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The International Journal of Music Business Research (IJMBR) as a double-blind reviewed academic journal provides a new platform to present articles of merit and to shed light on the current state of the art of music business research. Music business research involves a scientific approach to the intersection of economic, artistic (especially musical), cultural, social, legal, technological developments and aims for a better understanding of the creation/production, dissemination/distribution and reception/consumption of the cultural good of music. Thus, the IJMBR targets all academics, from students to professors, from around the world and from all disciplines with an interest in research on the music economy.

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Editorial

*Peter Tschmuck*¹

The first article of this issue of the International Journal of Music Business Research (IJMBR), "*Innovation in the arts – lessons from the creation of Dalhalla*" by Per Frankelius of Linköping University/Sweden, is an insightful case study of the Dalhalla opera festival in Sweden that was initiated and organised by the opera singer and retired radio producer Margareta Dellefors. The case study is based on seven innovation perspectives including, among others, Schumpeter's creative destruction approach, Nelson and Winter's evolutionary innovation concept as well as von Hippel's open innovation perspective. Frankelius highlights Dellefors' struggle to establish a new opera festival in the middle of nowhere against the odds, yet succeeding as a kind of Schumpeterian entrepreneur. Dalhalla remains one of the most important opera festivals, of equal rank to the Salzburg Festival, Bayreuth and Verona. In his article Frankelius successfully combines innovation theories with a case study from the art sector to deepen "... the understanding of barriers and stimulating factors for innovation."

The second article, "*Collaborating to compete: the role of cultural intermediaries in hypercompetition*" by George Musgrave of University of Westminster in London, employs an innovative methodological approach to examine the role that cultural intermediaries, such as radio DJs and journalists, play in the lives of three unsigned UK urban music artists. The author, himself, is one of the artists and, thus, adopts an auto-ethnographic approach to answer the research question. Based on

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in-depth semi-structured interviews, detailed observation notes largely drawn from an analysis of publicly observable online behaviours, and an analysis of archived social media messages, the article aims to explain how unsigned artists experience competitiveness and find ways to deal with it. In the author's own words the main findings of the article "*... support the suggestion of Bourdieu ... that these intermediaries would maintain a position of authority in a cultural environment of increasing complexity, reject the 'death of the intermediary' thesis, and finally, support the findings from other cultural industries such as broadcasting and book publishing ... that intermediaries matter.*"

The concluding article of this journal issue, "*Status quo and perspectives of licensing synchronisation rights*" by Stephan Klingner and Julia Friedrich of Leipzig University/Germany, highlights the current state of music licencing and identifies the needs from the users' perspective. The findings are drawn from interviews with representatives of synchronisation rights licensing platforms and production libraries. The synch rights business faces three challenges: (1) the need for efficient business processes to stay profitable, which can be achieved by increasing automation and digital workflows; (2) the need for effective search algorithms to identify the best suited musical work for a specific need and (3) the need to deal with the growing quantity and diversity of different forms of exploitation of musical works. One solution to overcome these challenges might be the blockchain with its smart contract applications, but there is a need for a proof-of-concept as to how this technology can be fruitfully used in the synch rights environment.

The book review by Dennis Collopy of "The Economics of Music" by Peter Tschmuck rounds up the IJMBR's October 2017 issue.

The IJMBR is aimed at all academics around the world, from students to professors, from all disciplines and with an interest in music business research. Interdisciplinary papers will be especially welcome if they address economic and business-related topics in the field of music. We look forward to receiving as many interesting papers as possible. Please send paper proposals to music.business.research@gmail.com.

Innovation in the arts – lessons from the creation of Dalhalla

Per Frankelius²

Abstract

This article employs seven innovation perspectives and an etymological study of innovation, together with a case study on how Margareta Dellefors created Dalhalla in Sweden, an opera and classical music arena. Because of the combination of nature and art, Dalhalla gained world fame. The case study opens Schumpeter's black box "creative destruction" and it deepens the understanding of barriers and stimulating factors. The analysis includes a new model of innovation.

Keywords: opera scenes, classical music arenas, innovation, fundraising, music marketing

1 Introduction and research questions

Innovation is crucial for progress in many parts of society including the arts. Although it is not unexpected that many innovation theories have emerged in the literature, most focus on business firms and technology. Moreover, the term, innovation, is not always defined. This article attempts to deepen the understanding of innovation, both at a general and specific level, although its focus is limited to one specific part of the arts, namely arenas for opera and classical music.

Three research questions were formulated in this project: 1) What was the original meaning of the innovation concept? 2) What shape can innovation have in the area of opera and classical music arenas? 3) Which barriers as well as stimulating factors affect innovation processes in the context of novel arena creations?

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2 Method

The research is based on an in-depth case study of the Dalhalla creation process, with an empirical timeframe between 1990–2017. The research approach used is triangulation (Webb 1966), i.e. combinations of methods to cover different aspects of the phenomenon studied (Campbell & Fiskel 1959). The methods employed were personal communication, document studies and physical observations. The empirical work began on 31 August 2001 and ended in August 2017. Primarily it included personal communication.³ The most important source of information was Margareta Dellefors. About 5–10 interviews per annum took place alongside many informal conversations. The empirical work was conducted in Falun, Rättvik, Stockholm, and San Francisco.

Regarding the document studies, substantial amounts of archival material have been used, including letters, applications, legal documents and articles, as well as audio-visual media. Physical observations were made not least at the Dalhalla site in the Dalarna region, Sweden. This site was visited many times over the research period, and a Leica camera, alongside notebooks for documentation, was the primary research tool. Not least, there were different concerts and details in and around the documented arena.

3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical basis is a selected spectrum of innovation theories derived from an analysis of the international innovation literature. From the 38 innovation perspectives identified by Frankelius & Gidlund (2003) ten main perspectives on innovation during the last 130 years were established. Seven of these will be used in the subsequent analysis of the empirical case.

³ Among the respondents were Håkan Ivarson (former CEO of Dalhalla Production AB), Barbro Osher (financial sponsor), Maria Norrfalk (County Governor in Dalarna), Ulf Lundén (culture journalist, Dalademokraten), David Lundblad (director, Dalasinfoniettan) and Lena Adelsohn Liljeroth (Swedish Minister of Culture). Part of the empirical material was presented in Frankelius (2011) and Frankelius (2013).

The first perspective is the *diffusion theory*, originated by the French sociologist Gabriel Tarde who analysed social changes in his book *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (1890), which showed that only a small share of all inventions spread across society. A key observation was that the diffusion of inventions that spread was, at first, slow and then increased before fading away. His explanation of why the process, after a while, kicked off was that as soon as opinion leaders in a social system began to embrace the new innovative concept, many others followed. This line of research was taken up by Ryan & Gross (1943) with a focus on agriculture. Rogers (1962: 13) summed up the diffusion perspective by defining innovation as "*an idea perceived as new by the individual*", adding: "*It really matters little ... whether or not an idea is 'objectively' new as measured by the amount of time elapsed since its first use or discovery.*" According to the diffusion perspective an innovation phenomenon starts with information about something new that comes to a potential external adopter.

Another theoretical perspective on innovation, termed the *Great-Man theory* (see e.g. Nietzsche 1881; Schon 1963; Burgelman & Day 1994), in which individual creativity was at the core, saw innovation as rare events and the results of flashes of brilliance. Factors such as experience, skills or resources besides the mind needed to make the "flashes" happen, were not central to this theory.

According to sociologists such as Ogburn (1922) and Grilfillan (1935) inventions (their research focus) were not the results of great minds but rather partly due to the great need as well as partly to a result of a multitude of efforts by many people. Every effort in this complex wholeness consisted of an uncreative act so the driving force was not the individuals as such, but rather society's development as a whole. This third perspective in the theoretical spectrum can be called *collective determinism*.

Schumpeter (1912 and 1939) studied the role of *innovation in economic development* and this is the fourth perspective, whose basic idea was that the economy could be divided into routine and development modes. In the routine mode only small improvements to products, ser-

vices and processes occur. From time to time, however, dramatic development takes place triggered by innovation. Innovation was about radically new methods for producing known products or developing completely new products. The factor that created innovation was entrepreneurs, and one main problem was to persuade the bank to give investment loans. Only a few people, the innovating entrepreneurs, had the capacity to produce innovations. However, innovation was almost only described in very abstract terms, like "*neue Kombinationen durchgesetzt*" (new combinations) of productive resources (Schumpeter 1912: 173) or "*creative destruction*" (Schumpeter 1942: 83).⁴ The creative process behind innovation was a black box in the theory (Ruttan 1959).

In the 1960s the *innovation processes models* were formulated (Arrow 1962; Cooper 1971), which are the fifth perspective. In this perspective innovation was regarded as a linear, rational and rather deterministic process starting with market signals and/or R&D and ending up in a product or production method. Thus, the end-point in the innovation process is a product or production method, although its focus was on isolated projects within the framework of specific (large) companies and a key term was innovation management (Drucker 1954). One conclusion from the empirical studies was that understanding potential customer's needs, the marketing concept, was most important for success (Science Policy Research Unit 1972; Foxall 1984). As shown by van de Ven (1986) various people were often involved and there could be many disputes about different destinations during the innovation journeys. Management models derived from the process model theory turned to be the stage-gate model (Cooper 1983) and the innovation funnel (Wheelwright & Clark 1992).⁵

Inspired by biology, *evolutionary theories* on innovation emerged, used here as the sixth perspective. Key concepts within this included

⁴ According to Reinert (2006) was it not Schumpeter but Werner Sombart who coined the phrase "creative destruction". This was made in *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, 1902.

⁵ Because services became more central in many industries it was natural that Miles (1993) pinpointed service innovations. Miles related special features and problems of services with particular types of innovations. For example, he discussed innovations to overcome the difficulty in describing a service to a client.

variation, selection, and retention, and much of focus was on the market and competition at an abstract level (Nelson & Winter 1982). Variation, according to the theory, is mostly due to technological innovation, while selection is determined by the market, and retention is mostly affected by public institutions (Nelson 1994). The evolutionary theories focused on three different aspects depending on author, with the first the variation, selection, and retention mechanism, the second gradual development, or the "incremental view" and the third the importance of the external world on internal processes.

Research on social change more generally, during the 1960s inspired some researchers to focus on the openness of innovation processes, looking at the context as co-producer of innovation. Callon (1986) used the term translation in contrast to diffusion, because the adopter, user or customer of some innovative concept also modifies the concept in some way. This was a step towards the *open innovation perspective*, which is the seventh and final perspective.⁶ Eric von Hippel (1988) focused on users and customers rather than developers. But yet the company (large manufacturers) was the central object of analysis. Chesbrough (2003) wrote about opening up a company's re-search and development department to professional collaborators, but not primarily customers, in the outside world to integrate them into innovation efforts.

Understanding innovation etymologically can be helped by means of an article from 1967 in *Times Review of Industry & Technology*⁷:

"Nylon, for instance, was first invented in 1928, but not innovated until 1939; Xerography was invented in 1937, but not taken up until

⁶ Other main perspectives on innovation include the *science push paradigm* (Bush 1945), inside the *black-box theory* (Usher 1954), and the *innovation systems theory* (Freeman 1982; Nelson 1987; Dosi et al. 1988). These will not be used here.

⁷ The citation appears in a book review entitled *Innovations* concerning the book *Scientific Innovation and Industrial Prosperity*, by J. A. Allen (1967). The first review in the book's section of the journal (1967: 83–86) is written by Charles Stuart-Jervis. He is probably also the author of the others, none of which are signed. I am grateful to Colin T. Clarkson, Head of the Reference Department at Cambridge University Library, for helping me with this information.

1950; even television, claimed to have been invented by Zworykin in 1919, was not really developed until Westinghouse took it up in 1941."

Regarding the Nylon example, the above citation referred to 1939, as the year the DuPont company started commercial production and sales of the new material.⁸ Innovation, according to this source, is about something original that not only appears, but also comes into use, in this case on a market. The example here also illustrates a common focus or assumption regarding innovation; that it should relate to technology, or as Godin (2015: 2) writes: "... our current or dominant meaning of innovation" is "commercialized technical invention". This might be partly true, but not all innovation relates to "technology".

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2002) one of the first to use the term innovation in the English language was King Edward VI, in 1548. The meaning of the term was "a change made in the nature or fashion of anything; something newly introduced; a novel practice, method, etc." The concept is related to the verb innovate, which has its oldest documented use the same year, 1548, in a publication by John Udall. The meaning of innovate was: "To bring in (something new) the first time", or "to introduce as new" (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2002). The central concept was that something new is introduced into society, and that it has originality. Udall himself referred to examples of innovation in the form of new types of words coming into use.

The English concept of innovation was historically derived from other languages, with a link to the Latin terms *innovatio* (renewal), *innovatus* (renewed) and *innovare* (renew). These Latin terms were probably in turn derived from the Latin term *novae* (create new) and *novus* (new, fresh, young). Something new, fresh and young was called *res novae* in Latin, a term Morwood (2005) tracked the term innovation to. This phrase was often used by the lyric poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus, also known as Horace, (65-8 B.C.) and his contemporaries (Wagenvoort 1956). Through the context in which the term is used, there is clearly a reference to something new and revolutionary for many people. Accord-

⁸ The first to buy and use new things was probably female shoppers in Braunstein's department store in Wilmington in 1939 (Kinnane 2002).

ing to this explanation, it is not sufficient for something to be new to be described as an innovation; it must also be revolutionary relative to what already exists.

However, some analysts do not agree with this interpretation (cf. Frier 2008) arguing an innovation must be new, but not necessary revolutionary. Even so, the fact that the two concepts innovation and revolution are etymologically related, may support the former interpretation (Morwood 2005).

The concept of innovation, thus, has its roots in Latin. But there are still earlier roots found in the Greek language (Alga, Barnes, Mansfield and Schofield 1999). One of the old Greek words related to innovation was *kainotomia* used by Aristophanes in a comedy ca 422 B.C. (D'Angour 1998; Hall 2007; Aristophanes 1971). The word is derived from *kainon* (novelty) or *kainos* (new) and appeared in a time of great progress in Greece, and in this context, it was easy to make fun of those who proposed or made new things in different areas. Therefore, it is not surprising that the word appeared in a comedy. While society was marked by renewal and innovation, tradition was, paradoxically, seen as having a higher standing. Algra et al (1999: 22) wrote: "*Originality or novelty (kainotomia) was a dirty word; the various philosophical schools tended to consider themselves (or were considered by others) to belong to the general tradition of Greek philosophy and to depend on past masters*".⁹

One can deduce an even older root to the concept of innovation in the Greek word *palingenesia* (D'Angour 2009). It was used perhaps the first time by the philosopher Democritus born in Abdera, ca. 460 B.C. He related the word to the idea that every human will wake up every morning with the ability to think new thoughts. Therefore, D'Angour inter-

⁹ The word *kainotomia* as such was part of the Greek language before Aristophanes, but he began using it in a new way, with a meaning that is akin to innovation. Before Aristophanes' new interpretation the word *kainotomia* meant to cut new channels in a mine for the extraction of precious metal (D'Angour 2009). The extraction of silver from the mines of Laurion was a real and important source of economic prosperity for Athens. What Aristophanes metaphorical use of the word meant was, as I understand it, that innovation is about to find or create new ways that lead to some kind of value. But, as said, Aristophanes, made fun out of it.

prets the meaning of the word *palingenesia* as an absolutely new beginning.¹⁰

Fig. 1 shows some of the roots discussed.

