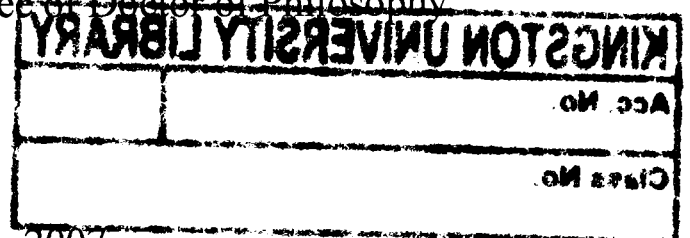


EXPLAINING LABOUR MARKET EMERGENCE: THE CASE OF EARLY MUSIC PERFORMANCE IN THE UK

Nicholas Charles WILSON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



April, 2007

Kingston University

Abstract

The primary purpose of this thesis is to provide a causal explanation of the emergence of the UK early music labour market. The labour market for early music performers was held to have appeared in the 1970s, when the early music movement established itself as a major cultural force in the UK. It is argued that current labour market theory has been hampered in its ability to explain this phenomenon because i) it has generally taken the view that labour markets 'just exist', and ii) because existing accounts are too often founded on conflationary theorising. The only way to offer a practically adequate causal explanation of this emergent phenomenon is to adopt an approach that can account for the transformational and stratified nature of social reality. Critical realism is introduced as the philosophical 'underlabourer' for this research project, with Archer's (1995) morphogenetic method representing its methodological complement.

Following an immanent critique of the labour market literature, I present a re-conceptualisation of the labour market and its emergence, drawing on a critique of the entrepreneurship literature and the process of qualification. This frames the empirical research of the emergent early music labour market, involving both intensive and extensive research. The outcome of the research takes the form of an analytical historical account.

The temporal and relational emergence of the UK early music labour market is shown to depend upon a range of key causal configurations (including the presence/absence of funding and training; enterprising capabilities; incubation opportunities; and re-qualification). Two underlying causal mechanisms (the tendency towards transformation and the tendency towards standardisation) are highlighted. It is argued that the retrodution of these mechanisms represents a significant contribution to knowledge with respect to our understanding of labour markets, markets in general, and the process of entrepreneurship.

Contents	Page
Acknowledgements	i
List of Tables	ii
List of Figures	iii
Chapter 1 Introduction – Explaining labour market emergence	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Problematising early music labour market emergence	2
1.2 Introduction to labour markets	11
1.3 Introduction to entrepreneurship	13
1.4 Introduction to the approach taken to this research	16
1.5 Plan of the thesis	18
Chapter 2 Labour market emergence in context – Early music performance in the UK	20
2.0 Introduction	20
2.1 A brief history of early music performance	20
2.2 Early music context – Key themes	25
2.2.i Context – Cultural economy and the artistic labour market	27
2.2.ii Context – Early music performance	30
2.3.i Motivation – Classical music field	33
2.3.ii Motivation – Early music performance	34
2.4.i Supply – Classical music field	35
2.4.ii Supply – Early music performance	36
2.5.i Demand – Classical music field	37
2.5.ii Demand – Early music performance	39
2.6.i Quality – Classical music field	40
2.6.ii Quality – Early music performance	41
2.7.i Skills – Classical music field	42
2.7.ii Skills – Early music performance	45
2.8.i Innovation – Classical music field	46
2.8.ii Innovation – Early music performance	47
2.9.i Resources – Classical music field	48
2.9.ii Resources – Early music performance	49
2.10 Concluding remarks	50

Chapter 3	Explaining emergence – An introduction to critical realism and realist social theory	51
3.0	Introduction	51
3.1	The role of philosophy in research	51
3.2	Intransitive objects of knowledge and the nature of reality	54
3.3	Explaining causality	59
3.3.i	Social structures and their relationship with agency	62
3.3.ii	Causal powers	64
3.3.iii	Generative mechanisms	65
3.4	Retroduction and abstraction	66
3.5	Explaining relational emergence	68
Chapter 4	Research methodology	71
4.0	Introduction	71
4.1	Applying a realist methodology	72
4.2	Methods of research employed	79
4.2.i	The immanent critique	79
4.2.ii	The morphogenetic approach	80
4.2.iii	Triangulation	83
4.3	Research design	85
4.3.i	Emergence of a research question	85
4.3.ii	Data collection methods	86
4.3.iii	Postal survey of early music performers	87
4.3.iv	Qualitative semi-structured interviews with key informants	91
4.3.v	Secondary data sources	93
4.3.vi	Data analysis	94
4.3.vii	Survey analysis	94
4.3.viii	Analysis of qualitative data	95
4.3.ix	Research outputs	97
4.4	Methodological note	98
Chapter 5	Conceptualising the labour market – An immanent critique	100
5.0	Introduction	100
5.1	The labour market literature – Mainstream and heterodox perspectives	101
5.1.i	Mainstream perspective	102
5.1.ii	Heterodox perspectives	104
5.2	Immanent critique of labour market literature	108
5.2.i	Problems with empirical realist ontology	109
5.2.ii	Problems with the deductivist method	112
5.2.iii	(Labour) markets and the problem of structure and agency	113
5.3	A realist conception of the labour market	121
5.4	Concluding remarks	122

Chapter 6	Conceptualising labour market emergence	124
6.0	Introduction	124
6.1	Re-conceptualising the labour market as a dynamic social object	124
6.2	Re-conceptualising the market mechanism as an emergent property	127
6.2.i	$T^0 - T^1$: Scarcity	130
6.2.ii	$T^0 - T^1$: Qualification	131
6.2.iii	$T^1 - T^2$: Singularisation and attachment/detachment	132
6.2.iv	$T^2 - T^3$: Price (wage rates) – The emergent market mechanism	135
6.3	Explaining market transformation	137
6.3.i	Entrepreneurship and market transformation	138
6.4	A structural analysis of entrepreneurship	143
6.4.i	Identification of opportunity	145
6.4.ii	Resource (re)combination	148
6.4.iii	Specialist organisation of tasks	149
6.4.iv	Re-qualification	151
6.5	A conceptual model of labour market emergence	152
6.6	Concluding remarks	155
Chapter 7	Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (1): Conditioning structures & agential properties	156
7.0	Introduction	156
7.1	Context	157
7.1.i	Regulatory structures	158
7.1.ii	Incubation – The BBC	159
7.1.iii	Incubation – The Oxbridge tradition	161
7.2	Motivation	162
7.2.i	Amateurism and professionalism – The Dolmetsch heritage	163
7.3	Supply	166
7.4	Demand	167
7.5	Quality	168
7.6	Skills	169
7.6.i	Early music performance and scholarship	171
7.7	Innovation	172
7.8	Resources	174
7.8.i	Public funding of classical music and early music performance	175
7.8.ii	Music colleges – Premium funding	177
7.8.iii	Social capital of early music pioneers	179
7.8.iv	Self identity of early music pioneers	180
7.9	Other contingent events	183
7.10	Concluding remarks	184

Chapter 8	Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (2): Social interaction	187
8.0	Introduction	187
8.1	Opportunity identification	188
8.1.i	Intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation	189
8.1.ii	Social capital and self identity	192
8.1.iii	Learning from others	195
8.1.iv	Emergent versus deliberate origins	198
8.2	(Re)combination of resources	201
8.3	Organisation of tasks	205
8.3.i	Commercial acumen	206
8.3.ii	Modes of leadership	207
8.4	Re-qualification	210
8.5	Concluding remarks	212
Chapter 9	Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (3): Elaboration	214
9.0	Introduction	214
9.1	The emergent early music labour market	215
9.1.i	Hiring	219
9.1.ii	Training	224
9.1.iii	Promoting	227
9.1.iv	Rewarding	230
9.1.v	Comparing the classical music and early music labour markets	232
9.2	Underlying causal mechanisms explaining labour market emergence	233
9.2.i	The goods market and the tendency towards transformation	236
9.2.ii	The labour market and the tendency towards transformation	239
9.2.iii	The goods market and the tendency towards standardisation	241
9.2.iv	The labour market and the tendency towards standardisation	243
9.3	Concluding remarks	243
Chapter 10	Discussion and conclusions	246
10.0	Introduction	246
10.1	Explaining the temporal emergence of a labour market	248
10.1.i	Re-conceptualising the labour market	248
10.1.ii	Re-conceptualising market emergence	249
10.1.iii	The temporal emergence of the UK early music labour market	250
10.2	Explaining the relational emergence of a labour market	252
10.2.i	Presence/absence of subsidy	253
10.2.ii	Presence/absence of training	255
10.2.iii	Incubation opportunities	257
10.2.iv	Enterprising capabilities	258

10.2.v	Opposing market tendencies	260
10.3	Explaining the emergent relationship between labour and goods markets	263
10.4	Explaining the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship	265
10.5	Methodological issues arising and contributions to knowledge	270
10.5.i	Applying non-conflationary theorising	271
10.5.ii	Operationalising the morphogenetic approach	272
10.5.iii	Abstraction and the stratification of social ontology	273
10.5.iv	Future research	275
References		277
Appendices		302
Appendix 1	Timeline of western classical music	303
Appendix 2	Early music examples (CD)	304
Appendix 3	UK early music employment survey	305
Appendix 4	List of qualitative interviews	311
Appendix 5	Key informant interview topic guide	313
Appendix 6	Initial coding structure	315

Acknowledgements

There are many individuals who have helped me through this process – and they know who they are. Particular thanks are due to my triumvirate of supervisors – Mark Hart, Andy Pratt and John Kitching – for guiding me at all stages of the research; to the many musicians and early music experts who gave of their time to share their insights with me; to Richard and Christopher for their willingness to engage with the subject from the perspective of ‘other worlds’, and their painstaking attention to detail; to a higher authority for holding off the birth of my son, Jake, until the day after the IACR conference in 2004; to my daughter Flo for putting up with my ‘work’ instead of ‘play’, especially on Saturday mornings; to all my family for taking an interest and bearing with the ups and the downs; and most especially to Mary, for being supportive and loving throughout. Without you I could not have completed this. Thank you.

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Potential contributions to knowledge about labour market emergence	11
Table 2.1	The context for early music performance in the UK: Key themes	26
Table 3.1	A stratified conception of reality	66
Table 7.1	Greatest influence in early music performance	166
Table 9.1	Main occupational status of parents	215
Table 9.2	Summary early music performer profile by age of respondent	217
Table 9.3	Early music study by professional status	225
Table 9.4	Comparison of early music and classical music labour markets	234
Table 10.1	Potential contributions to knowledge about labour market emergence	247

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Prior social structures in classical music field	44
Figure 4.1	Archer's morphogenetic approach	82
Figure 5.1	Development of labour market theory	115
Figure 6.1	Archer's morphogenetic approach	128
Figure 6.2	Explaining the (labour) market price mechanism	129
Figure 6.3	Explaining entrepreneurship	145
Figure 6.4	Explaining (labour) market emergence	153
Figure 7.1	Conceptualising labour market emergence (1) – Conditioning structures and agential properties	156
Figure 7.2	Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (1)	185
Figure 8.1	Conceptualising labour market emergence (2) – Social interaction	187
Figure 8.2	Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (2)	213
Figure 9.1	Annual earnings from early music performance (2002-2003)	231
Figure 9.2	Conceptualising labour market emergence (3) – Elaboration	235
Figure 9.3	Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (3)	244

Chapter 1

Introduction – Explaining labour market emergence

1.0 Introduction

As with so many works of scholarship and research, this thesis contains more than a trace of autobiography. My early career was as a freelance musician. Having read music at Cambridge University, I trained at the Royal College of Music, London and then the Hochschule der Künste, Berlin. From the mid-1980s through to 1997 I worked as a professional classical music singer performing a varied repertoire, from motets by the fifteenth-century composers Dufay and Josquin, through to works by Britten, Tavener, Paart and other contemporary composers. It was in the late 1980s that I first sang with some of the early music groups that were rapidly making a name for themselves in the UK and abroad. These included several of the leading period instrument orchestras and consorts, including The Academy of Ancient Music, The English Concert, and The Tallis Scholars, all of which were founded in the early 1970s. It became apparent that the early music field, though sharing many aspects of the wider classical music sector, was inhabited by a largely separate group of musicians (instrumentalists and singers) who ‘did things differently’. It was not just that they played with ‘original’ instruments, or spent considerably more time scrutinising the musical scores in search of the ‘authentic’ performance; but there were also differences in terms of how employment, movement between jobs, development and differentiation of job skills, or wages, were structured. In other words (and on reflection many years later), there seemed to be two separate labour markets in operation (that for early

music performers and the more established market for classical musicians in general). If, as seemed to be the case, the early music labour market in the UK appeared only for the first time around the beginning of the 1970s (there had been very few professional early music performers and groups prior to this),¹ then I wanted to know how this market had emerged. I sought to understand not just the *nature* of the labour market but how it came to exist in the first place (something that most approaches to the study of labour markets appear to ignore). It is the aim of this thesis, therefore, to provide an answer to the research question – how did the UK early music labour market emerge?

1.1 Problematising early music labour market emergence

A contemporary definition of ‘early music’ might include any music having ‘an interrupted interpretative tradition’ (Holschneider, 1980). In other words, it relates to i) the performance (and interpretation) of music written by composers who are, in the main, no longer living, and ii) a concern to establish the ‘authenticity’ of these performances through what has become known as ‘historically informed’ performance practice. According to the respected musicologist, Laurence Dreyfus, writing in the early 1980s, the cultural phenomenon of early music is a late twentieth-century ensemble of social practices that relate to the performance of older repertoires of Western classical music (Dreyfus, 1983). In fact, as I outline in Chapter 2, ‘early music’ has meant different things at different periods in history. When it came to the early 1970s (the period that I will be focusing on most intensively in this thesis), it primarily referred to music composed in the baroque era or earlier (see

¹ Amongst the more prestigious UK-based early music groups formed in 1972/3 were The Consort of Musicke, The Academy of Ancient Music, and The English Concert. The journal *Early Music* published by Oxford University Press, was also launched in 1973. The *Early Music Register* of performers (amateur and professional) was launched in 1971.

Appendix 1 for a timeline of western classical music). The baroque period in music began in the early 1600s and continued through to J.S. Bach's death in 1750. By the time I became professionally involved in the late 1980s, early music performances of works by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and other classical or early romantic composers, were increasingly frequent. In practice, early music now embraces almost any music written up to the mid-twentieth century where a historically appropriate style of performance must be reconstructed on the basis of surviving instruments, treatises and other evidence. Much of the standard classical music repertoire is now the territory of professional period instrument orchestras; there are specialist courses and tutors at all the major music colleges and early music is recorded and broadcast widely in the UK and across the world. Appendix 2 offers the reader a collection of early music performances to listen to, by way of example.

In opening this thesis with an autobiographical slant, I have deliberately sought to root this enquiry in a specific empirical context. This is for good reason. For it is precisely in the inadequacy of existing labour market theory to explain this empirical case (as well as to provide a convincing conceptual account of labour market emergence *per se*) that I locate the primary motivation for my research. The particular problem that I encountered was how to explain *both* the transformational role played by a handful of early music 'pioneers' (and other key individuals) in setting wage rates and distributing early music jobs etc., *and* the constraining and enabling influence of institutional pressures relating to the newly emerging early music 'labour market'.

Two general limitations of existing labour market theory can be highlighted here. Firstly, labour market theory has tended to treat the labour market as a 'given' – something that

simply exists. This places severe restrictions on its capacity to explain how a *new* labour market might have appeared for the first time (and how it emerged subsequently over time). Secondly, and following on from the above, existing theoretical approaches have tended towards *conflationary* accounts of the labour market (and its emergence²), where the relationship between the individuals (agents) and market structures and institutions (social structures) involved, reduces social structure to action, or action to structure, or merges both together (see Archer, 1995). This conceptual trap for the unwary social researcher gives rise to the denial of actors' freedom, on the one hand, and the determining power of structures, on the other (Ibid).

I suggest that the underlying 'default' position with regard to economic theorising in general has been the *implicit* elision of structure and agency, characteristic of central conflationary theorising. It should be stressed that this results more from insufficient attention given to the relationship in the first place, rather than being a deliberate and explicit theoretical position (i.e. after Giddens and Bourdieu, for example). However, our understanding of labour market emergence has also been limited by reductionist thinking, where either the market is taken to reflect spontaneous individual behaviour rather than structured social relationships (Lipsey, 1968; Jackson, 2006:1), or actors' actions and behaviours are somehow explained in terms of institutional pressures – such as in much of the labour market segmentation literature (see Kerr, 1950; 1954; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Villa, 1986). Both these types of reductionist approach have severely restricted our capacity to explain how markets are transformed (and reproduced) over time. Much of what we do know about market

² As will be discussed, there is in fact a very limited literature relating directly to labour market emergence – but a very extensive and diverse literature on market creation, organisation development, entrepreneurship etc. which makes an indirect contribution in this area.

transformation comes from the scholarly study of entrepreneurship (see Sarasvathy and Dew, 2005). However, entrepreneurship theory has itself been prone to (mainly upwards) conflationary thinking – despite Schumpeter’s (1934) groundbreaking theory of economic development which re-oriented economic change to the *internal* workings of the economy, and Kirzner’s (1973) influential work on the market process which focused attention on the decision-making role of ‘entrepreneurial’ agents. Here, the properties of the ‘parts’ (understood as the social phenomenon of entrepreneurship) are ‘downwardly reduced’ to properties of the ‘people’ (i.e. entrepreneurs), who alone have causal powers.³

In the course of this thesis, therefore, I seek to provide a conceptualisation of the UK early music labour market and its emergence that is based on non-conflationary theorising. In the particular case of the UK early music labour market, this must be able to provide answers to the following four questions, which current theory appears poorly equipped to respond to:

- i) *when* did the early music labour market appear for the first time (i.e. its temporal emergence)?
- ii) *how* did the early music labour market with its particular emergent properties appear for the first time, and subsequently change over time (i.e. its relational emergence)?
- iii) *how* are the emergence of the early music *labour* market and early music *goods* market related?
- iv) *what* is the relevance of entrepreneurship theory to our understanding of labour market emergence in this context?

³ I would stress that I am putting forward a generalised viewpoint, rather than making any claims for particular entrepreneurship theory (see Shane, 2003, for a helpful review). I review entrepreneurship theory in more detail in Chapter 6.

The problem of causally explaining *when* the early music labour market appeared for the first time is of course dependent on our ability to explain *how* this emergence took place. The first two problems are analytically inseparable. The fact that there *wasn't* a labour market at some point in time, and then there *was* at another later point in time, requires us to account for a particular kind of social change. The neoclassical orthodox approach to labour market economics is not suited to this task – since apart from traditionally being framed according to a ‘static’ economic model (see Schumpeter, 1934) it involves deductive analysis of the functional wage relationship between the *supply* of early music performers (who are therefore taken to exist) and the *demand* for their services (which is also taken to exist). Furthermore, the existence of law-like event regularities in the social world (upon which deduction is dependent), also assumes a ‘closed system’ and the constant conjunction of events – a rare phenomenon in both the natural and social world.

Institutionalist approaches, which would examine the early music labour market in the context of an embedded set of social structures (e.g. relating to gender, class, the role of the Musicians’ Union, state subsidy, education, skills development and training at music colleges etc.) are also of limited explanatory value, however. This is because, in the context of a dynamic temporal perspective, they are not well equipped to account for the reproduction and transformation of the social objects being described. It is one thing to discuss the role of training and specialist skills development, for example, in terms of how going to music college might increase the chances of employment and career earnings etc. However, in the context of early music, there was little or no specialist training in music colleges prior to the 1970s – so where did the specialist skills provision come from? Clearly, explanation of the emergence of the early music labour market for the first time

(which I refer to as *temporal* emergence) needs to be able to take account of the causal impact of this sort of change.

To argue that existing theory is inadequate when it comes to explaining how labour markets emerge, is in effect to argue that our conceptualisation of the labour market itself is lacking or partial. A full and rational conceptualisation of a labour market, after all, must be able to account for all aspects of its existence, including its emergence. The task undertaken in this thesis then becomes a re-conceptualisation of the labour market as a dynamic social object. This re-conceptualisation must be able to explain not just when the early music labour market appeared for the first time, but also *how* it emerged over time. We need to be able to explain why, given the ground-breaking activities of the early music performer Arnold Dolmetsch (and his ‘followers’) in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the early music labour market did not seem to emerge until much later (the early 1970s). We also need to be able to account for how the early music labour market in the early 1970s, for example, was different to the one in, say, 1986, the year the highly influential early music group – The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment – was set up. This raises the conceptual question of whether a *young* labour market possesses characteristics which are discernibly different to more *mature* labour markets. As we shall discover, a key difficulty facing those setting up early music orchestras in the early 1970s was finding players with the skills, motivation and commitment to engage in what was essentially a rather experimental and alternative form of musical performance. On the demand-side, there were difficulties in promoting early music to venues and promoters across the UK and abroad – not least because people didn’t know what it was, or were suspicious about the standard of performance involved. Yet by 1986 there existed a relatively sizeable pool of specialist

performers from which to pick ‘the best’. Mainstream classical music venues regularly opened their doors to early music ‘period instrument’ orchestras and ensembles. Additionally, music colleges all over the country had generated specialist courses in early music performance which were producing more and more highly trained young early music performers. Whilst many labour market theorists (from both neoclassical and institutionalist perspectives) would recognise the significance of ‘historical specificity’ (Hodgson, 2001), and therefore presumably the relative distinctiveness of the labour market at different points in time, there remains a genuine challenge in explaining the process by which labour markets change.

In facing this challenge we need to confront “the vexatious task of understanding the linkage between ‘structure and agency’” (Archer, 1995: 1). For it is only in accounting for this relationship (so as to avoid conflationary theorising) that we are able to causally explain how the early music labour market (as a social object involving individual musicians, promoters, orchestras, audiences, record companies etc.) emerged over time. As will become clear, this relationship is both synchronic (relational) as well as diachronic (temporal), and therefore a key task for this thesis involves explaining what I term *relational* emergence (as well as temporal emergence – described above).

The third problem I have highlighted refers to the issue of explaining how the early music labour market is related to the early music goods market (i.e. the consumption of early music performance as an economic ‘good’, at a market price), and how our understanding of this relationship can, in turn, contribute to our understanding of the process of emergence. There is something of the ‘chicken and egg’ question about this relationship – which is most

apparent in our discussion of temporal emergence. Without the appropriate conditions to enable the employment of what we might think of as the ‘first’ early music performers (i.e. suggesting the existence of an early music labour market of some kind) there would be no performances of early music for audiences to consume (i.e. the beginnings of what we might think of as the early music goods market). Yet, without the prospect of any performances (i.e. suggesting the existence of an early music goods market) there would be no need for the services of early music performers. So the question arises as to whether labour markets and goods markets emerge simultaneously, or whether we can (and should) differentiate between the two more clearly.

The fourth and final problem to be considered is the question of how our understanding of the emergence of the early music labour market might be informed by our knowledge of entrepreneurship (and vice versa). On the face of it, a discussion about entrepreneurship (according to its contemporary everyday usage) in the context of this high art cultural phenomenon appears somewhat misplaced. Yet, it is precisely in the apparent contradiction of this juxtaposition that I suggest that we can begin to develop a greater understanding of both entrepreneurship and market emergence. In looking closer at the commercial flourishing of early music performance in the 1980s and 90s, within a context that involved virtually no direct public subsidy, for example, we can quickly see that some of our generally held assumptions about the relationship between high art and ‘the market’ need revising. Indeed, the validity of ‘*market* failure’ arguments (see O’Hagan, 1998), used to justify public funding of the arts, is itself called into question. In so doing, we need to be able to account for the role of those ‘pioneers’ (see Chapter 2 for elaboration), whose

particular transformative actions and projects achieved commercial success in the context of this high culture activity.

Entrepreneurship theorists (working within both the orthodox neoclassical and institutionalist traditions) have made significant contributions to our understanding of market creation and organisation development (e.g. Kirzner, 1973; Schumpeter, 1934; Knight, 1921; Casson, 1982; Bala and Goyal, 1994; Aldrich, 1999; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). However, rather surprisingly – given the very clear overlap in interests – these have not been applied directly and explicitly to our understanding of *labour* markets⁴ and their emergence. In explaining labour market emergence in this thesis, I will seek to join up these contributions, and in so doing, redress what I take to be the prevailing imbalance between an overly deterministic conception of the labour market and an overly voluntaristic conception of entrepreneurship, where the focus of interest is on an individual's transformative entrepreneurial behaviours and practices rather than the context of entrepreneurship as a social process of change.

Notwithstanding my particular interest in the context of early music performance, therefore, this research does seek to make a wider contribution to our knowledge about labour market emergence in general. I summarise where these contributions might lie in Table 1.1.

⁴ Aldrich (1999) for example, is illuminating on what he terms the evolution of organisations, but even here there is no explicit link made between entrepreneurship and labour market theories.

Table 1.1: *Potential contributions to knowledge about labour market emergence*

Problems with existing labour market theory		Potential contribution to knowledge
1.	i) Assumes that labour markets exist ii) Does not adequately account for reproduction and transformation of relevant social structures	Explaining the <i>temporal emergence</i> of a labour market
2.	Does not adequately account for the relation between the <i>parts</i> (agency and structure) and the <i>whole</i> (labour market and its emergent properties)	Explaining the <i>relational emergence</i> of a labour market
3.	Does not adequately explain the emergent relationship between different types of market (for labour and goods)	Explaining the emergent relationship between labour and goods market
4.	Does not adequately explain the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship	Explaining the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship

My research question requires exploration along four main lines of enquiry: labour markets (and markets in general); entrepreneurship; the philosophical and methodological approach which allows us to explore the interaction between them; and the context of early music performance, in which this interaction is undertaken. In the following chapter I focus on the context of early music in more detail. Before that, I introduce each of the other main topics in turn. The purpose is to sensitise the reader to the key concepts, context and language that will be used to answer the research question, and to explain further what I mean by labour market emergence.

1.2 Introduction to labour markets

At a very broad level, labour markets are social entities which act in some way to coordinate our productive activities. We could probably all agree that this coordination *matters*, since, notwithstanding the conceptual challenge of defining labour markets clearly, we know them

to have some kind of bearing on our ability to meet our fundamental needs as human beings, and, furthermore, to act in line with our imagination, our interests and our passions. To this extent, not only do they matter, but they represent a deeply *human* subject of enquiry. The story of the early music performer labour market, therefore, is the story of those people that were affected by it (as well as how these people's actions, in turn, affected the labour market). This is a story that is worth telling, in its own right; but there are two further persuasive reasons for studying labour markets (and their emergence) in more detail.

Firstly, labour markets involve the exchange of something we call labour power. Despite the rather functionalist connotations of this term (actually 'labour power' refers to aspects of human creativity, talent and activity which can include some of the most exciting and uplifting features of 'being human', as well as those that in some cases are dreary, monotonous and sometimes soul-destroying), labour power represents the primary resource necessary for the undertaking of any new economic activity. More specifically, labour power has the potential to create more value than it does itself command in exchange. This is the source of surplus value from which all forms of 'exploitative' revenue are derived (Fine, 1998: 257).⁵ Our ability to explain the development of *any* market, therefore, is dependent, to some extent at least, on our understanding of those conditions that enable or constrain the exchange of labour power.

Secondly, by focusing on the conditions that coordinate (i.e. enable and constrain) the exchange of labour power, relating to the labour market processes of hiring, training, promoting and rewarding (see Villa, 1986), we must be able to account for the relationship

⁵ Orthodox economists argue that this surplus is reward for the capitalist's risk-taking behaviour.

between structure and agency. As I have already intimated, this relationship is too often poorly understood with respect to the main social objects which comprise the economy. A primary reason for this is because markets (including labour markets) have been inadequately conceptualised in terms of the institutional ‘outcomes’ of the interaction of agents and structures (i.e. the wage relation), rather than the interaction itself. Markets are, in fact, comprised of *both* structures and agency (whilst not denying that structure itself is mediated through agency).⁶ This ‘inclusive’ (and as I will seek to show, non-conflationary) analytical conceptualisation has significant implications for how we go about explaining labour market emergence – notably with respect to how our understanding of entrepreneurship can inform this process. It is also wholly consistent with a realist approach (to be explained in full in Chapter 3) which is “committed to an explanatory model in which the interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own, results in contingent yet explicable outcomes” (Carter and New, 2004: 6). The labour market (as a *whole* social object) is then derived from this *interplay* (between the *parts*)⁷ and market *outcomes* are those things which we causally explain (in terms of *emergent properties* – which I discuss in more detail, later).

1.3 Introduction to entrepreneurship

It is one thing to describe the existence of the early music labour market, but quite another to provide a causal explanation for this existence. To the extent that we *can* agree that this

⁶ The distinction I make concerns a re-thinking of the application of analytical dualism (see Archer, 1995) rather than any suggestion of philosophical dualism. This is explained more fully in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁷ My use of the terms *whole* and *parts* should not be confused with Archer’s (1995) distinction between the ‘parts’ and the ‘people’.

labour market ‘exists’, and furthermore, that it did not at some point in the past, then we might refer to it as being a ‘new’ labour market. Where, then, do new labour markets come from? How are new labour markets related to markets for new goods? A sensible place to look for answers to these questions is in the field of entrepreneurship. After all, entrepreneurship involves transformation (whether of products, organisations, markets of whatever kind – or indeed all three). In short, entrepreneurship refers to a process of social change. Furthermore, this process involves certain individuals (we call entrepreneurs) who are credited with applying particular skills, attributes and behaviours in certain ways.

That there is a relationship between (labour) market development and entrepreneurship would not be denied by most economists.⁸ Despite the crescendo of scholarly research and academic interest in entrepreneurship over recent years, however, there remains the challenge of identifying a truly coherent and convincing conceptual framework for this phenomenon. Entrepreneurship has become an omnibus word (Jack and Anderson, 1999: 115). To borrow an expression from Eagleton (1991), “it has become a text, woven from a tissue of conceptual strands.” Indeed, we might characterise contemporary approaches to entrepreneurship as resembling something of a smorgasbord of theoretical offerings. Entrepreneurship is understood severally as a fundamental dynamic of change in industries, economies and societies (Schoonhoven and Romanelli, 2001: 397); as the ‘introduction of new economic activity’ (cf. Herbert Simon in Sarasvathy, 1999: 2); and as the introduction of ‘new goods and services, ways of organizing, markets, processes and raw materials’ (Shane, 2003). Definitions of entrepreneurship differ along a number of related dimensions – dispositions, behaviours or outcomes (see Davidsson, 2003: 2-3), and the field of scholarly

⁸ This is despite “the virtual elimination of this role [i.e. entrepreneurship] from most contemporary expositions of price theory” (Kirzner, 1973: 30).

research has been characterised by the separate accumulation of partial theories (see Fiet, 2000). These include those relating to market creation (Schoonhoven and Romanelli, 2001; Sarasvathy and Dew, 2005); innovation (Schumpeter, 1934); new organization development (Aldrich, 1999; Gartner, 1988); opportunity identification and exploitation (Eckhardt and Shane, 2003; Shane, 2003; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000); risk-taking (Knight, 1921); market processes (Kirzner, 1973); coordination, judgement and decision-making (Casson, 1982) – all of which take different theoretical perspectives, foci and levels of analysis (Low and MacMillan, 1988). No ‘distinctive’ theory has so far emerged (Phan, 2004). The need for a clearer conceptualisation has been made by many commentators (see Gartner, 2001; Zahra and Dess, 2001; Davidsson, Low and Wright, 2001; Davidsson, 2003; Gibb, 2005).

