or public organization of cultural pursuits. It is a bottom-up process, mostly initiated by the professional and middle classes, involving e.g. the establishment of associations, clubs, societies,... but also of newspapers, periodicals,... The other category works top-down and consists of the ‘institutional infrastructure’ created, funded and overseen by the modern state.

Hutchinson’s and Leerssen’s theories of ‘cultural nationalism’ at work in Flemish radio history

Although the foundation of Belgian radio involved a lot of political investment (on this topic see Putseys, 1986; Burgelman, 1991) and the high management of the National Institute for Radio-broadcasting, founded in 1930, was always elected on the basis of its member’s political colour, radio can be considered for a large part as a cultural institute.

Public radio-broadcasting in Belgium was in origin, however, not a top-down established institution, but began as a conglomerate of small initiatives of associations of radio-amateurs and culturally-engaged personae. The most influential associations were those that were embedded in the cultural network of the Belgian politico-ideological ‘pillars’, like e.g. the Catholic pillar or the socialist pillar. This implicated that radio was introduced in the propagandistic politics of these pillars: radio fitted their intentions of providing cultural and educational activities, aiming at the dissemination of the principles of their worldviews.

While Flamingantism in Belgian politics made a rather late entrance and ranged from minimal demands for adequate language laws to the demand for political independence of Flanders (by the Flemish-nationalist pillar), a cultural national movement seemed very active in Flanders even since the independence of the Belgian state (on the history of Belgian and Flemish identity, see Deprez & Vos, 1999). It is this cultural national consciousness that was translated in the cultural policies of the early Flemish radio-associations. The cultural policy of early Flemish radio-broadcasters, like for instance the Catholic Flemish Radio-broadcaster (KVRO) (for more details on the politics of the KVRO see De Cang, Goessens, Segers & Van den Buys, 2010), seems to fit the profile of cultural revivalists described by Hutchinson. Radio in Flanders, as an important instrument of the cultural elite of its time, served as a forum where Flanders’s history, arts, symbols could be displayed, helping the Flemish community to build a collective identity appropriated to the
demands of its time. In other words, the cultivation of culture that can be noticed with these radio-associations can be situated in Leerssen’s third category of activities, the ‘propagandist proclamation’. This kind of cultural Flamingantism did not necessarily make these broadcasters into Flemish nationalists (in the definition of Hroch, 1996), although some of them probably were (e.g. members of the Flemish-nationalist radio-association), but as radio makers they were cultural nationalists or revivalists (in the definition of Hutchinson) serving the moral regeneration of the community by giving this community a cultural identity.

Although radio and radio-magazines in the 1930s elaborated often on all four of the cultural fields Leerssen distinguished, this study will only treat part of the fourth field of immaterial culture and performance: music. Following Leerssen’s advice, the field of musical nationalism will have to be taken into account to determine the impact of the nation-discourse of the radio-associations on their music programming and to have a better understanding of the significance of this music programming and its relation to cultural emancipatory or revivalist ideas.

(National) cultural identity
To be able to evaluate the process whereby a Flemish cultural identity was constructed through a discourse on music and through music programming policies, it is important to stress some basic assumptions. First of all to do this we assume that an identity is something which can be constructed and thus susceptible for external influences. Second of all we assume that music can be an important external influence, able to co-construct identities. For the first assumption we follow the theories of Stuart Hall, who can be considered one of the key authors when it comes to the conceptualization of identity or identification. Writing in a period when a variety of disciplinary areas took a critical stance towards the essentialist notion of identity as an integral, originary and unified identity, Hall elaborates on the discursive nature of identification. He agrees with Foucault that ‘what we require here is “not a theory of the knowing subject, but rather a theory of discursive practice”’ (Hall, 1996: 2) This deconstruction and decentering of identity holds an interpretation of identification as a construction, as a process that is never completed (Hall, 1996: 2-3) The process of identification consists of articulation, suturing and overdetermination, which implies that there is never a proper fit, a totality that can be defined (p. 3) Simon Frith, whose ideas on music and its importance for social identities will be elaborated on further in this paper, seems to agree with Hall that identity is mobile: it is a becoming not a being. ‘Identity, that is to say, comes from the outside not the inside; it is something we put or try on, not something we reveal or discover’ (Frith, 1996: 122)
Since identities are never unified and in modern times increasingly fragmented and fractured, ‘multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions’, Hall historicizes identity: he situates the debates about identity within historically specific developments and practices, institutional sites, discursive formations and practices. (Hall, 1996: 4)