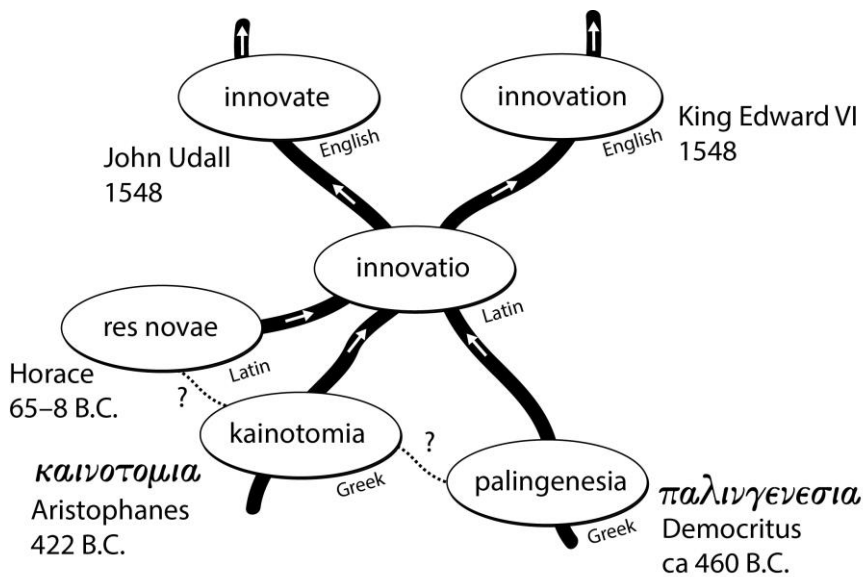


Figure 1: Some roots of the term innovation

In conclusion from the etymological study in combination with previous research (Frankelius, 2009), innovation, is something, in whatever area of society, that at the same time is 1) new in the sense it has high degree of originality, 2) also obtains a foothold in the community often via a market, 3) is perceived as revolutionary in the eyes of many people, and 4) appears at a specific point of time. Innovation can therefore be

¹⁰ The concept of "new" has different meanings. Something new could be either something associated to *a*) previously unknown concepts or *b*) a concept, with whatever originality, appearing the first time at a special point of time. When people use the word "new" on a trade fair for example that can mean either *a* or *b* or both. In the *b* case – the association is made to time – something new is something that will appear at a certain point of time, i.e. the phenomenon is "new in time." If one talks about "the new performance on Tuesday" that relates to something that is happening there and then, but it does not necessarily mean that originality is involved.

defined as something principally new and significant, in any area that arises at a specific point of time and then evolves and makes a foothold in society.

4 The creation of a novel opera arena

The opera singer and radio producer Margareta Dellefors had been responsible for the opera production department at Swedish public radio since 1973, a job that included reportage visits to different festivals around Europe, such as Verona, Bregenz and Savonlinna. On the last day of March 1991, Dellefors retired from Swedish Radio, at the age of 65 years and she was free to do new things. Dellefors recalled: *"I wanted to find a place for an international music festival in Sweden, but maybe something different. I and my husband Göran Bladini had a summer-house in Rättvik and I knew that in Rättvik, in the beginning of last century, limestone industries were important."*

In summer 1990, she explored the countryside around Rättvik searching for old quarries, using a local map, but did not find any as they were well hidden, partly for safety reasons. One of the persons Dellefors asked was Rättvik's cultural director, Åsa Nyman, around New Year's Day 1991. On 18 May, Dellefors got information about a site called Draggängarna from Nyman. They went by car to the quarry the very same day.

The limestone business Kullsbergs Kalkförädlings AB had just ceased use of its limestone quarry Draggängarna, leaving a gigantic hole in the bedrock after centuries of digging. Deciding what to do with this monument from the heyday of mining prompted suggestions such as using it as a municipal rubbish dump. Margareta Dellefors had a very different idea, namely to create a summer arena for opera in the enormous quarry. She reconstructs the moment of inspiration as she arrived at the quarry: *"As soon as I saw Draggängarna I knew: this is the place for an international opera festival. I christened it Dalhalla thinking of Wagner."*

The cliffs had different pastel colours because of different kinds of rock minerals in vertical lines – black, pink, bluish, white and brown. At

the bottom, there was an emerald-coloured lake, never ceasing, because it was under groundwater level. The quarry was huge. Here were all the natural conditions needed for the arena she had dreamed of. This was exactly the place for her; she sang and recited poetry, noticing the marvellous acoustics, reverberation and silence.

Dellefors photographed the site and then magnified the best one. Then she bought transparent sheets in a bookshop as she wanted to visualize her vision by drawing on the photos she had taken. She drew a stage in the middle of the lake, and a grand stand opposite it (see fig. 2).



Figure 2: Dellefors with her drawing above the magnified photo. Photo: Per Frankelius.

The period between her first visit and her written project plan 9 July 1992 involved intense marketing and hundreds of contacts, speeches, and meetings. Information about the project began to spread with the first article on the Dalhalla project in the *Land* magazine and the next written by Carl-Gunnar Åhlen in the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* (one of Sweden's largest morning newspapers) in July 1992.

On 6 August Dellefors managed to convince some decision-makers in the municipality and the County Council, to visit the quarry and see it with their own eyes. It happened to be a chilly day and the only thing they saw was an industrial ruin. But Dellefors said "*Stay here, you will experience something.*" Then she went 100 yards away, on the other side of the quarry, and then she started to sing an opera aria. The men

were noticeably impressed by the acoustics of the quarry. *"Imagine if I had not been able to sing,"* said Dellefors afterwards. Maybe they could help with some money, Dellefors thought, but still no decisions were made.

A lot of money was needed for the project, and the main problem was finding and persuading sponsors. In retrospect, about 70 million Swedish crowns (about USD 7.8 million) would be needed to fulfil the dream. She needed to convince a lot of people: *"Everyone in the little country town of Rättvik considered me more or less crazy, but as I presented letters and documents from well-known Swedish musical authorities I did manage to overcome initial scepticism."*

The perfect marketing concept for that, she thought, was to arrange a trial concert that would prove the musical potential. Such an event costs a lot of money. Dellefors recalls: *"After about two years I managed to raise the necessary money to hold a trial concert, which would prove among other things the extraordinarily good acoustics Dalhalla had."* Thus, the fund-raising process was crucial. The problem was that many observers did not believe that Dellefors was serious. She reflects:

"Suspensions always arise when something new is initiated. 'We cannot do this, it has never been done before', 'We must do this, because, that is what we always have done', 'Opera – that is something where people only shout and you can't hear a word of what they are singing', 'And who does she think she is, wanting to come here and tell us, what we shall do'".

Others thought it was a nice idea, but would never dream of investing money in such a project. Dellefors encountered resistance from sceptics everywhere including experts in engineering and economic matters. Articles in newspapers were also written about the challenges for the project. Furthermore, opera is something foreign for most people, particularly people in Dalarna, the folk music capital of Sweden.

However, she did arouse great enthusiasm among a few. In January 1993, the County Administrative Board decided to support the project with SEK 50,000. Then the Municipality also decided to support it with

the same amount. Thanks to this money Dellefors was able to hire experts to examine the limestone quarry from a safety point of view. The fascinating hole was found to be around 400 meters long, 200 meters broad, and as deep as 60 meters. Its walls were nearly vertical and the acoustics were on a par with Greek amphitheatres. The acoustic quality of the limestone quarry was something, as mentioned, that Dellefors noticed directly. She also understood that this was a very important aspect of the place as well as the fact it was located far from the noise of cities, roads and factories.

May 1993 was the right time to present her idea for the local people of Rättvik. She invited them, through the local papers in Rättvik and Leksand, to the library in Rättvik on Tuesday 25th of May. The interest was enormous and it was soon crowded with people of all kinds; everyone was positive, even those who hardly knew anything about opera and classical music.

The next step was to stage the trial concert made possible through funds from the Ministry of Culture in Stockholm and the Rättvik community. Together with the head of the community Dellefors wrote invitations to the concert. Only 150 people were allowed, as one still did not know about the security of the limestone quarry.

A project group was appointed in the spring of 1993, with Dellefors as project leader. On 18 June, the trial concert was performed with a specially invited audience. Everyone was taken down to the quarry by car, including people from the Ministry of Culture, directors from the concert and opera community, and extremely importantly, national and local television teams alongside journalists from important Swedish newspapers. Dellefors explains: *"I chose people who were connected with music and opera in particular and music writers and critics and of course people connected with state organizations who supported culture with money."* In total, there were 200 people on the list.

The concert was successful. To take the edge off the criticism that the idea did not suit Rättvik's folk music culture, Dellefors spiced the program with traditional fiddlers and birch-bark horn blowers (see fig. 3 and 4). She will never forget this concert:

"The local people had contributed with big bowls full of wonderful wild summer flowers and were all there in their national costumes. Birgit Nilsson, our world-famous soprano, sat there in her mink coat on the first bench. I introduced the program by singing the first lines of Elisabeth's greeting aria from Tannhäuser, 'Dich teure Halle, grüss ich wieder'."

Dalarna's own orchestra DalaSinfoniettan, and four young singers sang opera arias. Folk music was played, and a choir of 200 singers from the on-going international choir week sang Hallelujah from *Messiah* by Handel.



Figure 3: The trial concert 18 June 1993. Photo courtesy by Leif Forslund.



Figure 4: The famous Wagner soprano Birgit Nilsson and Margareta Dellefors at the trial concert. Photo courtesy by Leif Forslund.

The concert was covered by the national and local press as well as television. The biggest newspaper in Scandinavia, *Dagens Nyheter*, wrote: *"It is simply brilliant. A limestone quarry in the middle of the forest as a giant opera arena."*

The next Monday after the trial concert (21 June 1993) Dellefors applied for the protection of her name Dalhalla. She sent the application and the money in her own name. As sender address, however, she wrote the one of Rättvik municipality. Now a strange thing happened according to Dellefors:

"Behind my back two executives in the municipality, in September, asked the Patent and Registration Office to get my application back. Then they wrote their own names on it and sent it back to the Patent Office. Thus, depriving me of my rights to the brand."

Dellefors invested lots of time in collecting information on specific targets during her fundraising. *"I sat down in the library and looked through big books for foundations that might be interested in investing money in Dalhalla."* She then contacted each prospect with a tailored proposal. After the first contact, Dellefors continued her actions. *"When I had sent a request, a proposal or an application to potential donors I always continued to update them about the progress of the project."* Her relationship marketing was both comprehensive and personal. *"I do not know how many applications I have written. It must be a couple of hundreds."*

Dellefors continues: *"After the important and successful trial concert I invited people to become members in the society 'Friends of Dalhalla'. It soon amounted to more than 3,000 members. Our world-famous Wagner soprano Birgit Nilsson, my great friend, consented to be our honorary chairman."*

During the first years Dellefors mostly worked alone on the project, but one helping hand arrived in December 1992, the architect Erik Ahnborg. He got in touch after having read an article in the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* 22 November about the opera vision for the limestone quarry. Ahnborg is the man behind the famous concert

hall in Stockholm, Berwaldhallen. Dellefors felt that he was the right person to help her fulfil her vision. She showed him the photo with the amateur drawing of her vision overlaid on top of it. By September 1993 he had made professional drawings of Dalhalla as an opera arena. These drawings were of greatest importance for all further processes.

In December 1993 Dalhalla got SEK 1 million from Boverket, a State organization that supports private art projects.

As the information about the Dalhalla project spread, mixed reactions followed. On 18 February 1994, a critical article in the regional press was published. The article questioned the plausibility of the vision of creating an opera arena in the middle of a folk music county like Dalarna. The many problems alternated with success. Positive news came on 21 February when the County Administrative Board of Dalarna, despite local criticism in the media, decided on a grant of a further 500,000 SEK.

In the Spring Dellefors had enough money, totalling about 4 million SEK, to start rebuilding the limestone quarry into a festival arena. With pomp and circumstance the first dynamite blast was fired 13 May – by Birgit Nilsson – and also shown on television. Now constructions could start. A provisional stage was built on the lake, with a water channel between the stage and the audience – this channel proved to be worth gold, as we will see later on. And they installed seats for 1,620 people.

In this spring, 1994, the project also had the resources to plan and conduct an opera concert that was to take place 23 July. The 1,600 concert tickets sold out in no time. Part of the reason was that Dalhalla had now got recognition from the state, as the Ministry of Culture had contributed 250,000 crowns. In their press release they described Dalhalla as the Verona of the North, an attribute that is still connected to Dalhalla. A few other concerts also took place that summer, and were seen by a total of about 3,000 people.

In the summer of 1995, the audience capacity was expanded to 2,670 seats. Parking places were arranged and a protected path was laid down into the quarry. The stage, with an aesthetic roof of sailcloth, was placed on a peninsula in the emerald-coloured water, down in the quar-

ry. About 40,000 tons of limestone were blasted and used as material for the stage. The 11-metre broad channel between stage and audience was ready. The dream was transforming more and more into reality.

The official inauguration of Dalhalla took place on 21 June 1995 with a major opera concert that was broadcast on Swedish television. Unfortunately, that very day the area suffered an awful storm and the concert had to be stopped halfway through. Despite (or partly because of) the disaster Dalhalla soon became known throughout Sweden and its fame spread abroad like wildfire. The television broadcast was important. Dellefors confirms: *"The Swedish television did manage a whole planned program, even if the total concert did not take place."* Since Dalhalla already had become internationally known, there were journalists there to cover the event. For instance, Stephen Pettitt from the British newspaper *The Independent* wrote an article about the inaugural concert and was sure about a bright future for the project.

1995 was the break-through year. Besides the concert in June, Dalhalla also co-operated with the festival Music at Siljan, Rättvik. Folk dance and jazz concerts were organized.

The staging in 1996 of a short version of Wagner's opera *Ring of the Nibelungs* took two years to plan. Dellefors tells:

"I read an article in the magazine Musikdramatik written by the editor Torbjörn Eriksson. It described how, in 1994, Iceland celebrated their 50 years of freedom as a republic. Part of the festivities was a performance of Richard Wagner's Ring of the Nibelungs in a short version of 4 hours."

And Dellefors reflected: *"This seemed to be interesting and also viable for us. Already in January 1995 I contacted Iceland, to get more information about their version."* The work for this project was enormous. A lot of money was needed. Dellefors comments:

"I started the marketing work for this coming event already in autumn 1995. With the help of Bengt Göransson (former minister of culture) we got a distinguished opportunity. He offered the big ABF conference centre for us to organize a seminar called 'Richard Wagner – genius

and monster in the same person'. The seminar took place 25 November. We started at 9 in the morning and finished at 5 in the afternoon. We had advertised in Stockholm newspapers and the hall was crowded. The Court singer Birgit Nilsson made the introduction, and was interviewed by Musikradion's Tom Sandberg. On request, she delivered her famous Ho-jo to-ho from the Valkyrie, and the high C hit the roof like a rivet."

The conference ended with Dellefors presenting the good news that the foundation Crafoordska stiftelsen, was to contribute one million crowns for the Wagner project the following year. She got this message the day before the seminar.

The Wagner opera was performed 9 August 1996, and it was a triumph. Imagine three enormous persons on stage, the Rhine maidens, about three meters high (see fig. 5 and 6). One would think that they walked on stilts, but that was not the case. Under the singers were three young music students from the Falun Conservatory, hidden-well by the costumes. They moved according to the director's instructions with help from numbers written on the stage.

The lightning was a masterpiece in itself. Carl-Gunnar Åhlen wrote in Svenska Dagbladet: "*When the lightning manager Thomas Mirstam transforms the rock wall behind the lake, the orchestra podium and the acoustical sails, into by far the world's largest circular horizon, it' is so awesome that you gasp.*"

The Viennese opera magazine, *Der Neue Merker*, named Dalhalla the most powerful opera arena in Europe, partly because of visual effects towards the end that had never been made in such a beautiful way. Also, CNN attended this event, and produced a five-minutes reportage, shown all over the world.