Two points of interaction between entrepreneurship and market emergence will require clarification in the course of this research. The first concerns the ontological status of entrepreneurship, and specifically whether it refers primarily to agential practices and behaviours (i.e. generally referred to as ‘entrepreneurial behaviours’) or to a social process of change, or indeed to both. The distinction is especially important in the context of explaining labour market *emergence* from a non-conflationary perspective, since, as Kirzner (1973: 31-32) observed: “For the market process to *emerge* [my italics], we require in addition an element which is itself not comprehensible within the narrow conceptual limits of economizing behaviour. This element in the market, I will maintain, is best identified as entrepreneurship.”

The second point, which follows on from the above, is the issue of the precise relationship between entrepreneurship and the market. Does entrepreneurship in some way act

exogenously to the market, influencing its development through the behaviours of so-called entrepreneurs, or is entrepreneurship in fact an endogenous characteristic of all or some markets (as one can infer from Schumpeter's 'dynamic' approach to the economy)? The answer to this question once more requires us to confront the relationship between structure and agency, whilst avoiding conflation. It also requires us to provide an answer for the paradox of institutionally embedded agency, i.e. how institutional change is possible if actors' intentions, actions and rationality are conditioned by the institutions that they wish to change (Holm, 1995). As will become apparent, it calls for an approach to this research that is based on a social ontology that is both transformational (taking into account how social objects change) and stratified (accounting for the relationship between structure and agency). I outline such an approach in the next section of this chapter.

1.4 Introduction to the approach taken to this research

To ask how a labour market emerged is to focus attention on change. As the wise man once said, 'in an uncertain world, change is one of the few things that we can be certain about'. Another wise man has described environmental uncertainty as the "central problem of economic organization" (Williamson, 1991: 278). Our ability to provide an explanation for economic organisational change is, as we have seen, dependent upon our ontological perspective and its compatibility with the chosen theory of change.

One of the most popular and widely applied theories of change is the evolutionary approach (Aldrich, 1999: 21).⁹ The evolutionary approach is indeed persuasively appealing (particularly at an epistemological level). As Langton (1984: 352) observed, evolutionary theory is “a concatenated system of loose, but apparently true and heuristic propositions...it poses interesting questions, provides clues to their solution and, perhaps most crucially, generates testable hypotheses”. There is no doubt that heuristic propositions concerning the four generic processes of variation, selection, retention and diffusion and the struggle over scarce resources (Campbell, 1969) offer the researcher some useful tools for thinking about social change in a wide range of applied contexts.¹⁰ However, I would argue that on their own, these heuristics are only capable of providing partial accounts of social change. The reason for this is that evolutionary theory (drawn from empirical observation of the *natural* rather than the *social* world) lacks the ontological rigour required to explain *how* processes such as variation, selection, retention and diffusion are carried out in a social context. Evolutionary change in the context of a labour market, for example, would have to explain not just who or what was the source of variation, selection (or whatever), but also how these processes were enacted through the mediation of human agency (as all social processes must be). After all, labour market emergence is not the consequence of a *natural* tendency to adapt. Economic markets are “caught in a reflexive activity: the actors concerned explicitly question their organization and, based on an analysis of their functioning, try to conceive and establish new rules for the game” (Callon et al, 2002: 194). What is required, therefore, is a social theory of change that can account for transformation and deal with the dynamic relationship between structure and agency.

⁹ See also Baum and McKelvey, 1999; Baum and Singh, 1994 for general overview; Nelson, 1994 on applied evolutionary ideas to economic change.

¹⁰ Aldrich (1999: 43-74) offers a useful review of evolutionary theory's links and application in respect of six areas: population ecology, institutional theory, the interpretive approach, organisational learning theory, resource dependence, and transaction cost economics (TCE).

It is in the emergentist social ontology of critical realism (rather than an evolutionary approach) that we find such a theory of change. I introduce this form of realist social theory in Chapter 3. It is here (and in my discussion of method in Chapter 4) that my specific approach to this research will become clearer. However, for the moment, it is helpful to highlight one particular feature of the approach being taken. As I have already observed, this explanatory task relies upon being able to account for changing social entities (such as the early music labour market) at an ontological level (i.e. subject to the researcher's theory of the existence of the social world). Crucially, we must do so in such a way as to avoid presenting causal explanation in terms of our (limited) knowledge of the world derived from empirical observation alone.¹¹ As Archer (1995) notes: "Since the existence of effects cannot serve to explain origins then the task of social theory cannot be restricted to the mere identification of social structures as emergent properties, it must also supply an analytical history of their emergence which accounts for why matters are so and not otherwise" (p.167). This, then, is the approach taken to this research – taking the form of an analytical history of the emergence of the UK early music labour market.

1.5 Plan of the thesis

The thesis continues in Chapter 2 with a review of the particular context for this study, namely early music performance in the UK. This is cast within a broader discussion of the key features of cultural and creative industry products, services and market conditions. In Chapters 3 and 4 I present the underlying philosophical and methodological approaches to this research. The reader is introduced to critical realist social ontology and Archer's (1995)

¹¹ This epistemic fallacy is taken up in more detail in Chapter 3.

morphogenetic approach, as well as the detailed research design. Chapters 5 and 6 are then devoted to a more detailed conceptualisation of the labour market and its emergence. This involves an immanent critique of relevant labour market literature, followed by the introduction of a realist conceptual framework for labour market emergence. Chapters 7 to 9 then, constitute the analytical history of the emergence of the UK early music labour market. The thesis concludes with answers to the research questions posed, and conclusions regarding the overall contribution to knowledge made by this research.

Chapter 2

Labour market emergence in context – Early music performance in the UK

2.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the particular context of early music performance in the UK, drawing on the literature on early music, and wider contributions relating to distinctive features of *artists*¹ labour markets and key properties and characteristics of the creative and cultural industries. This exploration begins with a short historical introduction to early music. This is followed by a systematic review of the key issues relating to artistic or creative labour markets, and early music performance in the UK.

2.1 A brief history of early music performance

The eminent musicologist Friedrich Blume has argued that the entire early music movement stemmed from the Bach revival which was itself sparked off by Mendelssohn's 1829 performance of the *St Matthew Passion* (Blume, 1950). An early case in point may have been François-Joseph Fétis's series of 'historical concerts' at the Paris Conservatoire in 1832 (Mayer Brown, 1988: 33). However, some commentators point to a much earlier tradition altogether. Howard Mayer Brown (1988: 30),² for example, notes that most of the manuscripts containing the songs of the troubadours were copied out long after the music was composed.

¹ This term encompasses a wide variety of artistic occupations, including visual artists, performers, musicians, dancers etc. Elsewhere 'artists' are referred to as 'symbol creators' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 5).

² Mayer Brown's review includes some very insightful historical analysis of early music from the 17th century through to the present day, and offers the reader an excellent background to the early music movement.

In reviewing briefly early music performance in the 20th century, we might first of all note that questions of ‘authenticity’ (i.e. the extent to which performances faithfully re-create the music as the composer would have intended it) were relatively widespread in music-making across Europe. In Germany, for instance, the growing interest in ‘old music’ can be interpreted as a reaction against the “overheated emotionalism of the age of romanticism and the increasing secularism of the age” (Mayer Brown, 1988: 36). This may well have also been behind Paul Sacher’s decision to set up his Collegium Musicum (a chamber orchestra devoted to the exploration of the pre-classical³ repertory) in Basle in 1926. This was followed seven years later by the founding of the Schola Cantorum in Basle – the first institution to develop a formal curriculum for training musicians in older techniques. After the Second World War, whereas early music in Germany, Switzerland and Austria was chiefly the province of amateurs and academics, Paris saw the emergence of the ‘first great virtuoso’ to specialise in the music of the 17th and 18th centuries – the Polish born harpsichordist, Wanda Landowska.⁴

The roots of the early music sector in the UK can be traced back to the influential activities of Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940) who made his own instruments, introduced the recorder to the UK, and performed works by early composers ‘authentically’ on the instruments for which they were written (see Campbell, 1975). As Mayer Brown (1988: 39) notes, “it was Arnold Dolmetsch more than anyone else who was committed to the idea that performers should try to play music in the way its composers intended. He, more than anyone else, is the founding father of the ‘cult of authenticity’”. However, despite his relative successes, he

³ The classical period in music was between the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (including works by the composers Haydn, Beethoven and Mozart). The ‘romantic’ period followed.

⁴ Landowska (1879-1959) began her musical training on a modern instrument (the piano) – like most early music performers up to the present day.

remained a somewhat isolated figure within the musical life of his times.⁵ Something of a maverick, he was admired by many but regarded as an outsider by the classical music establishment. The sense in which Dolmetsch had to fight against the status quo is powerfully relayed by Robert Donington, himself one of Dolmetsch's most illustrious pupils:

What many thousands of active musicians across the world now take for granted had to be conceived with rare vision and fought for with rare tenacity when Arnold Dolmetsch embarked on his half-century of uncompromising crusading, way back in the 1880s...[N]ow the world of music is so resonant with the results of it that not one enthusiast in a thousand knows that it all pretty much began, as such movements must, in a single man's visionary initiative.

(Donington in Campbell, 1975: ix-x)

This quote is intriguing in the light of what has already been noted regarding the particular importance of accounting for the relationship between structure and agency and avoidance of a conflationary approach; for it sets up the hypothesis that the early music movement's beginnings are to be explained in the 'visionary initiative' of *one* individual, as opposed to some societal shift in thinking.

From the 1930s through to the Second World War there was an increasing number of musicians who became interested in the 'problems' of performing early music. Mayer Brown describes them as having "an open, eager, and perhaps slightly naïve attitude towards questions of authenticity" (Mayer Brown, 1988: 46). Though halted by the Second World War, the activities of musicians, particularly in England, America and the Netherlands, picked up again quickly in the post-war years. Performer-musicologists like Edward Dent, Boris Ord and Thurston Dart at Cambridge, and Jack Westrup at Oxford, had considerable

⁵ The same can be said of Wanda Landowska.

influence on generations of students (including some, like Anthony Lewis, who became involved in the new Third Programme of the BBC). In America, the activities of two men in particular (Paul Hindemith and Noah Greenberg) represented the forefront of early music performance. Another American, Thomas Binkley, established the 'Studio Der Frühen Musik' in Munich in 1959. In the Netherlands, the early music movement was spearheaded by the virtuoso players Gustav Leonhardt (harpsichord), Frans Brüggen (flute and recorder) and the Kuijken brothers. These early music performers were very active in the establishment of the distinguished early music programme at the Conservatory in the Hague. Finally, in Austria, the enormously successful and influential musician Nikolaus Harnoncourt co-founded the Vienna Viola Da Gamba Quartet, together with Eduard Melkus, in 1949, and then the Concentus Musicus Wien, in 1953. By the early 1970s, Harnoncourt and Leonhardt had embarked on a prestigious project to record all of Bach's cantatas for the record company Teldec.

The history of the early music movement in the UK from the late 1960s onwards points to three different types of events which went on simultaneously (see Lawson and Stowell, 1999). Firstly, early music repertoire was performed by professional classical music ensembles (of various sizes) on modern musical instruments. Prior to the early music revival one would have expected to have heard Bach's choral works, for example, performed by large orchestras and choruses – very much in the romantic tradition of the great germanic conductors such as Furtwängler and von Karajan. There was limited interest in performance practice (i.e. the explicit concern for how the composer would have heard the music

performed), though stylistic interpretation is always a feature of musical performance.⁶ Alongside this, a number of individuals were experimenting with original instruments and forming ad hoc groups with like-minded amateur enthusiasts. Much of this playing was based on detailed musicological research. Finally, a small number of professionally-trained classical musicians established their own 'early music' groups, consisting of three or four players, sometimes a few more. Particularly influential amongst these, as we shall see, were the likes of David Munrow (The Early Music Concert), and Michael Morrow (Musica Reservata). David Munrow's part in the early music revival has been described as 'decisive'. As Howard Mayer Brown recalls, writing at the time of Munrow's untimely death:

The special quality that set David Munrow apart, or so it seems to me, was a rare combination of abundant musical talent, the energy and skill to organize and lead other people, and an uncanny ability, given only to a few great teachers, to convince large numbers of people that what was important and attractive to him should also be attractive and important to them. (Mayer Brown, 1976, *Early Music*, 4: 288).

Once again, the role of an individual with "uncanny ability" (and what appear as entrepreneurial credentials) is highlighted as of central importance to the development of the UK early music movement. Yet Munrow was far from being the only early music performer being heard in the UK at this time. A nucleus of talented young performers, including Trevor Pinnock (The English Concert), Christopher Hogwood (The Academy of Ancient Music), Peter Phillips (The Tallis Scholars) and Anthony Rooley (The Consort of Musicke) set up their own early music groups and period instrument orchestras in 1972/3. Their activities coincided with an increasing awareness of historically informed performance

⁶ Of course, there are important exceptions here. The conductors Raymond Leppard and Sir Neville Marriner, for example, are well known for their 'historically informed' performances of baroque and classical repertoire with modern chamber orchestras.

practice in the UK, and signalled the beginning of an extraordinarily successful revival in early music performance. By the mid-1980s early music performance had proved itself both artistically and commercially, as the musicologist and performer John Butt recalls (2002: ix-x):

Particularly fascinating was the fact that a huge industry connected to the revival of early music and HIP [historically informed performance] was blossoming just down the road in London. Yet this represented the activities of surprisingly small groups of people who seemed to have enjoyed virtually no consistent or institutional training in history or historical performance. The movement was dominated by a handful of scholar-performers directing versatile vocalists and instrumentalists who learned the historical styles and techniques more or less ‘on the job’.

Writing in the late 1980s, Nicholas Kenyon (former editor of *Early Music* magazine, and now director of the BBC Proms) remarked that “No change has more profoundly influenced the development of our music-making during the last two decades than the growth of the historical performance movement” (Kenyon, 1988: 2).

2.2 Early music context – Key themes

I now consider the context of early music performance in more detail. This involves the systematic review of issues relating to labour market activity in the creative and cultural sectors in general, as well as in early music performance in particular, and is structured according to eight key themes – as outlined in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: The context for early music performance in the UK: Key themes

Key themes	Properties of creative industries	Conditions of network governance	Characteristics of cultural goods / industries	Other key issues	Early music issues
	<i>Caves (2000)</i>	<i>Jones et al (1997)</i>	<i>Kretschmer et al (1999)</i>	<i>Towse; Frey; Baumol; Hesmondhalgh; Feist etc.</i>	<i>Haskell; Kenyon (1988); Butt; Sherman etc.</i>
1. Context		1. Social embeddedness		1. Artistic autonomy, creative ecology	1. Authenticity
2. Motivation	1. 'Art for art's sake'			2. Intrinsic / extrinsic motivation	2. Amateur vs. professional
3. Supply	2. 'A list / B list'		1. Oversupply	3. Flexible working; Super-stars	3. Undersupply
4. Demand	3. 'Ars longa'	2. Uncertain demand	2. Demand reversal		4. Modernism in disguise?
5. Quality	4. 'Nobody knows'		3. Quality uncertainty	4. Complex, ambivalent & contested texts	5. Training issues
6. Skills	5. 'Motley crew'	3. High human asset specificity	4. Networks		6. Musicology and performance
7. Innovation	6. 'Infinite variety'	4. Frequent exchanges		5. Baumol's cost disease	7. Original instruments
8. Resources	7. 'Time flies'	5. Complex tasks under intense time pressure			8. Recording industry

2.2.i Context – Cultural economy and the artistic labour market

Our understanding of *artists'* labour markets in general is somewhat limited. Writing in the mid-1960s, John Kenneth Galbraith's observation about the relationship between art and economics tells us much about the limitations of mainstream economics at the time, in this respect:

Art has nothing to do with the sterner preoccupations of the economist. The artist's values – his splendid and often splenetic insistence on the supremacy of aesthetic goals – are subversive of the straightforward materialist concerns of the economist. He makes the economist feel dull, routine, philistine and also sadly unappreciated for his earthy concern...Not only do the two worlds never meet, but the regret in each is evidently negligible. (Galbraith, 1963: 50)

With the benefit of hindsight this appears to do little service to either economists or indeed to those aestheticians who seek to understand art's wider significance in our lives. Over the last forty years, however, we have witnessed a growing interest in what is now referred to as 'cultural economics'. Amongst the research focusing explicitly on artists' labour markets, there has been informative analysis of the employment of singers (see Towse, 1992; 1993), performing artists (Throsby, 1996), dancers and actors (Jackson, Honey, Hillage and Stock, 1994; Freakley, 2000), visual artists (Brighton, Pearson and Parry, 1985), and artists of all kinds (Wassall and Alper, 1992; O'Brien and Feist, 1995; Towse, 1995; Menger, 1999; Freakley and Neelands, 2003). The views of one of the foremost cultural economists,⁷ Ruth Towse, epitomise, perhaps, contemporary cultural economists' thinking on artists' labour markets. Noting that economists are specialised in understanding how markets work and

⁷ An interesting historical footnote is that the Journal of Cultural Economics – which later gave rise to The Association for Cultural Economics International (ACEI) – was launched in 1973. ACEI is a scientific society that includes academic scholars, government officials, foundation officials, managers of arts and cultural organizations and artists, united in their interest in furthering understanding of the economic aspects of the arts and culture in their own countries and throughout the world. Ruth Towse is President of this Association (March, 2007).

why markets develop, Towse suggests that “artists’ labour markets do not work quite like the other labour markets...” (Towse, 1995: 36). This position raises some provocative questions which form the background to much of what will be discussed in this thesis.

The idea that artists’ labour markets are somehow ‘special’ is not a new one to economists. In a famous passage on “the exorbitant rewards of players, opera-singers, opera-dancers” etc. Adam Smith suggested that the rarity of talent and the discredit of employing them in “public prostitution” accounted for their high earnings. He also observed that “in a profession where twenty fail for one that succeeds, that one ought to gain all that should have been gained by the unsuccessful twenty” (Smith, 1776: 107).

Whilst Smith’s observations on earnings, profession, talent and status are all significant, there is another important feature of artistic work which renders it ‘special’. This concerns artistic autonomy. In short, artistic work is an expression of one’s creative capacity through “self-determined labour” (Shorthose and Strange, 2004: 47), as opposed to managed ‘creativity’, or alienated work within orthodox capitalist relations of production. “Artistic labour is inherently linked to autonomy and self-determination, if it is to be a real and genuine expression of creative labour power” (p.47).

Notwithstanding the debate over what constitutes *cultural* or *creative* (as opposed to ‘non-creative’) outputs and industries (see Pratt, 1997 for discussion), this emphasis on artistic autonomy is relevant when it comes to explaining the emergence of a new labour market – such as that for early music performers. Unlike the case of much formalised employment within the creative industries (and elsewhere), where there is a routine separation of creative

conception from its execution, the creative labour power of musicians in orchestras, ensembles and the like is largely constitutive of the creative product itself.

How then is artistic autonomy managed across communities of artists? Shorthose and Strange (2004) describe independent artistic networks which are composed of freelancers, sole traders and those who occupy a 'fluid position' in relation to formal cultural economy, organisations and jobs. They state "the mutuality, informality, fluidity and continual cultural feedback at the heart of these artistic communities suggests that they are better understood as ecologies of interdependence, rather than as formal economic structures" (p.47).⁸ Such ecologies provide a form of 'informal' governance for the exchange of creative labour power (see Jones, Hesterly and Borgatti, 1997).

In the case of classical music performance in the UK (in the late 1960s as, indeed, today), we might characterise the relatively close-knit networks of relations between performers, orchestras, the BBC, record companies, agents, venues and promoters as becoming increasingly formalised the higher up the artistic league table they operate. Professional musicians aspiring to play with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the orchestra of the Royal Opera House or to sing with the BBC Singers, are also looking to 'belong' to organisations where a world of guaranteed, timetabled, salaried work, pensions and other benefits represents the norm. This contrasts with the more informal and fluid freelance environment which faces most classical music performers as they begin (and pursue) their careers.

⁸ See O'Brien and Feist (1995); Feist (2000); and Creigh-Tyte and Thomas (2001) for further discussion of employment flexibility in the cultural sector.

Regardless of status within the classical music field, those involved as performers, managers, agents and promoters very often become friends as much as professional colleagues. In this sense, we need to emphasise the unusual degree to which the artistic ecology is culturally and structurally embedded (see Granovetter, 1973). As a consequence, the distinctions between interior artistic life, work life, social life and friendship tend to be blurred (see Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Shorthose and Strange, 2004: 49).

2.2.ii Context – Early music performance

When it comes to explaining the creative ecology from which early music performance emerged, attention can be drawn to (at least) three significant strands of inter-connected pre-existing networks. First, despite the tremendous resurgence of interest in medieval and renaissance music and instruments associated particularly with David Munrow's performances in the late 1960s, it is important to recognise that this interest was by no means a late twentieth-century phenomenon. Arnold Dolmetsch's 'uncompromising crusading' began as far back as the 1880s (see Campbell, 1975). The work of scholar-performers, many of whom were 'friends and followers of Dolmetsch', including the likes of Diana Poulton (see Bloch, 1969), Robert Donington (see Donington, 1963), Thurston Dart (see Dart, 1954), and Edward Dent (see Dean, 1976), represent a crucial piece in the early music movement jigsaw. These musicologists did not work in isolation, however. There were many enthusiastic amateurs for whom early music and its performance held enormous artistic, aesthetic, intellectual and social appeal. At a practical level, too, interest in the 'original' musical instruments and their workings (also inspired by Dolmetsch) provoked the establishment of specialist societies for the recorder in 1937, the viola da gamba in 1948, and

the lute in 1956, amongst others. As Kenyon observed much later (1988: 8), “nothing could have happened so quickly in the professional field had it not been for their quieter activities over the years”.

Secondly, the performance of vocal music in the UK had enjoyed an unbroken tradition through the work of the choirs of the English cathedrals and Oxbridge chapels. ‘Early music’ forms the core of the repertoire that is performed at vespers or evensong, night after night, year on year (though not, of course, under this label). Thirdly, it would be wholly wrong to suggest that the networks described here were all geographically circumscribed at the level of the UK alone (or England, or London, as might be suggested). The network of professional musicians across continental Europe (including the Netherlands, Vienna and Basle, in particular) were very influential. With musicians receiving specialist tuition from respected teachers, often for many years after they had established themselves as performers in the professional arena, the teacher-pupil relation was important for encouraging the flow of ideas (and people) across national boundaries. The Swiss-born Dolmetsch, after all, lived and worked for much of his life in Haslemere – but his influence spread a great deal further than the shores of south-east England. More recently, the Dutch harpsichordist Gustav Leonhardt has taught many of the finest players, including Christopher Hogwood, the founder of one of the most successful UK-based early music groups – The Academy of Ancient Music.

Whilst more will be said about these creative networks in the course of this chapter, I now turn again to artistic autonomy, by way of introducing what has become the key debate at the heart of the early music revival. While the value of autonomy as an “authentic form of

production” represents the political subjectivity through which artists shield themselves from the “structural processes and imperatives of commodification” (Shorthose and Strange, 2004: 54), artistic autonomy has also led to another type of ‘authenticity’ becoming the focus of attention for many involved in the performance of classical music. This concerns the degree to which performers demonstrate faithfulness to the original composition, and therefore the original intentions of the composer. Arguably, therefore, it is the creative autonomy of the *composer* of music, often written hundreds of years ago,⁹ that is at stake, rather than that of the performers of that music in our own age.

The question of why a concern for historical performance became so pressing in the ‘musical marketplace’ in the late 1960s in particular, has elicited much interest. Robert Morgan (1988) has suggested that most musicians before ‘our era’ believed themselves part of a *living* tradition with a direct connection to the musical past. He contrasts this living tradition with that of the museum, implying that modern musical styles became disconnected from those of the past. More specifically, he suggested that the sudden widespread concern for historical accuracy should be understood in the context of the contemporary situation in musical culture as a whole, characterised “by an extraordinary degree of insecurity, uncertainty, and self-doubt – in a word, by anxiety” (Morgan, 1988: 57).

For other more cynical observers, perhaps, the main driver behind the early music movement was competitiveness (Sherman, 1997: 16). This ‘watershed’ date (the late 1960s) may

⁹ For key books and links to articles on the authenticity debate see Butt (2002); Kenyon (1988) and Taruskin (1995).

merely reflect the growth of the recording industry at this time (Ibid). I discuss motivations in more detail in the next section.

2.3.i Motivation – Classical music field

Towse (2001) notes that despite a considerable body of work by sociologists and economists on artists' labour markets, we still do not fully understand the incentives to which artists respond. Yet, in the context of this thesis's empirical focus on early music performance it would seem likely that the *music* itself, and performers' responses to it, will have a fundamental part to play in any causal emergent account. It is widely acknowledged that music's power to move (i.e. its affective qualities) has a social dimension (see Greenwood, 1994: 142). The very acts of performing and listening to music, after all, support a shared sense of reality (see Cook, 1990). As we shall see, however, there is still plenty of scope for musicians to disagree with each other – notably where they hold strong feelings about the interpretation of music.

Though we don't fully understand how music and other types of art exert a causal influence over us, it is generally acknowledged that artists are driven and motivated by incentives and rewards which are not reducible to income and wages.¹⁰ Caves (2000) refers to this as the "art for art's sake" property (pp.3-5). Frey and Pommerehne (1989) make the distinction between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivation. Intrinsic motivation refers to the artistic drive to create, and non-pecuniary motive or 'psychic rewards'.¹¹ Extrinsic motivation refers to a

¹⁰ For a helpful overview of this subject, see Wassall and Alper (1992).

¹¹ Withers (1985) has argued that artists themselves provide a significant subsidy to the arts via psychic income by working at rates of pay that are lower than they could earn in other occupations.

response to pecuniary rewards. On the basis of this distinction, Towse (2001) calls for a theory of supply based on liking for work rather than dislike. She suggests that mainstream and heterodox accounts of labour markets have generally considered the supplier of labour to be something of a passive agent in the sense of regarding ‘work’ as a necessary evil rather than something enjoyed, cultivated or even craved.¹²

2.3.ii Motivation – Early music performance

Over and above the quest for historical accuracy or for the ‘right’ sound, it is clear that the early music movement’s path was very much contingent on ideas and beliefs concerning performance practice. The opportunity to perform music in a manner consistent with strongly held beliefs forms part of what we might think of as early music performers’ intrinsic motivation, or potential psychic income. But, of course, this opportunity had presented itself to ‘amateur’ musicians for many years prior to the events of the 1960s and 70s that form the central focus of this thesis. As Nicholas Kenyon has observed, the activities which together make up the early music movement – including an interest in old music, an interest in performing techniques, musicological work, instrument building “for many years, indeed for most of this century...took place among a small coterie of committed and enthusiastic converts to the cause” (Kenyon, 1988: 2). The distinction between the *professional* and *amateur* early music performer (and with it, of course, that between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation) therefore, demands more consideration.

¹² Amabile (1998) has carried out research in psychology which showed that intrinsic motivation is conducive to the idea-generation stage of creativity, but extrinsic motivation is detrimental. Rewards, in monetary or non-monetary form, reduce creativity. The major reason put forward is that rewards divert attention from the task itself and non-obvious aspects of the environment that might be used in achieving a creative solution (see also Amabile, 1983).

With the benefit of hindsight, we might readily agree that early music performance has been professionalised over the last thirty years or so: expert performers and musicologists are trained in our universities; there is a growing body of knowledge concerning performance practice, and this is disseminated not just in practice through rehearsing and performing music, but also through published commentaries in trade journals, including most notably the *Early Music* magazine, launched in 1973; the National Early Music Association (NEMA) was formed in the late 1970s following a conference on early music performance in London; there exists an elite force of early music performers playing and singing with the top orchestras and ensembles; and early music performance has firmly established itself in concert halls, opera theatres, festivals, and recording studios across the world.

2.4.i Supply – Classical music field

All labour markets are competitive, to a greater or lesser degree. Whilst we must be careful not to characterise artistic labour markets according to some prescriptive misreading of apparent event regularity, artistic and creative labour markets demonstrate the particular characteristic, or ‘demi-regularity’ (see Lawson, 1997) of *over-supply* (Caves, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 57). The reason for this, according to Towse (1995: 15) is that artists overestimate their (average) chances of success prior to entering the labour market.

The effects of over-supply are not felt uniformly across all those seeking work in creative labour markets, however. Caves (2000) highlights what he terms the vertically differentiated skills of the “A list versus B list” (pp.7-8). Uniquely talented artists, such as Pavarotti, are in short supply. Recalling Adam Smith, Towse (2001) notes that great financial rewards fall to

the chosen few. So too, it should be observed, do they to those that successfully talent spot or manage – the middlemen.¹³

2.4.ii Supply – Early music performance

There is only a modest literature on the development of the early music movement (see Haskell, 1988 for an overview of key texts), so our knowledge of the supply of early music performers in the early days of the revival (the late 1960s and early 1970s) has been largely anecdotal. Nevertheless, the evidence such that it is stands in stark contrast to the prevailing view about over-supply of creative labour. Rather than there being an overabundance of early music performers, there weren't enough to form artistically acceptable 'authentic' period instrument orchestras. Chronic *under-supply* (i.e. genuine scarcity) rather than over-supply, therefore, appears to have characterised this period of early music performance.

In view of the above, it would not be surprising if genuine 'superstars' of the early music movement were very few and far between. There is another reason for the absence of stars, however, which relates more directly to the allegedly 'counter-cultural' principles underlying the early music sector. In particular, early music performance in the 1960s and 70s represented a fundamental opposition to the "self-aggrandising individualism prevalent in Mainstream musical praxis" (Dreyfus, 1983: 299). For Dreyfus, at least, historically informed practice was built "purposely on the equality of its members, under no conductor, all sharing a number of performing functions, avoiding virtuosity, enjoying a cross-over

¹³ In something of a diatribe against the classical music 'establishment', Norman Lebrecht (1996) made a scathing attack on these middlemen, suggesting that their commercial motivations contributed to a significant decline of the UK classical music industry in the late twentieth century.

between the professional and amateur world and thus experiencing a closer relationship with a like-minded audience and producing historically integrated – rather than sensational – programmes” (in Butt, 2002: 9). This is not to deny, of course, that in the twenty years or so since Dreyfus, the early music revival hasn’t thrown up its own home-grown ‘stars’, or even ‘self-aggrandising’ individuals. Furthermore, Butt (2002: 9) casts doubt over the authenticity of the views implicit in Dreyfus’s account of historically informed performance in the first place.

2.5.i Demand – Classical music field

It is somewhat simplistic to refer to the demand for ‘classical music’ per se. Classical music embraces an extremely wide portfolio of tastes, styles, genres and musical repertoire (including, of course, early music). Nevertheless, some general social historical comments are possible. The Second World War is commonly depicted as a decisive point for music and musicians in Britain (Ehrlich, 1985: 223). The massive disruption of the war years was followed by a boom in leisure spending which stimulated “phenomenal demand for all kinds of musical enterprise” (see Mackerness, 1964, cited in Ehrlich, 1985: 224). By the time of the festival ‘Musical Britain 1951’, the general view was that ‘serious’ music would become an adjunct of the welfare state, with deficiencies in market demand offset by official patronage. However, as Ehrlich explains, ‘enlightened’ patronage (i.e. concentrating demand upon good music and skilled players) “was deterred by entrenched interests and, more insidiously, by a steady erosion of confidence in the nature of cultural improvement and a desire for its propagation. Even the BBC (which had launched the Third Programme after the war) eventually abandoned its proselytising mission, and there were many who

argued that the very conception of a hierarchy of taste was absurd. This was a paradigmatic change in the nation's cultural history, for whereas authority in the past had paid at least lip-service to the enlightenment, and common people eagerly sought its rewards, such concern could now be deprecated as 'elitist'" (p.225).