In this discursive construction of identities, Hall acknowledges the crucial constitutive role of representation and narrative – the ‘narrativization of the self’ – but, Hall adds, ‘the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity’. (Hall, 1996: 4)

Simon Frith agrees with Hall on the central role of narrative in identification processes. He refers to Jonathan Ree23, when writing that narrative achieves unity in life through a recurring belief in personal coherence, a belief which is renewed in the telling of tales. (Frith, 1996: 122) In other words, both Hall and Frith agree on the point that there is no such thing as an essential continuity of the self, but that identity is constantly constructed through narratives. Music, according to Frith, can be an important part of this narrative of the self.

Building further on Hall's theory on cultural identity and taking into account instrumentalist views on national identities, it can be stated that national identity and even a nation itself can be considered (at least in part) a mental construct. De Cillia et al (1999: 153) describe how it is represented in the minds and memories of its nationalized members, but can become very powerful guiding ideas. De Cillia et al. support the idea that a national identity is discursively produced, constructed, transformed and destructed. It lives in the realm of convictions and beliefs, but is disseminated through systems of education, media, etc.

In her study on the image of Flanders constructed through literature in Nazi Germany, Ine Van linthout stresses the importance of the discursive ‘process of negotiation and (re)construction’ of images and the inherent constitutive unfixity of images. (Van linthout, 2008: 348) This will be held in mind when turning to the source material of the current study: the process of constructing a Flemish cultural identity will prevail over the actual image(s) presented. Moreover, it is very likely, because of the inherently different ideological nature of the radio-associations, that both the constructive processes and the images constructed will vary significantly from association to association, again highlighting the indecisive nature of images and identities.

When dealing with discursive constructions of identity, Van linthout warns against the fallacy of equating ideological intentions with actual images of identity and urges ‘to take into account the negotiations and discursive maneuvers that complicate the relationship between intention an realization’ (Van linthout, 2008: 348) It will thus be important to make a clear distinction between the ideals of the music policy of the broadcasters and the image(s) produced by the actual music policy and programming.

Cultural (national) identity and/in music

Music and identity

Research dealing with the issue of social identity and music, often searches for social identities in music. Simon Frith, however, finds it more useful to do it the other way around: to show how social identities take on certain artistic or aesthetic forms rather than other. ‘The issue’, Frith states, ‘is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience that we can only make sense of by ‘taking on’ both a subjective and a collective identity’ (Frith, 1996: 109). What Frith suggests is thus not that social groups share certain values that they express in their music or other cultural activities, but ‘that they only get to know themselves as groups [...] through cultural activity, through aesthetic judgement.’ (p. 111) Music is thus constructive of our sense of identity ‘through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives’ (p. 124).

Although Frith is mainly preoccupied with popular music, he does make the point that his argument goes for all kinds of music. He agrees with Bohlman (1991)24 that the meaning of classical music is also to be found in performance, and not in the text, implying that in terms of aesthetic process there is no real difference between ‘high’ and ‘low’ music (Frith, 1996: 111):

‘In short, different sorts of musical activity may produce different sorts of musical identity, but how the musics work to form identities is the same. The distinction between high and low culture, in other words, describes not something caused by different (class-bound) tastes, but is an effect of different (class-bound?) social activities.’ (Frith, 1996: 112)

Frith points out that an identity, furthermore, is always an ideal, what we would like to be, not what we are. But while musical identity is always idealizing, ‘not only oneself but also the social world it inhabits’, at the same time music gives us a real experience of what the ideal could be. As such, communal values can be grasped ‘as musical aesthetics in action’ (p. 123-4).