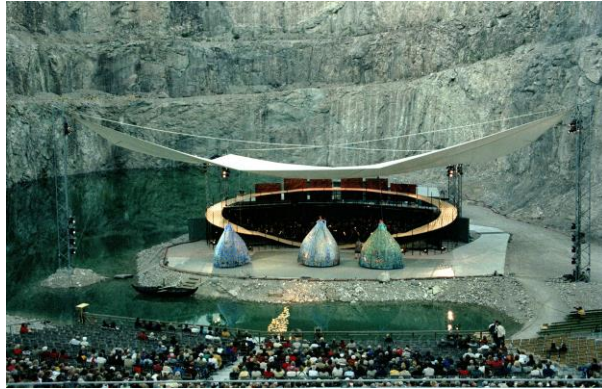


Figure 5: The Rhine maidens in the Wagner opera. Photo courtesy by Leif Forslund.



Figure 6: Close view on the Rhine maidens in the Wagner opera. Photo courtesy by Leif Forslund.

Brian Kellow, the chief editor of the premier opera magazine in the United States, *Opera News*, wrote an article and pointed out the fact that one really could perform opera entirely acoustic. Many international magazines made articles about Dalhalla. See table 1. The opera experts considered the Dalhalla phenomenon original – as a new innovative thing in the opera world.

Magazine/TV	Country
Opernwelt	Germany
Orpheus	Germany
Opera Now	U.K.
Metropolitan Opera News	U.S. (New York)
<i>Der Neue Merker</i> (The Vienna Opera's magazine)	Austria
German Television	Germany
South Africa TV	South Africa
CNN	U.S.

Table 1: International media highlighting Dalhalla in 1996.

The great event of 1997 was a longer version, a full-evening show, of the Nibelungen Ring on 14 August. During this year they played four operas and six concerts of classical music. This year was also a Fireworks concert arranged and that became a tradition at Dalhalla.

To understand the critical events in 1997 we have to go back one year. In May 1996, the company Dalhalla Produktion AB had been established, wholly owned by the "Friends of Dalhalla". This company was to have the economic responsibility for the productions. The company appointed a CEO, Nils Aittamaa. Dellefors was the artistic manager, and concentrated on the concert program. Unfortunately, cooperative problems emerged and deepened during 1997. At the end of 1997, Dellefors told the company board that they had to choose between her and Aittamaa. She won this ultimatum and then suggested that Håkan Ivarson should become the new CEO. At that time, he was the manager of the orchestra DalaSinfoniettan. Ivarson was employed from March 1998.

Every year had Dalhalla around 20–30 events. Fig. 7 shows how the arena looked like from the air. The big thing in 1999 was a concert that included the mega opera star José Cura. The artist himself had approached Dellefors (through his agent). He had probably heard of Dalhalla via the CNN reportage. This event was complicated as Cura wanted to bring the Philharmonic Orchestra of London with him. He not only sang but also conducted. Dellefors remembered: *"160 different letters and faxes, and as many from his agent, were needed to fulfil this guest appearance."*



Figure 7: Dalhalla Opera arena in the middle of the forest. Photo courtesy by Martin Litens.

Many practical problems were to be managed – some of them unexpected. In the summer of 1999, for example, a tornado destroyed the sail-roof. Dellefors comments: *"It happened on Friday the 13th of August the very same evening that we played our own version of Richard Wagner's Ring. Part of the scenography and the light depended on this roof. But we could fulfil the opera."*

The fundraising process was always in focus. And she was sometimes very successful. Dellefors fills in: *"11.4 million Swedish crowns were given by a rich couple in the neighbourhood."* She managed to get more and more money from sponsors. The Barbro Osher Pro Suecia Foundation, based in San Francisco, gave Dalhalla SEK 2 million for opera productions (in the years 2000 and 2002). Later, the Barney Osher foundation also donated money and a first-class theatre text machine. During 1999, Dellefors also managed to get a main sponsor, the oil company OK/Q8. Another important part of the financing process was Dellefors's ability to round up pro-bono help from professionals such as the first-class architect Erik Ahnborg. But Dellefors concluded: *"The first 100,000 were actually the most difficult to get."* Probably her biggest support during the whole process was her patient husband Göran Bladini.

On 7 June 2000, the Swedish King and Queen were part of the audience to witness a concert with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. At this time, Dalhalla had got 4,000 seats as well as heating for the orchestra pit

and an artist building behind the stage (from geothermal power 180 meters down). A stable roof was supported by pylons secured 26 meters down in the ground, a roof that further improved the acoustics and was perfect for the various types of light scenography. The stage was 42 meters wide and 18 meters deep. The stage also had a professional lighting system. In the middle of the stage area was a small section whose height level could be adjusted by hydraulics.

Besides technical equipment the natural aspects of Dalhalla were at the core of what made Dalhalla unique. Dellefors told how they took advantage of this: "*When we did Wagner the water ditch was the Rhine. In Nebuchadnezzar, it was the Euphrates River. In Aida, it was the Nile. In the Flying Dutchman, it was the Norwegian coast. No arena has anything similar.*" In the case of Lucia Di Lammermoor the Riga Opera directed this opera. The water provided the director unexpected opportunities to interpret the opera by means a new creative design. The water reinforced the image of Lucia's vulnerability.

In spring 2001, the Swedish retail clothing company Hennes & Mauritz arranged a fashion show at the site. Journalists and top models, including Grace Jones, were flown in from all over the world. The company's annual report mentioned Dalhalla in three places and pictures from the event were over two full pages. Since 1998 Dalhalla had continually been used for events other than what the arena was originally intended for. Despite Dellefors protests, pop concerts began to dominate.

Behind the scenes there were problems. In 2001, Dalhalla had been on the brink of bankruptcy, but was saved by a loan from the County Council thanks to Dellefors and the then Chairman of Dalhalla Bengt Göransson (former Minister of Culture). In the same year, Dellefors, on her own initiative, left her position as artistic director, but would, according to a new employment contract remain as artistic consultant. After the near-bankruptcy incident she was, in March 2002, re-hired unanimously by the board as artistic director, but with some restrictions. The problems were not seen by people in the outside world at this point of time.

In 2003, the Royal Opera had planned a big 10 years jubilee concert to celebrate Margareta and Dalhalla. The concert was planned to take place 17 August. But late on Tuesday evening, 3 June 2003 a letter was thrown into the mailbox of Margareta Dellefors' apartment in Stockholm. It stated that she had been removed as the artistic director of Dalhalla; in other words, she was fired. This was the culmination of a struggle that locally now had become known as the opera war. The core of the disagreement was whether Dalhalla should focus primarily on opera or turn to more popular genres. But according to Dellefors, it was more about a personal issue. She commented:

"I lived in Stockholm most of the time, something that undermined my position. Behind my back plans were made. I began to understand that I had three handicaps: My gender (I was the only woman on the board), my age, and being a Stockholmer."

The conflict soon became known also outside of Dalarna and people in the Swedish art world started to react. Many people were aware that Dalhalla had got lots of financial sponsors, because of its focus on primarily classical music and musical theatre, but now focus had shifted. A protest letter written by Sweden's three opera directors and some other music personalities was submitted in person on 12 May 2003 to the association "Friends of Dalhalla" (and its Chairman, the former deputy prime minister). This letter was also sent simultaneously to Dalhalla's Office for distribution to members of the association at the annual meeting 24 May. Dellefors fills in: *"That distribution did never occur!"* The annual meeting became chaotic.

The board of directors of Dalhalla's production company thought that Dellefors herself was behind an attempt to replace the board. This was not true. But she maintained that classical music and opera should dominate Dalhalla's programming. Many people had the same opinion. The violin player Johann German, for example said, *"Without opera, Dalhalla is lost – that is Opera giving Dalhalla its musical distinctive character."*

Despite what had happened with Margareta the concert in August 2003 took place. Dalhalla was covered extensively by television and newspapers. That year the prestigious *Festspiele Magazine* in Vienna ranked Dalhalla number three of the best outdoor arenas (after Verona and Orange). It wrote: "*It does not matter if you go to Verona or Dalhalla – it becomes a memory for life.*"

In 2004, Dalhalla (again) was near bankruptcy. The economy continued to go up and down over the years. Rescue operations, especially from the municipality, helped to save the business. The Dalhalla brand was so strong and was of great importance for the municipality.

In Dellefors' perspective tragedies and happy moments resolved each other. On 17 June 2006, a bronze bust of Dellefors that had been donated by the approximately 2,000 people who had left the association Friends of Dalhalla, was unveiled.

In 2008 Dalhalla lost one in four visitors. In the summer of 2009 the program once again contained an opera – Mozart's Magic Flute. The five performances attracted 15,000 visitors in total. The cost of the Magic Flute was, according to budget, about 20 million SEK. A new roof was built for 8 million SEK in 2009. That roof, however, proved to be an acoustic disaster, condemned by several experts. See fig. 8. In late 2009, the CEO Håkan Ivarson publically announced that he would leave after the following season. The board led by Kjell Ingebretsen (also Preses at the Musical Academy) did not hire a new CEO. In 2010 the annual administration costs approached 10 million SEK.



Figure 8: The new roof at Dalhalla. Photo: Per Frankelius.

In 2011 Dalhalla had no opera performance and only a concert version of Donizetti's *L'Elisir d'amore*, which now was entirely dependent on electronic amplification.

Because of economic problems Dalhalla Produktion AB had borrowed in total 4,125,000 SEK from inter alia. Rättvik municipality. Lots of negotiations occurred behind locked doors leading to that the municipality got control in Dalhalla Produktion AB. Then, 30 November 2011 the business was sold to a private company, called Rättvik Event, owned by the millionaire Conny Gesar (rich through the gaming industry). It was made public 1 December through the press. The board resigned.

The program during the summer 2012 was most about popular music including heavy metal. And for example, the event 16 June with James Morrison had "*embarrassingly small audience*" according to Liselott Hillmann, one of the visitors. But also, positive things happened: On 11 August, a Dalhalla aid gala was arranged with opera promotion as the main message. The plan, according to Dellefors, was to set up a new full-scale opera production in 2013. The plan did not become reality.

Rättvik Event arranged the program in 2012–13. In the end of 2013, however, Anna Larsson and Göran Eliasson at the company Fal Parsi AB asked if they could hire Dalhalla in 2014 for an opera event. That was agreed. The first opera became *The Rhine Gold* (played two evenings). In 2015, they set up the *Turandot* opera with Nina Stemme as Turandot, and in 2016 it was *Carmen*. Rättvik Event demanded 600,000 SEK for two weeks rent to opera activities.

Musicians and singers loved Dalhalla. Gudrun Domar, choir leader, put it this way: "*There is nothing you can compare Dalhalla with. Concert and nature play together. Singing in Dalhalla is something very special.*"

Over the years Dellefors received all kinds of prizes. In 2001, she received the Illis Quorum medal from the Swedish government for meritorious services. She received the King's Medal of the eighth magnitude the same year. She was especially happy about the medal she received from The Musical Academy of Stockholm in 2001 for "*promoting classical music.*" In 2002 Dellefors was invited to make a speech at the European Parliament. In 2010 Dalhalla was invited to participate in an inter-

national exhibition in Verona about what can be done with quarries. This was led by the renowned architect and professor Vincezo Pavan. It is worth noting that Pavan, despite having a world-famous outdoor arena at home (Verona), considered Dalhalla something truly original.

On 20 March 2016, Margareta Dellefors had her 90th birthday. On 14 August, an honorary concert was arranged for her, which became an impressive cavalcade of classical music and opera highlights. A number of famous opera singers and musicians participated to celebrate Dalhalla and Margareta (see fig. 9).



Figure 9: Margareta Dellefors at the fest concert 2016. Photo: Per Frankelius.

Dalhalla meant a lot for the region and the people in it.¹¹ An investigation in 2010 concluded that Dalhalla had contributed with more than one hundred million SEK since its start. Martin Litens, living in the village Västberg next to Dalhalla, made this reflection in 2017:

"Dalhalla made the local people feel proud. They also helped Dalhalla over the years by means of idealistic work, such as parking assistance.

¹¹ Billy Höglund, Hotel Director in Rättvik, said in 2001: "We dared to expand just because of Dalhalla. We have 100% occupancy thanks to Dalhalla". Olle Nilsson, Municipal Chief, said: "Dalhalla means a lot for Rättvik - not only as a cultural event, but also as an engine for the municipality's development." Sören Kratz, Municipal Council, concluded: "Dalhalla has put Rättvik on the international map."

Dalhalla brought not only proudness, it also brought opera and classical music, which was something new in the eyes of most locals. On a general level Dalhalla had very positive effect on the economy in the region."

There were attempts to maintain the opera profile of Dalhalla. In the 2017 season, three events were arranged: Léo Delibes' *Lakmé*, an Opera gala and Orff's *Carmina Burana*.

The season for next year, 2018, is now being planned. The highlight will be an opera concert to celebrate the memory of Birgit Nilsson, the God Mother of Dalhalla. The Dalhalla story will continue. Part of what happened during the key years are summarized in fig. 10.

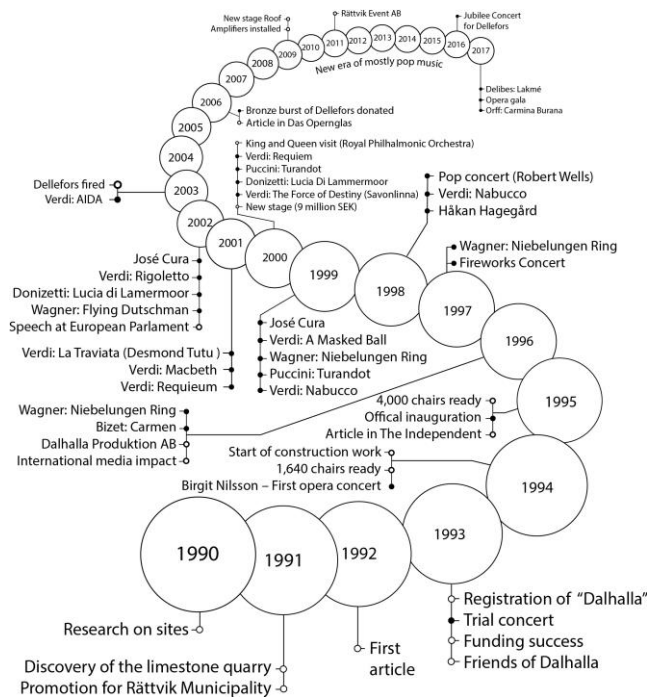


Figure 10: Overview of the Dalhalla creation process

5 Analysis

Many international opera experts considered the Dalhalla concept original in relation to what existed before. When Dalhalla in 1994 was also introduced to the people of Sweden, and thus obtained a foothold in the community, Dalhalla transformed into a form of innovation. The Dalhalla creation was situated in the folk music village Rättvik, far away from big cities, and therefore probably was perceived as revolutionary in the eyes of many people not least those in the Rättvik area.

From a historical point of view the Dalhalla case empirically connects to one of the very roots of the innovation concept. As described, one Greek word related to innovation was *kainotomia* used by Aristophanes in a comedy. Like Dalhalla this was a performing art context. Another interesting connection is that the time of Aristophanes was also a dawn of amphitheatres and it has not escaped someone's notice that Dalhalla also was a kind of amphitheatre, albeit one of a very special kind given it was not "above" but "under" the ground level.

The etymological study of the innovation concept is embodied in the model shown in fig. 11. This model positions different phenomena by means of the three dimensions of originality, impact (foothold degree) and time. Operationalization of originality is an empirical question. Gidlund & Frankelius (2003) proposed intellectual property law science for managing the operationalization. Impact (or foothold degree) can be defined in terms of "users" adopting the novelty in question, in line with the diffusion theory (Tarde 1890) or market selection, if connecting to the evolution theory (Nelson & Winter 1982). If adoption (or selection) occurs on the market the phenomenon is called commercialization.¹² The time dimension means that the phenomenon must be related to a specific time-point to be meaningful from an innovation point of view. An invention may, for example, be only perceived as an invention at a certain point of time, while at a later point of time it can be regarded as a common and natural concept or even a tradition.