The charge of elitism, of course, is one that has not gone away. One thinks, for example, of the protests voiced in the late 1990s when over £70 million of lottery money was put aside to help in the refurbishment of the Royal Opera House. Based on the evidence of those who attend classical music events (such as those at the Opera House), there is reason to argue that classical music is 'appreciated' by only a minority of the population. Appreciation depends in part (though not wholly) upon familiarisation and knowledge about the art form.¹⁴ This, in turn, requires exposure through education (as well as advertising etc.). Notably, Bourdieu (2002) describes early music (e.g. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*) as representative of the highest level of 'legitimate taste', being "appreciated by those fractions of the dominant class that are richest in educational capital" (p.16).

The demand for classical music is not confined to the rich and privileged, however. Nor is it wholly determined by the level of disposable income in our pockets. Other key determinants of demand include the level of public subsidy to the arts (Towse, 1995: 11) and the level of recordings being issued by classical music record companies. Unlike most products, 'cultural' goods possess the property of 'demand reversal', whereby demand can actually grow many years after the good's initial introduction into the market. Richard Caves (2000) has referred to the "ars longa" property of creative industries (pp.8-9). Bach's music, for

¹⁴ See Cook (1990) for a discussion of the 'appreciation racket'.

example, went out of fashion following his death in 1750 and interest in it was only really rekindled by Mendelssohn in the early 19th century. At Christmas 2005, BBC Radio 3 scheduled ten days or so solely to performances of his complete works – the first time they had devoted the schedule to one composer and a mark of the interest afforded to him. The implications of these demand features are, of course, particularly relevant to the performance of music written several hundred years ago.

2.5.ii Demand – Early music performance

I have already touched on the motivations behind the early music revival in the UK. The link between performers' motivation and demand for early music is a close one. Notwithstanding the main protagonists' justification in terms of authentic performance,¹⁵ a debate has continued over what lies at the heart of the movement's obvious appeal and commercial success. This debate focuses on whether early music was in fact 'modernity' in a particular guise (see Butt, 2002) or a culture of restoration built on the 'fetish for historical detail' (see Adorno, 1951). On the one hand, early music constituted a modernist alternative to the lack of quality contemporary music on offer. In this respect, early music was filling a specialist niche in the market. On the other hand, (following Adorno), this fledgling movement to restore older instruments and performance practices was part of a wider cultural malaise in the wake of the depersonalising forces of industrialism and late capitalism. As such, early music was a more mainstream response to cultural change.

¹⁵ Butt describes performers' subservience to the composer as being all too often no more than lip service or what he terms "crocodile humility" (quoted in Sherman, 1997: 13).

Whatever the strength of these arguments, that there was a demand for early music, cannot be disputed. As Nicholas Kenyon observed back in 1988 “The whole movement was swept along in a wave of popular enthusiasm which was only aided and abetted by the occasional controversy. By the time Hogwood made best-selling recordings of Handel’s *Water Music* and *Messiah*, performing both at the Proms in the late 1970s, the bandwagon was well and truly rolling and not much would stand in its way” (Kenyon, 1988: 7). Whether or not these performances were any ‘better’ than those given by modern orchestras, of course, is another question entirely – and one that highlights the particular subjective qualities of music and other creative products.

2.6.i Quality – Classical music field

A particular feature of creative products is the degree to which “nobody knows” just how good they really are (Caves, 2000: 3). The inescapably subjective character of creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999) gives rise to this “quality uncertainty” (Kretschmer et al, 1999; see also Kotler and Scheff, 1999). Cultural ‘texts’ (e.g. music, books etc.), after all, are “complex, ambivalent and contested” artefacts (see Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 3). An interesting issue then becomes how ‘the market’ determines the value of creative and cultural products, and, indeed, how these products are established in the first place (see Chapter 6 and my discussion of *qualification*, in particular). Towse (2001) argues that the market solution to the time and resources necessary to find talented artists is middlemen in the form of promoters and agents – whose activities economise on search and information costs. She observes how strikingly well-organised the information network is and how the grapevine works, starting at the level of music colleges and going all the way up. While the role of this

‘grapevine’ is clearly of paramount importance in structuring classical music labour markets (including one might suggest the early music musician labour market), there has been little or no explicit research of its workings or implications, beyond specific historical accounts of the classical music sector as a whole (see Lebrecht, 1996) or biographical accounts of individual artists’ careers (see, for example, *Simon Rattle*, by Kenyon, 2002).

2.6.ii Quality – Early music performance

Over and above the claims made by and for the early music movement concerning historical faithfulness, there were many professional musicians who “loathed the whole period-instrument movement” (Kenyon, 1988: 7) chiefly on the grounds of its arrogance and incompetence. In an article in *Keynote* magazine in October 1982 the much respected conductor Raymond Leppard voiced a widely held suspicion about the standard of playing of many early music performers, stating that “many of them who take this *droiet chemin* [right way] do so because their road must, otherwise, be very stony”.

It is not difficult to see why such views about early music performers in the 1970s and early 1980s were relatively widespread. As a professional musician playing for a chamber orchestra, such as the English Chamber Orchestra, in the late 1970s, one would have expected to perform early music repertoire (including the works of Bach, Handel and Purcell) as part of the regular performance diet. With the rise of historically informed performance, not only did these players begin to find this repertoire being taken over by other period instrument ensembles (therefore losing out on paid work), but often in the early years, it was also being performed less competently. As Kenyon (1988: 12) observed, it

would be “naïve to assume that a supposedly historical faithful approach to performance *guaranteed* anything at all about the artistry of the end result”. In their defense, ‘original’ instruments demanded wholly different techniques, and early music performers could not be expected to master these overnight. Nevertheless, there does appear to be an underlying suspicion, which has continued to haunt early music performance throughout its history, that those players who switched to the early music movement did so, partly at least, in view of their inability to ‘make it’ in mainstream professional musical life.

2.7.i Skills – Classical music field

A requisite criterion for the music ‘profession’ is the production of trained experts. Music, compared with most other skilled occupations, offers few natural barriers of age, physique, sex or language (Ehrlich, 1985).¹⁶ Children can learn to play most instruments from an early age. As Galton remarked “There is no career in which eminence is achieved so early in life” (Galton, 1914, quoted in Ehrlich, 1985: 77). Since the early 19th century, musicians have studied at the country’s music colleges or ‘conservatoires’.¹⁷ By 1900 there were thirty-three ‘colleges of music’ in London and few towns lacked a conservatoire (Ibid: 105-6).

The musical education afforded by music colleges, however, is seen by some as going beyond learning the ‘trade’, in the tradition of master and apprentice. Nikolaus Harnoncourt has written about the politicisation of musical education following the upheavals of the French Revolution – out of which the conservatoire itself was born (see Harnoncourt, 1988:

¹⁶ This is not to deny barriers do exist, of course. The cost of buying instruments and learning to play them, for example, which underlies the accusation that classical music is a predominantly ‘middle class’ pursuit.

¹⁷ The Royal Academy of Music was founded in 1823; Trinity College of Music in 1875; the Royal College of Music in 1883.

24). The role of formal training in creative and cultural labour markets has continued to receive scrutiny from economists, not least because of the empirical evidence which suggests that artists' earnings are not raised by the experience.¹⁸ It is in this respect in particular that Towse (1995) claims that artists' labour markets function differently from those in other sectors of the economy.

Leaving aside the potential of training to have a direct impact on artists' earnings, it is clear that the experience of studying in music colleges, and from prestigious teachers, offers important related social advantages. We have already highlighted the significance of networks and the information 'grapevine' which makes (and breaks) reputations, via word of mouth. The classical music sector, like most artistic fields, is populated by more than just highly skilled musicians. In referring to the "motley crew" *property*, Caves (2000: 5-6) draws attention to the grouping of disparate individuals with differing talents, all of whom are required in order to bring a particular creative good to market. Achieving the right combination of these individuals and their human 'assets' is an essential pre-requisite for successful performance. Figure 2.1 offers some examples of the particular 'human asset specificity' within the classical music field at around the time early music came into public prominence in the early 1970s. It is worth drawing attention to the diverse set of social structures that were important in facilitating the one relation that was of particular relevance from the individual musician's point of view, namely that between himself/herself and the audience.

¹⁸ Two contrasting hypotheses have been put forward: one suggests that training raises productivity by forming human capital; the other is that it is an elaborate screening device for sorting students within the labour market (often leading to 'credentialism') – see Towse, 1995.

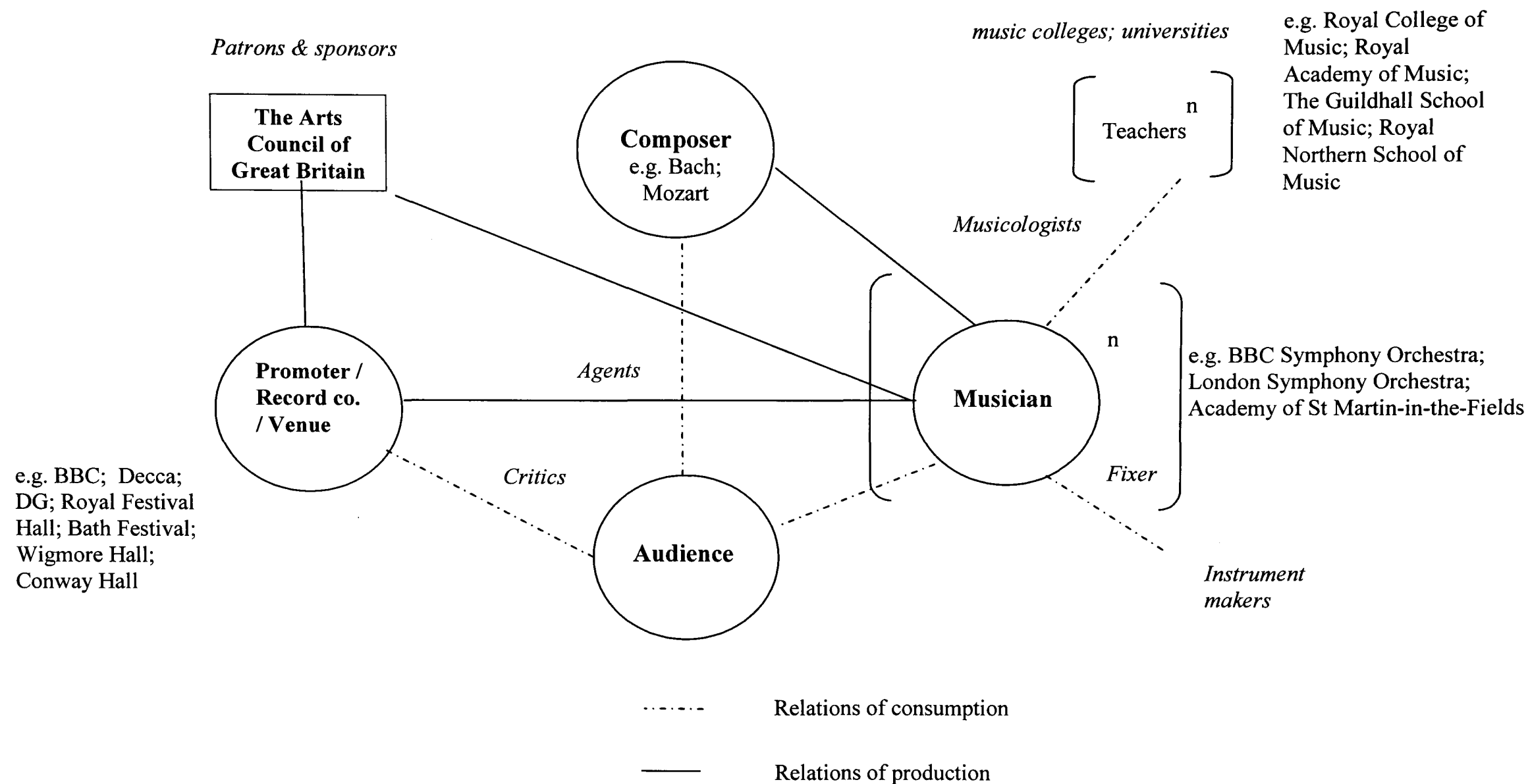


Figure 2.1: *Prior social structures in classical music field*

2.7.ii Skills – Early music performance

As we have noted, historically informed performance did not get taught in British music colleges as a subject in its own right until well after it had proved itself artistically and commercially. While it was possible to learn instruments such as the lute or harpsichord as a ‘second study’, there was no specialist focus on early music. However, this has certainly changed. Haskell (1988: 195), for example, states that “In the long run, the historical performance movement’s most significant impact may well be in the area of musical education. Most music schools in Western Europe and the United States have added courses in performance practice and tuition on historical instruments to their curricula in recent years...Early musicians in this increasingly competitive environment are learning what professionals in other fields have long understood: that specialized knowledge and abilities can be valuable assets”.

The development of specialised knowledge lies at the heart of all aspects of the early music sector – concert giving, research, study of instruments, editorial work, instrument manufacture – all require continuous development. As Sherman (1997: 400) observes, the historical performance movement is the child of the union between scholarship and art. Ironically, it was the educational nature of early music, however, that was used as grounds by the Arts Council of Great Britain for turning down applications for funding from the sector to support performances in the formative years of the 1970s (see Kenyon, 1988).

In addition to the musicologists, early music’s ‘motley crew’ now depended upon another type of specialist – namely the specialist instrument-maker. Instruments such as the

harpsichord were once produced in substantial numbers from factory firms (e.g. Kirckman and Shudi in the eighteenth century).¹⁹ By the end of the twentieth century, however, period instrument making had become much more of a cottage industry. As the harpsichord maker Robert Davies observed: “None of us over the age of fifty could ever have seriously contemplated harpsichord making as a sole career either on leaving school or even, I suspect, for a few years after the war” (Paul, 1981: 196). He goes on to provide an intriguing insight as to the motivation for his own interest in music and the harpsichord in particular: “During this time [1948-50] I first heard Wanda Landowska and, just as when I first heard Bach as a small boy, I needed no explanation or further knowledge, I simply liked it...I still remember the emotional impact of my first Toccata and Fugue and first harpsichord more than almost anything since” (p.197).

2.8.i Innovation – Classical music field

Robert Davies’ quote about hearing Wanda Landowska – the first ‘early music virtuoso’ – tellingly emphasises the importance of first impressions. Hearing something ‘new’, something ‘different’, or hearing something familiar in a new way, is very much what audiences of classical music (and indeed, music in general) crave. Here we might draw attention to the fact that, prior to being heard, the ‘new’ piece of music holds the excitement of an infinite possibility of sound combinations, which is itself very exciting and potentially motivating. I return to this notion, later. With no two performances (even those given by the same people) being the same, Caves (2000: 6-7) refers to the “infinite variety” that characterises classical music and creative goods, in general. Despite the fact that classical

¹⁹ See John Paul’s *Modern harpsichord makers*, 1981.

music is largely composed by dead, male, white Europeans, there therefore remains an important role for innovation – for successfully introducing something new into the field.

Interestingly, we are not told in Davies' quote how he heard Landowska's performance – whether it was live in concert or recorded on LP. In raising this question, it is appropriate to draw attention to the particular technological innovation of recording which has had an unprecedented impact on the classical music and wider music industry. As Ehrlich (1985: 211) notes: "The crucial effect of technology was to break that firm link which had always existed between a demand for music and the simultaneous employment of musicians". This had the impact of increasing musicians' productivity, and "belatedly enabling them to bid for remuneration comparable with workers elsewhere" (Ibid: 211).

2.8.ii Innovation – Early music performance

On first sight, the connection between authentic historically informed performance and innovation may not seem a very likely one. However, as Haskell (1988) has observed, "The early music movement effectively uprooted the equilibrium of post-romantic western classical music and presented an innovative approach to new performances based on an 'old' way of doing things" (p.193). As has been discussed, the use of original instruments is a key element in this way of doing things. This form of innovation was not without its problems, however. Taken together with the stylistic changes that are entailed with historically informed performance, many critics found the sounds produced by the pioneer early music performers to be challenging to say the least (see, for example, Paul Henry Lang's review of Harnoncourt in *High Fidelity* magazine, quoted in Kenyon, 1988: 5). Perhaps the point to

emphasise here is that this particular form of artistic innovation did not come about without some level of risk for those involved. This is significant not least because the opportunity to fund early music's performance was contingent on promoters and potential sponsors being able to assess the likely appeal and return on any investment made.

2.9.i Resources – Classical music field

Much has been written about funding the arts and the particular role to be played by Government, in this respect (see Baumol and Bowen, 1966; O'Hagan, 1998; Peacock, 1969, 1992). As I have already mentioned, the economists' case for public subsidies for the arts is based on market failure arguments, and in particular those relating to standard welfare economics grounded in general equilibrium theory. Notwithstanding some interesting contributions concerning methods of contingent valuation to the arts (see Throsby and Withers, 1985), and whether or not subsidy should be directed at individuals instead of organisations (see West, 1986), "what is striking about this entire and somewhat hoary topic of debate is the virtually universal consensus among economists in favour of public subsidies to the arts" (Blaug, 2001: 132). Economists' views aside, however, the landscape of public funding in the classical music field has seen funding cuts and increasing strain placed on many of the established arts organisations operating in this field. Baumol's cost disease²⁰ has also been blamed for the symptoms of difficult times. Yet arguably, as Blaug (2001) has suggested, the cost disease thesis exaggerates the significance of process innovations for economic growth at the expense of more important product innovations.

²⁰ This concerns the proposition that the failure of technical progress in the arts to keep pace with technical progress in the economy as a whole, while wages nevertheless rise everywhere more or less at the same rate, necessarily implies irremediable cost inflation in the arts.

“The ‘arts’ that are costing more as time goes by in consequence of the cost disease are not the same ‘arts’ at all” (p.131).

Funding, of course, represents only one (albeit vital) type of ‘resource’ required for the successful production and consumption of classical music. The primary focus of this thesis is on the (equally vital) resource of musicians’ labour power. Professional musicians do not just have to be skilled in their instruments, familiar with repertoire and able to work with and for others, they also have to perform what are, in effect, complex tasks under intense time pressures. The well-known maxim ‘the show must go on’ reminds us that live performances (which still constitute the bulk of most classical musicians’ work) effectively bucks the trend of technological advancement, by requiring audiences (and therefore producers, too) to come to the ‘content’ at specific times and locations.

2.9.ii Resources – Early music performance

Early music performance makes for an especially interesting case on the basis of its being a high art form which has never received any substantial sum of public funding and yet has been commercially very successful. The key financial resource, as far as the early music ‘revival’ was concerned, was provided by record companies. The development of specialist record labels, including those at EMI, Decca, DG, and independents like Hyperion and Nimbus, played a key role in this respect. Despite the distinct benefits provided by record companies’ commercial interest, however, this did not come without some unintended consequences. As the early music ensembles became big business, the large record companies’ interest in the ‘Munrow strand’ – the revival of forgotten repertoires – tended to

evaporate. “Pressure began to come from the record companies and concert promoters: it was far easier to sell another *Water Music*...than to work away at Biber and Schmelzer” (Kenyon, 1988: 10). As Kenyon states, “this has been one of the most unfortunate by-products of early music’s recent success”.

2.10 Concluding remarks

Many of the key underlying conditions for the emergence of early music performance (relating to both goods and labour markets) have now been introduced. I reconsider the importance of these conditions (in Chapter 7) in the light of my critical realist model of labour market emergence, developed in the course of Chapters 5 and 6. The thesis now continues with an introduction to critical realism as the philosophical ‘under-labourer’ for this research.

Chapter 3

Explaining emergence – An introduction to critical realism and realist social theory

3.0 Introduction

In the opening chapter I introduced the main research question – how did the UK early music labour market emerge? A distinction was drawn between temporal and relational emergence. It is the purpose of this chapter to provide further clarification of these types of emergence and to provide the philosophical underpinning for the research that follows. This involves introducing realist social theory and explaining the key conceptual tenets of critical realism.

3.1 The role of philosophy in research

To explain the existence of a (new) labour market requires an analytical approach that can account for novelty and change. This change is of a particular kind. It is not simply that a social phenomenon develops and changes over time; rather it is what might be thought of as the transition from absence to presence. For at a specific point in time, the social object (in this case, a labour market) did not exist. At another point in time, somewhat later, it did. To adequately explain how this change occurred calls for an approach that can account for the production, reproduction *and* the transformation of the social world around us. Attention is

then cast on our theory of existence (ontology) which necessarily requires us to draw on philosophical beliefs and understandings about the nature of the world.¹

If we review much of the research undertaken in the social sciences, and in relation to labour markets in particular, we might suggest that there is something of a reluctance to be overtly philosophical. Dobson (2001) maintains that philosophical issues and distinctions have little merit within the traditional postmodern interpretivist perspective. The danger with this stance is identified by Collier (1994: 17) who notes that “A good part of the answer to the question ‘why philosophy?’ is that the alternative to philosophy is not no philosophy but bad philosophy. The ‘un-philosophical’ person has an unconscious philosophy, which they apply in their practice – whether of science or politics or daily life”. Crucially, for the social science researcher, philosophy is paramount because though it can remain unacknowledged (as Collier suggests), it is a fundamental prerequisite of consistent and coherent research. In other words, it will influence problem definition, epistemology, research design, methodological choice and implementation.

Broadly speaking, we can point towards three distinct perspectives concerning the nature of social reality² – these are positivism, postmodernism and (critical) realism. The adoption of any one of these perspectives either tacitly or explicitly will have far-reaching consequences for any exploratory research agenda. It will affect both how the research is carried out and what kinds of findings are drawn. Strictly speaking, of course, the decision as to which perspective is adopted should not be directly influenced by the particular nature of the study at hand. The researcher does not simply ‘choose’ a philosophical approach from a menu of

¹ Ontology is non-optional (Fleetwood, 2004).

² This is not to deny the existence of other perspectives not accounted for here.

options to ‘suit’ the particular research project being undertaken, but this is dependent upon his/her beliefs concerning the nature of social reality.

A brief overview of the three perspectives indicates the primary differences between them. The first perspective, *positivism*, assumes an empirical realist ontology and embraces the view that knowledge is obtained via sense experience, often derived from discrete, atomistic, observed events (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 6). In order for such knowledge to be systematic and general then there must be patterns in these events. More specifically, these patterns take the form of regularities or the constant conjunction of events. As we shall see, the detractors of positivism make the point that the social world is ‘open’ and therefore the constant conjunction of events does not pertain.³

The second distinctive perspective is *postmodernism* – which embraces the view that the social world is constituted completely, or determined by the concepts we hold – i.e. it is concept determined and wholly socially constructed (see Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 8). The hermeneutic view, for example, holds that social reality is constructed by meanings (Outhwaite, 1987). Though there are variations on this postmodernist perspective involving stronger and weaker versions of social constructionism, there is generally held to be no objective social world existing independently of its identification by lay agents and/or social scientists (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 8).

The third distinct perspective is *realism*. A fuller description and justification of this approach (and its particular variant *critical realism* – see Bhaskar, 1978) is the central task

³ Excepting ‘demi-regularities’ – see Lawson, 1997: 204.

of this chapter. For the moment, however, attention can be drawn to the realist's contention that the world does indeed exist independently of its identification.⁴ To be a realist is, minimally, to assert that many objects (both natural and social) exist independently of us and our investigations of them (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 6). In making such an ontological claim, realists recognise that there is a strong argument for suggesting intimate relations between philosophy and methodology (see Bhaskar, 1978; Harré, 1986; Sayer, 1992). More specifically, the role of philosophy in relation to substantive research is as a Lockean 'under-labourer'⁵ (see Morgan, 2004; Archer, 1995).

3.2 Intransitive objects of knowledge and the nature of reality

Underlying the differences between the competing philosophical perspectives laid out above is our understanding of knowledge of the world and how we come to perceive it. In this respect, we can usefully present the following 'common anti-realist argument' (Searle, 1995: 172), on the one hand, which proposes that:

1. all we have access to in perception are the contents of our own experience
2. the only epistemic basis we can have for claims about the world are our perceptual experience. Therefore:
3. the only reality we can meaningfully speak of is the reality of perceptual experience

⁴ This claim has been termed metaphysical realism (Cruickshank, 2001) and has been attacked by neo-Wittgensteinian pragmatists such as Putnam and Rorty as the search for a 'God's eye view'.

⁵ The interpretation of philosophy or methodology as an under-labourer for science is attributed to Locke – see his *An essay concerning human understanding*, 1690.

For the realist, on the other hand, this case (underlying both positivistic and postmodern approaches) falls down because it conflates the real ‘intransitive’ dimension with our own ‘transitive’ perceptions of it. To explain what this means, it is helpful here to distinguish between two sides of ‘knowledge’ (Bhaskar, 1998b: 16). On the one side ‘men in their social activity produce knowledge which is a social product’. On the other side, knowledge is *of* things, which are not produced by men at all (in the case of natural sciences) or social phenomena (which are produced by humans) that exist independently of their identification (in the case of social sciences). Bhaskar refers to such things as the *intransitive objects of knowledge*, and contrasts them with *transitive objects of knowledge* which include theories, paradigms, models and the like. He states that “any philosophical position which explicitly or implicitly denies” the fact that “knowledge follows existence, in logic and in time...has got things upside down” (Bhaskar, 1978: 39).⁶

Fundamental to realist philosophy then (Harré, 1972, 1986; Bhaskar, 1978; Sayer, 1992) is the belief that the world exists independently of us and our investigations of it. In other words, while it is the case that all knowledge is conceptually mediated, and therefore all our observations of the world are ‘theory laden’, this does not determine what reality is like – rather, reality exists independently of our knowledge of it (Danermark et al, 2002). This is an important starting point and forms the basis for our understanding of realist social ontology. In particular, it has a significant bearing on how we go about researching social objects such as labour markets. For if we assume that our theory laden observations are in fact what reality is like, we commit the ‘epistemic fallacy’ and reduce what is to what we can know about it (Bhaskar, 1978: 36). Exponents of critical realism claim that, too often,

⁶ *Transcendental* realism (closely allied to *critical* realism) differs from *empirical* realism, therefore, in viewing the world as in part composed of objects which are structured and intransitive.

the question of ‘what is’ has been reduced to the question of ‘what we can know’ (Archer et al, 1998). This muddles the ontological (intransitive) dimension – the independent *reality of being* – with the epistemological (transitive) dimension – or the *relativity of our knowledge*. Another way of expressing this fallacy is that “our understanding of cause is arrived at by subtracting something from our idea of action. Therefore, causes cannot exist in themselves, but only as aspects of actions” (Collier, 1994: 78). The challenge for researchers then becomes holding a “clear concept of the continued independent reality of being – of the intransitive or ontological dimension – in the face of the relativity of our knowledge – in the transitive or epistemological dimension” (Bhaskar, 1998a: x).

This challenge as laid out by Bhaskar is to be met, in part at least, by recognising the deep, or stratified nature of reality. For the realist researcher, social objects such as labour markets, as well as social structures, institutions, and agency, exist independently of our investigations of them. This is despite the fact that they are unobservable (and sometimes disputed) entities. This type of ‘depth realism’ (Bhaskar, 1989) can be contrasted with ‘actualism’ – “a shallow form of realism which seeks to assert the reality of existing state of affairs and events locating the sequence of cause and effect only at the level of events” (Crinson, 2004: 7). Crucially then, the critical realist researcher is not looking for regularities in events but rather how events are generated. To the extent that isolating procedures are necessary in laboratory experiments, it is argued that reality must have a certain ‘depth’ (Morgan, 2004). This reflects an important aspect of Bhaskar’s stratified conception of social reality. It will be clear from the approach taken in this thesis that my

own position concerning the deep and stratified nature of reality⁷ is broadly in line with that of Bhaskar – though certain qualifications arose in the course of the research and are reported in the final chapter. A compelling reason for pursuing this realist approach is the fact that we as human beings often make mistakes about the world about us. As Sayer (1992: 67) has observed, “it is precisely because the world does not yield to just any kind of expectation that we believe it exists independently of us and is not simply a figment of our imagination [i.e. a social construction, understood in the transitive dimension]. If there were no cases of our statements being confounded, if wishful thinking [always] worked, there would be no reason for being a realist”. Put simply, our knowledge of the world is fallible. Collier (1994: 6-7) has usefully presented four related substantive claims about the nature of the knowledge used by social realists:

- Firstly, social objects are real whether or not they are known. In other words they do not have to appear (or be known) in order to be ‘real’. Similarly, entities such as class structures, patriarchal structures and tacit rules do not have to be identified in order to exist (see Fleetwood and Ackroyd, 2004). This is the *objectivity* of knowledge.
- Secondly, because claims are not being made about some data of appearance of social objects, but rather something that goes beyond them, the claims are always open to refutation by further information. This is the *fallibility* of knowledge. Sayer elaborates on this claim by stating that “any explanation, be it of natural or social phenomena, is incomplete for the epistemological reason that knowledge is revisable, but explanations of social phenomena are also incomplete for the ontological reasons

⁷ The ‘deep’ nature of reality (see Bhaskar, 1978) is a defining feature of what Cruickshank (2001) terms critical realist meta-theoretical ontology.

that the objects of study are undergoing continuous historical, and not merely evolutionary, change” (1992: 234). As a consequence, there will never be a ‘final theory’, which is unsusceptible to revision or improvement – i.e. realist theory is corrigible and fallible. However, realists assert (crucially) that not all knowledge is equally fallible. As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, we can make comparisons and draw conclusions as to the practical adequacy (Sayer, 1992) of the knowledge we present concerning particular social objects. Bhaskar (2007: 200) refers to “judgmental rationality”, noting that “there are better or worse grounds for our beliefs”.

- Thirdly, knowledge may be of underlying structures of social objects, which endure longer than that which appears. This is the *transphenomenality* of knowledge.
- Finally, knowledge of the deep structure of social objects may not just go beyond, not just explain, but also contradict appearances. This is the *counter-phenomenality* of knowledge. These final two features of knowledge (transphenomenality and counter-phenomenality) therefore caution the researcher from following the empirical realist ontological perspective (underlying positivistic research), since this may well limit their ability to discern deep and underlying structures which causally explain the phenomena being observed.

As Bhaskar (1991: 19) observes, the realist approach “suggests that a theory T_a is preferable to another theory T_b (even if they are incommensurable) if T_a can explain *under its description* almost all the phenomena T_b can explain under its description plus some phenomena that T_b cannot explain”. Secondly, it requires us to accept the existence of *real* structures and causal mechanisms “which researchers progressively uncover during the

social value-laden process of research” (Dobson, 2001: 201). As will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, the existence of these ‘real’ structures assumes a stratified conception of reality made up of three domains – the real (or deep), actual and empirical (see Bhaskar, 1978). The significance of these real structures and mechanisms is now taken up more fully in the context of the realist’s concern with explaining causality (see Layder, 1993).

3.3 Explaining causality

Explaining causality has proved to be a particularly contentious concept in philosophy (see Sayer, 1992; Easton, 2000), while also, of course, being central to the scientific and social-scientific research project. A basic feature of realist theorising is the view that in some central respects the social world can be studied in the same way as nature (Bhaskar, 1979; Carter and New, 2004). The notion that there “is (or can be) an essential unity of method between the natural and the social sciences” (Bhaskar, 1991: 67) can be contrasted with the hermeneutic argument which suggests the two worlds are too separate to allow extension from one to the other. The hermeneutic argument maintains that social objects have no existence apart from the concepts that agents possess of them. If this argument were true, a labour market only ‘exists’ in the sense that we can entertain the concept in our minds. Realism, on the other hand, holds that there are “lawful and reasonably stable relationships” (Dobson, 2001: 202) to be found amongst social phenomena (though for critical realists, explanation of these relationships is not premised on the existence of *laws*, as such).