**Music and national identity: Musical Flamingantism**

The introduction into the Flemish context provided at the beginning of this paper already highlighted how Flemish composers got involved in the ‘Flemish movement’ or could at least be considered flamingant. In turn their music was often taken up by cultural Flamingants. An illuminating study on this point has been conducted in Flanders by Hendrik Willaert and Jan Dewilde (1987). They show how, during what we can call the ‘romantic century’, cultural flamingants took interest in the inventarization of Flemish songs and the writing of a music history of the Lowlands (Belgium and the Netherlands), followed by a growing activity and productivity of freshly established associations that were inspired by the recent discovery of the history of Flemish music. 19th century flamingantism in music had its climax in the establishment of a national school of music in Flanders around the figure of Peter Benoit, who established a Flemish singing tradition, rooted in older folk tradition and based on the Flemish language, and the first Flemish (in language and in style) conservatory.

This national music school in Flanders has always played a rather controversial role in Belgium and has often provoked accusations of political separatism, traditionalism, or other pejorative connotations, but on the other hand it was a symbol for the cultural emancipation of Flanders and the high aspirations of the Flemish art world to be placed on the European map. Taking on an affinity with this national music school in Flanders was however far from the only way composers, music critics or musical institutions tried to fill in their Flemish identity in music. In the 20th century the choice between propagating more ‘typical’ Flemish music-making and Flemish composers or following European musical style developments (like e.g. expressionism or modernism) without taking national boundaries into consideration, has been a lively point of discussion, although both stances do not seem to exclude each other (Willaert & Dewilde, 1987: 112-3). When it comes to the first stance, moreover, it is far from clear what can be considered as more ‘typically’, ‘true’ Flemish music, and which cannot. It is to be expected that the position of the music policy of the radio-associations in this field will have a lot to do with their nation-discourse and cultural and will have set out their repertoire choices.
The recognition of the existence of ‘Flemish music’ in itself can be considered constructive of a Flemish cultural identity, but by offering a musical view on Flanders, radio was able to construct an image against which it wished Flanders to mirror itself. Frith pointed out that musical identity is often an ideal identity and music offers us an experience of this ideal identity. Since the discourse on and ideals of Flemish music often incorporated ideals of an emancipated Flemish culture, this ideal musical identity possibly contained elements of these emancipatory ideals. By providing in music the experience of a strong and independent Flemish culture, radio could be a stimulus for the cultural emancipation process going on in Flanders.

Conclusions
The theories of Hutchinson and Leerssen have led this study to consider the cultural Flamingantism living in Flanders since the 19th century and well into the 20th, as a cultural national movement with an own dynamic, requiring a broader frame of reference than the chronological development of social and political nationalism in Flanders. It can moreover not be considered just a phase preceding social and political developments: it was a recurring movement aiming at reviving and revitalizing Flemish culture, more or less present throughout the 19th and 20th century, though with differing strength and nature.

Cultural nationalism in the definition of Joep Leerssen is characterized by the cultivation of national culture. He proposes four cultural fields in which nationalist activities can take place (language, literature and learning, material culture and performance of immaterial culture) and three categories of cultivating activities (salvaging, new productivity and propagandist proclamation), working on two possible levels (bottom-up through middle class intellectuals or top-down through state-regulated initiatives). The music policy of early Flemish radio-associations can be situated in the field of performance of immaterial culture and involved a bottom-up approach initiated by middle-class intellectuals that established these associations themselves, aiming at the propagandist dissemination of national culture.

The reason why this propagandist cultivation of national culture by Flemish radio could possibly make a meaningful contribution to the cultural emancipation of Flanders, is because by radio a separate national identity of Flanders – as opposed to a unified Belgian identity – was constructed and disseminated, which implied that Flanders had an own cultural identity that was worth disseminating and which was thus worth defending. In doing this, radio suffused the public sphere with a sense of collective identity, leading to an enforcement of the emancipatory process living in Flanders.
The theories of Hall and Frith make clear that identification is a never-ending process and identity is a mobile construction, originating through discursive practises, constantly renewing through representations and narratives. Radio as a mass medium can be seen as a major disseminator of discursive practises contributing to the construction of collective cultural identities. The first presumption of this research is therefore that music programming should be studied as part of the representations and narratives diffused by radio, that together constructed an image of national identity. If, subsequently, we agree with Frith that music offers us the experience of an ideal identity, it might be possible to formulate a second presumption, namely that in a case wherein music programming of radio represented an ideal identity of an emancipated, rich Flemish culture, audience-members were offered, through listening, the experience of this ideal culturally emancipated Flemish culture, leading to a mental climate in which the cultural emancipation and development of Flanders could flourish.
References