¹² If adoption (or selection) is outside the market context the word valorisation can be appropriate.

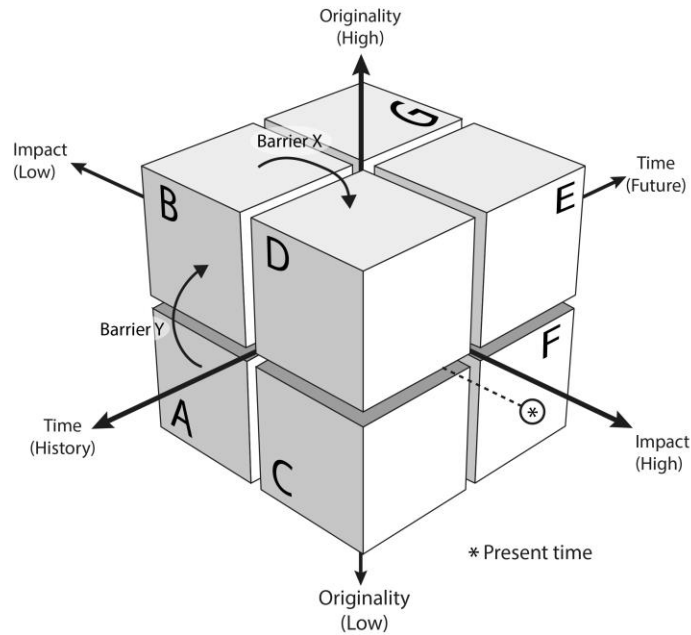


Figure 11: The innovation cube

Cell B in fig. 11 represents inventions or other kinds of principally new ideas or concepts – i.e. new products (or services) with potential to become innovations. Following the etymological study of the innovation concept the new creation (content of B) must make an impact, that is *make a foothold* (or *gain ground*), to enter cell D (to become an innovation). The transformation connects to the innovation processes models in our theoretical spectrum (Arrow 1962) and can be made through internal implementation, successful launch on the market or valorisation of some other kind. According to the innovation process models (e.g. Foxall 1984) marketing and customer demand are central aspects of innovation. Transformation in the figure also connects to the selection term (Nelson & Winter 1982).

The cell A represents insignificant phenomena and cell C represents phenomena that are traditions, incremental improvements or imitations, often central in the evolutionary theories (Nelson & Winter 1982)

as well in the diffusion theories (Tarde 1890) and probably also in the collective determinism theory (Ogburn 1922).

The barriers between cells can be of many kinds. In this model barriers are divided into Y and X types. The Y barrier represents problems to overcome if someone wants to think-out something very original, which connects to the Great-Man theory (Schon 1963). An X barrier is something that hinders a concept (original/novel or not) to make impact (or make a foothold). One example derived from the diffusion theories is lack of information among potential users (Tarde 1890). Because of the time dimension in fig. 11 an innovation (D) can, over time, be regarded as tradition or forgotten innovation (E). It means that the label innovation is perishable as seen from the majority's point of view.

What shape, then, can innovation have in the area of opera and classical music arenas? The Dalhalla case can be looked upon through many lenses. One lens is to look at Dalhalla as a mixture of art and nature, or "*neue Kombination*" (Schumpeter 1912: 173) if connecting to the innovation-in-economic-development theory. Remember that the reason for Dellefors' fascination with the place was its natural conditions. The mountain, with all its layers that shifted in different pastel colours, was part of this. At least as interesting was the water in the form of the emerald green lake. In fact, this particular lake was converted to become both lake and canal in front of the stage. This made Dalhalla so original and was part of the reason why, as written, the "*acoustics was on par with Greek amphitheatres.*" The transformation of Dalhalla from a limestone quarry to an opera scene needed both destruction (of the quarry) and creation (of the opera scene). The case therefore fits well with Schumpeter's (1942) concept creative destruction.

Another combination that made Dalhalla world famous was that of combining the arena *per se* with content in form of self-produced performances, not least operas. The content was possible due to Dellefors extremely high competence in the world of opera and classical music.

Which barriers affect innovation processes in the context of arena creations? *Funding* and huge *need of time efforts* from Dellefors were obvious barriers (compare Schumpeter 1942 and Schon 1963). She

worked more or less ideally all years. *Resistance from established actors* not least in the early phase was an obvious barrier. Dellefors many times felt that the resistance against her was due to the fact that she was not young but a retired person of age, or because she was a Stockholmer, or just because she was a woman – or a combination of all these. Another barrier was the *power play* among different persons that ended up in catastrophic effects, both economically and personally. Compare the innovation process theory (especially van de Ven 1986). The ethical aspects of this are worth further research. Still another barrier was *X factors* such as the tornado that destroyed the sail roof just before the performance of Richard Wagner's Ring.

What about stimulating factors? Dellefors' creation was boosted by her *dedication* to fulfilling the vision. Her *network and competence* became rocket fuel. Some specific actors were critical, such as the world-famous soprano Birgit Nilsson and the architect Erik Ahnborg. This connects to parts of the open innovation perspective, especially Chesbrough (2003). One stimulating factor was *continuous searching for opportunities*. Another was *brilliant marketing* completely in line with Drucker (1954).¹³

The Dalhalla case, as discussed here, connects partly well to some of the perspectives in the theoretical spectrum used in this study. The reframing of the quarry into an opera scene was an illustrative example of "creative destruction", and showed not least that "destruction" can go hand in hand with "novelty creation". Some issues in the case, however, were not covered by the theories. Examples are the nature involved, the art as "innovation object", the X factors such as the tornado and the gender and age aspects. On the other hand, quite many concepts in the theories, like the innovation funnel in the innovation process perspective (Wheelwright & Clark 1992) shone with their absence in that case.

¹³ Part of this can be called relay race marketing. That means one activity (like the trial concert) is marketed and then, after being fulfilled, in turn becomes a new marketing tool for further steps.

Among the seven perspectives it is not easy to connect the case to the third perspective, collective determinism (Ogburn 1922) or to the sixth perspective, evolutionary theory (Nelson & Winter 1982). Regarding the diffusion perspective (e.g. Rogers 1962) Dalhalla was special in that the innovative concept was related to a specific place. There was no diffusion of Dalhalla as a whole, but if we consider each ticket to Dalhalla as a "use" of the innovative concept, then all sold tickets over the years can be looked upon as a special case of "diffusion". In table 2 is summarized some cores of the theories discussed in relation to the Dalhalla case.

		Stimulating factors	Originality level in focus	Innovation objects	Central actors	Abstraction level	Time frame
The Dalhalla case		Dedication Network Art competence Marketing competence	High	Art	Creator Sponsors Media Audience	Individual Micro	Middle range
Theoretical spectrum	1. Diffusion theory	Information Opinion leaders	Low (creation is exogenous to the models)	All kinds	Users	Meso (industry sectors)	Long processes
	2. The Great-Man theory	Brainwork	High	Mostly technology	Inventors	Micro/Psychological	Instantaneous
	3. Collective determinism	Society	Not specified	Mostly technology	"Nobody and everybody"	Macro social	Long processes
	4. Innovation in economic development	Creative destruction New combination Convincing financiers	High	Technology Business	Innovating entrepreneurs Funding agents	Macro social	Long processes
	5. Innovation processes models	Demand pull Technology push	Not specified	Mostly technology	Managers	Micro social (business firms)	Quite short
	6. Evolutionary theories	Competition	Low/Incremental	Mostly technology	Firms, markets and institutions	Micro/Meso	Long processes
	7. Open innovation	Users R&D	Not specified, but often incremental	Mostly technology	Companies, users and partners	Micro/Meso	Middle range

Table 2: Aspects of the perspectives in the theoretical spectrum in relation to the Dalhalla case.

6 Conclusion

The starting point for this article was a spectrum of innovation perspectives. This spectrum was applied as reference points for the analysis of a specific case: Dalhalla. Out of an abandoned quarry Margareta Dellefors created something novel in the opera world. Many people enjoyed the magical combination of nature and art over the years, and Dalhalla gained world fame. By means of a model describing three dimensions of innovation an attempt was made to understand how originality, impact and timing form innovation. The case presented here illustrated the huge amounts of energy needed to realize innovation by "creative destruction" alongside "novelty creation". While Schumpeter's "destruction" was to a large extent a "black box", it was an "open box" in the Dalhalla case study. All in all, the Dalhalla case has deepened the understanding of barriers and stimulating factors for innovation. Besides the innovation model this study hopefully contributes to the body of innovation theory by highlighting some aspects not very well covered in the literature. Among them are 1) the art as innovation object, 2) nature as a combination asset, and 3) the X factors as well as the gender-age aspects in relation to barriers of innovation.

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Collaborating to compete: the role of cultural intermediaries in hypercompetition

George Musgrave¹⁴

Abstract

This article explores the role that cultural intermediaries, defined primarily as radio DJs and journalists, play in the lives of three unsigned UK urban music artists. Using semi-structured interviews, textual analysis of social media usage, and observation notes, as well as auto-ethnographic examination of the author's own career as a musician over a four-year period between 2010-13, it is suggested that intermediaries are of crucial importance in the lives of artists largely as distinguishers in an environment of ferocious competition, which anonymises via abundance. Their role is therefore deeply symbolic, providing credible eminence. By interpreting these findings through a Bourdieusian lens, it is suggested that these collaborative processes of intermediary engagement, which allow musicians to acquire large reserves of institutionalised cultural capital, problematise notions of success by masking the profound difficulties they have in converting this prestige into material rewards. There is therefore, for these musicians, a worrying ambiguity relating to how others understand and value what they do, and a tension between this perception and their material reality.

Keywords: popular music, cultural intermediaries, auto-ethnography, creative industries, competition, Bourdieu

1 Introduction

Competition is the economist's and policy maker's panacea; the benchmark towards which markets must confidently march in order to maximise consumer welfare. However, what does this mean for producers experiencing this competition? This paper seeks to invert the methodological gaze when looking at the impact of competition, away from the benefits for the marketplace and the consumer towards the producer,

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questioning how the producer, in the form of unsigned UK urban music artists, experiences competitiveness. In particular, it will seek to ascertain what role cultural intermediaries – those who, in a cultural context of competition and abundance, come to occupy the conceptual space between production and consumption, and who are concerned with the presentation and representation of artistic forms – play in this competitive artistic experience.

The cultural intermediaries with whom the urban music artists in this paper interact consist primarily of radio DJs, journalists (both online and offline) and bloggers. The career stage of these 'independent' musicians is outside of the reified sphere of 'the music industry' – itself of course a rather simplistic and misleading term (Stern 2014) – and they thus are not yet engaging with record companies, even independent ones, or publishers. Indeed, these intermediaries represented a secondary tier of intermediaries, the endorsement and, crucially, financial support of whom these artists were seeking but only once they could be reached. They had to get to these people first. Furthermore, they came into little contact with other, more formalised intermediaries, such as managers, booking agents, marketing companies, radio pluggers or PRs. The artists in this research were early career entrepreneurs, and as such, assumed the role of each of these agents *themselves*. Subcontracting could not be done on a more practical level given that none of the artists could afford these services. Indeed, this paper looks at how artists with no marketing budget – often with limited budgets for housing or feeding themselves, let alone marketing themselves – seek to mitigate their economic disadvantage in order to *be heard* in a competitive environment, and importantly, what this process of seeking to be heard tells us about both what it means to be an artist today, and what it means to be successful, in a hypercompetitive cultural marketplace.

This paper seeks to do two things. Firstly, it asks; what role do cultural intermediaries play in the lives of contemporary unsigned artists? It achieves this by contributing to the debate in creative industries literature on the role of intermediaries in the contemporary digital environment, via a qualitative exploration of how a specific group of creative

labourers interact with a specific group of intermediaries, highlighting the latter's impact on the former. Secondly, the paper asks; why do these intermediaries occupy this role? It suggests intermediaries are crucial as communicative gatekeepers in hypercompetition, occupying a deeply symbolic role giving artists credible eminence or cultural capital. However, these processes of capital acquisition (understood in Bourdieusian terms) can be largely illusory and misleading given the tension between how artists project their large reserves of institutionalised and objectified cultural capital, whilst simultaneously struggling to convert this into economic capital.

In making these arguments, this paper will proceed in four sections. The first will contextualise the empirical study at hand by building on two theoretical contributions: the work of Michael Porter (1979, 2008) on competition, and the work of Bourdieu (1984) on intermediaries (in relation to competition). It will be suggested that the music industry at the level of unsigned artists has become *more competitive* in its industrial composition. Building on this, Bourdieu proposed that in an environment of cultural competitiveness, cultural intermediaries would rise to prominence, suggesting they are central to the artistic experience of competitive struggle. Consequently, if we hope to understand how competitiveness is experienced by creative labour, we must understand the nature of artist-intermediary interaction, itself a much-debated relationship in contemporary scholarship.

After a second section outlining the methodological approach employed, section three will outline the findings of a four-year (auto)ethnographic study based on the experiences of a select group of artists in UK urban music. It is suggested that these artists acknowledge a high degree of marketplace saturation, which they perceive to have anonymised them via abundance. To mitigate this disadvantage, they adopt a collaborative approach to creativity in order to capture the attention of intermediaries, primarily radio DJs and bloggers. In this sense, competitiveness has necessitated collaboration as artists struggle to be heard. However, the nature of the artist-intermediary relationship is more complex than simple attention-seeking. The methodologies by

which the musicians document their successes with intermediaries and engage in a multi-platform process, which iteratively communicates their endorsements to others, suggests that intermediaries are of crucial importance not only for their ability to distribute creative works, but also to distinguish them; a marker of validity and a projection of success in a competitive environment.

Finally, section four will ask what these identified processes tell us about the nature of artistic 'success' today. By interpreting these findings within Bourdieu's theoretical architecture, it is suggested that these artists are increasingly able to obtain and maximise institutionalised and objectified cultural capital via exploiting reserves of social capital. However, they struggle to monetise these apparent successes, masking their day-to-day reality. This means that artists struggle economically, as artists always have, but they are increasingly able to maximise alternative capital sources that hide the reality of their plight, problematising already ambiguous notions of 'success'.

2 Competition and the intermediary debate

Seeking to operationalise 'competitiveness' is methodologically problematic, but has perhaps most convincingly been achieved in the work of Porter (1979, 2008). If one applies his five forces model to the creative environment of the unsigned artists whose lives this paper seeks to understand, we might reasonably assert that the music industry is indeed becoming *increasingly competitive* in its industrial composition.

2.1 Urban music is a competition

In the first instance the threat of new entrants into the music industry (force one) at the unsigned artists' level is higher today than it has ever been given the erosion of barriers to entry through technological advances dramatically reducing capital requirements such as recording costs or distribution costs. With reference to the former, the development of MIDI technology from the 1980's onwards reduced the costs of recording from earlier epochs (Alexander 1994a, 1994b), and today, high

quality records can be produced for very little cost (Leyshon et.al. 2005: 195; Leyshon 2009). Likewise, with reference to the latter, distribution vehicles such as Tunecore or Ditto allow any artist the opportunity to distribute their work to the world at very little cost (Waldfoegel 2012), instead of relying on expensive physical distribution deals (Black & Greer 1987).