In *A realist theory of science* Bhaskar argues that the need to isolate from other influences the particular things that we are interested in investigating – as is the procedural norm in scientific laboratory experiments – indicates that reality cannot simply be a series of Humean regularities, since it is only under artificial (i.e. experimental) conditions that these are common (i.e. manufactured). In fact, many causal ‘laws’ in the natural sciences are “not invariant successions of events but express *tendencies*” (Carter and New, 2004: 1-2). There is an important difference between the natural and social worlds, however. The natural world is natural because it does not require action on behalf of human beings for its existence. The social world is social because, by contrast, it does require action on behalf of human beings for its existence (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 10). While the social world is a product of human action,⁸ it is not necessarily the product of human design, conceptualisation or discourse. So while social objects (including labour markets) exist only in and through human (practical and discursive) activity, there is no necessity that the human beings involved are conscious of the part they play in reproducing and transforming these relations (see Bhaskar, 1979; Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 11). As Bhaskar has famously observed “people do not marry to reproduce the nuclear family or work to sustain the capitalist economy. Yet it is nevertheless the unintended consequence (and inexorable result) of, as it is also a necessary condition for, their activity” (Bhaskar, 1989: 35). But, of course, human actors who reproduce social phenomena do have some conception of what they are doing (even if this is a misconception). In other words, social phenomena are always concept dependent.

⁸ And, of course, *inaction* – since *not* doing something can have significant social impact.

To ask for the cause of something is to ask what ‘makes it happen’, what ‘produces’, ‘generates’, ‘creates’ or ‘determines’ it. These words are metaphors (themselves concept dependent) which allude to an enormous variety of means by which social change can occur. To ask how a new labour market ‘emerged’ is to seek to provide a causal explanation for some particular process of change. It is important to note, however, that we need to apply caution with regard to how we introduce metaphors in our causal explanations. Just as the word ‘evolve’ comes with certain presumptions about a particular kind of change process (based on Darwinian evolution theory),⁹ so choosing to use the word ‘emerge’ (as was noted in Chapter 1) is reflective of a particular process of change – about which more will be said shortly.

For the critical realist, causality concerns not a relationship between discrete events (‘cause’ and ‘effect’) but the interaction of ‘causal powers’ or ‘liabilities’ of objects. Here, we conceptualise causality in terms of *natural necessity*. This is to say that an object behaves in certain ways under certain circumstances,¹⁰ “in virtue of its intrinsic nature” (Harré and Madden, 1975: 86). We can explain what is meant by this natural necessity within critical realist social ontology by referring to three concepts – social structures, powers (and liabilities) and generative mechanisms. At the heart of realism is a commitment to an explanatory framework that acknowledges and incorporates pre-existent *structures* as *generative mechanisms*; their interplay with other objects (including other structures) possessing causal *powers and liabilities*; and non-predictable but none the less explicable

⁹ All too frequently, researchers adopt the word ‘evolve’ simply to mean change of some kind, rather than change of an evolutionary nature, as defined by Darwin’s theory (or those of other distinctive evolutions).

¹⁰ Conditions will either enable and/or constrain the exercise of these causal powers and liabilities.

outcomes arising from interactions between the above¹¹ (Archer, 1998: 377-8). The analytical separation of structure and agency (known as *analytical dualism*) is a key feature of this approach (and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4).

3.3.i Social structures and their relationship with agency

As Archer (2000: 1) has observed, the structure-agency debate is “widely acknowledged to lie at the heart of sociological theorising”. This is not surprising given the nature of the relationship between human beings and the relations generated through their interaction. Fundamental to the critical realist’s conception of practical social theorising is the separability of *structure* and *agency*. Bhaskar distinguishes “between the genesis of human actions, lying in the reasons, intentions and plans of human beings, on the one hand; and the structures governing the reproduction and transformation of social activities, on the other” (Bhaskar, 1989: 9). Any adequate social explanation necessarily requires reference to beliefs, opinions, interpretations, attitudes etc., since all social practices depend upon intentional human agency (Pratten, 2000: 113). However, as Pratten observes, “human action almost always has a material aspect which cannot be reduced to its conceptual component” (Ibid). As such, the social is inescapably embedded in (and emergent from) the material or physical basis of reality. Archer notes that this distinction is ontological, but also methodological because “as distinct entities it is possible to examine the interplay between them” (Archer, 1998: 203).

¹¹ By virtue of the fact that social structures are dependent upon human agency they are open to transformation through changing human practices “which in turn can be affected by *criticising* the conceptions and understandings on which people act” (Lawson, 1997: 158). This is the justification for the term *critical realism*.

Historically, there have been two main approaches to the study of social research that are characterised by either the consideration of collectivist or individualist issues relating to how we conceive of social structures (such as market structures). In Archer's view (1995) both *downwards* conflation (which treats social activity as determined by structural factors) and *upwards* conflation (which treats social structures as free creations of social agency) are inadequate to explain the complexities of social situations. Inadequate, too, is a third approach which takes structure to be "rules and resources which are implicated in social practices and have no existence independent of them" (see Archer, 1995: 104, from Porpora, 1998). Under this approach, which Archer terms *central* conflation, structure only becomes real when instantiated through agents' actions. Archer further argues that this perspective, which underpins Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) negates the investigation of the interplay between structure and agency over time – or how pre-existing structures may constrain action and how action reproduces or transforms existing structures. As such, "without the proper incorporation of time the problem of structure and agency can never be satisfactorily resolved" (Archer, 1995: 65).

Archer's approach to resolving this 'problem' follows Bhaskar's (1989) Transformative Model of Social Action (TMSA), which maintains that:

- 1) Societies are irreducible to people;
- 2) Social forms are a necessary condition for any intentional act;
- 3) Social forms' pre-existence establishes their autonomy as possible objects of investigation;
- 4) Social forms' causal power establishes their reality;

- 5) The pre-existence of social forms will be seen to entail a transformational model of social activity; and
- 6) The causal power of social forms is mediated through human agency.

The implications of this model are taken up in detail in Archer's (1995) morphogenetic model (see Chapter 4). For the present, however, we can draw particular attention to the *causal power* of social forms. Social structures (alternatively defined as "the connections among agents causally affecting their actions and in turn causally affected by them" – see Porpora, 1998) possess the causal powers that they have (i.e. to enable or constrain) in virtue of their intrinsic natures. In turn, generative mechanisms exist and are what they are because of this structure. There is then an internal and necessary relation¹² between the nature of an object and its causal powers.

3.3.ii Causal powers

People have the causal powers of being able to work (labour power), communicate, walk about etc., as well as a host of causal liabilities, such as susceptibility to group pressure, extremes of temperature etc. Powers and liabilities exist whether or not they are being exercised or suffered – an early music performer may possess the power to perform the tenor arias in Bach's *B Minor Mass* even though he may not be doing so now; and an original Stradivarius violin may develop a crack whilst in transit on a long haul flight – but one would hope that the powers associated with its packaging and case would prevent this from occurring. Causal powers and liabilities may thus be attributed to objects independently of

¹² An *internal* and *necessary* relation refers to where the existence of one necessarily presupposes the other (Sayer, 1992: 89). For example, one cannot be a landlord without having a tenant (and vice versa).

any particular pattern of events; thus, not only when ‘A’ leads to ‘B’, but also sometimes when ‘A’ does not lead to ‘B’, because conditions do not enable this to happen.

3.3.iii Generative mechanisms

Bhaskar describes mechanisms as “nothing other than the ways of acting of things” (Bhaskar, 1978: 14). Sayer (1992: 5) states “There is necessity in the world: objects – whether natural or social – necessarily have particular causal powers or ways of acting and particular susceptibilities”. We can then explain events in terms of the compound effect of influences drawn from different mechanisms (see Danermark et al, 2002: 55-56). It is important to reiterate, however, that the existence of powers and mechanisms does not mean that they will be exercised or triggered, for this is a matter of contingency. For example, the introduction of the minimum wage had the causal power to constrain the ruthless exploitation of labour, but this depended upon business owners complying with the regulation. This has very important implications for our understanding of the causality behind the formation of new labour markets. For it implies that ‘causal laws...must be analysed as tendencies’ (Bhaskar, 1978: 50). This in turn further cautions any attempt to explain social phenomena in terms of empirical observations alone. Rather, the researcher must ask ‘transfactual’ questions which look beyond the event by postulating and identifying generative mechanisms which made the event possible (Ibid).

Therefore, to avoid committing the epistemic fallacy, we must seek to explain how the world is by considering those generative mechanisms in the ‘real’ ontological domain (Bhaskar, 1978: 56) which can produce events which we experience, directly or indirectly, in the

‘empirical’ domain, or which happen, whether we experience them or not, in the ‘actual’ domain (see Table 3.1). Alternatively, the real domain contains the mechanisms that cause events. The actual domain is where the events created by the interaction of the real mechanisms appear. The empirical domain is where events are experienced by observers. In the light of those claims made about the knowledge we have of these domains (i.e. objectivity; fallibility; transphenomenality; counter-phenomenality), it is quite possible that the events and our experiences of these events may be out of phase with the mechanisms that create them.¹³

Table 3.1: *A stratified conception of reality*

	Domain of real	Domain of actual	Domain of empirical
Experiences	X	X	X
Events	X	X	
Mechanisms	X		

Notes: A cross (X) indicates the domain of reality in which experiences, events and mechanisms respectively reside.
Source: Based on Bhaskar (1978: 13)

3.4 Retroduction and abstraction

The purpose of realist social science then becomes the discovery and explanation of the ‘mechanisms’ that account for the particular objects under scrutiny. We can seek to explain the emergence of a new labour market, for example, through reference to the particular mechanisms involved. Fundamental to this task of discovery and explanation is the process of conceptualisation. Critical realist writers have emphasised the importance of

¹³ This quality of being out of phase is one that distinguishes critical realism from naïve realism (see Easton, 2000: 208).

conceptualising the object of study (Sayer, 1992; Danermark et al, 2002). Indeed, Danermark et al state that “conceptualization stands out as the most central social scientific activity” (p.41). So how do we undertake such a process? The guiding principle of the approach taken in this thesis is the retroductive argument. This involves, in the words of Sayer (2001), “to try and work out what is necessarily the case about” the social object under enquiry (e.g. the labour market) in order for it to exist.¹⁴ Lawson (1997: 24) describes retroduction as consisting in “the movement, on the basis of analogy and metaphor, amongst other things, from a conception of some phenomena of interest to a conception of some totally different type of thing, mechanism, structure or condition that, at least in part, is responsible for the given phenomena”.

Such a ‘movement’ almost always involves abstraction. Here we can usefully distinguish between a rational abstraction and a bad abstraction or ‘chaotic conception’: a rational abstraction isolates a significant element of the world which has some unity and autonomous force, such as a structure. A bad abstraction “arbitrarily divides the indivisible and/or lumps together the unrelated and the inessential, thereby carving up the object of study with little or no regard for its structure and form” (Sayer, 1992: 138). The underlying purpose of this thesis, therefore, is the presentation of a rational abstraction of labour market emergence. As Sayer notes (1992: 87), however, abstraction “isolates in thought a *one-sided* or partial aspect of an object”. This raises further questions about the parameters used to determine the particular focus taken, and therefore the (momentary) neglect of other aspects not considered. We might legitimately question the researcher’s ability to provide a ‘full’ abstraction of labour market emergence – given the complexity and open nature of the social

¹⁴ Note that retroduction does not presuppose empirical realism.

world. In fact, I approach this research from my own ‘vantage point’ (Lawson, 1997: 228), with a particular ‘level of generality’ – focusing on the early music labour market, and limited to a particular ‘space-time extension’ – focusing on the UK and particularly the appearance of the early music labour market for the first time. My focus is on what I have termed temporal emergence. However, as I have indicated previously, we also need to be able to retroduce those mechanisms responsible for this emergence. This casts attention on relational emergence, which is now discussed in more detail.

3.5 Explaining relational emergence

In keeping with critical realism’s status as a relational philosophy (Wheelahan, 2005), we can usefully distinguish between *temporal* and *relational* emergence. Whereas *temporal* emergence is merely the appearance of a social phenomenon for the first time, *relational* emergence (Elder-Vass, 2006) describes a particular sort of relation between an emergent stratum of reality (e.g. a labour market as a *whole*) and a lower stratum or strata (e.g. particular structures and agents representing the *parts* of the labour market) at a moment in time.

Critical realists assert that the world is characterised by emergence, or “situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects gives rise to new phenomena, which have properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence” (Sayer, 2000: 12). Bhaskar (1993) defines emergence as “a relationship between two terms such that one term diachronically or perhaps synchronically arises out of the other, but is capable of reacting back on the first and is in any event causally

and taxonomically irreducible to it” (p.397). We might usefully think of this phenomenon as the relationship which makes it possible for a whole (e.g. a labour market) to be more than the sum of its parts (e.g. those structures and agents involved) (see Elder-Vass, 2004: 103).¹⁵

The ontological and methodological significance of relational emergence is that it allows us to explain outcomes in terms of the emergent properties of the object under study, these emergent properties being dependent but not reducible to those parts which constitute the object. For example, we might explain language in terms of being an emergent outcome of the practical engagement of the cognitive and reflexive powers of human beings with the properties and powers of the world (Carter and New, 2004). Equally, we might then explain the existence of a labour market in terms of the emergent properties arising from the interaction of social structures which enable and constrain the exchange of labour power between agents, with particular emergent properties of their own.

Explaining temporal emergence (i.e. the appearance of the early music labour market for the first time) is itself important in the explanation of relational emergence. This is because any social object (such as the labour market) and its emergent properties cannot come into existence at all without a causal history (Elder-Vass, 2006: 5). The existence of any social object at any given point in time is always contingent, in the sense that it depends on a causal history in which both *morphogenetic* and *morphostatic* causal factors operate. We can think of morphogenetic factors as contributing to bringing about the existence of the object in its current form, and morphostatic factors contributing to the maintenance of this existence over time (Buckley, 1967: 58).

¹⁵ Equally, our explanation of a social structure (the whole) and its relationship to the individual agents involved (the parts) relies on this conception of emergence.

In undertaking a causal explanatory account of emergence, therefore, Archer (1995: 294-5) presents a methodology – the analytical history of emergence – which takes the form of a transitive, corrigible narrative that can take account of the fact that “what eventually transpires at the level of events is a combination of the tendential and contingent”. Archer’s morphogenetic model (1995), which gives methodological form to the analysis of the interplay between structure and agency, is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Having now introduced the fundamentals of critical realism and a conceptualisation of emergence, the next chapter discusses the challenges and achievements of the critical realist methodological approach in more detail, within an account of the particular research methodology undertaken in this thesis.

Chapter 4

Research methodology

4.0 Introduction

Sayer describes ‘method’ as that which covers “the clarification of modes of explanation and understanding, the nature of abstraction, as well as familiar subjects of research design and methods of analysis” (Sayer, 1992: 3). The critical realist mode of explanation, understanding and abstraction, was introduced in the previous chapter – though it will require some further elaboration here. This introduction involved familiarisation with the theoretical vocabulary and common ontological assumptions of critical realist social science. Particular attention was given to the crucial role of causal explanation, conceptualisation, the centrality of emergence and emergent properties, the role of abstraction and retrodution, and the methodological emphasis on analysing the interplay between agency and structure.

For all the potential of realist social theory at the level of philosophical ‘under-labourer’ (Bhaskar, 1978), however, realism has been criticised for its “open-endedness” on the matter of methodology and method (Carter and New, 2004: 15). Indeed, Yeung (1997) describes critical realism as a “methodologically handicapped philosophy” (p.56) or as a “philosophy in search of a method” (p.70). This, in turn, has given rise to some “sharp debates” (Carter and New, 2004: 15) concerning the nature of realist empirical research – whether it is either possible or, indeed, necessary. The first section of this chapter is given over to a discussion of these debates. This is followed by a discussion of the specific research methodology used.

4.1 Applying a realist methodology

One might reasonably surmise that much of the writing about critical realism, at a broadly philosophical level, has been left on the shelf when it comes to actually undertaking research in the field. This is despite the fact, as pointed out by Sayer (1984), that realism can and should revolutionise practice in social science. As Pratt observed (albeit over ten years ago) “precious few attempts have been made rigorously to follow through critical realism from conceptualization to practical research and back again. Those who have done so have seldom reflected upon the *methodological* implications” (1995: 61). Carter and New (2004) suggest that this probably has something to do with critical realism being a comparatively recent development (most notably from the work of Roy Bhaskar and Rom Harré).¹ By the end of the 1980s, however, there was a considerable body of work that together made a compelling case for social realism (see, for example, Keat and Urry, 1982; Sayer, 1984; Layder, 1985; Outhwaite, 1987; Archer, 1989). Significant advances on this work with substantial implications for methodological practice followed in the 1990s and into the 21st century (notably Bhaskar, 1993; Collier, 1994; Archer, 1995 and 1998; Lawson, 1997; Sayer, 2000).²

The issue of how the philosophical case for social realism directly impacts on research method was highlighted in Chapter 3. The researcher’s ontological assumptions have a fundamental bearing on the consistency and coherence of any research undertaken. These assumptions will also, of course, influence methodological choice and implementation (see Hakim, 1987; Sayer, 1992). The ‘object’ of analysis in this thesis is the emergence of the

¹ See Bhaskar’s *The possibility of naturalism* (1979) and Harré’s *Varieties of realism* (1986).

² Dean et al (2005) note that there are now multiple versions of critical realism in circulation.

UK early music labour market. Although the research question has been framed in realist terms (i.e. involving explicit reference to the term ‘emergence’), it was born out of my observations of the changing world as a freelance musician *prior* to my having any direct knowledge of realist social ontology and associated research methods. The choice of methodological approach came after the initial research question had been conceived. This is important since it focuses attention squarely on the procedural justification for that choice – notwithstanding the contention that our philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world (our ontology) and our knowledge of it (our epistemology) must logically precede other substantive assumptions. As Sayer (1992: 4) states: “Methods must be appropriate to the nature of the object we study and the purpose and expectations of our inquiry”. Given the purpose of uncovering the causal mechanisms by which a new labour market emerges, and having the expectation to produce a causal explanatory account of that change, it would seem that justification lies firstly in respect of the realist methodology being ‘appropriate’ to the task. However, this is to understate the case. For it is not just that the realist approach is appropriate to the study at hand, it is, one might argue, the *only* viable approach given the challenge of explaining emergence. From a realist perspective, only an approach that is premised on a transformational and stratified ontology (a critical realist ontology), will be capable of undertaking the task, as it has been conceived.

The justification so far put forward rests squarely on the explanatory potential of realist social ontology. However, a number of difficult methodological questions impacting the practical application of research methods remain for those wishing to undertake realist social research.

Firstly, there is the epistemological question of how we can come to know a reality that is independent of us. Those critical of the realist approach (including postmodernists and pragmatists) suggest that this represents seeking a foundational ‘God’s eye view’ of the world. Second, there is the question of how we are to account for the interpretive element within the study of social reality. As Carter and New observe, “what is to count as social reality will critically depend on who is doing the counting and what they are doing it for” (2004: 16). Thirdly, while critical realists argue the crucial importance of causal powers and generative mechanisms of objects in explanations, the issue of *how* these objects can actually be abstracted remains problematic for many researchers. Related to this issue is the challenge of how we assert that any particular causal explanation is more convincing (or, indeed, more ‘practically adequate’ (Sayer, 1992)) than any other.

Challenging though these questions are, they do not represent insurmountable problems for the critical realist researcher. Taking each in turn: Bhaskar (1979) notes that all observations of the social world are theory-laden and cannot be described independently of *some* conceptual framework: the world can only be known under particular descriptions of it.³ Intransitive objects of knowledge are logically independent of any transitive knowledge claim about them, and therefore we have to accept that such claims are fallible (see Chapter 3). The focus of this thesis on labour markets, for example, makes the (fallible) assumption that there is such a thing as a labour market – even before it undertakes to reconceptualise what this might be. This places particular import on grounding our conceptualisations of social objects at the level of ‘domain’ meta-theory (requiring careful analysis of the labour

³ Sayer (1992) counters the ‘idealist’ objection that our ‘real’ objects are in fact nothing but figments of our imagination (i.e. that we are dreaming) by noting that if everything were a dream, nothing could be.

market literature, in this case). In addition, the researcher strives for ‘practical adequacy’ or ‘epistemic gain’ rather than absolute truth as his standard of accepting the validity of knowledge (Sayer, 1992; 2000). To be practically adequate, knowledge must generate expectations about the world and about the results of our actions which are actually realised. In other words, knowledge can be judged as more or less useful, rather than as true or false. This judgmental rationality is not the same as instrumentalism, however, since realists are concerned with the outputs *and* the inputs of theory. Therefore inputs to theories should be practically adequate, work in other contexts, and be consistent with other knowledge and practices.

Second, and in the light of the above, the critical realist approach embraces the view that researchers bring with them a range of different perspectives and goals (also called *vantage points*) when undertaking research. This is also referred to in terms of epistemological relativism (where all beliefs are socially produced and hence potentially fallible). Bhaskar (1993: 403) notes that “Epistemic, like spatio-temporal, relativity must be accepted...It is quite consistent with judgmental rationalism [i.e. despite epistemological relativism, it is still possible, in principle, to provide justifiable grounds for preferring one theory over another] in the intrinsic aspect and ontological realism in the intransitive dimension of science”. This acknowledgement of the ‘interpretive element’ within the study of social reality calls for a research method (or methods) that uses *both* causal explanation and interpretive understanding, since they are “not merely co-present, but interrelated, albeit asymmetrically” (Sayer, 2004: 12). By this, Sayer is recognising that in our very communication of knowledge we can prompt new kinds of information and thinking. In other words, critical realism recognises that reasons and other discursive phenomena may themselves be causally

efficacious (Ibid: 13). As Lawson observes, “knowledge must be recognised as a produced means of production (of further knowledge) and science as an ongoing transformative social activity” (1997: 25). The knowledge of labour market emergence presented in this thesis, developed through the adoption of a critical realist approach, is shared with the reader, therefore, as part of an ongoing transformative social activity.

Third, as Sayer (2004) explains, “What makes things happen has nothing to do with whether social scientists have plenty of regular instances to observe and quantify. To explain how a causal process works we are likely to need a qualitative description of the causal powers present. The process of identifying which causal powers are active in any given situation is called retrodution” (p.11). In focusing on “certain [necessary] aspects of something to the (momentary) neglect of others” (Lawson, 1997: 227), the retroductive argument is (as noted in the previous chapter) a particular kind of abstraction. Crucially, abstraction helps to distinguish external and contingent from internal and necessary relations between objects and events since “[n]either objects nor their relations are given to us transparently; their identification is an achievement and must be worked for” (Sayer, 1992: 88). Yeung (after Bhaskar, 1978) further outlines the process required in order to achieve an adequate abstraction:

A realist thus starts with an empirical problem and proceeds to abstract the necessary relation between the concrete phenomenon and deeper causal structures to form generative mechanisms. As more empirical evidence is collected, a realist may revise or reaffirm his or her abstraction so that the process of iteration continues until no further contradictory evidence is obtained and the alleged generative mechanisms are robust and powerful enough to explain the concrete phenomenon. Such is the point whereby ‘realistic’ abstractions have been achieved”. (Yeung, 1997: 59)

The particular value of the *iterative* research process is highlighted here (see also Elder-Vass, 2006). My search for generative mechanisms did not last a short, discrete period of time within the research process, but remained active right until the thesis itself became ‘singularised’ (see Callon et al, 2002) in the form of a final submitted manuscript.

The final methodological issue raised above is, on the face of it at least, the most difficult to deal with. We can outline the problem in more detail by referring to two critiques of the critical realist approach (and the retroductive argument, in particular). Runde (1998) makes the point that “principles used to assess causal explanations...will often not have sufficient bite, to discriminate unambiguously between competing causal explanations...there will always be situations in which it is not possible to identify one explanation as unambiguously superior to its rivals” (p.168). Hodgson (2004b) claims that it “fails at the crucial point of comparative causal assessment of rival and potentially complementary theories” (p.68). It is on these grounds that he calls for “some much needed modesty” in terms of what can be claimed for the critical realist philosophy (Ibid: 63). Two over-arching defences of the realist position can be put forward. The primary defence is one that can be resolutely made on critical realism’s own terms. For as Bhaskar (1979; 1989) has argued, any substantive theory not drawing on the ontological assumptions of critical realism (i.e. including a stratified ontology and the importance of emergent properties) is fundamentally flawed and inadequate to explain anything (see also Cruickshank, 2003). Indeed, as I seek to demonstrate in this thesis, it is precisely in enabling the researcher to engage directly with the difficult or ‘vexatious’ questions of social science (such as the relationship between structure and agency) that critical realism offers such an important philosophical and methodological way forward. This leads to the secondary defence, wherein we note that this

particular problem is one experienced in all sciences (Lawson, 1997: 215). So rather than a criticism of this particular philosophy of science, Runde and Hodgson are in fact merely indicating situations in which there are practical difficulties in science (in general). Lawson suggests that under such situations the researcher must search out conditions for which the competing theories bear different implications with regard to empirical phenomena and then determine which theory proves to be most empirically adequate under those conditions. Furthermore, “If two or more hypotheses do really appear to command the same degree of empirical adequacy then, *ceteris paribus*, the correct epistemic attitude, whatever the science, must be to attach the same degree of belief to each, or to suspend judgment” (Lawson, 1997: 215).

Probably the main reason critical realism appears vulnerable to the kind of criticism outlined above is because causal explanation is often developed in terms of generative mechanisms, emergent properties and social structures that can’t be *observed* directly. However, as Lawson notes, in principle, there is no reason to suppose that there is any greater ‘multiplicity’ of empirically adequate theories and explanations in terms of observable items, than would be the case for hypotheses concerning non-observables (Ibid).

Having introduced some of the methodological challenges facing the realist researcher, and offered a defence of the most widespread criticisms facing this particular philosophy of science, the next section of this chapter discusses in more detail the specific methods employed in this research project.

4.2 Methods of research employed

First of all, to reiterate, critical realism is not itself a ‘method’, nor does it advocate any one methodological approach as such. This research project was undertaken using a multi-method approach. Notwithstanding the importance of abstraction and the retroductive argument, three other methods that are central to the research methodology will be discussed here. These are the use of immanent critique, the application of Archer’s morphogenetic approach, and methodological triangulation, requiring both *intensive* and *extensive* research. The first two methods are fundamental to the task of conceptualisation, whilst the latter is more concerned with empirical data collection and sampling. As will be discussed under the research design, these methods were essentially deployed in parallel, in contrast to the more traditional and linear (positivist) approach that regards conceptualisation as temporally prior to empirical data collection. This is because the critical realist search for causal mechanisms is not a direct or linear one. Indeed, as outlined by Yeung above, it is often an iterative process, with the underlying conceptual model being refined on an ongoing basis (see also Pratt, 1995: 67).

4.2.i The immanent critique

As so far observed, the purpose of realist social science is the discovery and explanation of the mechanisms that account for the particular events under scrutiny. The process of conceptualisation is fundamental to this process of discovery and explanation. However, as Cruickshank (2003) has pointed out, the inherent danger with adopting a realist approach to this process is that *realist* meta-theory could fail to be based on a grounded understanding of

the object under study. To avoid this, the realist researcher must develop *domain* level meta-theory from which the social object of enquiry can be re-conceptualised.⁴ This, in turn, requires the undertaking of an immanent critique of the existing literature. In seeking to work out ‘what is necessarily the case about the labour market in order for it to exist’, therefore, the realist researcher must look to the existing literature and undertake a critique from the inside (i.e. from the standpoint of the theory being judged), or to a form of reading that accepts (what it posits as) a theory’s ‘own terms’. This constitutes domain level meta-theory. The two chapters that follow, providing a domain level ontology for labour market emergence, are based on immanent critiques of the labour market and entrepreneurship literatures, respectively.

4.2.ii The morphogenetic approach

Probably the most significant methodological development in realist research has been Archer’s morphogenetic approach (Archer, 1979; 1989; 1995; 2000). This model offers a means of causally explaining social phenomena in terms of the relationship between structure and agency. As we have seen, Archer’s approach is based on the non-conflation of structure and agency and their analytical separation on a temporal basis – i.e. analytical dualism. The morphogenetic approach rests on two theorems which are implicit in Bhaskar’s (1989) Transformative Model of Social Action (TMSA):

- 1) structure necessarily predates the action(s) which transform(s) it
- 2) structural elaboration necessarily postdates those actions

⁴ The identification of the sorts of elements that populate a given ‘domain’ is elsewhere referred to in terms of *regional ontologies* (Benton and Craib, 2001: 5) and *scientific ontologies* (Bhaskar, 1986: 36).

Crucially, it is argued that structures are activity dependent *in the past tense* (Cruickshank, 2004). So whilst structures may arise from the actions of individuals, they then become objects with causal powers in their own right. Social realism and morphogenesis therefore provide “a means of identifying structure(s) independently of their occupants and incumbents, yet of showing its effects upon them, whilst coping with the intervention of other contingent relations, and accounting for the eventual outcome which either reproduces or transforms the original structure” (Archer, 1995: 167).

Within the morphogenetic model, the sequence is broken into three analytical phases: Emergence – Interaction – Outcome (see Figure 4.1). Alternatively this makes up three part cycles:

- a) *Structural conditioning* – referring to pre-existing structures that condition
- b) *Social interaction* – arising from actions oriented towards the realisation of interests, and leading to
- c) *Structural elaboration* – a change in the relations between the ‘parts’ of the social system

In the first phase (structural conditioning), therefore, the focus is on all those pre-existing structures and cultures⁵ which condition the actions of human agents. These actions are the focus of interest in the second phase (social interaction). Finally, in the third analytical phase (structural elaboration), we see the elaboration of the previously existing structures and cultures, as an emergent outcome of the actions taken in phase two.

⁵ Archer (1995; 1998) explains that cultures can be considered in the same way as structures (i.e. cultural morphogenesis/stasis).

T1: *Emergence*

Structural & Cultural conditioning

T2: *Interaction*

Social & Socio-cultural interaction

T3:

Outcome
Structural & Cultural elaboration

T4:

Figure 4.1: Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 1995, Part 2)

It is important to recognise that Archer's model is based on analytical, not philosophical dualism. Thus, "although structure and agency are at work continuously in society, the analytical element consists in breaking up these flows into intervals determined by the problem in hand: given any problem and accompanying periodization, projection of the three phases forwards and backwards would connect up with anterior and posterior cycles" (Archer, 1995: 168).

Within this model, therefore, action is a continuous, cyclical flow over time. As Fleetwood (2004) has observed, "there are no empty spaces where nothing happens and things do not just begin and end" (p.41). Conceptual development of this morphogenetic method, to take account of the specific nature of labour market emergence, is undertaken in the course of the following two chapters.

4.2.iii Triangulation

The final substantive research method employed in this study can be discussed under the broad heading of ‘triangulation’ – a widely recommended way of doing social research (see Bryman, 1996; Denzin, 1970; Olsen, 2004). Triangulation is justified on a number of fronts (Downward and Mearman, 2005): increasing ‘persuasiveness’ of evidence; enhancing ‘validity’ of insights; adding ‘completeness’ to accounts; or simply on pragmatic grounds. Denzin (1970, Ch.12) discusses four quite different types of triangulation: i) *data* triangulation with respect to time, place, person and level; ii) *investigator* triangulation via multiple observers of the same phenomenon; iii) *theoretical* triangulation via multiple theoretical perspectives with respect to the same set of objects; iv) *methodological* triangulation via both *between-method* (dissimilar methods) triangulation and *within-method* (variations within the same basic methodology) triangulation. Of these, the types with most relevance to this study are *data* triangulation and *between-method* triangulation. For this research involved the application of both quantitative and qualitative research – in what Sayer (1984), after Harré (1979), terms *extensive* and *intensive* research methods.