A Narrative Approach to Identity: The Case of Pirate Radio in the Netherlands
- Arno van der Hoeven

Introduction: off-shore radio

Source: Stichting Nordemey
Introduction: land based pirates

Motivations:
- Race against the sound of the offshore stations
- Dissatisfied with the content of the public stations
- Illegal radio as a means to give a voice to local identities
- In 1985 there were between 10,000 and 60,000 active stations
  - Local radio stations with Dutch Language Music
  - Commercial radio stations with horizontal programming
    - Free Radio Rotterdam
    - Radio DeBol
    - Radio Atlantis
    - Staats Radio Den Haag
  - Radio Stations with a political orientation

Source: (De Roe, 1994)

Theory: “narrative constitution of identity”

- Relationships of events, emplotted in a meaningful way and embedded in time and space.
- Van Dijck (2006), memories are:
  - Embodied;
  - Enabled by technology;
  - Culturally embedded.
Research Question

• How do current legal (on-line) and illegal pirate radio stations in the Netherlands negotiate cultural identities by appropriating the narrative of pirateradio?

Methods

• Qualitative (semi-structured) interviews
• Analysis with Atlas.ti
• Pirates, ex-pirates, festival-organizers, archivists
• A focus on two genres: Dutch language music (levenslied, pirate music) and Ialo

Land based pirates

In the frequency range between 87.5 and 107.9 there about 700 active license holders. These are public and commercial broadcasters. Besides the use of these frequencies by license holders, there is a large scale illegal activity by radio pirates. Research has shown that an additional 1800 illegal radio stations use these frequencies. Although they do not permanently broadcast, some pirates make arrangements to schedule their shows right after each other on the same frequency. (Radio Communications Agency, 2009)
Land based pirates

Dutch language music & pirate radio

You've got Radio NL [Commercial Radio Station-Aud] and that is getting closer to what we are doing. But then you are already talking about the well-known artists: Frans Duits, Corry Konings, Onkwerk. But there is a lot more. Because every week about 20/30 new songs are released, but these are not played by them! Although that is the pirate music. And that's what the audiences want to hear. It is like it has always been, but the Netherlands won't allow this somehow.

(Frank, 43, former pirate)

At the beginning pirate radio had a pivotal role in the promotion of Italian, Canadian and German disco, because then you broadcasted something you could not hear elsewhere. Because the national radio stations had productions you could buy in every regular record store, so we liked to do something different. [...] Then you would specialize, like a lot of the pirate stations did. Some specialized in non-stop, Amsterdam was a bit more funky and had the American club sound, Rotterdam had a mix of disco and also the club sound, and Utrecht also had a special mix.

(Marcello, 54, founder of the Verd D'Azzuro charts)
I grew up with Radio Stad Den Haag. Therefore, I was a bit surprised that I could not find anything about this station on the internet. Because during the 80s it was an important station to a lot of people. It was not just a radio station, but a part of your youth. I thought that they deserved some attention.

(Edward, 38, Radio Stad Den haag internet radio)

When we had a program on the local radio they transmitted the signal via cable radio. For this reason, our audiences could no longer hear us on the car radio, which meant we lost contact with our target group. The youth at the time usually did not listen to cable radio, because than you had to sit with your mum and dad in the living room. Next to the television, and not with you transistor radio or whatever.

(Han, 54, volunteer Radio Stad Den Haag)

We could play everything from the computer, but we opt for vinyl instead. Our listeners can see that on our webcam, and they like it that we spin the old records.

(Edward, 38, Radio Stad Den haag internet radio)
Spits, April 5 2011:
Silence on the radio. More and more radio pirates succumb to heavy fines of Radiocommunications Agency.

Internet Radio

- Net radio as an alternative to pirate radio
  - Narrowcasting
  - Local scene / virtual scenes