The threat of substitute products (force two) is higher today too, with consumers now having an increasing array of cost-free consumption techniques such as illegal downloads or free streaming services (such as YouTube, the audio of which can easily be 'ripped') to circumvent the necessity for either physical or digital purchases, or paid-for streaming services such as Spotify. This technological innovation in consumption potential has increased the bargaining power of buyers (force three), as listeners can make decisions with few switching costs from paid to free provision (Andersson, Lahtinen & Pierce 2009) meaning conversely, the bargaining power of suppliers (force four) has fallen. Given these changes, as well as the existence of numerous competitors, the high strategic stakes (after all, for these musicians a musical career is their dream) and high exit costs (less in financial terms, but the emotion toil of potentially giving up on their dream) lead to ferocious rivalry (force Five) within the world of unsigned urban musicians. The cultural world of the unsigned musician is, therefore, highly competitive and all this raises the question as to what this means for the lives of musicians.

It is within this competitive creative environment – "*a field of struggles*" (Bourdieu 1998: 24) – that Bourdieu highlighted the emergence of cultural intermediaries. As a field increases in competitiveness, complexity and abundance, as per the sphere of unsigned artistry, he suggested that a new kind of struggle emerges - not just the struggle for creation (Becker 1982), but also the struggle to achieve a level of acclaim and prestige which is socially constituted. This is a fight over "*the monopoly of legitimate discourse about the work of art*" (Negus & Pickering 2004: 86) which is undertaken by a group Bourdieu (1984: 359) calls cultural intermediaries, defined, in a much-quoted excerpt, as: "*All the occupations involving presentation and representation ... and in all the institu-*

tions providing symbolic goods and services". Their role within the cultural economy is to interpret creative works, qualify them, disseminate them, and ultimately contribute towards their eventual appreciation as great and successful, or poor and unsuccessful; a process Maguire and Matthews (2014: 2) define as "*value formation through mediation ... [by those with] professional expertise in taste and value within specific cultural fields.*" Certainly, many occupations can, and do, fulfil these criteria, but for the unsigned rappers studied in this research, the primary agents who fulfilled this description in the context of their creative lives were radio DJs, bloggers and journalists. The debate that has emerged in the music industry context however is whether these technological changes have made cultural intermediaries less relevant, or ever more important.

2.2 The death of the intermediary?

The role and function of intermediaries has been questioned by those who suggest the democratisation of distribution channels negates the importance of those who cannot possibly keep up with the pace of information (Kovach & Rosenstiel 1999: 7). This was epitomised when, in 2012, the then CEO of EMI Roger Faxon stated: "*It's the music that matters, not the source anymore*" (Balto 2012). Many heralded the new, democratising technological possibilities of a digital Web 2.0 era, which might eradicate the barriers between producers and consumers, and where "*there are no gatekeepers*" (Solomon & Schrum 2007: 14), and "*no longer any filters, any arbiters of taste, any barriers*" (Walsh 2007: 16). For these scholars, the intermediary had died. Others accepted this 'death of the intermediary' thesis, but mourned instead of rejoicing, as per Keen (2006, 2007) who lamented the death of experts, suggesting that this digital utopianism fetishizes amateurism, and that the potential for expertise to distinguish greatness from triviality had been decimated. In this sense, competition and abundance killed the intermediary.

However, the opposing notion i.e. that intermediaries distribute the cultural goods being demanded in a world of digitalised abundance to assist decision-making, finds contemporary empirical support in other

creative industries, such as the field of broadcasting (Seabright & Weeds 2007). Akin to the music industry, barriers to entry have plummeted significantly reducing the costs for (potential) broadcasters, from processes of recording and editing, to broadcasting itself (ibid: 48). This environment of competitive abundance means that for viewers, niche broadcasters can emerge to cater for their specific tastes. However, viewers may find it hard to seek out their preferred content, and therefore larger, more trusted broadcasters might be turned to in order to limit seeking costs and mitigate this plethora of choice. Likewise, this notion of intermediaries acting as reliable filtration methods to mitigate oversaturation is a key phenomenon in the book publishing industry too (Thompson 2010) where figures such as Oprah (Winfrey) in the United States, or 'Richard and Judy' in the UK have become pivotal 'recognition triggers' for readers.

It is in the context of this literature, and this debate, that this paper should be understood. The sphere of unsigned music has become more competitive, and, for Bourdieu, cultural intermediaries are vital agents in the artistic experience of competitive struggle. However, contemporary creative industries literature debates the extent to which Bourdieu's assertions are accurate; that is, they debate whether intermediaries, currently, are more, or less, important. In this sense, the questions these contrasting findings present are; what role do cultural intermediaries, defined as agents occupying the conceptual space between production and consumption who communicate the former to engender the latter, play in the lives of musicians in a competitive market? Furthermore, why do they occupy this role?

3 Methodology

To attempt to answer these research questions, an experimental (auto)ethnographic study was undertaken between 2010 and 2013. This entailed in-depth semi-structured interviews, detailed observation notes largely drawn from an analysis of publicly observable online behaviours, and an analysis of archived social media messages (mainly tweets from

the social-media platform Twitter) with two case-study artists anonymised herein as Mark and John. As this research was seeking to explore how competition is experienced by artists, specifically within the bounded context of UK urban music, a case-study style research design is appropriate given that my area of focus was bounded (by genre), is contextual in nature (contemporary marketplace changes) and investigates selective behavioural processes (Merriam 1998). These two artists were interviewed three times (once each year), and these interviews were thematically coded. Additionally, I was given access to all of the artists' social media history in the form of their Twitter history, and observational notes were compiled over a three-year period documenting their release schedules, press support and more. Indeed, given the extent to which artists' lives occur online, we might reconceptualise notions of localised, in-person observation such as those conducted in the classic ethnographic work of, say, Cohen (1991) or Finnegan (1989), which were largely reflective and indicative of the epoch during which they were conducted. Instead, today, artists are engaged in a number of self-documenting processes allowing for their behaviour to largely be observed online, thus reconstituting observation methods and allowing researchers to reconsider the necessity for observations to take place physically. In this sense, there are a number of observable public displays of artistry, which were drawn upon to assist in answering these research questions including when and which songs are released, what and how content is shared online etc. This data was triangulated with an auto-ethnographic examination of my own artistic practices, most notably an analysis of four years of email exchanges between various cultural intermediaries and myself.

My entire creative career performing as 'Context' has been documented online, from emails with radio DJs to press interviews with journalists, and this relentless project of self-documentation representing detailed, longitudinal fieldwork notes and observations, acted as a data source. As anthropologists keep journals or logs of observations, notes, feelings, thoughts, and experiences, I was documenting every detail of my creative life, almost unconsciously, for several years. I thus analysed

each of my musical releases between 2010 and 2013 to uncover patterns of practice relating to the ways in which I had interacted with intermediaries, and to see if this corresponded with the experiences of the other case study artists. For each occasion that I released a track over this period, I reflexively assessed how I chose to release it by analysing both my social networking patterns and my email activity, analysing both my email outbox and inbox to explore the ways in which intermediaries were used in the distribution chain. I sought to uncover whom I contacted, when, the content of my emails, my reason for contacting them, and the outcome of our engagement. Focusing analysis on archived, personal written electronic communication was particularly apt given this was, in many respects, my sole method of interaction with intermediaries; I rarely met any of them in person given my geographical distance from many of them, living over 100 miles from London where the majority were based. Finally, the auto-ethnographic data obtained during this period was crucial to my analysis given the intricate nature of the information I was able to obtain. My exchanges concerned highly personal information, and processes which are, for many, highly secretive in this competitive environment. Only by exploring my own practice could material of such a sensitive nature be obtained.

4 Mitigating the indistinguishability dilemma

Throughout the research period, there was a sense in which these artists in the UK urban music scene felt they must collaborate, where collaboration is conceptualised as a process of judicious positioning, whether consensual or otherwise, to capture the attention of a particular group of cultural intermediaries, namely radio DJs and journalists/bloggers, in order that they might mitigate a perceived problem of indistinguishability engendered by marketplace proliferation and the ensuing levels of hyper-competitiveness. In this sense, the competitive dynamics of the marketplace bred a particular creative logic; attention seeking via collaboration. This was seen with one of the case study artists, John, who frequently collaborated with other rappers (on one track featuring sev-

enteen guest MCs) in order that radio DJs "*need to open [the song] up on their email now because they've seen 'Oh he's working with this guy now'"* (interview, 07/12). Likewise, Mark employed this collaborative approach to creativity during the research period, but sought to align himself not with peers, but famous, chart-topping acts in the form of bootlegs by 'ripping' the audio of successful tracks, and maintaining key musical elements such as the chorus, but inserting his own verses, leading to national radio play on BBC Radio 1 from Zane Lowe following the release of one of these remixes in March 2012 – an achievement which none of his more traditional solo songs did during the research period. Collaboration with others was an on-going technique over the four-year period, at least in part, to get the attention of these intermediaries.

In many respects, the next logical step for these artists was to collaborate with cultural intermediaries themselves to seek to guarantee their eventual support; that is, instead of aligning oneself with artists/peers (as per John) or celebrities (as per Mark), why not simply collaborate directly with cultural intermediaries? This is precisely what was observed by both John, and myself as Context, who sought to consolidate support by involving cultural intermediaries, mainly in the form of radio DJs and journalists, in their creative practices. For John, this involved asking the most influential national DJ within his genre of grime, at the time, to appear on a song as a 'narrator' (as seen in a release in late 2011). John was not only collaborating with his peers in order to (at least in part) secure the endorsement and support of a DJ, but was making this DJ a part of his creative process and collaborating with *them*. However, this process was epitomised in the video for my own track as Context, 'Off With Their Heads', a music video that featured the owner the most important UK urban music YouTube channel (SB.TV), a journalist who wrote for MTV, a journalist from the Guardian, a prominent grime blogger, and one of the most famous musicians in the world, Ed Sheeran.

As a result of asking one intermediary in particular to appear in the video, she offered to do online PR for me for free. In early 2011 we pursued potential promotional avenues for the video which I would not

have been able to achieve independently given her wealth of contacts as a Guardian journalist. The video was eventually premiered on the site RWD and achieved over 20,000 hits in less than two weeks. All of the intermediaries who had appeared in the video, promoted the video via their respective media outlets. DJ Charlie Sloth¹⁵ also began supporting the track on BBC Radio 1Xtra, and MTV requested a copy of the video to be playlisted on MTV and MTV Base. It was screened the following week and played daily between 7pm and 7am (BBC 2011). This was, in many respects, my first 'big break', and it had been achieved by a carefully coordinated collaborative process of seeking to align myself with as many intermediaries as possible in the hope that I might be heard. In an interview conducted with the MOBO Awards later that year, I stated, "*the competition is ferocious, so it's hard to get people to pay attention*" (Taylor 2011). This is precisely what I as Context (as well as John and Mark) had achieved via our collaborative approach to creativity: getting people to pay attention.

Certainly, the research conducted over this four-period suggested that these artists appeared to greatly value cultural intermediaries, evidenced in the way they sought their attention and even collaborated with them to consolidate their support. In this sense, the question as to whether intermediaries matter to musicians, as per the debate outlined in section one, is clear. The question this research seeks to address however is why do intermediaries occupy the role they do i.e. why are intermediaries in the form of media-platforms considered important? The most unsurprising answer is to act a distributor of content: a vehicle with an audience larger than that of the artist alone, with large-scale, potentially nationwide, dissemination potential. Intermediaries therefore occupy the role of intermediation, of communicating the artistic production of creative works and facilitating their consumption. However, my findings build on this relatively simplistic model, and suggest that their role is in fact deeply symbolic, presenting artists the opportunity to

¹⁵ At the time of publication, Charlie Sloth is perhaps the most influential DJ in UK urban music, having a dedicated rap show on BBC Radio 1, and his own prime-time slot on BBC Radio 1Xtra.

acquire a level of ordained, credible eminence – cultural capital – within a cultural scene.

4.1 Beyond attention seeking: a feedback mechanism

In an interview, John suggested that documenting the support of intermediaries is crucial for what that support represents, saying: "*if you put up a radio rip [an extract of audio] of it getting played on [BBC Radio] 1Xtra or Kiss 100, or any radio station ... people tend to pay more attention to that*" (interview, 07/12). John was suggesting that media endorsements are perceived signifiers of quality, and that therefore communicating successes with others can be a methodology by which one can seek to multiply support. Indeed, Mark was seen undertaking the same practices throughout the research project, documenting his aforementioned BBC Radio 1 play with Zane Lowe, and, in March 2012, obtaining an audio recording of the show and uploading it to his website so that his fans, or anyone interested, could see the support he had received.

This idea of documenting the support of cultural intermediaries was reflected when undertaking auto-ethnographic analysis of my own releases too. For each of my single releases as Context between 2010 and 2013, I would employ various tactics to capture the attention of radio DJs, and following their support, would upload the audio of the radio play online, and feed this content back to the online blogosphere (and directly to my fans on social networking platforms), before then feeding this endorsement back to other cultural intermediaries. This technique has been conceptualised visually below to understand how it acts as a method of maximising one's routes to market. Fig. 1 below, read from bottom to top, illustrates all potential artistic routes to market as shown via routes a, b, and c. Route a represents an artist's intermediary-free engagement conducted online via social networks; the direct artist-audience relationship envisioned by the Web 2.0 research discussed earlier. Routes b and c show cultural intermediaries disseminating content. Lines 1, 2, 3, and 4 represent, when read as an OO symbol, a cyclical process; support is gained via an initial attention seeking alignment

with a 'Collaborator' (either with another artist (as per John), a celebrity (as per Mark), or even an intermediary themselves) [1], documented [2], fed onwards [3], re-documented [4] and fed onwards again [1] in an on-going pattern. The diagram below therefore shows a form of feedback mechanism.

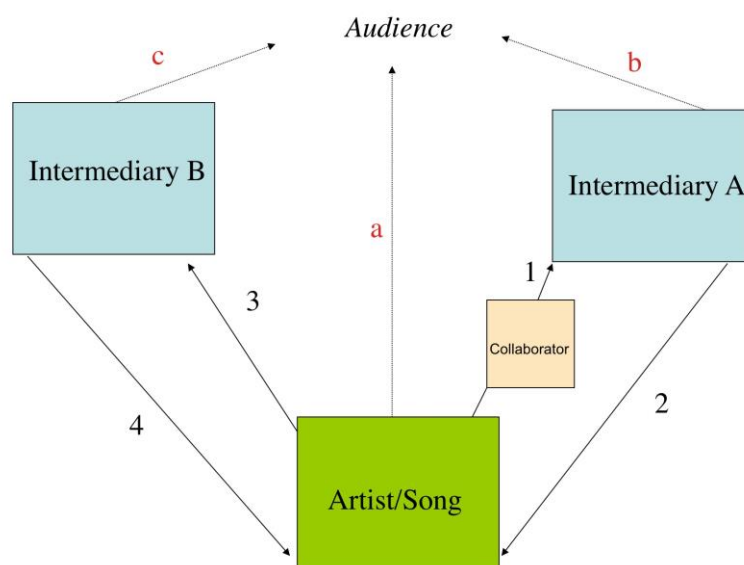


Figure 1: The role of intermediaries in the projection of success

We can use this feedback mechanism diagram to analyse the nature of the artist-intermediary relationship with reference to the release of my follow-up track to 'Off With Their Heads', entitled 'Listening to Burial', which was even more successful in terms of press exposure. After mastering the track in early 2011, the track was sent to twenty-seven DJs and producers at BBC Radio 1 and 1Xtra. The original email sent to these intermediaries is documented in fig.2 below. It can be seen how, even before the intermediaries have heard the track, I am aligning my-

self with collaborators (line 1 – fig. 1) in order to capture the ears of Intermediary A. I included quotes from famous broadcasters such as BBC Radio 1, and explain how my previous single had been playlisted on MTV.