This use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods presents something of a challenge to much orthodox thinking in methodology. Indeed, Walby (2001) refers to the differences between methodological schools (such as those advocating either quantitative or qualitative research) as ‘epistemological chasms’ (see Olsen, 2004: 135). As Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004: 131) explain, however, for the realist...

complete explanations will implicate both the context in which events take place, and the meanings attributed to events by key actors and groups of actors. To simplify drastically, the context of events is often best accounted for by summarising or by description, and by

establishing how widespread particular contextual features are. This points to the relevance of certain kinds of quantitative data, especially descriptive statistics. In addition, however, the meaning attributed to things by actors will also be important, especially at key junctures in causal processes, and this points to the need for interpretation and the collection of qualitative information.

It is clearly the case that particular emphasis will be given to the collection and analysis of qualitative data (i.e. *intensive* research), since the prime purpose of this research project is to provide a causal account of labour market emergence.⁶ However, the mix of qualitative and quantitative research methods is perfectly consistent with realist social ontology. Indeed, Downward and Mearman (2005) claim that “from a critical realist perspective, an effective research method thus requires...linking the critical realist ontological perspective, the logic of retrodution and the triangulation of methods” (p.15). In fact, Downward and Mearman go further in claiming that “within the logic of retrodution some form of triangulation is not only *possible* but also *necessary* to reveal *different* features of the *same* layered reality” (p.22). This appears to overstate the case for triangulation. Certainly as far as this research was concerned, the use of triangulation followed more from providing ‘completeness to the account’, than it did the specific intention to reveal ‘different features of the same layered reality’ (even if this was a hoped for outcome). The specific nature of data collection and analysis in the context of this research design are now discussed in more detail.

⁶ Sayer observes (1992: 246) that extensive studies are weaker for the purpose of explanation because they uncover relations that are formal rather than causal i.e. relations of connection. In other words, the taxonomic classification of objects is made on the basis of observed characteristics, i.e. relations of similarity.

4.3 Research design

4.3.i Emergence of a research question

The specific research question being considered in this thesis is ‘how did the UK early music labour market emerge?’ However, the question in this form did not just appear overnight. At the early stage of identifying the research problem, the research ‘net’ was cast much more widely – on the cultural and creative industries in general. Gradually the focus narrowed to the classical music sector, before settling explicitly on the early music movement. It was only after an extensive reading of labour market literature that the particular issue of labour market *emergence* surfaced as being both a neglected area of analysis, and of pivotal importance to our understanding of the labour market’s functioning. A clear link with my own interest in explaining the development of the early music movement presented itself.

The choice of research paradigm did not become self-evident from day one either, of course. My original approach had been from within what is termed *economic sociology*. Here the writings of Smelser and Swedberg (1994) and Hodgson (1988 and 1993) were particularly influential. Indeed, it was in the work of Hodgson (1993) that I was introduced to critical realism.⁷ While this immediately appealed as an appropriate theoretical framework from which to study the research problem, extensive reading (especially Bhaskar, 1979; and Archer, 1995) and many hours of thought were required before I was familiar enough with the basic concepts of realism to begin applying them directly in the research context. Even then, I sought to amplify my knowledge of critical realism and its methodological

⁷ It is noted that Hodgson has adopted a more critical stance towards critical realism in recent writing (e.g. 2004b).

application throughout the research process – continuing through the writing-up phase of research.

Turning to the research question itself, we can see that it is essentially made up of three elements: i) the unit of analysis; ii) the context; iii) the process. The research's *unit of analysis* is what Sayer would term an 'object' – the labour market. The following chapter considers exactly *what* this unit of analysis is. Kervin (1992) suggests it is best to select a unit of analysis at as low a level as possible (e.g. an individual). This should be at the level where decisions are made. However, the realist approach undertaken seeks a causal explanation that both accounts for the relationship between agency and structure (avoiding methodological individualism and/or conflationary theorising), and goes beyond events and 'decisions', providing an explanation of the causal mechanisms involved.

The *context* for the research is the UK early music movement, which as we have seen (Chapter 2) was firmly established in the early 1970s and achieved significant commercial success over the subsequent three decades. The *process* under study is that of 'emergence'. This seminal realist concept has now been introduced (in Chapter 3), and a detailed conceptualisation of labour market emergence is presented in Chapter 6.

4.3.ii Data collection methods

As has been discussed, the research required collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. *Extensive* research focused on professional early music performers in the UK, and sought to provide a descriptive context from which more detailed explanatory

research could be undertaken. *Intensive* research of the early music labour market required detailed exploratory investigation of events, experiences, motivations and causes, through interviews with experts, pioneers, ‘corporate agents’ and ‘primary agents’⁸ (see Archer, 1995). Three main methods of data collection were employed: a postal survey of early music performers across the UK; qualitative in-depth interviews with leading figures in the early music movement in the early 1970s; and secondary data drawn from interviews and archive material from programmes on BBC Radio 3 and Radio 4, relevant Internet sites, and other sources in the public domain.

4.3.iii Postal survey of early music performers

The purpose of the survey was to reach a large number of professional early music performers and seek their responses to a range of questions concerning the nature of their work and employment. In view of the realist perspective underlying the research this did not require an explicit attempt to be statistically representative of the ‘population’ of early music performers. However, such a survey could provide very useful data concerning the pattern of early music labour market activity. The questions were designed to give a descriptive account (rather than any detailed causal account) relating to the following five themes:

- Current and past early music performance activity
- Influences on performers’ active interest in early music
- Demographic characteristics of early music performers

⁸ Archer defines the corporate agent as including self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements and defensive associations. ‘Primary agents’ are distinguished from corporate agents at any given time by lacking a say in structural or cultural modelling (1995: 258-9).

- Early music performer earnings
- Important trends in early music performance employment over the last 30 years

This required specific information relating to type of performer, the nature of musical (and specialist early music) education, work experience, motivation, characteristics of employment (including earnings), as well as general demographic characteristics.

Determining the sample for this research was problematic for two reasons. Firstly, there are many early music performers who would not traditionally be seen to have anything to do with any ‘labour market’, since they receive nothing monetary in exchange for their performance. Notwithstanding the theoretical debate over the nature of a labour market, a preliminary review of *artists’* labour market literature highlighted a particular difficulty in deciding who might be considered as a performer or not – and therefore who should or shouldn’t be included in any analysis. The distinction between professional, semi-professional and amateur is not at all clear (see Everitt, 1997). Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 47) identify eight criteria that have been used to identify the artist in previous literature:

1. the amount of time spent on artistic work
2. the amount of income derived from artistic activities
3. the reputation as an artist among the general public
4. recognition among other artists
5. the quality of artistic work produced
6. membership of a professional artists’ group or association
7. a professional qualification in the arts

8. the subjective evaluation of being an artist

The argument taken forward here was that the ‘artist’ (i.e. early music performer) is that person who considers themselves to be an artist (i.e. criterion no. 8). One might claim that this is justified by the very fact that there is doubt over who is an artist and who is not – demonstrating the socially constructed nature of creativity (see Csikszentmihalyi, 1999).⁹

The second problem with determining the sample was of a more pragmatic nature. Given the freelance nature of the work undertaken by professional early music performers, it is not easy to access or determine the size of this group from any existing database. These sampling issues were resolved through i) assessment of the number of professional early music ensembles and individuals listed in UK published directories and association lists; ii) my own situated knowledge from my experience as a freelance early music musician, and from informal discussions with early music performers and practitioners.

The largest and most reliable database available, including professional and amateur performers, was held by the National Early Music Association (NEMA).¹⁰ This Association publishes an updated directory of members every year. Members are either performers or instrument-makers. However, there was not a simple classification that allowed for this distinction to be made prior to data collection. As such, it became necessary to incorporate additional questions that could elicit responses from instrument-makers. This was

⁹ Cultural economists’ focus on the first two of Frey and Pommerehne’s criteria (time and income) is symptomatic of the predominant neoclassical orthodox theoretical perspective applied to artists’ labour markets (e.g. Heilbrun and Gray, 2001; Towse, 2001 and 1995). Patterns of supply (hours offered and rates of pay, etc.) and demand (how many artists or hours of their work are hired) are the primary issues researched. The approach taken here seeks a much fuller account of how the labour market enables and constrains the exchange of labour power.

¹⁰ <http://www.nema-uk.org>.

considered to provide added benefit, however, since the role of instrument-makers in the emergence of the early music labour market was an issue requiring analysis.

I sought permission from NEMA to use the database for sending out a survey to all professional, semi-professional and amateur members.¹¹ 1,595 questionnaires were sent to NEMA members. The sample selected for the survey was considered by NEMA themselves to be biased towards the amateur end of the performance spectrum. I suspected that some professional early music musicians did not in fact join NEMA. As a consequence, and to ensure that a reasonable proportion of the overall responses would come from professional performers currently working for the leading groups and ensembles, nine of the leading early music ensembles were also asked if they would distribute the survey directly to performers.

The survey questionnaire was piloted by four early music performers known to me personally, to ensure that questions were posed in an intelligible and unambiguous way. Commentary was also elicited on the accompanying letter and on the instructions for filling out the survey. As I was unable to access the database directly (having been sent mailing-labels of those on the database for a sum of £100 paid to NEMA) it was decided that, barring a very poor response rate, there would not be a follow-up letter sent out to non-respondents. This was because a relatively high response rate was expected, as I believed early music performers to be sufficiently interested in the aims and scope of the survey to respond (given that it had not been undertaken before, to my knowledge). A copy of the survey instrument is presented in Appendix 3. A total of 538 complete and useable responses was received, representing a 33.7 per cent response rate. Of these, 480 were from performers and 58 from

¹¹ These labels are self-selecting by the performers themselves.

instrument-makers. 28 of the performers' responses were received from those distributed directly by leading ensembles. Of the total number of performers questioned, 41 per cent were 'professional', 15 per cent 'semi-professional', and the remaining 44 per cent 'amateur'.

4.3.iv Qualitative semi-structured interviews with key informants

Given the causal explanatory nature of this study into the emergence of the UK early music labour market, the use of semi-structured interviews as the primary method of data collection was regarded as appropriate for purpose (see Sayer, 1992). Compared to the postal survey, this method of data collection is generally seen as generating richer data and permitting a closer examination of causality and meanings attributed by individuals to their experiences. Furthermore, as Sayer (1984) notes, the unstructured interview facilitates "...a meaningful type of communication which maximizes the information flow by making use of communicative and social skills, by being willing to adapt preconceived questions and ideas in the course of the interview" (p.223).

This is not to deny that there are several difficulties with this method of data collection. For example, Pratt (1995) notes that "[t]he use of a loosely structured questionnaire or interview facilitates the collection of a large amount of detailed information, but it can be difficult to analyse" (p.69). In addition, respondents do not always remember particular events, or the feelings they felt, or views held, thirty or so years ago. People post-rationalise events to impose a certain logic and coherence which did not exist at the time (Hussey and Hussey, 1997: 152). Finally, there may be problems with the interviewer comprehending

respondents' particular frames of meaning. A compensating factor, in this respect, was that I had direct experience of working in the early music labour market and had performed with a number of those people being interviewed.

The sample selected for interview was centred on those 'pioneers' ('corporate agents' in Archer's terms) who were generally perceived to have played a key role in the emergence of the early music movement in the UK. Preliminary knowledge of who these individuals were was based on i) my own knowledge of the area having worked in that sector, and ii) reading of relevant literature on the development of early music or 'historically informed performance'. This group included founding music directors of the leading early music groups, record producers, BBC producers, promoters, agents, and, of course, early music performers. For a list of interviewees, see Appendix 4. There was no attempt to provide a comprehensive coverage of all those playing a 'pioneering' role in the development of the early music movement. Neither was the full sample selected prior to carrying out all the interviews. Rather, a 'snowball' sampling or 'networking' method was employed, which focused on including people with key experience of the phenomena being studied (Hussey and Hussey, 1997: 147). As Sayer argues "[i]n intensive studies the individuals need not be typical and they may be selected one by one as the research proceeds and as an understanding of the membership of a *causal* group is built up" (Sayer, 1984: 223).

The early music labour market is relatively small in size. As such, special care was taken not to divulge views or beliefs of one individual to another. All interviewees, however, agreed to their words being attributed, where appropriate. Interviews took place between January 2003 and June 2004 (see Appendix 5 for generic interview topic guide). All of the

interviews were recorded using a mini-disc recorder. In accordance with Kingston University's own 'Guidance and procedures for undertaking research involving human subjects',¹² voluntary informed consent for participation was sought from each of the interviewees. In every case, I clearly outlined the nature of the study, explaining the nature of confidentiality and anonymity, noting, in particular, that the data collected would only be used for academic purposes directly related to this doctoral research (i.e. including possible journal article publications).¹³ Interviewees gave their verbal consent (in most cases this is recorded on tape). Where interviewees made it clear that they were speaking 'off record' I have refrained from including any reference in the account presented here. Furthermore, using my own judgement as to potentially sensitive contributions (e.g. concerning attributed views and comments relating to other performers), I have excluded these from the account. Full transcripts of the interviews were made by the researcher so as to ensure accuracy on what was said.

4.3.v Secondary data sources

In addition to the postal survey and qualitative interviews, I employed a number of additional methods of data collection. These included recording and transcribing relevant interviews and archive material from BBC Radio 3 and 4. With early music constituting a significant section of the playlist on Radio 3, particularly, there were opportunities for hearing those involved being interviewed about their careers. In view of my particular interest in exploring individuals' actions and motives in the past, this represented a

¹² This guide on ethics (September 2002) is available at http://www.kingston.ac.uk/about_ku/structure/policies/ethics.pdf.

¹³ I intend to send a note to all interviewees on successful fulfilment of the PhD regulations, letting them know the completed status of the research undertaken. If I decide to develop this research any further, I would write individually to each of the interviewees to ask for written consent.

particularly useful additional method of data collection. Interviews, biographies, discographies and other useful sources of information on many of the key players in the early music movement are held on a range of orchestra, record company and independent web sites (notably the Goldberg website).¹⁴

4.3.vi Data analysis

While it is conventional to discuss data analysis after introducing the methods employed to collect data in the first place (as is the case here), this convention hides the fact that in reality the process of analysis runs parallel to the process of data collection. This is even the case for analysis of the postal survey – where preliminary responses were reviewed and assessed as soon as they were returned.

4.3.vii Survey analysis

The completed questionnaires were coded up and entered into a data file using SPSS software (version 11). In order to minimise bias resulting from item non-response¹⁵ and other issues arising (such as respondents ticking more than one box when only one response is required), I undertook the cleaning and coding up process myself. This had the advantage of familiarising myself with the full data-set. It also saved time and resources when it came to re-coding open-ended responses (e.g. in the case of stating the respondent's 'main' occupation or job).

¹⁴ See www.goldbergweb.com.

¹⁵ I made an educated guess as to whether the non response should be coded up – based on other respondents' responses (following Hussey and Hussey, 1997: 164).

The data was analysed at the level of descriptive statistics only. This entailed tabulating frequencies for all questions and cross-tabulations for a range of selected questions, as required (e.g. analysis of education or earnings by professional status; or some aspect of early music career profile by age of respondent).

4.3.viii Analysis of qualitative data

Dey (1993) draws an analogy between qualitative data analysis and making an omelette – “you can’t make an omelette without beating the eggs together. ‘Analysis’ too involves breaking data down into bits, and then ‘beating’ the bits together...It is a process of resolving data into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure” (p.30). Coveney and Highfield (1991: 296) note that we are so good at dissecting data that we often forget to put the pieces back together again. In the context of a stratified social ontology (see Chapter 3) this task of revealing underlying structure requires us to be especially clear about explaining causality. In applying the retroductive argument (introduced earlier) we must keep a firm understanding of the nature of the social world, the fundamental differences between events, experiences and causal mechanisms, and the often complex relations between agency and structure. There is no denying that the task of analysis is daunting (if not exciting) for the realist researcher. As the process of retroduction involves “the use of metaphor and analogy, amongst other things” (Lawson, 1997: 24), it is incumbent upon the researcher to maintain an audit trail of where s/he has come from, how ideas have developed and how new theory emerges. It is for this reason (over and above its impressive potential as a data management tool) that computer aided qualitative data analysis (or CAQDAS) was used in this research. The specific package used for this

research was atlas.ti version 4.2 then 5. This was preferred to other leading software because of its user-friendly ‘theory building’ design (see Fielding, 1994). In particular, this included its support of structuring of codes into code families, the use of memos – which could be used to signal new issues, ideas and other useful data – and its useful reporting and search facilities.

The data analysis undertaken can be understood in terms of three main phases.¹⁶ In phase one, I began by reading through the transcripts to familiarise myself with the data available. ‘Data’ in this context must be understood in terms of the ‘deeper’ level meaning embedded in the text, rather than simply at the level of the discourse itself. It must be remembered that the purpose of the research was to retroduce those mechanisms responsible for the emergence of the early music labour market. These mechanisms were not discoverable by treating the discourse of the interviewees (i.e. the ‘actual’ experiences and perceptions reported) as the primary or sole form of empirical evidence available. During this phase of analysis, I coded-up 660 quotations from the collected interview transcripts for further, deeper analysis.

The initial coding was carried out in a relatively ‘open’ manner. It was anticipated that the coding process would be somewhat haphazard. As Lawson (2003) states, “the move from phenomenon to cause rests on...luck and ingenuity, here as everywhere else” (p.96). A simple coding framework was devised (see Appendix 6) with the purpose of retaining an analytical focus on the conceptual model of labour market emergence already conceived (see Chapter 6 for details). I was sensitive to ‘forcing’ the data into the theoretical model, and

¹⁶ Though it must be noted that this separation into three phases is in part a useful post hoc rationalisation of what was a more iterative process throughout.

considerable care was taken to avoid this. Indeed, in the early stages of analysis I applied new ‘open’ codes to quotations or segments of data, with a view to highlighting particular areas of potential interest. The coding framework grew from 18 codes to a total of 219 codes in all.

Having become immersed in the data, and very familiar with each of the interviews (involving multiple re-readings of each transcript), I began in phase two of the analysis to seek out more substantive links and themes which would aid me in the process of discovering the mechanisms underlying labour market emergence. To help me in this respect, I composed free-form memos explaining in more detail my thoughts on these links or themes, each of which was attached to specific quotes or sections of interviews within the overall project (or *hermeneutic unit*, as atlas.ti refers to it). In total, the analysis spawned one hundred and eighty-six separate memos.

In the final phase of the analysis, each of these memos (and related quotations) was reviewed once more so as to determine i) its relevance to the overall causal explanatory account, and ii) its relationship with the three stage morphogenetic approach. This process revealed the specific conditions under which the UK early music labour market emerged.

4.3.ix Research outputs

While the findings of the survey can stand on their own terms as useful context and background to the research question (see Wilson, 2004), the main research output takes the form of an analytical account of labour market emergence in the specific context of the UK

early music movement – and this is based on the qualitative research undertaken. Sayer argues that the “economising view” of theory (or “thin description”) is more appropriate to abstraction of objects which are stable and pervasive, while thick description is more appropriate for accounts of concrete situations in which there is considerable historical and geographical specificity and change (Sayer, 1992: 262). Considering, therefore, the *emergence* of the early music labour market as the object of analysis, and in seeking to provide a causal-explanatory account of this emergence in the particular context of early music performance, we can see the particular value of an analytical account (or “thick description”) that reveals the causal powers and liabilities, mechanisms and relations at work.

4.4 Methodological note

The following two chapters work through re-conceptualisations of the labour market and labour market emergence, respectively. It will be apparent from the discussion of the iterative nature of realist research, however, that the accounts finally presented were not themselves reached in a linear fashion. The underlying “crisis of positivism” (Bhaskar, 1991: 140) – which doctoral research is certainly not immune to – directs the researcher to present what is, in effect, a ‘knowing’ post hoc rationalisation of theory building. The reality of developing a conceptual model, and indeed applying the retroductive method, is a messy, stuttering, sometimes inspired, sometimes workmanlike affair, with the potential for many ideational cul-de-sacs on the way. It is in the ‘open’ nature of seeking to apply metaphor and analogy, after all, that alternative perspectives may themselves become no longer consistent with the original object of enquiry. I had to make a clear choice, therefore,

as to how the final conceptual model of labour market emergence would be presented. The conceptualisations which follow in Chapters 5 and 6 are therefore subsequently rationalised accounts that do not highlight every detail and nuance of how they were developed.

Chapter 5

Conceptualising the labour market – An immanent critique

5.0 Introduction

The main task of this chapter is to conceptualise the object of study, the early music labour market. This requires trying to “work out what is necessarily the case about” the labour market in order for it to exist (Sayer, 2001). In asking such a question, the focus necessarily falls once again on the matter of ontology. For it is inescapably the case that the researcher’s ontological perspective concerning social reality influences his/her subsequent conceptualisation of the labour market. It is for this reason that I have already introduced critical realist meta-theory. As was noted in the previous chapter, however, there is a danger that the adoption of realist meta-theory could fail to be based on a grounded understanding of the object under study. In seeking to work out ‘what is necessarily the case about the labour market in order for it to exist’, therefore, the realist researcher must undertake an immanent critique of existing literature. To remind the reader, this requires a critique from the inside – or a form of reading that accepts (what it posits as) a theory’s ‘own terms’. This, in turn, constitutes *domain* level meta-theory (see Cruickshank, 2003) out of which the labour market can be re-conceptualised from a realist perspective.

The immanent critique presented here demonstrates that the predominant positivist perspective taken to the study of labour markets has failed to be appropriate for ‘the limits on description’ set by the object of enquiry (i.e. the ability to explain the existence of a labour market). In turn, a realist alternative, which “improves on matters, not by gaining a

direct access to the facts-in-themselves, but by being a fallible conjecture about being, developed to overcome past shortcomings” (Cruickshank, 2001: 9), is put forward.

5.1 The labour market literature – Mainstream and heterodox perspectives

The domain of labour market theory can be broadly divided into two competing perspectives. The orthodox, neoclassical or mainstream labour market model treats the labour market as the site where wage rates and the quantities of labour demanded and supplied are functionally related. In other words, the forces of supply and demand jointly determine price (the wage rate) and quantity (the number of people employed). Furthermore, the labour market is theorised “as if the ‘economic’ forces of wages, supply and demand for labour dominate ‘non-economic’ phenomena such as social structures” (Fleetwood, 2003: 3). The competing ‘heterodox’ perspective embraces a wide range of theoretical insights, but can be seen to be based on the unifying assumption that labour markets are embedded in institutions or social structures (Ibid: 2), including those of gender, class, race and so forth.

Before I look at why both mainstream and heterodox approaches fail to account convincingly for the existence of the labour market (particularly with respect to meta-theoretical underpinning and the treatment of social structures), I present a brief overview of the main characteristics and contributions of each perspective.

5.1.i Mainstream perspective

Orthodox economic theory maintains that “in a market society, the allocation of resources (including labour)¹ is the outcome of millions of independent decisions made by consumers and producers all acting through the mechanism of the market” (Lipsey, 1968: 71). From the mainstream perspective, the labour market has been considered as the totality of jobs for which, given the achievement of equilibrium and “allowances for other advantages” (Hicks, 1963: 7) the single wage prevails and the market is cleared. In other words, at the heart of this (static) perspective is the basic principle that wage rates and quantities of labour demanded and supplied are functionally related, *ceteris paribus*. Furthermore, individual actors are assumed to pursue rational self-interest within a framework of free competition (Peck, 2000). The implications of this are that if supply exceeds demand, some workers will be unemployed, and in their effort to regain employment they will reduce the wage they ask for to that level which makes it just worthwhile for employers to take them on. If demand exceeds supply, employers will be unable to obtain all the labour they require, and will therefore offer higher wages in order to attract labour from elsewhere (Hicks, 1963: 4-5). The mainstream account has the appeal of representing what appears to be a unified theory – the theorems and sub-theorems that combine to provide this basic principle (e.g. theories of marginal cost, marginal productivity and the downward slope of the demand curve) are largely in agreement with one another. I provide a critique of the assumptions underpinning these theories later in this chapter.

¹ Most of the problems considered by economists arise out of the use of scarce resources to satisfy human wants. These resources, which together constitute the factors of production, can be broken down into three main groupings – land, labour and capital. *Labour* includes all human resources, mental and physical, of both an inherited and acquired sort.

The orthodox approach has undergone extensive development and elaboration over the years to take account of the 'real' world. Mainstream economists have, of course, been aware, that social structures "complicate the picture" (Ibid: 3). Modifications have included, therefore, the acknowledgement of the role of rigidities and costs, trade union organisations and goals, the role of the family, gender, race, efficiency wages, and imperfect information. Labour markets are seen to involve the exchange of a *quasi*-commodity because labour power is not reproduced 'capitalistically'. In other words, the domestic labour that goes to reproduce labour power is unpaid. Without a good night's sleep, shelter from the elements, food in the belly, to say nothing of a place to practise, equipment on which to listen to CDs, the purchase of musical instruments, scores, and concert-dress etc., even the most gifted of musicians would be unable to exchange their labour power in a paid performance or recording. The existence of these supportive conditions is, of course, dependent upon domestic bargaining positions and the interdependent decisions of musicians, spouses and family (see Hatt, 1997; Peck, 1996).

A further area that has undergone considerable (and necessary) scrutiny is the role of the firm in labour market activity. While neoclassical theory in its purest form does not ascribe any positive role for the firm in determining employment structures, two theoretical developments have been credited with 'solving' this dilemma (Rubery and Gallie, 1988). Firstly, the recognition of the existence of information costs, in particular the costs associated with the labour contract. Such costs were seen as the explanation for the development of internal markets or hierarchies in order to minimise transaction costs (Williamson, 1975). Secondly, the recognition of the specificity of investments (Becker, 1964) in human capital theory. In both cases, the basic principle of the functional wage

relation remains at the core of theoretical development. Furthermore, they give little or no attention to the role of the firm's founder or the introduction of new economic activity (understood in terms of *entrepreneurship*) in explaining labour market activity – an omission that is taken up in the next chapter.

5.1.ii Heterodox perspectives

As indicated above, heterodox accounts (incorporating economic and sociological institutionalist approaches as well as a variety of other related miscellaneous approaches) share the view that labour markets are sites where the economic forces of wages, supply and demand for labour operate, but such operations are embedded within a set of social structures (Fleetwood, 2003: 6).

The 'institutionalist' approach refers to the various efforts undertaken to infuse economic theory with a greater realism. It developed initially in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century, and received a new push in the post 2nd World War period (see McNulty, 1980 for discussion). This approach grew more out of empirical challenge to orthodox economics than as a new body of theory. Labour market behaviour began to be explained by historical and institutional factors in wage setting (Dunlop, 1957), the existence of ports of entry limiting access to the internal markets (Kerr, 1950, 1954), the relevance of seniority and other institutional rules in governing job allocation (Kerr, 1954; Lester, 1951), the increasing importance of on-the-job training in the firm (Oi, 1962), etc. The existence of non-competitive markets was explained by the *balkanization* (institutionalization – Kerr, 1954) of free-choice markets, as the result of formal and informal rules. In fact, the

hypothesis of a market stratified into non-competing groups was first formulated by Cairnes as far back as the nineteenth century (1874: 65-9). The labour market was perceived as divided into horizontal strata, where workers could compete within each strata, but where entry to other groups was precluded. Marsden's *The end of economic man?* (1986) is more representative of contemporary institutionalist approaches to labour market theory, from the point of view of focusing on the institutional conditions necessary for the establishment of a competitive labour market, rather than starting from the usual assumption of a competitive labour market in order to explain the emergence of institutions and groups.

In the 1960s economists became increasingly concerned with socio-economic problems of poverty, inequality and underemployment. The prevailing neoclassical model of the labour market appeared unsatisfactory to explain what was going on in the real world. Over the next few decades, a new set of categories (such as dual labour market, primary/secondary, internal/external, core/peripheral) and a new set of concepts (such as segmentation, stratification and internalisation) were introduced. According to Villa (1986) these theoretical developments were also a response to the following shifts in labour market activity and/or analysis:

- i) The use of specific and complex technology in production requiring specific training within the firm (see also Doeringer and Piore, 1971, on dual labour market).
- ii) Class conflict and the role played by employers in controlling labour (see Gordon et al, 1982).
- iii) An attention to supply *and* demand features of the labour market, and particularly the active role of unions (see the work of 'The Cambridge School', e.g. Rubery and Wilkinson, 1981).

Despite having specific foci, most of the theoretical developments sought to explain the persistence of low-paid groups as the result of the emergence of *non-competitive*, or structured, labour markets, where no competitive equalisation of wages took place. To return to Hicks' orthodox definition of the labour market, the "allowances for other advantages" now formed the main focus of attention, therefore. Segmented labour market (SLM) theorists maintained that labour markets were "social constructs, incorporating within them various rules and forms of organisation which both condition their mode of operation and also structure to some extent the actors themselves and determine their behaviour" (Castro et al, 1992: 7). The recession and intensified competition of the 1970s and 1980s overtook the labour market segmentation debates. The main issue became the analysis of how boundaries between primary-type and secondary-type employment were being redrawn as employers responded to changing product and labour market conditions. The need for greater flexibility was attributed to both the changes in the overall product market conditions, and the increase in the fixed costs of employment for core workers (see Berger and Piore, 1980). We can point here to an increasing recognition of the labour market as a *dynamic* social object. Yet, the very existence (i.e. temporal emergence) of the labour market is still taken as a given.

More recently, contemporary segmentation theory follows Rubery's (1992: 246) assertion that "there is now no single 'model' of segmentation but more a cluster of models or theoretical approaches which have arisen out of labour market research in the 70s and 80s". In the last decade of the twentieth century a consensus emerged amongst labour market theorists that the search for *one* explanation was misplaced. It was the interaction between different forces (technological, economic and institutional) that has to be investigated. Peck

(2000) states that “segmentation is the outcome of the contingent and dialectical interaction of several causal tendencies: the state, the sphere of social reproduction, and demand-side factors exert relatively autonomous influences on patterns and processes of labour market segmentation” (p.237). In line with Wilkinson (1983), he claims that concrete labour market structures represent the synthesis of causal powers, whose precise form cannot be determined purely by a priori reasoning (Ibid). Such views are rebutted by Fine (1998), however, who describes the SLM paradigm as being in a state of “chronic crisis” (p.132). In particular, he takes issue with the methodological individualism that lies at the heart of segmentation theory. In principle, it would be possible to have as many segments as individuals. This *reductio ad absurdum* is seen as a significant weakness in the theory’s empirical application. In defending SLM theory from this criticism, Peck (2000) points to the ‘inclusive’ treatment of the labour market offered by segmentation, as opposed to the ‘exclusive’ treatment of orthodox accounts. In particular, the necessarily social nature of labour power and the necessarily institutional form of labour market processes (including hiring, training, promoting and paying – see Villa, 1986) are emphasised.

Fleetwood (2003) has argued that the institutionalists have not provided a viable alternative to the neoclassical approach. This is because whereas social structures are treated as ‘problematic residuals’ in the mainstream account, the opposite is the case in heterodox accounts: labour markets become problematic residuals. He observes that “heterodox analysis...defaults to a mode wherein labour markets remain sites where some kind of relation between wages, supply and demand for labour exists, even if the precise nature of this relation is underelaborated” (p.7). This gives rise to such questions as to whether the presence of social structures negates or modifies the relationship between supply, demand

and the wage rate, and if so, how this negation or modification is affected. As Fleetwood goes on to state: “Instead, however, of clarifying the relationship between labour markets and social structures this ‘watered down’ version adds confusion – and more than a little fudge” (p.9). I suggest that this ‘fudged’ position stems to some extent from the ‘default’ central conflationary position (introduced in Chapter 1) which implicitly fails to bestow independent properties and powers to *both* the ‘parts’ of society (e.g. market structures) and the ‘people’ within it. This critique is taken up in more detail in the next section.