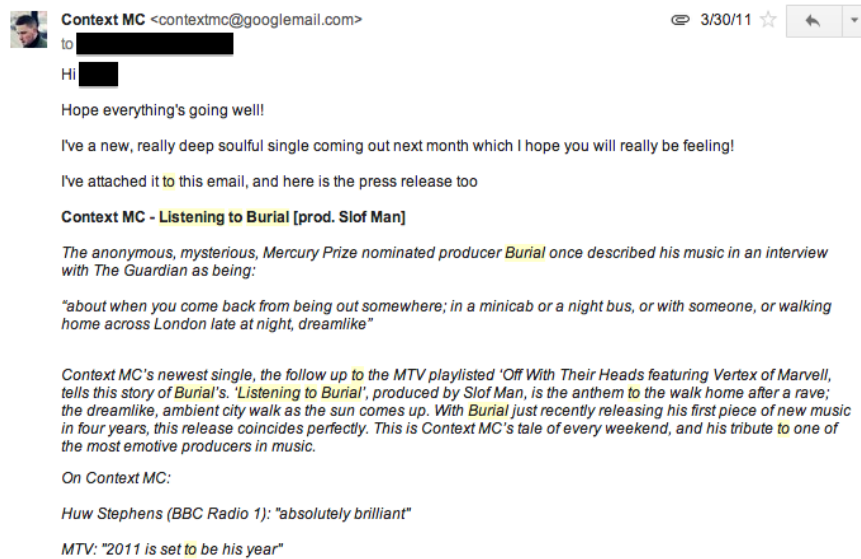


Figure 2: Context: Alignment via email

Over the following days, I received replies from four people, three of which stating that they had forwarded the track on to colleagues, and I thus sent 'chasing' emails to sixteen further DJs and producers. On 12.04.11, the track was premiered on BBC Radio 1Xtra by DJs Ace and Vis (line b). That day, I extracted the audio from the radio play, and uploaded this support to YouTube (line 2), which I shared directly with my fans (line a). I furthermore sent this documented endorsement to twenty-eight online blogs (intermediary B – line 3). Again, the email sent to these intermediaries is shown below (fig. 3). It can be seen how Intermediary B (websites/blogs) is being informed of the support from Intermediary A (BBC Radio 1Xtra).

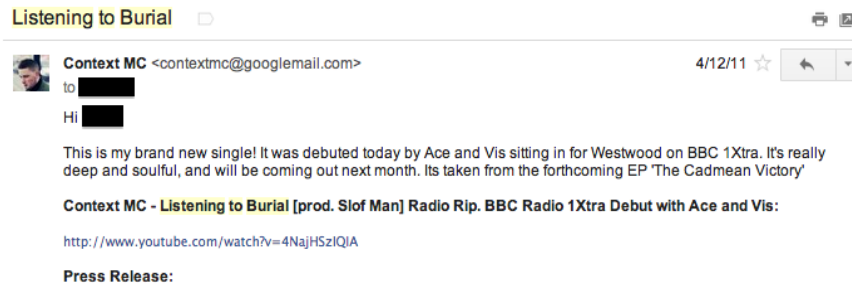


Figure 3: Multiplying support by email

The YouTube rip of the radio premiere was posted to a variety of websites over the following two days (line c). Again, this support was documented by myself (line 4) and was fed back to my existing fans. Additional radio plays had been received during this time, and I fed all of this support back to four more DJs and producers at the BBC (line 1), completing the feedback mechanism on its first 'loop'.

This process began again for the music video for the track. In May 2011, I uploaded the video to YouTube and organised an online 'premiere' for the track with MTV (intermediary B). Following the MTV premiere I contacted eleven online blogs where I attempted to consolidate all of the current support, and the video was shared on a number of major websites (line c). I then documented the online support for the video (line 4), and fed this information back, once again, to DJs and producers at radio stations (line 1). On 17.05.11, I contacted sixteen more intermediaries at the BBC (see fig. 4)

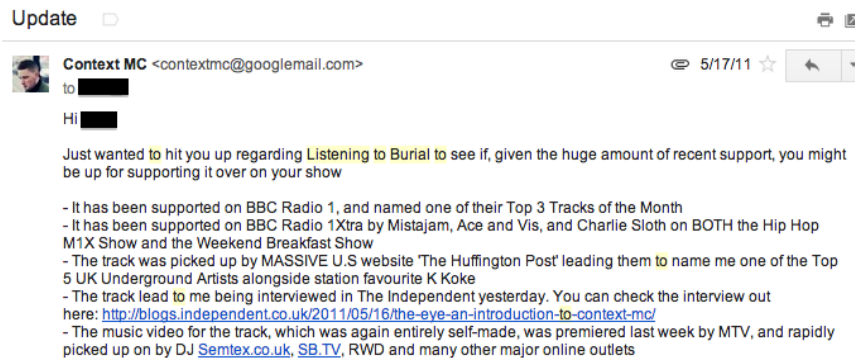


Figure 4: Continuing to multiply

The following month, the video was added to the daytime playlists of Channel AKA as well as MTV Base's evening schedule. Between May and September 2011, I continued to receive plays on various radio stations. On 21.09.11, I was informed that the track had been playlisted on BBC Radio 1. It was added to the playlist at the station on the week commencing 24.10.11, meaning that my track would be played daily on BBC Radio 1, to a nationwide audience of millions. This feedback mechanism process exemplifies the complexity of the relationship between artists and cultural intermediaries in a competitive digital climate. Not only do artists seek to align themselves with other artists to capture the attention of intermediaries, but also seek to align themselves with one group of intermediaries in order to capture the attention of others.

4.2 The function of intermediaries as the projection of success

By understanding how this feedback mechanism operates, we are able to understand why cultural intermediaries were conceptualised as important by these UK urban music artists. Not only do they act as a trusted distribution platform in a sea of content – a way to be heard, and a route to market – but they also act as a signifier that we are attaining 'success' – itself a hugely contested and ill-defined concept within a mu-

sical career. They are a signal to people – intermediaries and fans alike – that this artist is doing well, warrants your attention, and should be listened to. John suggested in interviews that: "*This music scene is based on illusion and what they think is happening*" (John, interview, 07/12). In this sense, collaborative-creativity is, to a certain extent, based on the projection of success and the fabrication of perception. In a saturated marketplace, this projection of success is crucial for artists seeking to keep their head above water and in signalling to a potential audience of fans and cultural intermediaries that they are worth listening to. It is the formation of artistic alliances in the hope that one stands out from the crowd. As Mark stated: "*For loads of people it's like, they'll hear something and be like: 'Is that good? Zane Lowe [BBC Radio 1 DJ] said it's good so it must be good'*" (Interview, 02/13). In this sense, collaboratively forming alliances allows artists to distinguish themselves from the masses, and signal that they are a voice that should be heard.

Cultural intermediaries themselves become agents with whom artists 'collaborate', or to be more terminologically precise, seek a form of strategic affiliate alignment, as part of a process of self-documenting, multi-platform, strategic iteration to cultivate a projection of success. By documenting 'endorsements' and communicating these successes, as seen by Context with press and television achievements, and Mark and John with radio support, this symbolic recognition – this acquisition of cultural capital to use Bourdieu's terminology – becomes a distinguishing mechanism for artists seeking recognition in an anonymising marketplace of abundance, whereby artists struggle through what Martin Kretschmer (2005: 10) has evocatively called the "*noise of creative ambition*". Here, the function of intermediaries transcends that of distribution, and is instead that of a source of *cultural cache* to acquire distinction, often with other intermediaries but also with (potential) supporters too.

5 What's new? The illusory operation of capital

At this juncture some may say; what is necessarily new here? After all, the music industry has long been founded on myth, and projection, and mystique. Whilst the entrepreneurial approaches adopted by these artists and the lengths they go to in order to seek to mitigate their perceived indistinguishability engendered by a marketplace defined by oversaturation and hypercompetition is, perhaps, extreme, and act as case studies to examine the nature of contemporary creative entrepreneurship; perhaps things have always been this way in the music industry? However, when we build on the empirical work herein, and ask broader conceptual questions concerning what these developments tell us about the lives of artists today, and what this apparent projection of artistic 'success' is and means, we can see something quite distinct emerging.

The relationship between artists and cultural intermediaries explored herein serves as an illustration of the contemporary artistic quest for the maximisation of capital in the Bourdieusian sense of the term. These artists were however not seeking to acquire economic capital via these practices, but were harnessing their social and cultural capital, and their investments of economic capital, in order to acquire and maximise ever more cultural capital, understood as prestige and acclaim. In this sense, we can understand this affiliate, collaborative creativity as investment strategies of sorts to build and maintain social relationships with cultural intermediaries. This ongoing process is thus a social investment, with cultural capital the profit or dividend being acquired. For instance, when filming the video for 'Off With Their Heads', I (as Context) was maximising the social/relational capital (the intermediary contacts I had asked to appear in the video), in the hope that this would lead to institutionalised cultural capital (the video being playlisted on MTV). This process of acquisition, maximisation and transubstantiation was indeed ultimately successful. We can observe a similar phenomenon occurring with John's earlier discussed methodology of remixes. He maximised his relational capital with other artists in order to maximise institutionalised cultural capital in the form of documentable radio play, and

in turn reinforced existing social capital, in the form of his relationships with radio DJs themselves. When situating the phenomena uncovered herein in a theoretical context accounting for processes of capital transubstantiation, we can appreciate what the practices represent in conceptual terms, namely investment strategies facilitating conversion from economic, social and cultural capital into more cultural capital.

I observed a strong interconvertibility between social or relational capital and cultural capital throughout this research. Bourdieu suggests that capital interconvertibility is subject to the same constraints as the thermodynamic relationship between mechanical motion and heat which informs it whereby "*profits in one area are necessarily paid for by costs in another*" (Bourdieu 1986: 54). In the case of the artists at hand, as well as for Bourdieu, these costs are invariably economic, meaning cultural and social profits are paid for via economic costs. As illustrated, the collaborative technique employed when creating 'Off With Their Heads' was indeed successful if conceptualised as an exercise in the maximisation of cultural capital via relational capital, and the transubstantiation of the latter into the former. However, the loss of economic capital was vast – after accounting for all income directly derived from the song and video over the research period (largely PRS income), the total loss was precisely £380.00. The artists in this research were culturally rich, but economically poor, a scenario epitomised in the lyrics of Mark in one of his tracks released a few years prior to this research taking place:

When you ask me what I think of the game,

I say: "Yeah, it's alright but I think it's a shame,

*That brehs [men] spit flames [rap well] but ain't really
getting paid"*

*If you want to get the papes [paper/money] gotta bring
it to the [United] States,*

But I can't complain though, a brother's getting played,

*[BBC Radio] 1Xtra, Channel U [Music TV station], man
you see me everyday*

Mark ('The Interview', 2006)

He was suggesting that artists are getting played, but not paid. The phraseology Mark and John employed, wholly unprompted, when discussing intermediary engagement as an 'illusion' is equally applicable here. Success in the music industry can be illusory; artists might be played on the radio, have their videos on television, and be featured in national press alongside the biggest acts in the world, yet they are earning little money and often are losing money. They exist within a non-monetised market of sorts, epitomised in the manner with which contemporary intermediary engagement is understood as the maximisation and transubstantiation of social capital serving to blur the boundary between the exploitation of market-relations based on an exchange of services, and social relations based on an exchange of favours (Adler & Kwon 2002: 18). In this sense, transubstantiation in the other direction, from enormous reserves of social/cultural capital, to economic capital, is incredibly difficult. As I suggested in a tweet from 2011: "*Everything is a profile-raising exercise. Only later can it be a revenue raising exercise*" (Tweet, 20.09.11, 10.56pm).

Artists lamenting the difficulty of their financial situation is certainly nothing new. However, these findings are important to situate the reality of capital transubstantiation in a modern context, highlighting that even today as barriers to entry have plummeted, the costs, both fiscal and emotional, are high, given that artists are able to attain a high degree of *perceived*, perhaps *misleading*, 'success', epitomised in the institutionalised cultural capital of radio or television playlisting, or nationwide media exposure, and yet, struggle to convert this into economic capital and thereby render their practice sustainable in economic terms. Capital interplay for these artists was therefore illusory in nature, as artistic projections of 'success' (in itself, as was explored in the inter-

views, an ambiguous and contested term) and cultivated public perceptions in the form of support by some of the biggest media outlets in the world, masked the realities this research uncovered. These processes that privileged the role of cultural intermediaries as crucial distinguishers in a saturated marketplace, and thus allowed artists to acquire enormous reserves of objectified and institutionalised cultural capital, simultaneously masked their economic reality, as these musicians struggled as artists always have, yet crucially, appeared to others as highly successful. This is the contemporary illusion of capital, a process within which cultural intermediaries are central, in an environment of hyper-competition.

6 Conclusion

Ferocious competition caused these artists to place an intense focus and importance, rightly or wrongly, on the role cultural intermediaries play in their career trajectory given their ability to act as both disseminators and distinguishers. In this sense, the findings presented herein initially do three things, they: support the suggestion of Bourdieu (1984) that these intermediaries would maintain a position of authority in a cultural environment of increasing complexity, reject the 'death of the intermediary' thesis, and finally, support the findings from other cultural industries such as broadcasting and book publishing (Seabright & Weeds 2007; Thompson 2010) that intermediaries matter. Far from the democratising potential of new digital technologies negating the importance of intermediaries, it has in fact increased their importance, at least in the minds of these musicians. They are important not simply as distributors, but distinguishers. This notion of intermediaries being important as a distinguisher is not necessarily new, but the idea of musicians, in this case unsigned rappers, integrating intermediaries into their production practices to maximise their distinctiveness, is. In this sense, this paper has highlighted how both collaboration and competition come to define the experience of contemporary musicians.

The Babel Objection questions: "*if everyone speaks at once, how can anyone be heard*" (Benkler 2006). These findings suggest that one does not acquire an audience by speaking more loudly, but by embodying your voice with a greater perceived level of authority derived from high-status media affiliations, be they artists, celebrities, or cultural intermediaries themselves, via sagacious 'collaborative' creative practices. This collaborative approach to creativity is predicated upon the necessity for a distinguishing mechanism as much as it is for the benefits of creating art together, and serves to blur the boundary between competitive self-interest on the one hand, and collaboration on the other, as artists appear to work together but for largely selfish-reasons i.e. to advance their own careers by attracting attention. It is a declaration of success-by-association; a process of cultural consecration. In an era of abundant content, proliferated with creative works and creative workers all ferociously competing to be heard in a crowd of raucous, deafening ambitiousness, the cultivation of conspicuousness becomes paramount, and it is this which is the role of intermediaries. They matter because they distinguish artists in an environment of hypercompetition where symbolic meaning matters.

Discovering that competition fosters a degree of co-operation (epitomised in the increasing importance of cultural intermediaries) appears counterintuitive, semantically at least. However, the co-operative nature of artistic production of course is not (Becker 1982). What is unique in this analysis are three things. In the first instance, it is the realisation and methodology behind this collectivity and collaboration in the digitalised marketplace that is novel namely in the ways in which artists cultivate their networks. Secondly, it is the rationale behind it, which is interesting; artists are collaborative less for creative reasons (Leadbeater & Oakley 1999) than for practical reasons, in an attempt to be seen and heard and to advance their creative careers. Thirdly, it is the way in which this collaboration is entirely the responsibility of artists themselves, alone. For the artists in the 'music industry' world of Negus (1999, 2011), co-operation was the responsibility of intermediaries, acting on behalf of the artist. In this research however, it was the artists who were the or-

chestrators of this co-operative reputation-making. Certainly, independent artists have always managed their own careers and attempted to promote their image, from recording demo tapes and sending them to John Peel, to making promotional T Shirts (Cohen 1991). But for today's artists, there is more than this going on. They are formulating complex promotional methods to maximise their routes to market and subsequently achieving regular national, mainstream radio success, as well as cultivating a wide network of relationships with journalists and achieving exposure in the widest terms imaginable from the largest media-outlets in the world.