5.2 Immanent critique of labour market literature

The central question which sets up this immanent critique is can the existing literature help us ‘to try and work out what is necessarily the case about’ the labour market in order for it to exist? As will be argued shortly, the answer to this question is that existing theory is constrained in its potential to achieve this, by virtue of two over-arching (and related) areas of weakness:

1. Meta-theoretical weakness inherent in embracing positivism as philosophy of science, empirical realism as primary ontological perspective, and deductivism as implicated method of choice.
2. Ontological and epistemological weakness in explaining how structure and agency interact in the labour market (tending towards conflation).

The character of these weaknesses and their associated implications for our understanding of the labour market are now considered in some detail.

5.2.i Problems with empirical realist ontology

The prevalent meta-theoretical perspective in labour market theory is positivist and follows the empirical realist ontology (see Lawson, 1997: 18). Even in the case of many heterodox accounts, which claim to provide an alternative to the mainstream orthodoxy, there remains a commitment to the general principle of the functional wage relationship. This relationship can only be understood in terms of our empirical knowledge about specific wage rates and the supply and demand of labour. Such knowledge of objects thought to exist independently of one's identification of them is acquired through our experience (hence the label *empirical realist*).

The first problem with the empirical realist ontological perspective is that it has led to the posing of ontological issues within epistemological terms of reference. As Cruickshank (2001: 5) notes, “epistemological considerations about *how* knowledge is constituted are used to define *what* exists and *how* it can be known”. We can see this most clearly in respect of labour market theory's interest (or, more correctly, lack of interest) in the existence of the labour market per se (as opposed to the empirical outcomes associated with the so-called wage relation).

Despite the fact that economists have discussed and written about labour markets for hundreds of years, and that labour market economics constitutes a substantial research area in its own right, there is a surprising lack of attention given to understanding where labour markets come from. In fact, as was commented upon in the opening chapter, there appears to be a general underlying assumption that labour markets (as places where functional wage

relations operate) just exist. Indeed, the whole question of where ‘new’ labour markets come from appears to have eluded attention.² It can be argued, however, that this lack of attention towards the existence of the labour market has had a profound impact on the development of labour market theory – or our epistemology of labour markets. This is because such an absence of explicit interest in the concept of the labour market itself (as opposed to its outcomes as we experience them) limits our capacity to understand and acquire knowledge of how a labour market works. Paradoxically, we might go so far as to claim that our knowledge of labour markets has been advanced most fully in the context of explaining various types of deviation from an ‘ideal’ or ‘pure’ type, e.g. the structuring of imperfectly operating labour markets (segmentation) and the role of ‘contingent’ non-market factors (sociological and economic institutionalist approaches). Putting this another way, it is as if our knowledge of the labour market is informed in terms of what it ‘isn’t’ as opposed to what it ‘is’ – otherwise, there would be no need to clarify, amend, or revise in terms of the above factors. After all, it is not a grand claim to suggest that the labour market is ontologically distinct from related phenomena such as segmentation, institutional effects etc.

This is a distinction that has been lost as a result of following an empirical realist approach to labour market analysis. Theorists have either fallen into the trap of the epistemic fallacy – assuming that our theory-laden observations of events are in fact what reality is like; or, through making reference to an ideal, ‘perfect’ or ‘pure’ form of labour market that is removed from what the world is really like, they have perpetuated something of an ‘absent’ conception of the labour market. Bosworth, Dawkins and Stromback (1996) in their textbook *The economics of the labour market*, for example, note that “it is possible to isolate

² This treatment of the market as a ‘natural phenomenon’, incidentally, is consistent with that perspective in which firms represent a problem to be solved (Sayer, 2000b: 4).

a particular, pure labour market...[T]his ‘wage-competition’ model of such ‘external labour markets’ does not take into account some of the idiosyncrasies of the employment relationship” (pp.183-4). Conceptually ‘possible’ – yes, but it would appear to be something of a contentless abstraction that fails to advance our knowledge of what a labour market really is like. For it is in the very ‘idiosyncrasies of the employment relationship’ (at least in part) that a labour market can be held to exist – in the sense of making a difference and having an effect on those involved (Fleetwood, 2004: 29).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the empirical context of early music labour (including artists’ intrinsic motivation to work, chronic over-supply, state funding and regulation, and specialist training provision) presents something of a challenge to the basic tenets of the functional wage relationship in real world labour markets. These cannot be explained away through reference to imperfect markets, market failure, or as deviations from some notional market norm, as some cultural economists imply (see Towse, 1995). Indeed, an immanent critique of mainstream theory would then rightly claim that such an approach is unable to explain the very thing (e.g. the early music labour market) within the terms of reference that it claims to be providing an explanation for.

Heterodox theory is not immune from the meta-theoretical problems identified above. One might argue that segmentation theory is particularly prone to succumb to the epistemic fallacy inherent in empirical realism. This is because its power to explain is predicated upon the claim of having “a strong purchase on the concrete realities of the labour market” (Peck, 2000: 237), whilst holding onto the basic principle of the functional wage relation.

The problem then with empirical realist ontology is that it “leads to a definition of causal laws as observable constant conjunctions and a methodology which presumes the existence of constant regularities” (Cruickshank, 2001: 5). Indeed, the functional relations and laws which lie at the heart of the orthodox accounts of the labour market presuppose a Humean account of causality that is based upon the constant conjunction of events.³ This supposition, born out of the epistemological premise about knowledge being derived solely from experience, is problematic, and has serious implications for the validity of the deductivist method, which I now discuss.

5.2.ii Problems with the deductivist method

As Fleetwood observes (2003: 10), “constant conjunctions of events drive the nomological⁴ machinery of the deductive method, by making possible the deduction or the prediction of some event(s) from antecedents”. In other words, the functional relations and laws which lie at the heart of the orthodox approach to labour market theory can only be justified under conditions which presuppose event regularities. These conditions require what we might think of as *closed* systems. Lawson (1997: 19) notes that “a precondition of the universality, or wide applicability, of deductivism is simply that reality is characterised by a ubiquity of such closures”. After all, outside of a closed system, where constant conjunctions of events are *not* usually found, one would have to conclude that there are no laws (Fleetwood, 2003: 12). In fact, whilst the constant conjunction of events is fundamental to deductivism, it is a rare phenomenon in both the natural and social world – which are characterised by open

³ Events are constantly conjoined in the sense that for every event y , there exists a set of events $x_1, x_2 \dots x_n$, such that y and $x_1, x_2 \dots x_n$ are regularly conjoined.

⁴ In the context of scientific explanation, deductive-nomological explanations are ones in which the *explanandum* (i.e. the thing to be explained) is subsumed under a covering law.

systems. Indeed, Bhaskar goes as far as claiming that social scientific objects “only ever manifest themselves in open systems” (1979: 45). As Archer states, “Society...is itself because it is open, and is open because it is peopled, and being peopled can always be re-shaped through human innovativeness” (Archer, 1995: 166).⁵

This is not to suggest, however, that in the absence of a closed system and strict event regularity we are left with “a totally unsystematic, incoherent, random flux” (Lawson, 1997: 204). For example, it is quite apparent that the demand for labour does often fall in association with wage rate increases (though not every time), and that women are concentrated in so-called ‘secondary’ sectors of the labour market. These are partial regularities, or what Lawson terms *demi-regularities* or *demi-laws* (Ibid: 204). Such partial regularities are often illustrative of some kind of difference or contrast between one group and another (e.g. women’s versus men’s employment). ‘Contrastive demi-regs’ are pervasive. For the realist they play an important role in serving to direct social scientific research towards “evidence that, and where, certain relatively enduring and potentially identifiable mechanisms have been in play” (Ibid: 207). However, it is important to distinguish this observable feature of reality from the positivist’s underlying assumptions about event regularities and subsequent use of the deductivist method.

5.2.iii (Labour) markets and the problem of structure and agency

A central concept in both contemporary mainstream and heterodox accounts of the labour market, albeit treated differently, is that of the social structure. Fleetwood refers to a kind of

⁵ It is the capacity of human agency to ‘shape’ society in this way that lies at the heart of the *critical* realist philosophical perspective.

continuum where, “at one end, social structures are presumed to deflect, but not negate, the operation of ‘economic’ forces whereas at the other end ‘economic’ forces are presumed to deflect, but not negate, the operation of social structures” (Fleetwood, 2003: 7). A summary analysis of contributions to labour market theory (discussed earlier in this chapter) according to this continuum is graphically presented in Figure 5.1. Each contribution is positioned on the continuum according to the claims made by the relevant authors. Notwithstanding the development of economic labour market theory to embrace sociological and institutionalist perspectives, it is as if labour market theorists, in the main, have continued to adopt a ‘watered down’ version of the mainstream account (Ibid: 8) in which it is posited that “the economic forces of supply and demand, acting in conjunction with institutions or social structure, roughly determine or heavily influence wage rates” (Ibid: 9). Over and above the difficulties associated with the continuing commitment to the functional wage relationship, this acceptance of the role of social structures remains fuzzy, at best, due to a lack of any kind of explanation for how such structures are reproduced or transformed through the actions of those involved in the labour market (I have referred to this in terms of reductionist conflationary positions, in Chapter 1). Despite the apparent convergence in theoretical perspectives towards the end of the twentieth century, in which economic and sociological institutionalist approaches are drawn together, there remain serious questions concerning the relationship between social structures, agency and the concept of the market itself. I explore these questions in more detail below, beginning with an analysis of the market.

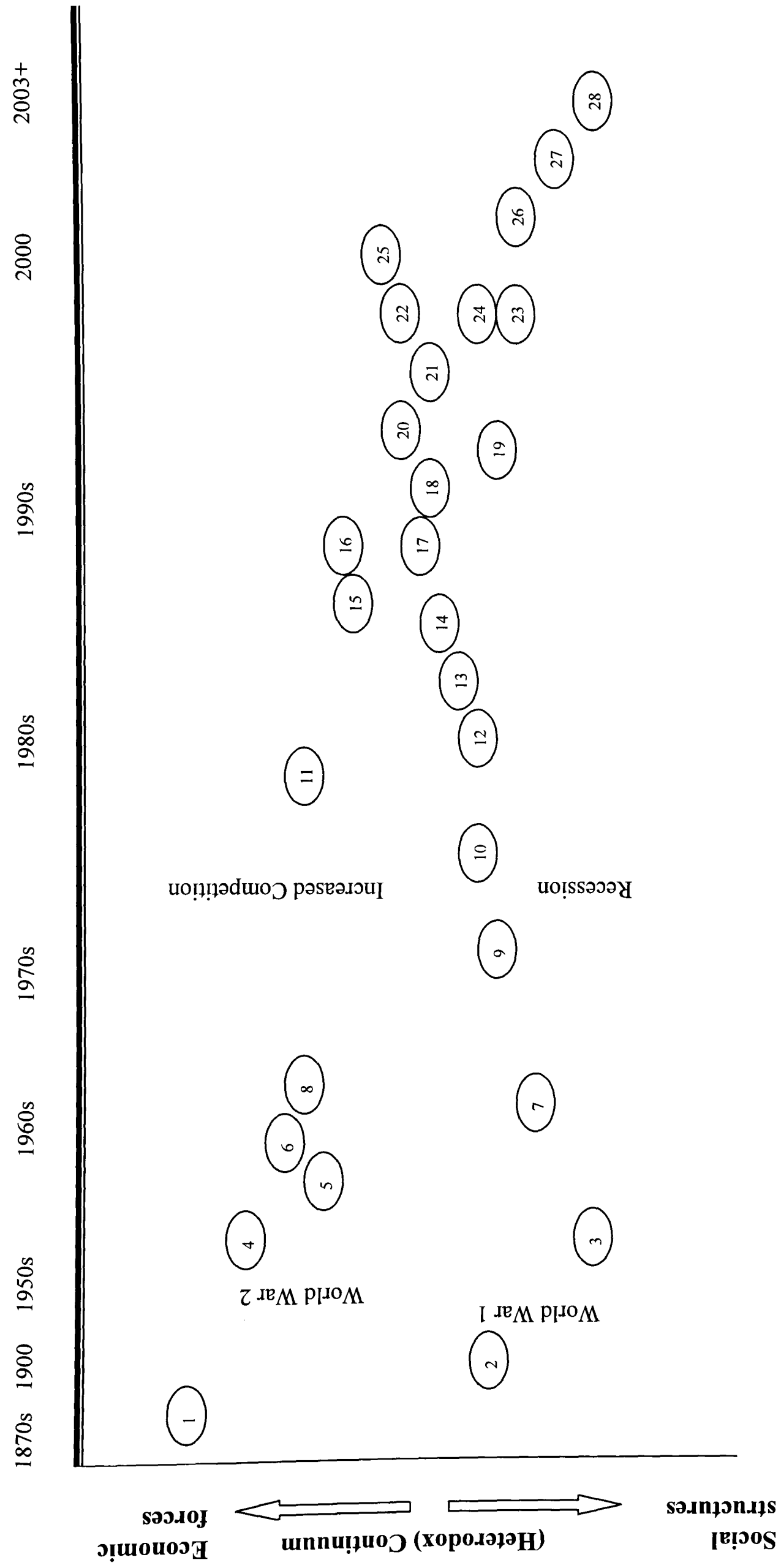


Figure 5.1: Development of labour market theory

Key:

- 1 Cairnes (1874) – hypothesis that markets are stratified in non-competing groups
- 2 Institutionalism (realism) in the USA
- 3 Post-war ‘realism’ – see Dunlop (1957); Kerr (1954); Lester (1951)
- 4 Relevance of seniority in governing job allocation
- 5 Kerr (1954) – ‘Ports of entry’ limiting access to internal markets; ‘non-competitive markets’ explained through ‘balkanisation’
- 6 Dunlop (1957) – historical factors affect wage setting
- 7 Economists concerned with issues of poverty and inequality and underemployment. New categories introduced: dual labour market; primary/secondary markets; segmentation; internalization
- 8 Becker (1964) – specificity of investment and ‘human capital theory’
- 9 Doeringer and Piore (1971) – dual labour market theory (seen as ‘First Generation Segmentation’ by Peck (2000))
- 10 Braverman (1974) – labour process theory
- 11 Williamson (1975) – the existence of information costs, leading to ‘internal markets’
- 12 Berger and Piore (1980) – flexibility seen as important in addressing new labour market conditions
- 13 Gordon et al (1982) – segmentation explained in terms of class conflict and controlling nature of capital over labour (seen as ‘Second Generation Segmentation’ by Peck (2000))
- 14 Osterman (1984) – internal labour market where market functions performed by set of institutional and administrative rules
- 15 Villa (1986) – multi-disciplinary approach from a number of traditions
- 16 Marsden (1986) – examination of what is required to make a ‘competitive’ labour market
- 17 Rubery and Gallie (1988) – examine the role of the firm
- 18 Granovetter (1973) – economic and sociological institutionalism meet
- 19 Solow (1990) – labour market put forward as ‘social institution’
- 20 Powell and DiMaggio (1991) – economic and sociological institutionalism meet
- 21 Seccareccia (1991) – Post-Keynesian / Institutional synthesis
- 22 Fevre (1992) – economic and sociological institutionalism meet
- 23 Castro et al (1992) – labour markets seen as ‘social constructs’
- 24 Michon (1992) – French tradition focuses on regulation, state, convention and societal effect theories
- 25 Fine (1998) – suggests segmentation theory in state of ‘chronic crisis’
- 26 Peck (2000) – particular attention to demand-side, institutions and social forces (seen as ‘Third Generation Segmentation’ theory)
- 27 Picchio (2000) – feminist approach to labour market analysis looks for ‘inclusive, trans-disciplinary...analytical and political perspective’
- 28 Fleetwood (2002; 2003; 2006) – labour markets synonymous with social structures

Despite being the central institution that underlies neoclassical economics, there is surprisingly little discussion of the market⁶ in the literature on economics (see North, 1977; Coase, 1988; Rosenbaum, 2000)⁷ or sociology (Callon, 1998: 52). As Fine (1998) has observed, “many attempts to develop a distinct theory of the labour market fail...because there has been insufficient attention given to the nature of the market itself” (p.11).

According to Callon (1998: 1) we may find a clue to this lack of attention in the way in which the English language distinguishes the *thing* from the *concept* that refers to it – the marketplace from the market. This, in turn, reflects a more fundamental opposition “between economics as a discipline and economy as a thing” (Ibid).⁸ It is as if economic theory, in striving to abstract and generalise, has ended up becoming detached from its object.⁹ The weakness of market theory can then be explained by its lack of interest in the marketplace. The market has come to denote the abstract mechanisms whereby supply and demand confront each other “in search of a compromise”, whilst “the marketplace is far closer to ordinary experience and refers to the place in which exchange occurs” (Ibid). We can note here how this ‘abstract mechanism’ threatens to deny the freedom of actors involved in the market to take strategic decisions concerning the exchange of economic objects of trade (i.e. a case of reductionist downwards conflation).

One theorist who has put forward a searching economic definition that goes some way in re-attaching the market to its object, is Hodgson (1988). He defines the market as:

⁶ Given the varied use of the term ‘market’ it can be difficult to know whether we are talking about the same thing (Mackintosh, 1990; Sayer, 1995).

⁷ Callon (1998) draws attention to two notable exceptions – Marshall (1961) and Robinson (1979).

⁸ As I discuss in the following chapter, we also see a similar distinction between entrepreneurship as a domain of scholarly research and as a social phenomenon (Davidsson, 2003).

⁹ We might suggest that the market as *transitive* object of knowledge is being confused with the *intransitive* object of knowledge here.

...a set of social institutions in which a large number of commodity exchanges of a specific type regularly take place, and to some extent are facilitated by those institutions (p.174).

This is a helpful definition, particularly in the sense that it focuses attention on the enabling properties of ‘market’ institutions, rather than on the conceptualisation of the market as a social object somehow *embedded* in other social structures and institutions. Furthermore, it seeks to present something of the relationship between facilitative or enabling structures and commodity exchange, involving real live interacting human agents. This definition, after all, asserts the presence of agents making decisions. Nevertheless, Hodgson’s conception of the market leaves us wanting more. For example, what is meant by “to some extent are facilitated”?; which “set of social institutions”¹⁰ are involved?; how many commodity exchanges constitute “a large number”?; how often is exchange necessary to constitute the criterion – “regularly take place”?; and, how specific are the “exchanges of a specific type”? The answers to these questions are important for providing some clarity as to how the market as “coordination device” (Callon, 1998: 3; Guesnerie, 1996) is reproduced or transformed.

Drawing on the insights of Hodgson concerning the market, Fleetwood has defined the *labour* market as “a complex set of interconnected institutions that facilitate the coordination of the labour of participating agents engaged in the exchange of the (quasi) commodity labour power” (Fleetwood, 2002: 5). Furthermore, Fleetwood maintains that “labour markets are synonymous with the social structures that constitute them” (Fleetwood, 2002: 1), or that they are “exhausted by the very social structures that constitute them” (Fleetwood,

¹⁰Hodgson defines institutions as “systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interaction” (2004: i). In effect, he sees institutions to be a particular kind of social structure. In view of the fact that “institutions both constrain and enable behaviour” (Ibid: 2), social institutions and social structures are often considered as interchangeable.

2006: 1). These viewpoints clearly represent a substantive shift in labour market theorising. They are presented as a viable alternative to the mainstream perspective, where “the interaction between human agents and social structures should form the basis of the account, determine the field of study and ground policy prescriptions” (Fleetwood, 2003: 21). By fully removing the conceptual divide between the labour market and social structures which act in some undefined way upon it (à la Hodgson), a fundamental problem is removed. However, despite Fleetwood’s explicit reference to “the interaction between human agents and social structures”, his conceptualisations remain problematic in one significant respect. As I will argue, this hinges on how we refer to dynamic social objects (the *whole*) and other distinct entities we refer to as social structures (the *parts*). Whilst the market mechanism (or price mechanism) can be conceptualised as an emergent and relational property of the labour market as a *whole* (see Chapter 6 for detailed discussion), we should not confuse this mechanism with the social object of the labour market. From a realist perspective, if structures *pre-exist* the actions of agents which reproduce or transform them, then any conceptualisation of the market in terms of ‘structure(s)’ alone (in the past tense) would not be able to explain the very interaction (in the present) which characterises market activity and is partly constitutive of the market mechanism.

The task of determining what type of structural element any given concept in the social sciences might represent is often “far from trivial” (Elder-Vass, 2006: 8). Though realists are careful to assert that social reality is comprised of two distinct strata (structure and agency) and that society is activity-dependent, I would suggest that what tends to happen is that we mistakenly refer to some social objects (such as the early music labour market) as social structures. However, social structures (and agency) are the explanans not the

explanandum. For, as Carter and New (2004: 6) state, the realist view “is committed to an explanatory model in which the interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own, results in contingent yet explicable outcomes”. In explaining ‘the market’ we are surely seeking to account for the (marketplace) ‘outcomes’ described here in terms of the ‘interplay’ of structures and people. If we begin from the position that the market is a social structure, however, we may (albeit unintentionally) concern ourselves *only* with the relational aspects of this phenomenon. Even the most restrictive definition of a market – that focuses exclusively on the exchange process itself, rather than production for exchange – depends upon the existence of an agential project (i.e. the intention to exchange labour power). This being the case, the market must be constituted *both* by structure and agency.

In making this assertion, however, I continue to follow Bhaskar and Archer in maintaining the importance of separability (i.e. the avoidance of elision or central conflation). Indeed, it is important here to make it clear that neither the contention that structure and agency are distinct strata of social reality, nor society’s ‘activity dependence’ upon its agents (see Archer, 1998: 200) are being questioned by my proposition. Rather, I am calling for a more rigorous conceptualisation of social objects of study in the first place.

As I will demonstrate in the course of developing a conceptual model of labour market emergence in the following chapter, the analytical distinction being made here is of methodological (as well as philosophical) importance. In particular, I maintain that the achievement of analytical dualism in respect of separating structure and agency on the basis of temporal primacy, is implicated in this tendency to treat social *objects* in terms of

structure(s) alone (albeit mediated by human agency), rather than the mutual interplay of agency and structure.

5.3 A realist conception of the labour market

Following on from the immanent critique just presented, the labour market is taken to be constituted by emergent social structures and agential properties and projects. The relationship between social structures, agential properties and the agential project represents a mixture of enabling and constraining influences, which have a net enabling or constraining effect. The ‘commodity’ exchanged in the labour market (retaining Hodgson’s term for the moment) is labour-power. The conceptualisation of the labour market can then be formalised in terms of the following properties:

The labour market is comprised of the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome.

The conceptualisation of the labour market put forward, including as it does human agency, now allows for a non-conflationary explanation of the phenomenon in terms of both those individuals that participate in it (their behaviours and practices) as well as the emergent relational structures (such as the price mechanism) which condition such behaviours and practices.¹¹ The key benefit of this re-conceptualisation is that it re-focuses attention on “the

¹¹ This inclusive definition of the labour market allows for labour markets to exist outside of the ‘market economy’. For example, even where a labour market is constituted solely by freelance self-employed providers, there remains a sense in which their labour power is ‘exchanged’, and the possibility (or likelihood)

interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own” which “results in contingent yet explicable outcomes” (Carter and New, 2004: 6).

5.4 Concluding remarks

At the outset of this chapter, I posed the question: what is necessarily the case about the labour market in order for it to exist? By re-conceptualising the labour market in terms of emergent social structures and agential properties enabling and constraining particular types of agential projects we have been able to progress some of the way to answer this question. However, the next step – where the *existence* of a labour market is explained – cannot be taken without shifting focus more explicitly onto the process of emergence. We need to be able to shed light on the specific social structures and agential properties that when acting together on certain agential projects had the net effect of enabling (for the first time and subsequently) the exchange of early music labour power. We also need to be able to explain more precisely what is meant by ‘enabling’ in this context, and how this relates to the perceived wisdom concerning the market mechanism – the means by which prices (or wage rates) are set. This involves not only the retrodution of key structures, properties, projects, mechanisms and powers, but also an explanation of how their interaction gives rise to the emergent properties we associate with markets (and the labour market in particular). This task involves further counterfactual thinking (and what Sayer calls structural analysis). It also requires us to explore the relationship between labour market emergence and the

of agential projects involving the exchange of labour power with others being constrained by certain social structures. Similarly, even where ‘free’ labour markets do not exist – for example in some state-controlled economies – there remains a labour market of a particular kind.

process of entrepreneurship. I undertake these tasks, introducing a realist conceptual model of labour market emergence, in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Conceptualising labour market emergence

6.0 Introduction

The immanent critique presented in Chapter 5 presented the case for a re-framing of the labour market as a social object with emergent properties (the *whole*), constituted by social structures, agential properties and agential projects (the *parts*). Whilst this represents an important conceptual contribution in its own right, it tells us very little about the particular parts – social structures, agential properties and agential projects – constituting the labour market, the relations between them, nor the emergent properties arising from their interaction. The task for this chapter, therefore, is to offer a conceptual model or framework that explains the nature of these elements, and presents a dynamic account of their interaction. I will be using this framework to answer the four key research questions introduced in the opening chapter – relating to the temporal and relational emergence of the early music labour market, the relationship between the early music labour market and goods market, and to the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship.

6.1 Re-conceptualising the labour market as a dynamic social object

In constructing a conceptual framework of labour market emergence I have been faced with the issue of where to ‘break in’ to the continuing cycle of economic development. At issue here is the relationship between the emergence of the early music *labour* market with its own causal properties and the early music *goods* market (with its own set of causal properties).

For the appearance of the early music labour market for the first time (its temporal emergence) is itself dependent upon the relational (and temporal) emergence of the early music goods market. There would be no need for a market in which to exchange early music labour power if there had been no projects to establish early music orchestras and ensembles and perform early music using period instruments in an authentic style. The pre-existence of related early music goods market structures, therefore, appear to represent the conditions under which a new early music labour market might emerge. Yet, we can quickly turn this on its head and suggest that the pre-existence of early music labour market structures appear to represent the conditions under which a new early music goods market might emerge. It would seem then that we are in danger of a centrally conflating account which collapses the early music goods market into the early music labour market (or vice versa).

Looking yet closer, it becomes apparent that this chicken and egg relationship runs much deeper still. Without a pre-existing classical music goods market there would not have been musicians suitably trained and historically informed even to begin looking closer at the authentic performance of early music. Such a classical music goods market would not itself have existed without a classical music labour market – and so on. It is striking to observe that this problem of conceptualisation mirrors the ‘vexatious’ problem of explaining the relationship between structure and agency (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). In this latter case we have seen how *analytical dualism* helped us to explain this relationship and, in so doing, has given us some purchase on those processes which are accountable for determinate social changes. We might tentatively suggest, therefore, that analytical dualism may also help us to explain the relationship between goods and labour markets more effectively. The discussion that follows, which constitutes the basis for the analytical account presented in Chapters 7-9,

treats the goods and labour markets as analytically separable – whilst noting that in reality they appear to be internally and necessarily related. In the case of structure and agency, this analytical separation is founded on a temporal distinction (argued for earlier). Such a distinction is difficult to draw in relation to the goods and labour market, and I postpone any further discussion until we have explored the case of labour market *emergence* in more detail.

Returning now to my conceptualisation of the labour market in the previous chapter (being comprised of the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome), we can now see that the labour market (as a social object *whole*) is made up of a (potentially) hugely complex and dynamic set of relations and properties (the *parts*). Since human actions are always conditioned by pre-existing structures, we cannot specify *precisely* what these contingent parts are for any given market.¹ However, this is not to say that we can't begin to isolate the *necessary* parts (social structures and agential properties and projects) or causal mechanisms (Bhaskar, 1978: 14) which explain the labour market and its particular emergent properties. As was highlighted in Chapter 5, we need “to try and work out what is necessarily the case” (Sayer, 2001) about the early music labour market in order for it to exist.

In undertaking this task I have been faced with a methodological choice – reflecting the very nature of emergence. Either I could have begun by focusing on the temporal emergence of the labour market (i.e. its appearance for the first time), subsequently developing this

¹ The boundary conditions for any ‘given’ market have yet to be clearly defined.

towards an explanation of its emergent properties; or I could have begun by causally explaining the emergent properties of the labour market, subsequently retroducting an account of its temporal emergence. Whilst at first glance it might appear to make sense to work chronologically, beginning with the temporal emergence of the labour market, in practice, this does not provide a helpful way forward (emergence, after all, cannot be explained linearly as the summing of the parts). It was only by developing a clearer conceptualisation of the emergent properties of the labour market (especially in respect of the so-called wage relation or *market mechanism*) that I could begin to explain this dynamic social object's emergence in more detail. For this reason, I now put forward a re-conceptualisation of the 'market mechanism' – which is 'real' by virtue of having an effect or making a difference (Fleetwood, 2004: 29) – before focusing more explicitly on the process of labour market emergence.

6.2 Re-conceptualising the market mechanism as an emergent property

In re-conceptualising the labour market in terms of the dynamic relationship between *social* structures and agency (i.e. the *parts* of the labour market identified in the previous chapter), we must be careful that the *economic* does not get squeezed out altogether from our focus of interest. Our re-conceptualisation needs to be able to further our understanding of both the economic behaviour of individuals in the face of scarcity and government interactions, as well as the interrelationship between the labour market and the goods market. Furthermore, we need to be able to build on existing theory to provide an alternative and 'practically adequate' causal explanation for how (and indeed, whether) markets coordinate exchange through the setting of prices (or wage rates) – commonly known as the price or market

mechanism. In short, this requires a practically adequate alternative theory for the labour market’s functional wage relation – one that does *not* rely on the notion of event regularity in the social world, that does *not* reify the social (i.e. downwards conflation), place undue emphasis on individual behaviour (i.e. upwards conflation), *nor* succumb to the epistemic fallacy. Building on the insights presented in the previous chapter, I now begin to develop such a theory, which draws on realist social theorising and the morphogenetic approach, in particular. To remind the reader, Archer’s morphogenetic approach is built around three phases – conditioning; social interaction and elaboration (see Figure 6.1).