This process of acquiring cultural distinction, understood through the prism of Bourdieu, is representative of creative practice that exploits cultivated social capital, existing cultural capital, and investments of economic capital, in order to maximise privileged cultural capital. However, this was rarely converted back into economic capital for these artists. Whilst entry-level costs have reduced, the costs of competing are incredibly high, with little return. I employ the terminology used in earlier interviews by John and Mark, and suggest this process highlights how contemporary processes of capital interplay can be illusory in the manner in which they allow for the projection of high levels of apparent successes in the form of institutionalised cultural capital, despite artists experiencing financial hardships. Of course, musical success is never defined in purely financial terms, and indeed during interviews the musicians in this research project confirmed this. However, there was a worrying ambiguity relating to how the outside world understood and valued what they did, and a tension between this perception, and their material reality.

This work has not sought to evaluate the ability of intermediaries to assist consumers in decision-making processes, nor their usefulness as distributors of content, but instead, has shown how a specific group of artists believe intermediaries to be important (rightly or wrongly), adopt specific behavioural practices accordingly, and what the results of these strategies might tell us about what it means to be a successful musician today. Therefore, these findings only evidence the *perceived importance*

of intermediaries. They become important, at least in part, because they are perceived as being important, and are central to how these artists experience competitiveness. Lury & Warde (1997: 96) suggested that intermediaries are a form of 'modern witch doctor' who, via their apparent "*special knowledges are able to sell their divinations to the worried producers*". It appears, for these UK urban music artists at least, they no longer need sell themselves; we as creators believe them, and perceive this to be true. However, in doing so, and by engaging in processes that seek to present the greatest image of success (whatever this means), we simultaneously mask the reality of our day-to-day lives in this environment of hypercompetition, leading one to ask; what does musical 'success' really mean?

7 References

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Status quo and perspectives of licensing synchronisation rights

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Abstract

The commercialisation of synchronisation rights has become an area of growing importance for music publishers and labels, since wide-ranging exploitation of musical works is needed nowadays to achieve a profitable level of business activity. The developments in the synchronisation rights area are closely linked to increased digitalisation. On the one hand, business processes can be optimised by using internet-based platforms or applying seamlessly digitalised workflows, yet on the other hand, both supply and demand of musical works is increasing, creating other challenges. This paper analyses the current state of the art in the sector by conducting market research as well as using various case studies. The goal was to capture current workflows, challenges and perspectives relating to the licensing of synchronisation rights.

Keywords: synchronisation rights, licences, case study research, digitalisation

1 Introduction

At a time of declining revenues in the core business of record labels and music publishers, new, profitable distribution channels are vital to ensure the continued viability of the companies. In that regard, expanding

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the exploitation options of a musical work is usually the choice to be made (Tschmuck 2016; Hughes et al. 2016). Whereas digital routes like downloading and streaming are of marginal financial benefit per transaction, the licensing of synchronisation rights for movies, TV or advertising is still an option for commercial exploitation, with opportunities for significant financial budgets even in the music business (Simmons 2015).

As most companies in the music business are individual or small entrepreneurs, having dedicated employees for specific operational tasks is rare. Therefore, efficient and effective access to all distribution channels and exploitation options is critical to overcome the disadvantages of being a non-specialised user as well as the challenges for individuals of having multiple areas of responsibilities (Thomson 2013).

This paper presents the results of research into the topic of synchronisation rights. It aims to both illustrate the current state of the art in music licencing as well as identify the challenges and needs from the user's perspective. Given the authors' scientific background we focus on IT-related subjects such as business processes, usability or functional requirements for information systems so additional topics such as the legal aspects were not of primary concern.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows. After a brief introduction outlining the scientific approach chosen, the various internet-based options for licensing synchronisation rights are then categorised and summarised in the subsequent section. This overview provides terminological clarification and clarity regarding the advantages, disadvantages and unique aspects of each available option. The next section incorporates the users' perspective and comprises the results of the interviews conducted with licensors and licensees. It focuses on identifying requirements and challenges that occur in the process of licensing synchronisation rights to determine the starting points for improving efficiency. Based on the results of the foregoing, the final section then proposes future perspectives for the licensing of synchronisation rights.

2 Methodology

Our research objective was to provide an up-to-date and complete as possible overview of the status and challenges within the field of synchronisation right licensing. In this paper, we aim to capture the typical usage scenarios from the different stakeholders including their

- approaches and preferences,
- primary requirements,
- and common challenges and pitfalls

when licensing synchronisation rights. Beyond the scope of this paper the resulting understanding of this sector can be used to stimulate innovations or to develop solutions targeting the gaps identified.

As the methodological foundation of this paper we employed a case study research (CSR) approach by conducting interviews. To aid a comparison of the results and to ensure completeness of the interviews, we used semi-structured questionnaires. Taking the two major roles in the licensing process into account, we created specific questionnaires for licensors and licensees. Although structure and content was mostly the same, the wording was adapted with a few role-specific questions added.

The sample included eight interviews with representatives of German and Austrian companies. The conversations took place between October and December 2016 and were conducted in person or by using internet-based conference tools. The duration of the interviews varied between 20 and 90 minutes. Since the market, comprising cinema, TV and advertising, is diverse, the perspectives of various stakeholders needed to be captured, so the business focus of the interviewees including marketing, (short) movies, audio books or brand management are listed in table 1.

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Type of interviewee	Synch manager	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Synch manager	Owner
Licensors/ licensees	Licensor	Licensee	Licensee	Licensee	Licensee	Licensee	Licensor & Licensee	Licensee
Number of employees	6	1	16	4	2	1	>1000	6
Business areas	Publisher, label and synch	Production of short movies	Marketing	Music supervisor	Production of audio books	Music supervisor	Synch	Acoustic brand management

Table 1: Demographics of the cases

To ensure relevant as well as competent feedback, either owners or employees actively doing synch were interviewed. Mirroring the typical structures within the music industry, the majority of interviewees worked in small and medium-sized enterprises. The interviews were carried out by a team of two people and recorded digitally to allow for a comfortable analysis and unified evaluation by multiple people.

As a result of the design of the study a few limitations emerged. Due to the qualitative character of the study it is important to keep in mind that the result produced cannot be generalised so to allow for quantitative inferences further research should be conducted. Similarly, for a more detailed view of the unique aspects of the different groups of stakeholders in the synchronisation rights business, additional studies need to be carried out. Furthermore, the focus on German speaking participants impairs conclusions from a more global perspective. Especially varying legal restrictions or cultural preferences might influence the results in an international context.

A supplementary survey was conducted to examine the market for web-based platforms offering synchronisation rights. The goal was to assess the current state of the market of such platforms and to analyse their functionalities by linking with the interview findings. The survey encompassed fourteen different internationally operating platforms covering different licensing methods like dealboards, (major) platforms

or production libraries. Table 2 shows the distribution of the examined platforms in relation to their licensing methods. The platforms analysed were identified through an online search and complemented by platforms that were mentioned in the interviews. The results are presented in the second part of the paper.

Platform type	Major platform	Production library	Dealboard	Mixture of dealboard and production library
Number of examined platforms	3	2	2	2

Table 2: Distribution of platforms in accordance to platform type

3 Interviews

Interviews with eight licensors and licensees were conducted in the first part of the analysis. Due to the large variety of their business contexts (from licensing for low budget productions to international music copyright and synch management), the demands and wishes of the interviewees on licensing procedures were diverse. Overall, the interviewees wished for a more transparent and smooth process and as such each had clear ideas for potential optimisation and articulated starting points for improvements. An overview of the statements, classified into four categories, is given in fig. 1. Following this is a detailed explanation of the ideas and wishes of the interviewees, according to the categories.

process simplification	process transparency	features	communication
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • less administrative effort for registration with collecting society • downloading of licences • checklist for licence procedure • import/export of meta data • saving of search parameters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • status of licensing • clear licencing models, incl. rights, duties and pricing • prices for each track • key figures for licensors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • statistics • listing of new tracks • history of played tracks • search requests for parameters • identification/download/sending of moodsongs • sound-alikes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • direct communication channels for licensee and composer (compositional adjustments, pricing agreements for non-commercial projects)

Figure 1: Demands and wishes on music licensing procedures

3.1 Process simplification

Statements that dealt with the simplification of licensing procedures were summarized under the category of process simplification. Interview partners expressed their wishes for better handling of data that are already in use. As an example, time could be saved by simplifying the process of registration with the collecting society. The large administrative effort involved in completing registration sheets with pre-existing data is another barrier in licensing synchronisation rights that prevents quick registration and leads to frustration in further processing. Technical interfaces to import and export metadata between the information system of the licensor and a synch platform could be implemented to avoid unnecessary duplication of work within the licensing process. Additionally, support for the licensing process could extend to less experienced licensees for example by checklists and guidance through the complex music licensing procedures. Additionally, while most of the platforms already use data like search parameters and other licensee metadata to make customized recommendations based on playlists or user behaviour, the metadata collected could also be at the licensees' disposal. For example, saving of search parameters would be beneficial to speeding up repeating music searches.

3.2 Process transparency

Next to the demands for process simplification, the interviewees expressed the wish for a greater process transparency. Whilst the general process of synchronisation right licensing was described as quick and simple, individualisation and changes to standard procedure often become time-consuming, so licensors desire more transparency on the status of the ongoing licensing processes. In the same way, straightforward clear communication of licensing models, including any legal restrictions, cost certainty as well as flexibility on musical adaptations, would ensure a swift processing and support licensees; these aspects are important especially for low budget productions. Another benefit for licensing would be an increased transparency between the participating actors. As an example, the collection and evaluation of key indicators for

licensors such as response time behaviour, completed deals or adherence to schedules, would enable licensees to choose licensors with a certain reliability or experience. Especially in critical situations this could support and accelerate decision-making processes.

3.3 Features

Statements that expressed wishes for additional features were summarised in the third category. Licensors wanted statistics like the number of requests for each title or most requested tracks, achievement of shortlists etc. From these key figures, conclusions about the success of tracks or market trends can be drawn. Licensees on the other hand could also be supported by displaying recently added new tracks to the database as well as showing a history of earlier played tracks. The option to mark favourite tracks would be another possible benefit that could support music search. Furthermore, the possibility of saving and periodically executing a search request would allow for a presentation of new tracks on the platform matching the parameters defined by the licensee. By including the possibility to define license domains (e.g. independent movie production, game, VR), the search could be customised to the licensee's requirements. Another feature of relevance, especially for licensees, would be the platform-supported listing of sound-alikes or covers, in the same way as mood-songs could support the identification of customer requirements. The possibility to download tracks or share playlists would enable music supervisors or producers to assess the suitability of a track easily prior to licensing.

3.4 Communication

The potential for optimisation was also seen in the context of communication, especially between licensees and composers. A common request is for adaptations of compositions or agreements for an alignment of music and film. In order to improve efficient communication, licensees wanted possibilities for direct dialogue between the music composer and the licensee. This as well as agreements on pricing within music licensing, especially for non-commercial purposes, could be simplified.

In summary, the usual procedure for licensing between experienced partners mostly runs smoothly, yet even minor deviations can cause delays and complicate the entire process; the weakest aspect of the process is communication. Besides a lack of transparency of the licensing conditions, difficulties in articulating requirements and ideas cause particular problems due to the highly subjective music descriptions. Interviewees described difficulties in the articulation of requirements and identification of matches. Tag based search is an option but has to be maintained well. If tags are pre-specified by platforms, they might not suffice for licensors. On the other hand, a tagging system without limitations leads to a lack of clarity. Therefore, innovative approaches for music search are needed in order to better handle the growing number of tracks without losing clarity and user-friendliness.

4 Market analysis

With pervasive digital distribution and commercialisation of music, the market has become global, resulting in an increasing supply but also intensified competition. This requires efficient workflows to remain profitable and to exploit the various commercialisation options at the same time. In support of that, numerous internet-based platforms offer musical works, trying to provide efficient and effective workflows. As already stated by the interviewees in the first part of this paper, the key challenges in that regard are a powerful, yet simple and fast process of licensing as well as effective search to match the specific demands of the licensees with the individual offers of the licensors. The following section presents the results of the second part of the research that focused on the analysis of the various available platforms.

Synchronisation right licensing platforms can be divided into three groups:

- *Major platforms* promote their own repertoire of, mainly well-known artists under exclusive contract with the platform owning label. As such, the platforms are not accessible for every licensor, meaning independent labels and publish-

ers do not have access. Major platforms operate actively through promoting and offering their repertoire, focusing on the requirements of a licensee, but also passively by providing platforms for systematic music search performed by the licensee itself. The target of major platforms are licensors or supervisors with high production budgets that search for high quality tracks composed by professional or renowned musicians. A high level of approximation between offer and demand is required. The systematic music search within a large pool of tracks is complex and expensive. Due to the high effort for licensing the number of synchronisation licenses is limited to a few high-volume projects.

- *Production Libraries* are agencies or platforms that promote music, specially composed for media productions. The repertoire of Production Libraries includes predominantly instrumental music of various genres and styles, mainly produced by semi-professional artists (licensor). Their main customers are licensees searching within a limited budget for music in their productions. Given the quality on offer, the lack of individuality and the low approximation level between demand and offer, the prices for licensors are relatively low. As a consequence, the profits for licensees are likewise limited.
- *Dealboards* provide a platform that match media professionals, who describe their requirements by publishing a project description, and artists that can pitch by offering music corresponding to the published requirements. The licensee gets pitches from licensors until he/she finds something suitable. Finally, the synchronisation rights are licensed usually manually. Even though the effort for active music research can be reduce on the licensee's part, the ap-

proach of dealboards results in more effort for the licensor. The process of licensing, starting with the identification of relevant projects through pitching up to final negotiation, is time-consuming and inefficient. Furthermore, there is a time lag between the publication of demands and receipt of offerings which is only acceptable for the licensee if there is no pressure of time in the production process.

Besides these groups of platforms, there are also hybrid platforms that combine various characteristics. They provide opportunities for both licensors that search for promoting opportunities in the field of synch licensing as well as for licensees to use the platforms for searching music or creating pitches. Due to the fact that such licensors are professional musicians, the quality of music is higher than it is the case with production libraries.

High-cost productions also have the option of commissioning composers to exclusively create music where the producer and artist become co-workers, with the composition of the music becoming part of the entire production process; as such there is no need for any support from the platforms or labels.

In the following, the detailed findings from the market analysis are presented with a particular focus on content specification, the music search approaches and the conditions and processes for licencing including customer support. This then leads to the challenges and perspectives on the future of synchronisation rights licensing.

4.1 Portfolio specialisation

Most of the platforms we analysed did not explicitly specialise, either for certain media formats (e.g. apps or games) or specific domains (e.g. short movies or audio books). Only a few Production Libraries described advertisement, film or apps as an area of expertise. Priorities in music genres or any kind of specialisation of the music pool content were also not provided by the platform owners. The exception to this were Major Platforms that use the platforms to exclusively promote their own catalogues and hence reflect the character of their portfolio. Generally, the

lack of portfolio specialisation of platforms complicates the licensee orientation and efficient music search. A clear communication of portfolio specialisation would benefit licensors from independent or non-mainstream music genres who are looking for suitable marketing channels for their music.

A clear communication of preferences as well as designating the significant parameters for a platform holder in choosing artists would facilitate a selective, yet transparent application process for licensors. Moreover, licensees could profit from a clearer specialisation to support their orientation in the growing range of available synchronisation licenses. In the current situation, whether the music offered matches the licensee's personal preferences can only be determined through time-consuming music research.