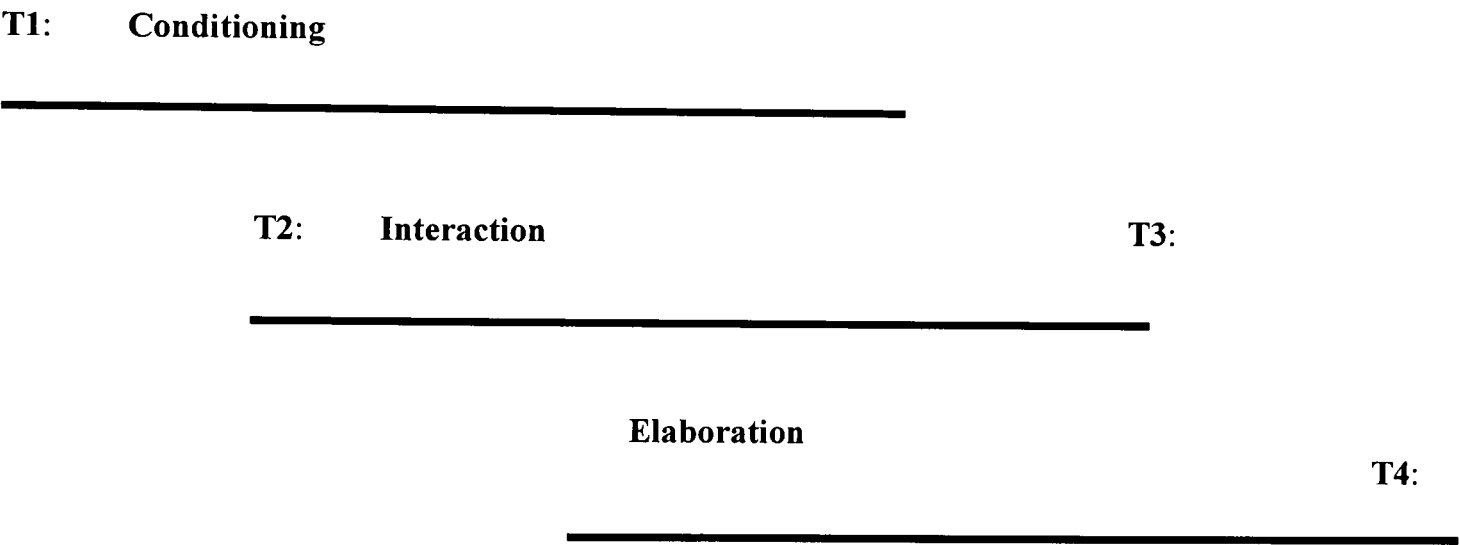


Figure 6.1: *Archer’s morphogenetic approach* (see Archer, 1995)

We can then explain the market mechanism as an emergent property (Phase 3), resulting from particular types of social interaction (Phase 2) operating under certain conditions (Phase 1). In the first phase I consider the prevailing economic reality of resource constraint and *scarcity*, and the extent to which this constitutes a primary structural condition (alongside other contingent structures) under which all market activity is located. I then introduce an important ‘realist’² contribution to our understanding of market conditions in the form of *qualification* (after Callon et al, 2002). This ‘mechanism’, involving both buyers

² Callon (2005) defends the ‘realist’ credentials of his theoretical position first put forward in *The laws of the markets* (1998).

and sellers, in turn is based on an important distinction between economic *products* and economic *goods*. In the second phase of ‘social interaction’ I consider the reflexive powers of those individual agents involved in the market to ‘singularise’ new products, and for buyers to attach or detach themselves from existing and rival goods. In the final phase – ‘elaboration’ – I explain how the market price of goods (including labour power) represents an emergent property of the dynamic and competitive process outlined. I present a conceptual model of this (labour) market price mechanism in Figure 6.2. As will be observed, this model takes the three phases of the morphogenetic approach as its foundation. However, by way of emphasising the cyclical nature of morphogenesis, I have now joined the three phases up to form a triangle. My arbitrary starting point for analysis is ‘Time Zero’ (T^0). Thus Phase 1: conditioning equates to $T^0 - T^1$; Phase 2: social interaction to $T^1 - T^2$; and Phase 3: elaboration to $T^2 - T^3$. This cycle is endlessly repeated (thus T^3 becomes the new T^0). I discuss each of these analytical phases³ now, in turn.

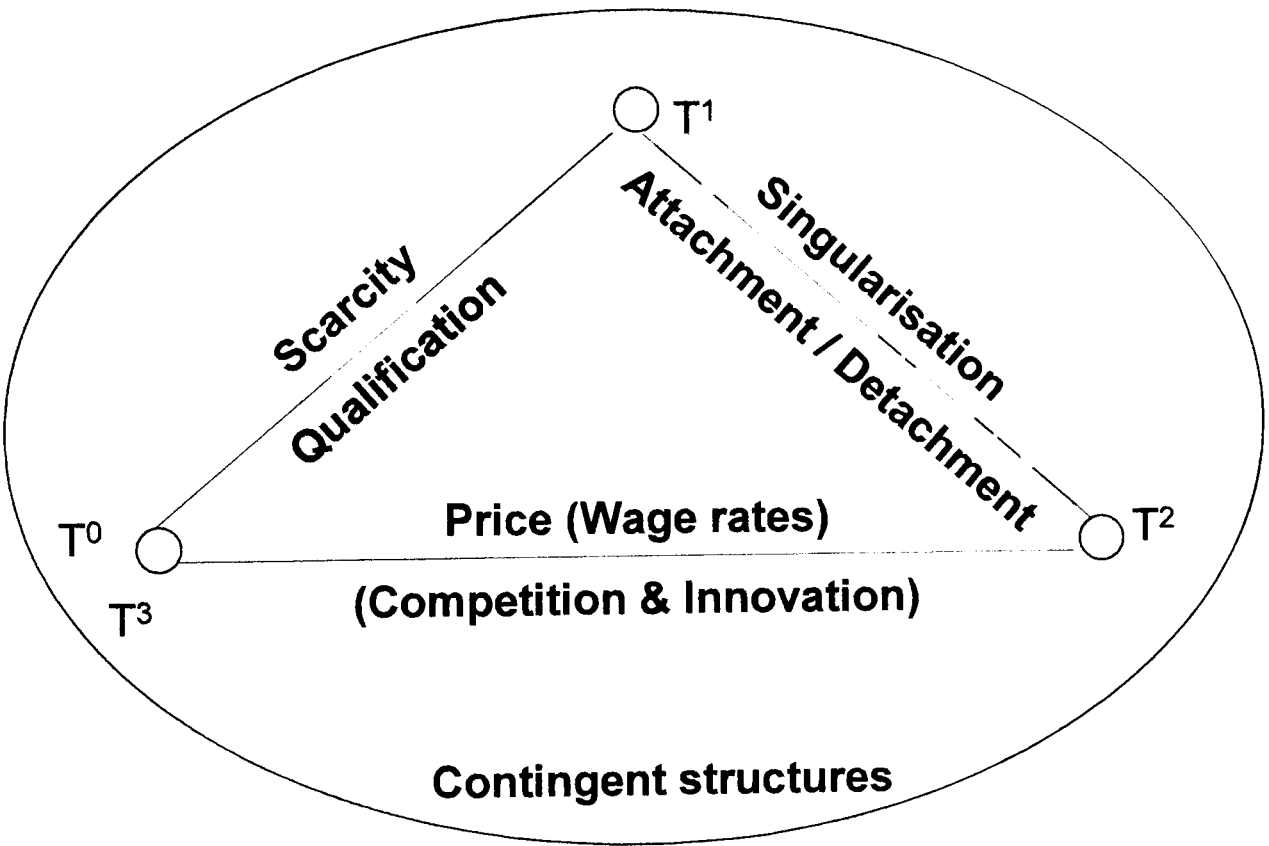


Figure 6.2: *Explaining the (labour) market price mechanism*

³ Again, the reader should note that this separation is based on *analytical* dualism not philosophical dualism.

6.2.i $T^0 - T^1$: Scarcity

At the heart of our understanding of economics is the basic premise that resources are scarce. Resource constraint represents a fundamental and structural condition under which all economic behaviour is enacted. It is, after all, only because of this scarcity that economic agents need to take decisions as to how to acquire and deploy resources. The tendency for resources to be in scarce supply, therefore, represents an underlying causal mechanism for any market activity.

The extent to which individuals can access resources (e.g. money, early music performers, good teaching, musicologists, promoters, venues, festivals, record companies etc.) is itself dependent on a mixture of necessary and contingent conditions (including the levels of other resources and agential properties possessed by those involved). Here we can draw a distinction between the naturally occurring availability of resources, and the socially determined constraints which are imposed or emerge at a societal level – most notably through regulation. A market is itself dependent on the necessary and internal relation between individuals and the state,⁴ which constitutes what we might think of as the regulatory environment or regulatory structure.⁵ Although this structure is *always* constraining in the strict sense of putting boundaries around what resources are available to be acquired and then deployed, it is important to recognise that it can also enable and motivate the specific goals of business owners and other market stakeholders. “Regulation

⁴ It is recognised that this relation is *necessary* in the context of an advanced Western economy. However, even in a ‘state-less’ society, one would expect to find the existence of cultural norms concerning property rights and so forth which might be conceived of as constituting similar regulatory structures.

⁵ Regulations are defined as the legal and administrative rules created, applied and enforced by state institutions – at local, national and transnational level – that both mandate and prohibit actions by individuals and organisations, with infringements subject to criminal, civil and administrative penalties (SBRC, 2006).

does not, therefore, impede the operation of the market, or distort market signals, but rather facilitates market relations between small business owners, customers, suppliers, employees and competitors” (SBRC, 2006: v-vi).⁶ Regulations impacting the exchange of labour power (e.g. the minimum wage or the working time directive) are not so much external influences impacting the labour market, but intrinsic to what we understand as the labour market itself. In short, we can think of the regulatory mechanism (i.e. the tendency to enable, motivate and/or constrain the specific goals of business owners and other market stakeholders) as partly constitutive of the market. As we shall see in the context of early music, the regulatory environment has a wide reach, impacting the provision of funding and training, as well as influencing which individual performers are eligible for professional employment.

6.2.ii $T^0 - T^1$: Qualification

We now need to be able to account for how, under conditions of scarcity and regulation, agents undertake projects to exchange goods and services, and crucially how they measure (Porter, 1995) or calculate (Callon, 1998) the respective value of goods and services (e.g. cultural ‘texts’), as reflected in the market price charged and paid. Callon et al (2002) introduced what they term the *qualification* mechanism to explain this. In effect, this involves different goods being compared (by both buyers and sellers) through relations of similitude or proximity. A good is defined (qualified) in terms of its positioning in a constantly emerging space of other goods. This relies on previously existing alternative or substitute products/goods from which to draw comparison (e.g. classical music performances

⁶ Here we might note the view associated with Polanyi (1944), that markets are social constructions whose birth is difficult and requires considerable regulation and involvement by the state and other institutions to achieve (Sayer, 2000b).

– in the case of early music). Qualification therefore involves “processes through which qualities are attributed, stabilized, objectified and arranged”, and “aims to establish a constellation of characteristics, stabilized at least for a while, which are attached to the product and transform it temporarily into a tradable good in the market” (Ibid: 199). From a critical realist perspective, the qualification mechanism is therefore an emergent property arising from both production and consumption activities. Crucially, qualification is an emergent process which takes place over time.

As a dynamic and social aspect of markets, I discuss qualification in further detail under Phase 2 ($T^1 - T^2$) ‘social interaction’, below. Yet, in the context of all market activity, it also represents a conditioning influence under which agents involved in the market undertake their exchange projects (which is why I introduce this process here).

6.2.iii $T^1 - T^2$: Singularisation and attachment/detachment

How then does the qualification mechanism work? To explain, we can refer to two further and related mechanisms⁷ which structure competition – the *singularisation* of products, and *attachment/detachment* of consumers from goods proposed to them (Ibid: 194).

We can illustrate what is meant by singularisation through reference to the production and consumption of early music recordings. In buying an early recording of Arnold Dolmetsch and his pupils performing on original instruments, for example, the consumer was purchasing a temporarily stabilised product that, through comparison with the many other

⁷ Both mechanisms, it should be observed, stem from the relations between individuals involved in production and consumption in a market context.

recordings of classical music available, possessed a level of distinctiveness which marked it out from other goods. The particular interpretation, the set of performers involved, the recording engineers, producer, choice of art work, sleeve notes, prevailing cultural views concerning early music and authenticity etc. all represented qualities of the singularised good that *emerged* subject to a variety of production decisions being taken and actioned.

In understanding the qualification process more fully we need to understand the second mechanism involved (i.e. consumer *attachment/detachment* with the good involved). The audience for Dolmetsch's recording, for example, perceived and evaluated differences between this temporally stabilised good and other similar goods (e.g. classical music performances of different kinds) through exercising their judgement and taste, and responding to social norms, pressures, cues etc., including sub-conscious and tacit influences.⁸ Thus, the audience for 'early music' did not materialise out of thin air, but were making reflexive choices about the consumption of early music goods in favour of already existing (and similarly qualified) classical music goods.

This self-same process of attachment and detachment applies equally to the *labour* market where the exchange of labour power is undertaken, as to the goods market, where early music performance is finally consumed. Indeed, as I outline in Chapters 7 to 9, early music performers effectively took work away from other musicians playing with modern classical music orchestras and chamber ensembles. In this case (where the labour power of performers is closely allied to the product or good being sold to the public) there is clearly

⁸ See Bourdieu (2002); Hutchins (1995) on distributed cognition; Greenwood (1994) on the social nature of emotions.

attachment and detachment on behalf of those employing performers, as well as the audience for early music itself.

Callon et al (2002) draw a distinction between the economic *good* and the economic *product*. They suggest that the product refers to a process (that includes the exchange of that labour power necessary to produce the good), whereas the good corresponds to a moment in that never-ending process. Products are goods with a career (see Appadurai, 1986) or a sequence of transformations. Conversely, goods are (temporarily) stabilised products (Callon et al, 2002: 200). Whilst this is a helpful conceptual distinction, we need go a little further in highlighting the sense in which some goods are less stabilised and less singularised than others (or, in fact, more like products than goods). As we shall see in Chapters 7 and 8, demand for early music performance (like most economic goods one cares to think of) began on notional ‘day one’ at a level incapable of supporting anything we might think of in terms of a sustainable *market*. My choice in using an early recording by Arnold Dolmetsch as an example of qualification was deliberately provocative in this respect. Dolmetsch’s performances were ‘experimental’, and far from presenting some stabilised set of recognisable characteristics. The particular activities of this one ‘maverick’ and a small band of followers in the early 20th century does not sit comfortably with the idea of an early music goods market developing at this time. Clearly this contrasts with what one might think of as a truly singularised and stabilised ‘early music’ good that was exchanged in the 1970s and later. I return to the nature of this important contrast, and its implications for our understanding of market emergence, in later chapters.

According to Chamberlin (1946), the establishment of the list of qualities associated with each qualified good involves the linking up or, rather, the co-construction of supply and demand. This relation (between what a firm proposes and what consumers want) is based on a double movement. “On the one hand, it leads to a singularization of the good...on the other hand, it makes the good comparable to other existing goods” (Callon et al, 2002: 201). We might now go further and suggest that the elaboration of the market mechanism (i.e. price or wage rate) is itself an emergent property of this ‘double movement’. After all, it is through price (though not exclusively) that rival and non-rival goods can be compared with each other.

6.2.iv $T^2 - T^3$: Price (wage rates) – The emergent market mechanism

Our understanding of the price mechanism (or wage rates mechanism in the case of the labour market) has been greatly advanced by the very extensive literature on the labour theory of value – which takes as its basic premise that the ‘value’ of an exchangeable good or service is equal or proportional to the amount of labour required to produce it. According to Marx (1865: Chapter 6), the value of a commodity is determined by the socially necessary labour time required for production (see Cole et al, 1991: 187). The market price expresses only the *average amount of social labour* necessary, under the average conditions of production, to supply the market with a certain mass of a certain article (Marx, 1865: Chapter 6). Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake an immanent critique of this abstract labour theory of value, we can immediately draw attention to the sense in which the focus on ‘average’ and ‘socially necessary’ labour tends towards a reading of labour value that commits downward conflation. The dynamic nature of the qualification process,

involving “the interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own” (Carter and New, 2004: 6) as described above, is not easily captured by this reading which takes *homogenous* human labour as the substance of value. There is some scope, therefore, in re-interpreting the concept of socially necessary labour time in terms of the emergent social relation that arises out of the process of qualification. In effect, value is then an emergent (and relational) property ascribed to economic goods exchanged in a market. The implications of arguing that goods are economic variables in their own right (incorporating characteristics derived from the relations of production) is that the relations between goods (which consumers compare) are themselves partly constituted by social structures (which is to suggest that economic goods are socially real – see Fleetwood, 2004: 35). The price mechanism is dependent upon the active exchange and ‘measurement’ of the economic good, partly constituted by these socially real structures and their emergent properties. After all, the particular characteristics of an economic good offered in exchange (e.g. an early music performer’s labour power) is only revealed (e.g. to the promoter, employer and audience) through ‘trial’ (i.e. performance and rehearsal). The singularity of early music performance (and therefore how it is comparable to or different from other existing goods) could not be determined or evaluated without being consumed (either through live or recorded performances of some kind). This highlights the sense in which goods (including early music) stabilise over time – involving the revealing of product characteristics (such as the features of early music performance which make it distinct from classical music performance in general) as well as value, as expressed through price.

An implication of what I am suggesting here is that ‘price’ does not resolve the conflict arising from agents having divergent interests (to sell dear and buy cheap), but represents the symptom (i.e. emergent outcome) of what is really going on between individuals in the ‘market’. I suggest that in fact it is in the legitimation (i.e. social judgement of acceptance, appropriateness, and desirability – see Hannan, 1986; Barron, 1998; Suchmann, 1995; Aldrich, 1999; Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Harman and Freeman, 1989; Wilson and Stokes, 2004) and endorsement (Elder-Vass, 2006) of normative ‘market’ behaviours that the price *mechanism* can be causally explained. At a deeper level, still, this is dependent upon two transcendental capacities, namely the capacity to identify with others, and the capacity to reconcile with them (see Bhaskar, 2007: 201). The nature of such claims requires substantial further research, of course, and is beyond the scope of this project.

6.3 Explaining market transformation

The primary objective of this chapter is to provide a conceptual framework for the causal explanation of labour market emergence. So far, I have presented more detail concerning the emergent properties of the labour market, with particular respect to the price/wage-rate mechanism. The task now is to focus directly on the temporal emergence of the labour market for the first time. I begin by drawing attention to the two other emergent properties of the market introduced in Figure 6.2 – namely competition and innovation.

The tendency to sell dear and buy cheap, as we have already seen, is a pervasive feature of markets.⁹ Competition is an emergent property of the relational process of qualification, which involves comparison (itself dependent upon stabilisation), and the attachment and detachment which typifies market activity. Indeed, “competition between firms occurs precisely around this dialectic of attachment and detachment” (Callon et al, 2002: 205). Under conditions of scarcity, competition gives rise to a further emergent property, which is the tendency towards innovation (understood as the successful exploitation of new ideas). For those involved (or who intend to be involved) in the market will tend to seek better, more efficient ways of doing things (process innovation), and create new products and new services (product innovation). Under conditions of scarcity and competition, therefore, there is a natural tendency towards market transformation. Putting this another way, markets themselves are partly constituted by the emergent morphogenetic property of the tendency towards transformation (where transformation is defined as the temporal emergence of a market in which a new, i.e. *(re)*-qualified, good is exchanged). I now explain this claim (which is consistent with Schumpeter’s (1934) *dynamic* conception of the economy) in more detail, with particular reference to the entrepreneurship literature.

6.3.i Entrepreneurship and market transformation

In the opening chapter I suggested that entrepreneurship is in need of a clearer and non-conflationary conceptualisation. There remains much confusion over what exactly entrepreneurship is. This is despite it having obtained an increasingly prominent position in economic theory, business and management education, and industrial policy. Gartner (2001)

⁹ In referring to this as a *tendency* it should be stressed that this does not mean that all those working in a market context are utility maximisers, or that they operate purely out of competitive motives.

holds the view that “the various topics in the entrepreneurship field do not constitute a congruous whole” (p.34). This conclusion is reached on the grounds that the “totality of current academic entrepreneurship research does not espouse (nor can it espouse) an entrepreneurship theory, per se” (Ibid). However, to move on from this point and claim that there is no one ‘object’ to study (as Gartner does), effectively reduces statements about being to statements about knowledge (i.e. the epistemic fallacy). As I will argue in the course of this chapter, we can, indeed, identify entrepreneurship as an object of study possessing distinctive properties. Furthermore, this non-conflationary theory of entrepreneurship is integral to our causally explaining market emergence.

Amongst the reasons we might give for the hitherto separate accumulation of partial theories of entrepreneurship (Fiet, 2000), is the tendency for researchers to seek to separate entrepreneurship as a societal phenomenon from entrepreneurship as a domain of scholarly research (Davidsson, 2003). This, we might note, mirrors the distinction made between the *marketplace* and the *market* (see Chapter 5), or between the *economy* (existing in ‘concrete’ form) and *economics*, which is applied to further our understanding of the economy (Callon, 1998). We might also draw attention to the tendency to confuse (i.e. conflate) entrepreneurship with those ‘entrepreneurial’ agential practices and behaviours that we can perhaps more readily observe as objects of knowledge. This, I suggest, has resulted partly from the predominant methodological individualism of the Austrian School of economics’ approach to entrepreneurship (taking in such major theorists as Richard Cantillon, Jean Baptiste Say, Friedrich Hayek and Israel Kirzner), and from the adoption of empirical realism as the primary ontological perspective from which entrepreneurship has been studied. When understood in the pragmatic context of practitioners and other stakeholders

wanting to become ‘more entrepreneurial’, it is easy to see how this has given rise to an overly voluntaristic or agent-centred approach to entrepreneurship (see Wilson and Stokes, 2006). In other words, as I suggested in the opening chapter, entrepreneurship theorists have all too often been guilty of (upwards) conflation.

A non-conflationary approach to entrepreneurship must seek to explain how it represents the driving force of economic development (and therefore market transformation) without any denial of the constraining (and enabling) power of structures, on the one hand, or agents’ freedom, on the other (Archer, 1995). In explaining the role of this societal phenomenon as a fundamental dynamic of change in industries, economies and societies (Schoonhoven and Romanelli, 2001: 397), or as a process of social change which introduces “new goods and services, ways of organizing, markets, processes, and raw materials through organizing efforts that previously had not existed” (Shane, 2003: 4), therefore, we need to avoid presenting the social objects involved as being solely *either* the results of intentional or meaningful human behaviour, *or* as possessing a life of their own, external to the individual (Bhaskar, 1989: 31). In fact, what is at issue here is the ontological distinction between entrepreneurship and other related concepts – e.g. the entrepreneur; entrepreneurial behaviours; entrepreneurial firms etc. It is not simply that these different terms represent different discourses around the area of entrepreneurship. They refer to ontologically distinct entities in the material and social world. An entrepreneur is an agent constituted by an individual human being. Human beings have behaviours, attributes and skills which can be developed through learning (i.e. entrepreneurial education). However, entrepreneurship – as “the introduction of new economic activity” (Sarasvathy, 1999), or “the identification, evaluation and exploitation of an entrepreneurial opportunity” (see Shane, 2003) – involves

both agential actions *and* social structures. Such social ‘processes’ cannot be reduced to human behaviour (or decisions) alone (i.e. the voluntarist position is untenable). Although pragmatic and agential models of entrepreneurship are widely accepted, they are only part of the story. *Entrepreneurship* and *entrepreneur* are used interchangeably and they are, of course, necessarily related concepts. However, they are also concerned with fundamentally different aspects of a phenomenon. When we talk about *entrepreneurs* we are usually interested in their particular behaviours, attributes and skills (for a helpful summary of these, see Gibb, 2005: 37). When we talk about *entrepreneurship* we have a process in mind – a process which involves the introduction of new economic activity. This process, in fact, is none other than the realisation of the tendency towards market transformation – which we have seen is an emergent property of the market itself.

The claim being presented here, therefore, is that the connection between the market and entrepreneurship is an intrinsic and integral one. This in itself is not new. Three of the best known treatments of entrepreneurship (Knight, 1921; Kirzner, 1973; and Schumpeter, 1934) all take what we might think of as market-centred approaches – though with very important conceptual distinctions. Knight’s work considers market information and uncertainty. Kirzner also explains entrepreneurship in terms of decision making and the market interaction, focusing more overtly on the entrepreneurial dynamic that drives the economy through a market process towards equilibrium. Crucially for Schumpeter, changes in the economy take place exclusively through the inner workings of the economy. Economic change is not the result of forces outside the economic system (Swedberg, 1991: 33). For Schumpeter, this entrepreneurial dynamic creates disequilibria (not equilibria). Whereas Kirzner’s entrepreneurs respond to changing information, Schumpeter’s are responsible for

the information changing in the first place. We have seen a long-standing tension between the Kirznerian/Austrian conception that entrepreneurial dynamics drive the economy through a market process towards equilibrium, and the Schumpeterian conception that entrepreneurial dynamics create disequilibria. I raise the proposition here that *both* these apparently opposing dynamic tendencies associated with entrepreneurship in fact exist together. I return to a discussion of this dualistic relationship both in this chapter and, in the light of my findings, in later chapters. For the present, however, the key point being stressed is that entrepreneurship is not an exogenous process operating upon the market from the outside (a perspective which is given (unintended) support from Schumpeter's (1934) conception of the entrepreneur as 'creative destructor'), but rather entrepreneurship partly constitutes what the market (possessing the tendency towards market transformation) actually is. On this basis, we can then re-conceptualise entrepreneurship as:

*the process whereby the tendency towards market transformation is realised
(i.e. the temporal emergence of a market in which a newly qualified good is
exchanged)*

We might suggest that a methodological benefit of this re-conceptualisation is that the focus of empirical study can now shift from explaining particular cases of entrepreneurship according to some 'delimiting' criteria (see Davidsson, 2003: 20), to explaining the particular empirical *conditions* under which this tendency is realised. For whether or not this underlying market tendency is carried through is a matter of contingency. Consequently, we can now draw on our knowledge of entrepreneurship from the literature to examine in more detail under what circumstances this tendency is indeed realised. This, of course, will help

us to answer the research question posed in this thesis – how did the UK early music labour market emerge?

6.4 A structural analysis of entrepreneurship

In Busenitz et al's (2003) evaluation of the "emergent academic field of entrepreneurship" they suggest that researchers should focus "at the intersection of the constructs of individuals, opportunities, modes of organizing, and the environment" (p.285). My approach to the structural analysis of entrepreneurship follows this advice. I also follow Mathews (2006) in observing that "in all cases, new resource combinations are being created, and new ways of organizing activities are being discovered, or imitated: uncertainty is being tackled by a direct market experiment" (p.3). Before I review the process of entrepreneurship in more detail, it is worth rehearsing the argument about whether or not entrepreneurship is a phenomenon involving special individuals undertaking particular activities. The following extended quote from Richard Swedberg's biography of Joseph Schumpeter is useful for laying out the case:

The entrepreneur must be someone special because he has to be able to break through the resistance to change that exists in any society. Most people are unable to do this; they can only handle what is familiar to them. The entrepreneur, on the other hand, has the strength and the courage to challenge the accepted ways of doing things and to sweep aside the forces of tradition...There are naturally very few people who can do this, according to Schumpeter, since they have to have 'super-normal qualities of intellect and will'. But these 'Carusos' of economic life do exist, and all changes in economic life are ultimately due to their actions (Swedberg, 1991: 35).

I begin my analysis, therefore, by suggesting that the process of entrepreneurship can be understood in terms of an ensemble of causal mechanisms and powers (both agential and structural), which relate to the following four over-arching areas:

- i) Identification of opportunity
- ii) Resource (re)combination
- iii) Organisation of tasks
- iv) Re-qualification

As before, we can account for the relationship between these four causal configurations¹⁰ in terms of the underlying morphogenetic process of market transformation (see Figure 6.3). This model begins, therefore, with the first phase of ‘conditioning’ (T^0), in which pre-existing (necessary and contingent) structures will enable and constrain the specific activities and practices of those involved in the process of entrepreneurship. As we saw with my earlier analysis of the market mechanism, this phase will include a range of market structures and properties relating to what I have termed scarcity and qualification (and so I will not repeat this analysis here). It is into this social context that I now introduce and re-conceptualise the ‘opportunity’.

¹⁰ A causal configuration consists of a cluster of causal factors (e.g. mechanisms and powers interacting together), and is an emergent phenomenon (Fleetwood, 2004: 47-8).

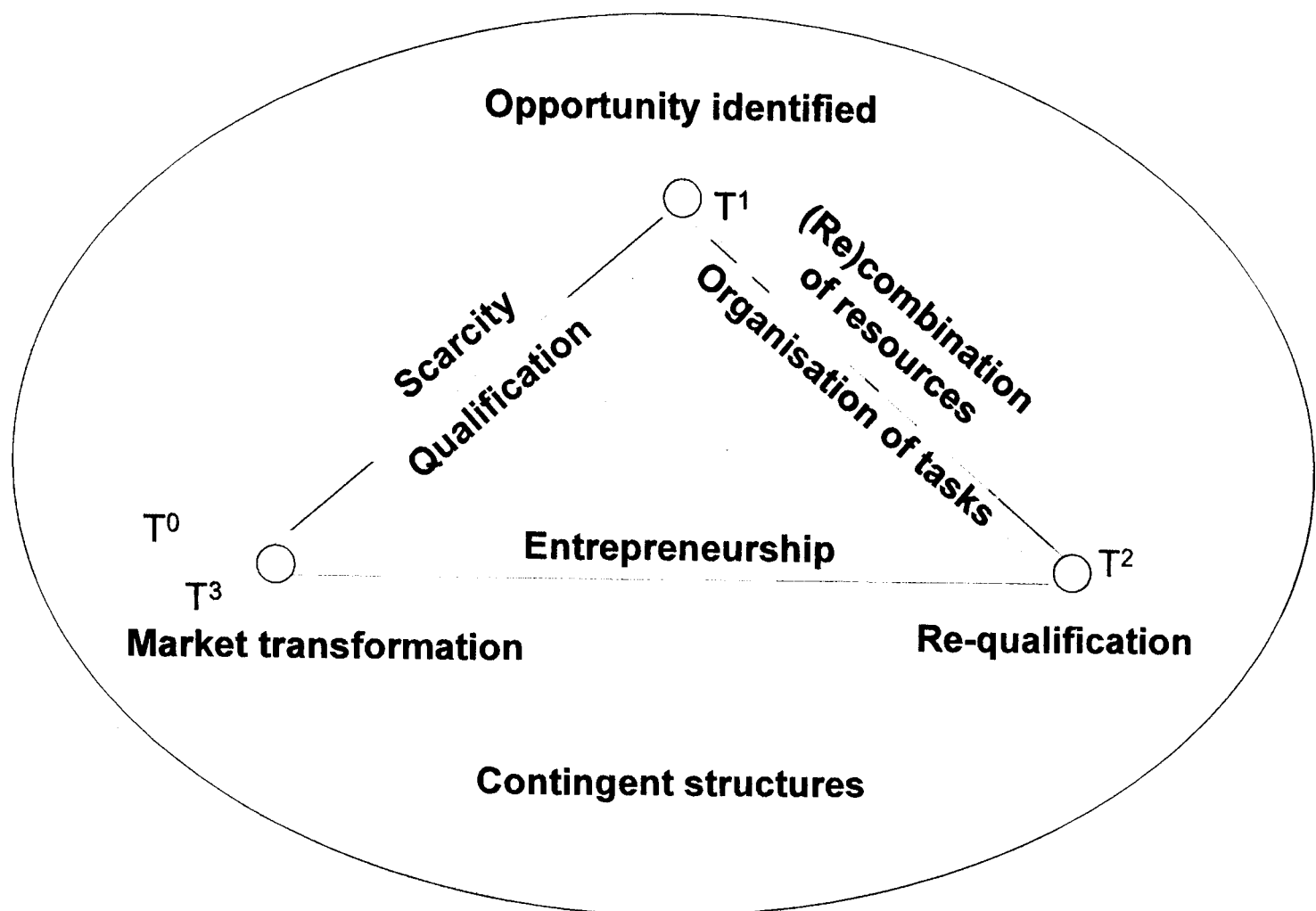


Figure 6.3: Explaining entrepreneurship

6.4.i Identification of opportunity

Shane and Venkataraman (2000) have focused attention firmly on the concept of the entrepreneurial opportunity. They suggest that the field of entrepreneurship involves “the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited” (p.18). Shane defines opportunities as “situations in which people believe that they can use new means-ends frameworks to recombine resources to generate profit” (Shane, 2003: 6). As Davidsson (2003: 33) has observed, there has been considerable debate amongst entrepreneurship theorists as to whether or not ‘opportunities’ exist “out there”, independently of a person identifying and acting upon the opportunity, or whether entrepreneurs create ‘opportunities’

where none existed before they conceived of them. Dutta and Crossan (2005: 426), for example, contrast what they describe as the primarily “positivist/realist” position predominant among North American researchers (see Kaisch and Gilad, 1991; Busenitz, 1996; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Gaglio and Katz, 2001), which holds that opportunities exist independently of the environment, with the interpretive or social constructionist position which they see as being more prevalent in the European research tradition (see Weick, 1979; Gartner, 1985; Levenhagen, Porac and Thomas, 1993), in which entrepreneurial opportunities emerge.