An overview of the specialisation of all three platform types is given in table 3.

		Major Platform	Production Library	Dealboard
Portfolio	Specialisation media format	no	mixed	no
	Prioritised domains	no	mixed	no
	Specialisation pool content	no	no	-

Table 3: Portfolio specialisation of Major Platforms, Production Libraries and Dealboards

4.2 Music search and download

Without any orientation by portfolio specialisation, the search for compositions matching the needs of the licensee, becomes an important task. Even though most of the platforms offer algorithmic recommendations of music immediately after the first clicks on any of the listed categories, the quantity and variety of tracks remains huge. Furthermore, compliance with the licensees' requirements remains low in this approach so an effective and efficient music search requires a precise description of the music.

The Major Platforms administer a large number of tracks and support music search by customers. Accordingly, an efficient music search and well-structured categorisation of content is vital to allow for a simple and fast identification of prospective licensing options. Keywords and categories like artist, title, genre, year but also mood, language and tempo of the music can be defined by the user in order to filter the music pool. Commonly, a refined search can be used for further filtering of the first search results. One platform provided the additional option of defining a minimum number of matches of search criteria (match all, match one or more, match across). This way users with only a vague idea of their needs are not forced to limit their search scope. Well-structured menus and a search history offered by some platforms are further aspects of a user-friendly application. Not every platform provides masters of all their tracks for direct listening, which complicates the selection process, although most platforms provide a download function for registered users. Sharing of playlists is not standard practice on the Major Platforms, nevertheless some provide this option. Sharable playlists enable licensees to collect tracks that might suit the needs of a project to share with co-workers or clients before starting the licensing process.

In the case of Production Libraries, the functionalities for music search and browsing through the music pool are limited. Search functionalities rarely exceed the fields of artist, title and album. Refined search is limited to drop-down menus or keyword clouds that hold categories like genre, mood, style, instrument or topic, but do not always provide good quality results. The missing functionality for a keyword search and the poor matching of search criteria and results of some platforms evidence flaws in music description. Some platforms offer tagging functionalities, which, however, do not always lead to appropriate results. The music within Production Libraries can be played directly and some platforms also provide the opportunity to create and share playlists. Additionally, most of the platforms examined offer a download functionality.

Dealboards offer brokerage services for licensors and licensees by providing a platform that supports the processes of pitching, choosing

and licensing of music. Every transaction refers to a specific licensee request, which means that dealboards do not administer a music pool and do not have exclusive contracts with licensors. Accordingly, they generally do not provide the opportunity for autonomous music search even though licensors can upload compositions describing their style. Nevertheless, the music on offer can be played directly and playlists can be shared. Downloading music prior to licensing is not always possible so that tracks on offer can only be played by the licensee on the platform.

The variety of approaches for music search as well as differences in download and playlist functionalities is shown in table 4.

		Major Platform	Production Library	Dealboard
Music search	Pre-sorting according to selectable categories	yes	yes	pitch-related
	Refine search / additional filter (e.g. genre, moods, vocals, instruments)	yes	yes	-
	Direct search (title, artist, album)	yes	mixed	-
	Open keyword search	mixed	mixed	-
Download	Prior license download	with log-in	mixed	mixed
Playlist	Playlists creatable	mixed	mixed	yes
	Playlists sharable	mixed	mixed	yes

Table 4: Aspects of music search, download and playlist functionalities in music licensing platforms

4.3 Licensing process and conditions

Approaches to licensing synchronisation rights vary considerably (table 5). In the case of the *Major Platforms*, the licensee can perform the mu-

music search without much advance effort and the creation of an account or payment of other charges is not necessary for music search. However, the creation of an account becomes mandatory for the purpose of licensing. All the Major Platforms examined here defined certain requirements for the registration, which is mostly limited to the various kinds of creative producers. Accounts are thus confirmed manually without charging licensees any kind of subscription fee. With a confirmed account, licensees can submit license request forms. Details of the license, e.g. fees or conditions, are not transparent prior to the licensing request. More transparency could be enabled through direct communication of the license conditions prior to the request. For any kind of consulting, the Major Platforms provide personal customer support via phone or digital communication channels. Due to the fact that licensors have an exclusive contract with platform holders, the conditions for the licensors are not transparent.

Similarly, the Production Libraries also do not charge subscriptions fees. The only exception to this was for a platform that offered a flat rate agreement. In this case, the subscription fee for licensees included licences for the entire pool of music. In general, music search within Production Libraries can be performed without any registration. As opposed to the Major Platforms, most Production Libraries provide the opportunity for speedy licensing, meaning that at least parts of the catalogue are classified in advance and all restrictions and conditions for licensing are set. On that basis prices can be determined within only a few clicks. The fees vary according to the context of the intended usage. In case of pre-cleared synchronisation licenses, licensees profit from quick transactions and clear conditions. On the other hand, Production Libraries do not provide individual support for their customers. Besides agreements on conditions for the split of licence fees, some Production Libraries additionally charge licensors with fees for tagging or private sales.

In the case of Dealboards, licensees initiate the licensing process as they publish projects describing their requirements. Licensors then have to identify and pitch their work to the relevant projects. Accordingly, all

platform users need to create an account that includes their profile, skills, previous works or short bios. For a better presentation, licensees can upload and store representative music in their own playlist which might support the licensors decision process. Due to the fact that there is no music pool, Dealboards do not offer speedy licensing. Conditions for the synchronisation of licensing rights are pitch-related and need to be negotiated individually. Depending on the individual pricing model of the platforms, different kinds of fees are levied. Commission fees are common for licensors. But there also exist platforms that charge licensees with subscription or connection fees. In case of one Dealboard, licensees have to pay the platform per pitched project.

Licensing parameters differ between all platforms. Media type and territory seem obligatory for all except for flat rate agreements. Exclusivity, theme song, term, project type and project budget are also key parameters in influencing the price. With the exception of two Production Libraries, the conditions for licensors are not transparent but in the case of Dealboards, the licensing conditions are published within the project and result from negotiations.

		Major Platform	Production Library	Dealboard
Licensing process	Pre-cleared licenses	mixed	yes	-
	Free access on licensing conditions	no	mixed	pitch-related
	Individual consulting	yes	mixed	yes
	Negotiation with licensor	no	?	yes
Pricing conditions	Subscription fees for licensees	no	no	mixed
	Commission fees for licensors	-	no	mixed
	Transparent pricing/pricing range	no	yes	pitch-related

Table 5: Approaches and conditions for licensing of synchronisation rights

4.4 Results from market analysis

The analysis in the preceding sections revealed certain general weaknesses that are shared by every platform type. Overall, most platforms lack a structured and clear presentation of the specialisations within their portfolio. Dealboards and Production Libraries focus on the presentation of popular licensees and successful completed projects, while artists are rarely presented, although this differs from the major platforms that work with and promote famous licensors exclusively. For independent labels this means, even if they manage to get into a pool of a platform, their options for representation and marketing are limited. If the description of music is insufficient and music search is limited to basic categories like artists, songs or albums, unknown artists and their compositions are hardly visible. Where only keywords can be used for research, stereotypes are used to articulate requirements, meaning independent music that differs from the mainstream is hard to find.

5 Conclusion and perspectives

Based on the interviews, in the field of synchronisation rights the profound impact of digitalisation can be observed. On the one hand, there is extensive IT-support making the production of music easier and multiple digital platforms simplifying market access, which leads to an increasing and diverse supply of music. On the other hand, as stated in the interviews, there is a high and still growing demand for music due to the intense use of multimedia content in various channels. This leads to the change from previously rarer, but highly priced licensing to more frequent, but financially limited transactions.

Two major challenges emerge from this paradigm shift to a greater diversification and more "long tail" transactions, analogous to the core music industry in the context of downloading and streaming. Firstly, as per transaction budgets decline, it is essential to have highly efficient business processes to stay profitable and this can be achieved by increasing automation and providing digital workflows as complete as possible. This challenge can be addressed by the platforms, especially in

the context of licence agreements. In that regard, the solution may vary between providing functions supporting the conclusion of complex contracts and the simplification of agreements by generalisation. The latter can be observed in the context of stock audio platforms.

Secondly, the growing supply and diversity of musical works available for licencing demands effective search algorithms to identify the musical work exactly suited to the needs of the particular case. There are various efforts to create innovative and powerful search approaches complementing conventional search criteria like genre, tags or "harder" characteristics like bpm. Examples ranging from supporting semantic queries (Dittmar et al. 2012) to an emotion-based music description as in a current research project of the authors. The main advantage of such developments is the alignment of the works' description with the common vocabulary of the licensees. The assumption is, that licensees tend to have difficulties with the common music focused descriptions. Thus, new approaches should support the emotional and soft factors they preferably describe music with. By this means, a more efficient search could be implemented.

An additional challenge emerges from the growing quantity and diversity of the forms of exploitation of musical works. In the past, sales were dominated by movies and TV. The current market is increasingly diverse including YouTube, social media and games. A constant growth of available forms of exploitation can be assumed, adding additional complexity for licence agreements.

Keeping that in mind it becomes vital, as stated multiple times in the interviews, to adapt the so-called "anachronistic" model of collecting societies to the described developments. The growth in diversity of possible usages of a musical work increases the challenges to thorough control and to fair and correct distribution of royalties. Current advocates of the concept of blockchains as well as smart contracts see those as possible answers to these challenges (O'Dair et al. 2016), but as currently developed it remains unclear whether these are appropriate solutions, at least in regard to performance and latency. As the interviews indicate, the users' priorities are a legal and financial certainty, even for (future)

costs or new ways of exploitation and an easy and swift licensing procedure. How these, in part contradictory, goals are achieved is not relevant in most cases.

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[The Economics of Music by Peter Tschmuck](#), Agenda Publishing, ISBN 9781911116073 (hardback), ISBN 1911116088 (paperback) ISBN 9781911116097 (e-book)



Book review by Dennis Collopy

For admirers of Peter Tschmuck's ["Creativity and Innovation in the Music Industry"](#), his latest publication, ["The Economics of Music"](#) is an unexpected and welcome addition to his body of work. Its relevance to music business research and study is immediately apparent and this is a work that may well become a key text on any undergraduate and post-graduate course involving music management, music business / music industry management as well the broader study of cultural economics. In the area of cultural economics almost every relevant key text from Richard Caves to Harold Vogel and more recently Ruth Towse encompasses the entire range of the cultural industries in varying degrees, Whilst the music industry is often integral to their analysis as much if not more attention is given to the film industry with which music has long

shared many attributes. This book however focuses entirely on the music industry and that is one of its key strengths.

This book can be essentially divided into 3 parts; firstly, the introduction together with analysis of the economic principles and theories; secondly, the review of the four key market sectors; thirdly, the impact of recent changes on creators followed by the closing analysis of the economics of digital music.

The introduction and analysis of the economic principles and theories rigorously and succinctly explains the economic essentials governing a music industry that encompasses an economic good protected by copyright law. The book's theoretical assessment of the microeconomics of music is followed by a very useful chapter on the economics of music copyright. The introduction clarifies the various terms and concepts employed to describe the music business as an economic sector and suggests a broader definition of the music economy to include music instrument manufacturing and trade, music education, music advocacy and lobbying groups, music export services, and the music media sector. The 1st chapter, "*A Short Economic History of Music*", surveys the history of the music business from music printing in the 16th century to the opera/ concert business and the emerging music publishing business of the 18th and 19th century. There is then a discussion of the set of copyright principles that emerged in England in the early 18th century that led to the modern copyright and collective licensing societies systems over the next 3 centuries. The chapter then covers the history of sound recording since Thomas A. Edison as well as looks at development of the live music business from its origins including music halls, Broadway shows through to the conglomerate dominated modern touring business. The 2nd chapter "*Microeconomics of Music: Music as an Economic Good*" uses microeconomic findings to show music as a public good (Samuelson 1954), then one as partly privatised in the concert business as a club good (Buchanan 1965) and finally one completely privatised through technological means, especially by sound recording. Yet digitisation has turned music full circle as it shows its core characteristics as a public good that has led to the phenomena of freeriding and online "pi-

racy". The theoretical analysis of music as an economic good also uses the concept of meritorious goods (Musgrave 1957), to understand music in the context of public broadcasting and as "high" art, and then assesses music as an information and experience good (Shapiro and Varian 1999) with resultant network externalities to explain the economics of the digital commons. The 3rd chapter "*The Economics of Music Copyright*" starts by explaining the fundamentals of copyright in music and the divergent copyright systems in the US and continental Europe before turning to its role as part of property rights in contract law and contractual relations. Of significance, is the link between the economics of copyright and contracts to market forms and monopolistic competition and typical oligopolies found across in the different sectors of the music industry.

The review of the four key market sectors; music publishing, sound recording, live music and secondary markets, shows how these markets are organised and linked. The 4th chapter, "*The Markets for Music: Music Publishing*", examines the international and certain national music publishing markets together with different business models involved before analysing the economic power of the major and independent publishers. Similarly, chapter 5, "*The Markets for Music: Sound Recording*", analyses the sound recording market, noting the change from a physical product market to a digital market driven by downloads and streaming. This chapter includes a section on how "piracy" impacted sales and changed the business from an album to a singles market. This includes data on new consumption patterns and changing music consumer behaviour and aims to assess the wider effects of digital impacting the value chain of production, distribution, and consumption of music. The 6th chapter, "*The Markets for Music: Live Music*", contrasts the boom over the past 15 years in the live music market as the recorded music market dramatically declined. It examines the radical reorganisation of the live market through the emergence of Live Nation's to becoming the current global business controlled by a tight oligopoly. Chapter 7, "*Secondary Music Markets*", is the final element of the specific sectors and examines the role the licensing of music plays in secondary markets such as radio and

TV, motion pictures, video games, branding, sponsorship, and merchandising.

Fittingly, the final two chapters arguably provide perhaps the most important insights of the entire book by focusing on modern creators and the emerging economics of the digital music businesses. Chapter 8 "*Music Labour Markets*" is of particular value in an era of increased uncertainty and precariousness for many musicians and Tschmuck analyses the different occupations across the music industry using statistics on music industry labour markets and focusing on the variety of revenue streams for musicians. Given the modest level of revenues from music publishing and recorded music he points to musicians' reliance on work within the wider music economy including music education. The closing chapter 9 "*Economics of the Digital Music Business*" identifies the new rules, procedures and structures brought about by the digital revolution. It uses data on the international and several national digital music markets to show the economic relevance of different digital formats and then explains the new business models before assessing the economic relevance of several of the new technology based stakeholders and assessing the key issues within digitised music economy.

The book segments the different sectors and, uniquely to this author, it separates the music publishing and recorded music sectors as well as the live music sectors but shows how they interact. It highlights the music industries' ability to adapt business models to the ever-changing technologies that impact the entire value and supply chain from distribution to artist management. The analysis of recording companies' revenues together with musicians' income streams demonstrates how particular formats and platforms can affect profit margins and how live shows now outperform sales of recorded music as the primary source of income for today's artists. This book also focuses on the emerging new economic paradigm involving; a combination of established legacy firms and the new(er) entrants, including the more recent generation of music providers; the shift in musicians' ability to disseminate their work; the constantly evolving behaviour of consumers. Special attention should be given to Tschmuck's insightful analysis of the viabil-

ity of the streaming services, in which he distinguishes between stand-alone services such as Spotify and other services that are bundled with and integral to the wider eco-system such as Apple and Google. His analysis serves as a warning about current assumptions made about the economic fundamentals of the streaming model for recorded music and especially for the creators like artists and songwriters.

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Burnett, R. (1996) "The Popular Music Industry in Transition", in *Mass Media & Society*, eds A. Wells & E. Hakanen, JAI Press, London, pp. 120-140.

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