Davidsson suggests that “rather than being deeply ontological”, the differences in these views about the ‘opportunity’ are “based largely on semantic issues” (2003: 34). I would argue, conversely, that too little attention has been given to the opportunity’s existence – rather the notion of the opportunity has been widely adopted by entrepreneurship theorists, practitioners, teachers and others, as a given. It is not so much that the opportunity can be explained in terms of the ‘belief’ of those individuals (or group of individuals) whose actions will transform the market, or any other agential properties *alone*, nor that they are ‘out there’ waiting to be discovered; rather, the opportunity refers to a tendential emergent property arising from the interaction of social structures, agential properties and agential projects – all of which, as we have seen in Chapter 5, constitute the market. The opportunity, then, is closely related to how Mises (1949) defined entrepreneurship – human action “seen from the aspect of the uncertainty inherent in every action” (p.254).

The Kirznerian entrepreneur, for example, is an agent who by exercising alertness “...grasps the opportunities for pure entrepreneurial profit created by temporary absence of full

adjustment” (Kirzner, 1997: 69). This alertness is an agential power that will impact on how an entrepreneur responds to the constraints of the scarcity of economic resources. An implication of this perspective is that entrepreneurs might possess particular skills, knowledge, and/or intuition in discerning ‘deep’ level mechanisms for market transformation. Whilst this is a proposition that must wait for another research project, we can at least make the more modest claim that identifying the opportunity, in the sense of conceiving of an agential project which implicitly involves the re-qualification of an economic good, represents an important first step in the process of entrepreneurship.

An entrepreneur can never know with absolute certainty (before the event) that his/her proposition or project will be affirmed (e.g. that a new product or service such as early music performance will sell profitably). Much of the debate about entrepreneurship, particularly amongst Austrian economists (see Vaughn, 1994) has therefore focused on the subjectivity of knowledge and strategic decision-making. From an Austrian perspective, the future contribution of resources to value creation and competitive advantages is not ‘information’, but an entrepreneurial appraisal (Menger 1871; Mises 1949; Salerno 1999), which is based on the entrepreneur’s prior knowledge (Shane 2000) and the mental framework he applies to the process of appraisal (Penrose 1959; Lachmann 1986).

Such issues have been debated widely in relation to such themes as imagination or creativity (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996), innovation (Schumpeter, 1934), alertness (Kirzner, 1973), leadership (Witt, 1998), judgement (Casson, 1982) and other concepts of entrepreneurship that appear in the economics and management literatures. For Foss and Ishikawa (2006), “those who specialize in judgmental decision-making may be dynamic, charismatic leaders,

but they need not possess these traits. In short, decision-making under uncertainty is entrepreneurial, whether it involves imagination, creativity, leadership, and related factors or not” (p.15). Foss and Ishikawa’s point is important, not least, for highlighting the contingent nature of these entrepreneurial behaviours. The precise nature of the behaviours required for entrepreneurship (e.g. judgement; alertness; leadership etc.) remain contingent on the particular empirical context. Where I would disagree with Foss and Ishikawa, however, is in observing that entrepreneurs demonstrate the tendency to act in line with their imagination. Whilst we are all imaginative, to a greater or lesser degree, it is the particular capacity to *act* on an unaffirmed proposition that sets the entrepreneur apart. Here, I follow Scruton (1997) who states that “propositions may be affirmed; but they may also be entertained without affirming them. The capacity to do this – and to do it constructively – is part of what I mean by imagination” (p.88). On these grounds, I might suggest that the tendency to act in line with ones’ imagination is an important *entrepreneurial* mechanism.

6.4.ii Resource (re)combination

Resources, as key factors of production, can take many forms, including raw materials, money (financial capital), skills and employees (human capital), and the relations (with lawyers, accountants, record company representatives etc.) required to engage successfully in market exchange (social capital). According to Schumpeter, someone is an entrepreneur only when they are putting together a new combination of resources (see Swedberg, 1991: 34). Entrepreneurship requires appraising resources and deploying them to new uses (Foss and Ishikawa, 2006). Indeed, particular attention has been drawn to the role of entrepreneurship in creating new (strategic) resources, through, for example, the

combination and recombination of existing resources (Schumpeter, 1934; Lachmann, 1956; Nelson and Winter, 1982). The agential practice of (re)combining resources (usually requiring their exchange) is seen as an important property of entrepreneurship.

As touched upon earlier, the issue of explaining how the *future* contribution of resources (i.e. what Shane refers to as the belief in ‘yielding a profit’) is determined by those agents undertaking their (re)combination, is central to our understanding of entrepreneurship. It has been argued that those approaches which accept the importance of resources as an analytical unit for understanding organisational-level value creation (notably the Resource Based View – see Wernerfelt, 1984; Rumelt, 1984; and Barney, 1986), are themselves fundamentally static in nature (Barney, 2001; Lewin and Phelan, 1999). For those economists writing from an Austrian economics perspective (see Hayek, 1945; Lachmann, 1986; Kirzner, 1997) the subjectivity of knowledge and individual plans is crucial. Whether or not knowledge is used to identify an ‘opportunity’ can be thought of as an emergent outcome, dependent upon individuals’ “calculative” (Callon, 1998) and “reflexive” (Archer, 2003) properties and powers.

6.4.iii Specialist organisation of tasks

The third key area of practice that I am focusing on is the specialist organisation of tasks – or more specifically, the coordination of different types of labour and capital (see Becker and Murphy, 1992: 1144). Central to this notion of the organisation of tasks is the concept of the division of labour. Although the division of labour has long fascinated economists, from Adam Smith onwards, it has remained a peculiarly under-elaborated concept in some

respects, and has hitherto played a very minor role in our understanding of entrepreneurship. The division of labour refers to situations “in which individuals undertake different specialized types of work and hence become dependent on one another” (Sayer, 1995: 44). Indeed, from a Coasian (1937) perspective, firms arise because of some incentive to specialise in directing the efforts of others (see Langlois, 2005: 14)¹¹. The extension of the division of labour is an inherent feature of the process of entrepreneurship – as is alluded to by Marx and Engels (1974: 43): “How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown most manifestly by the degree to which the division of labour has been carried through. Each new productive force, insofar as it is not merely a quantitative extension of productive forces already known, causes a further development of labour”. The intractable extension of the division of labour is fuelled by our capacity for innovation (a second order emergent property of markets) and the development of new technology¹² (which is integral to all new processes, products and services). As such, the need for specialists to coordinate the activities of other (specialists) becomes ever-more pressing. As Becker and Murphy (1992) observe, “Economic systems that encourage entrepreneurship would have lower costs of coordination, and presumably a more widespread division of labor among workers and firms” (p.1144). I suggest that Becker and Murphy are right up to a point. However, the ways in which that wider division of labour is coordinated remain relatively static overall – precisely so as to keep costs of coordination down. This raises the importance of what I will refer to as the market tendency towards standardisation (i.e. the tendency towards

¹¹ It should be noted that I have argued earlier that firm or organisation formation is a contingent outcome of entrepreneurship.

¹² I follow Hargadon (2003) in treating new technology as the re-arrangement of people, ideas and objects for the accomplishment of a particular goal.

relationships and/or ways of doing things becoming standardised)¹³ – now discussed in more detail in relation to the process of re-qualification.

6.4.iv Re-qualification

As I have indicated, the argument between the Kirznerian and Schumpeterian approaches to entrepreneurship revolves around the concept of equilibrium. In line with the realist account of market transformation presented here, we might put forward an alternative perspective which casts economic equilibrium/disequilibrium in terms of the agential practices and behaviours undertaken in the light of opposing market tendencies towards transformation and standardisation. For given the emergent competitive conditions of the market, we see that both tendencies are present in all three phases of the morphogenetic cycle, as discussed above. The processes of qualification (including stabilisation and attachment/detachment) involve *both* tendencies (i.e. towards transformation and standardisation); so, too, the re-combination of resources and organisation of tasks, and the second order emergent property of innovation.¹⁴

What is particularly striking about this observation is that much of the literature on entrepreneurship and market creation has focused on the transformational nature of such phenomena (i.e. the process of change), rather than what I describe as an opposing tendency towards standardisation. The account presented here, with its particular focus on the qualification process, and distinction between stabilised economic goods and economic

¹³ Whilst institutions involve “domain-limiting assumptions and procedures” (Sarasvathy and Dew, 2005: 541) I suggest that the process of standardisation being introduced here is of a different order to this general institutionalisation process – a point which I come back to in more detail in the final chapters of this thesis.

¹⁴ The detail of how this is the case will become clear in the context of my analytical account presented in Chapters 7-9.

products, paves the way for a more balanced account of market emergence, where morphogenesis and stasis, in a market context, can be examined in more detail.

6.5 A conceptual model of labour market emergence

We can now summarise the contribution that this critique of entrepreneurship has made to our understanding of labour market emergence, and present a composite conceptual model of this process. Firstly, we have noted that markets are partly constituted by a mechanism that generates the tendency towards market transformation. We refer to entrepreneurship as the process whereby this mechanism is realised. Secondly, we have noted that markets are also partly constituted by a (morphostatic) mechanism towards standardisation. The process of entrepreneurship, focusing as it does on market transformation, needs to be understood both in terms of transformation *and* standardisation. Thirdly, we have identified several key conditions under which entrepreneurship takes place. These include the identification of the opportunity, the tendency to act in line with imagination, the (re)combination of resources, and the specialist organisation of tasks, alongside a range of contingent entrepreneurial behaviours (including alertness; judgement; leadership etc.). These contributions to our knowledge of market transformation can now be integrated with our conceptualisation of the labour market (see Chapter 5) to give a conceptual model of labour market emergence (see Figure 6.4), which can be applied to the context of early music.

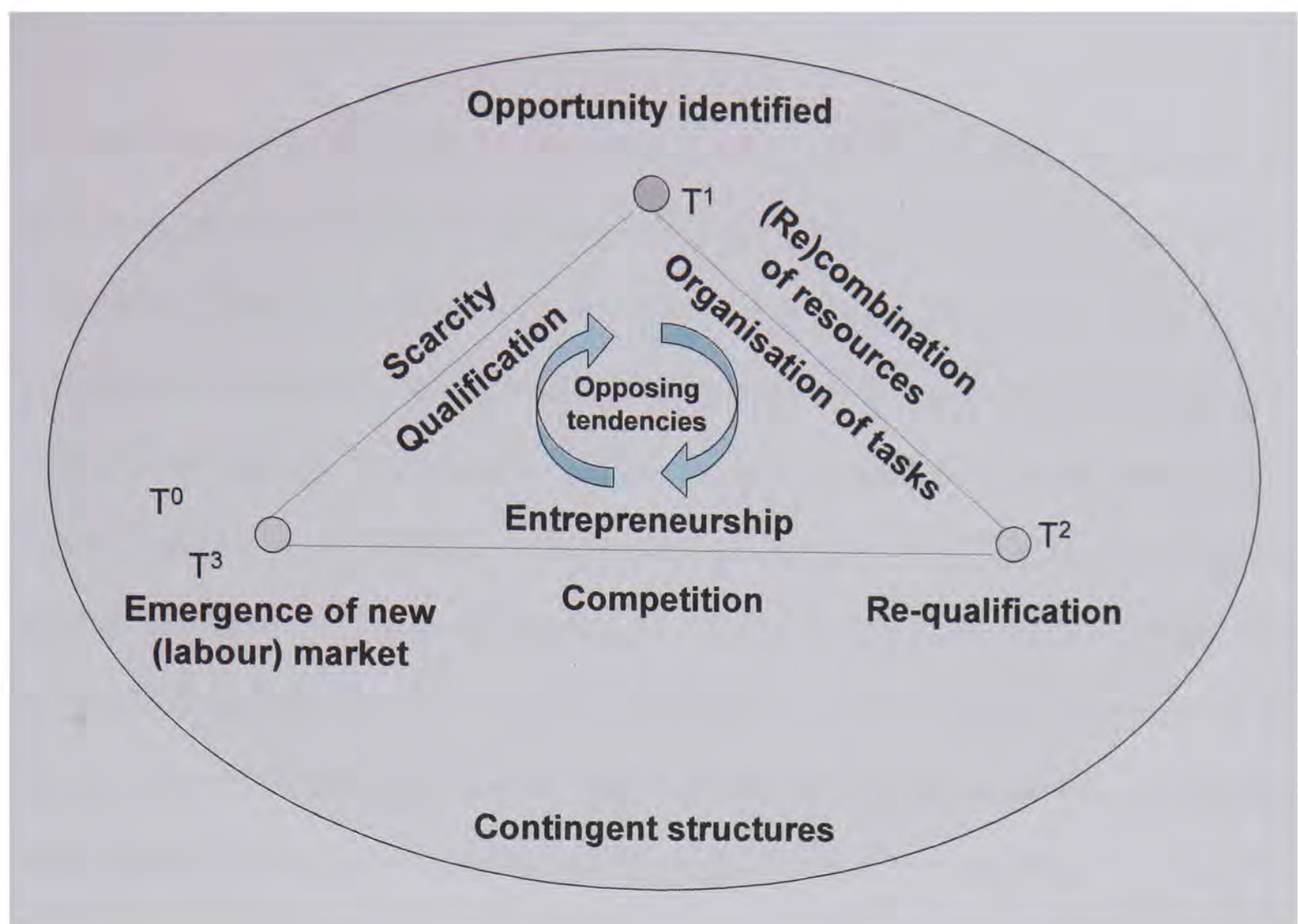


Figure 6.4: Explaining (labour) market emergence

At our arbitrary starting point (T^0) in time, we can identify a range of conditioning factors, including scarcity and qualification mechanisms, and a host of contingent structures relating to pre-existing classical music labour and goods markets. These structures represent, in part at least, the conditions under which an agential project (with the intention of exchanging early music labour power) is conceived (T^1). Other conditioning factors include the particular agential properties of those involved in early music performance – which will stem from their personal biographies, their ‘life-chances’, personalities, attributes, musical skills and behaviours (as well as alertness to opportunity, and capacity to act in line with their imagination).

The next crucial stage in this process (between T^1 and T^2) is when the individual(s) conceiving of the agential project¹⁵ (e.g. the setting up of an early music orchestra or ensemble) reflect(s) on whether to undertake the project or not, in the light of their (imperfect) knowledge, beliefs and appraisal of the conditions that will influence its success. This will certainly include knowledge and experience relating to existing classical music labour markets, goods markets, the regulatory environment and their own (and other's) agential properties. This process of reflection can take many forms and last anywhere from a moment's thought to many years of deliberation. As we have seen, much of the entrepreneurship field's interest in the role of information and decision-making (see Casson, 1982; Palich and Bagby, 1995) relates to this 'mediating' stage of reflection.

A key differentiator in terms of what singles out entrepreneurs from other agents is that they act in line with their imagination. Thus, although they cannot know what will happen in the future, they nevertheless undertake certain practices in line with their perception of anticipated outcomes. These practices involve the specialist organisation of tasks (including musical direction, delegation of fixing, orchestra management etc.) and the recombination of resources (including hiring and working with early music performers), in order to accomplish the desired 'end'. It is here (T^2) that the actions associated with the agential project give rise to further emergent properties resulting from the division of labour and the (re)combination of resources. With the introduction of further early music projects (between T^2 and T^3) we need to account for the impact of the competitive conditions which characterise market activity (both between early music and classical music performers, and between early music performers themselves). Finally (T^3) we can analytically account for

¹⁵ In referring to the 'agential project' it is noted that the "end that is desired" (Archer, 2003: 6) could be held by more than one individual.

those causal mechanisms (including the tendencies towards transformation and standardisation) and conditions which have given rise to market transformation, and the emergence of the early music labour market.

6.6 Concluding remarks

The aims of this chapter have been to provide a non-conflationary theory of the labour market (including a re-conceptualisation of the so-called market mechanism) and its temporal emergence. In putting forward this model I have built on our understanding of entrepreneurship (re-defining it as the process whereby the tendency towards market transformation is realised), offering a re-conceptualisation that explicitly links (labour) market emergence and entrepreneurship. This has the clear benefit of being able to highlight an ensemble of causal mechanisms and powers (including opposing tendencies towards transformation and standardisation; re-qualification; opportunity identification; action in line with imagination; resource (re)combination; and organisation of tasks) which can help us to explain market emergence.

Following on from the conceptual developments achieved in this chapter, I am now able to apply the realist model of labour market emergence to the specific empirical context of the UK early music labour market. In so doing, I am able to answer the research question – how did the UK early music labour market emerge? My analytical account begins, in Chapter 7, with a focus on the particular role of conditioning structures and agential properties.

Chapter 7

Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (1):
Conditioning structures & agential properties

7.0 Introduction

The following three chapters when taken together constitute a causal-explanatory analytical account of the emergence of the early music labour market. The theoretical underpinning of this account is summarised in the conceptual model introduced in Figure 6.4. For the benefit of the reader, this model is reproduced here.

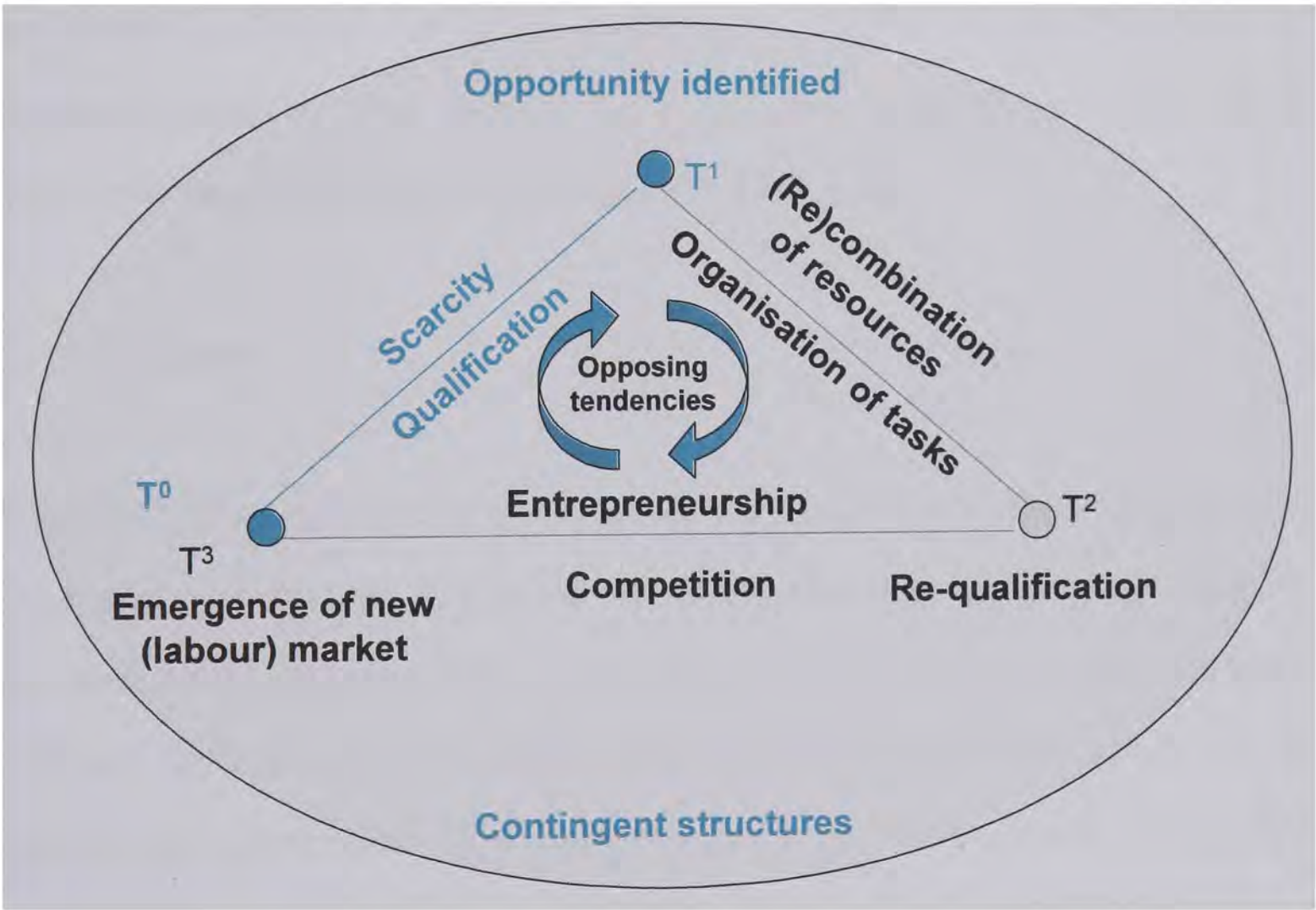


Figure 7.1: Conceptualising labour market emergence (1) – Conditioning structures and agential properties

The focus of this chapter is on the pre-existing conditions (i.e. T^0 to T^1) which influenced the undertaking of agential projects (e.g. the setting up of early music groups and orchestras) and subsequent emergence of the early music labour market. Chapter 8 considers the agential projects themselves and the particular practices carried out by those involved (i.e. T^1 to T^2). Chapter 9 considers how labour market emergence can be understood in terms of the process of entrepreneurship and market competition (i.e. T^2 to T^3)¹.

The analysis of conditions that follows in this chapter is structured according to the same eight key themes introduced in Chapter 2, together with particular reference to scarcity and qualification mechanisms, introduced in Chapter 6. Throughout the following three chapters, the analysis presents attributed and, in some cases, non-attributed comments from those performers, music directors and other experts interviewed.

7.1 Context

Whilst the remit of this chapter is to consider the broad context from which the early music labour market emerged, we can begin in this opening section by outlining some particular features of the cultural economy that constituted the environment for early music performers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This includes the prevailing regulatory structure, and the particular enabling influence of institutions such as the BBC and the Oxbridge universities, and the existing classical music sector (relating to both scarcity and qualification).

¹ The analytical separation of events in this way necessarily simplifies a far more complex reality. Though the model seeks to capture a dynamic account, based on Archer's morphogenetic cycle (1995) it should be observed that rather than there being just one iteration of the cycle, there are in fact countless overlapping cycles continuously happening over time. The researcher is then required to make some arbitrary choices as to how anterior and posterior cycles are treated in this account.

7.1.i Regulatory structures

The regulatory framework (in the late 1960s as today) mandates and prohibits actions by individuals and organisations (SBRC, 2006: ii) through a variety of routes – both direct and indirect. As was argued in Chapter 6, this extends to the way in which agents own property and participate in the exchange of *scarce* resources, goods and services (including labour power), for commercial, artistic or other ends. Thus, for any individual intending to hire the services of early music performers, the prevailing regulatory environment represents an important backdrop and set of conditioning influences. A notable feature of this backdrop is the legislation concerning musicians' trade union membership – which I now look at in more detail.

The distinction between the professional and amateur musician is not an easy one to draw. Nevertheless, this is a distinction which became more than one of academic interest as a result of continued government support for the closed shop (including through the Thatcher years) affecting the union for actors and singers.² Andrew Parrott, the founder-director of the Taverner Consort and Players, launched in the early 1970s, recalls some early manoeuvring on this issue:³

The Taverner Choir was from the early days a mixture of professionals and amateurs...partly because I didn't know...primarily because I wanted a specific sound or type of voice...and I knew there were some very good amateur singers...who could do that...and one or two professionals who could do that...[W]e paid the professionals and not the amateurs...which caused a great scene to Equity members because it was seen to be subverting the professional market – which I can understand. But

² The British Actors' Equity Association (Equity) which also looks after the interests of professional singers, is one of the hardest unions to join and the last of the closed shop types.

³ In the three chapters that follow, I quote directly from the interviews carried out with key informants (presented in single-spaced and indented paragraphs). Where conversation is reported, I use initials (NW for Nicholas Wilson or GI for Goldberg Interviewer, for example) to denote the speaker.

eventually we came up with the solution that because I was really not doing it to save money but to get a particular sound...we established the principle that full fees (for example by the BBC) would be paid to everybody. If ten of those were amateurs, then those ten fees would go into a fund that would be used to generate work for the professionals...a bit of lateral thinking that meant that I could have control over the musical element...and not under-cut anybody...plus get extra resources.

The founder-director of The Tallis Scholars, Peter Phillips, outlines the implications of this regulatory environment for his own ensemble:

At the start we were just an amateur undergraduate group of friends singing music we loved. To turn that kind of thing into a professional touring ensemble requires some very hard decisions. We were more or less forced to go professional during Maggie Thatcher's first government. The laws about who should be paid and dealing with the unions got very strict in about 79 or 80. I think we went professional about 81.

Trevor Pinnock, as an employer looking on occasion to non-UK-based performers, also came face to face with this aspect of the regulatory system:

I was frustrated sometimes by the MU [Musicians' Union] rulings...the lack of flexibility of them...and when we started it was a closed-shop...I'm glad that broke down because otherwise we couldn't have gone on...we've often had players from overseas in the group. But I remember one or two tricky incidents early on.

These comments are indicative of a regulatory environment that didn't merely exist 'in the background', but represented causally generative (and changing) structural conditions that had to be actively engaged with by those involved to recruit and pay performers.

7.1.ii Incubation – The BBC

The enlightened interest of those producers working at the BBC in the 1960s and 1970s, together with the relative freedom to engage early music performers, represent a very

significant and *enabling* influence on the early music movement's subsequent progress. Key individuals from this time included the producers Basil Lam, Hugh Keat, Anthony Burton and Clive Wearing. Kate Bolton, artistic director of the Lufthansa Festival of Baroque Music and a BBC Radio 3 producer provides an overview:

KB: Where to begin? As we touched on, Radio 3 was very much a pioneer, promoter and supporter, and prepared to take bigger risks in the early days of the period performance movement.

NW: And was that an 'institutional' thing from the point of view of the BBC being receptive, or was it down to a few individuals?

KB: I think both. I think both...the controllers at the time were certainly encouraging any cutting edge project – be it in contemporary music or early music. The fact that there were 3, 4, 5 very well qualified producers working here in the 70s and before, helped to promote major, major projects. Added to that the far greater finances we had then – that's the crucial thing I think.

The record producer, Chris Sayers, formerly of the BBC, explains how the BBC provided more than patronage. Their good commercial sense led to the engagement of younger, less proven performers:

Certainly the BBC were looking for good value for money – and therefore looking to younger players on the whole...certainly for coming in and doing studio recordings of lesser-known repertoire. It was the younger generations we were looking to and there were peoples' careers that were helped fantastically by the BBC...So for sheer work which the radio network could offer – which in turn encourages, which in turn makes people believe that this is worth doing, we're being taken seriously...plus the money to make a living.

This sense of the BBC operating as a kind of incubator or nursery for new artists is echoed by Andrew Pinnock, former Early Music Advisor to the Arts Council of Great Britain:

The economic base on which the whole of the early music movement rested was the recording industry with Radio 3...and this was desperately important and gone. Radio 3 was investing in careers if you look at what it did for Hogwood (Presenter), Munrow (Presenter), Andrew Parrott, the Taverners were 'house-band' of Radio 3 for ages. So public money

(although not mine) and profile were provided by the BBC, and then the record industry stepped in when the brands were well known.

This perspective reinforces the importance of understanding the dualistic nature of the public/private sector relationship. The BBC's investment 'in careers', of course, was not a one-way street. The ability of the performers listed above to identify the (artistic and commercial) opportunity for promotion as afforded by the BBC's enlightened interest, represents a key causal mechanism (or causal power) in the success of both their individual careers and of early music performance in general.

7.1.iii Incubation – The Oxbridge tradition

In view of the extraordinary number of professional classical musicians that study at either Oxford or Cambridge (according to the *UK Early Music Employment Survey* (2003) carried out for this research, over a third (38.8%) of professional early music performers surveyed studied there), there is a strong case for seeing these universities as representative of the musical 'establishment' in the UK.

I have earlier drawn attention to the unbroken tradition of performance within English cathedrals and the Oxbridge choirs which gave the performance of early music *choral* repertoire an edge over European competitors (at least in the 1970s and 80s). Chris Sayers (Decca and the BBC) suggests that as well as this tradition of vocal *performance* there was a tradition of *attitude*, in the sense of not compartmentalising early music as something different or separate. The performance of 'early music' at Oxbridge, therefore, was already something implicitly supported (well before the 1970s), even if not by name. This, in turn,

partly constitutes the ‘incubating’ opportunity for students to gain the experience of ‘having a go’, and of setting up their own choirs and orchestras and promoting concerts in and around the university cities. This opportunity can be thought of as a causal mechanism – an emergent property arising from the interaction of individuals possessing particular agential properties (including pro-active promotional behaviour) and enabling social structures (relations between music students, music faculty, the university and city).

University music departments (at Oxbridge and elsewhere) offered another core opportunity in the form of the link with musicology and scholarship which was essential for compiling new editions of early music repertoire (often distributed through associated publishing houses). We might characterise university music departments as being considerably more constructively aligned with early music performance than the music colleges. The general establishment of ‘performance practice’ as a mainstream taught subject is indicative of this alignment with the early music movement’s development.

7.2 Motivation

In Chapter 2 I introduced the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation – drawing attention to the importance of performers loving music for its own (intrinsic) sake rather than from any (extrinsic) pecuniary motive. Clearly, individuals’ musical abilities, or musical instinct, will influence their interest and capacity to engage in early music performance (at any level). This is not to deny the significance of enculturation, schooling, family support etc. as contingent influences in this respect. The distinction between a ‘gifted amateur’ and a

‘professional musician’ is not at all an easy one, however – as I now discuss in more detail in relation to one of early music’s most celebrated pioneers.

7.2.i Amateurism and professionalism – The Dolmetsch heritage

The work of Arnold Dolmetsch in the very early 20th century represents something of a puzzle. On the one hand, with the benefit of historical hindsight, it appears that the early music revival would simply not have happened without his exploratory work in performance, instrument-making and musical scholarship. Yet, on the other hand, it is as if the very ‘amateurish’ feel that his small group of ‘enthusiasts’ appears to have engendered, acted in some way to prevent his ideas being taken forward in a professional arena for at least fifty years or so. The early music performer Catherine Mackintosh discusses this relationship:

CM: The thing about the Dolmetsches was that they attracted amateurs on the whole. It was such a specialised little thing they were doing – they had their little empire in Haslemere...and, one of Dolmetsch’s great things was selling the recorder to the masses. That became a sort of proliferation. I think they were doing their own thing. In a way they were too separate from the bulk of professional music. I think what happened in my generation was that early music moved into the professional sphere.

NW: Why did it happen in your generation?

CM: Well I think thanks to people like David Munrow really. Chris Hogwood.

NW: They were very good businessmen?

CM: Yeah...

NW: In the sense of being very good salesmen?

CM: Entrepreneurs...and they believed in it. To be successful you have to have the dedication to your job plus a little bit of egoism that will take you into the public sphere.

This exchange raises some interesting ideas which we shall return to in the final chapter. By way of pre-empting these discussions, however, two particular issues are raised here. First, recalling Bhaskar's (1993) work on the dialectic, and Foucault's work on 'other spaces', 'mirrors' or 'heterotopias' (1967), we can consider in what sense Dolmetsch's 'before his time' creativity was itself facilitated by operating in a 'counter-site' – somewhere in a sense apart from the mainstream yet wholly connected to it. Related to this notion is the distinction, previously discussed, between professional and amateur. Andrew Parrott (founder-director of The Taverner Consort of Players), perhaps unwittingly, touches on what makes the amateur so important in this context:

People see it very differently – there are those people who play the crumhorn⁴ privately on a Friday night – and they judge everything by that and even baroque is decadent and selling out to the mainstream...and that's fine...but the thing that I'm glad that this amateur world still exists is...what it has...and offered to the professional world...is this sense of discovery...some of the key people were amateurs.

Despite the relatively long time before early music performance was professionalised, it would be a mistake to think that Dolmetsch's work was merely put on a shelf until a later period. Continuity, as we have already seen, came in the form of the work of musicologists (like Robert Donington), instrument-makers, and, indeed, performers. This is particularly notable with respect to the line of viol players that came down from Dolmetsch. Catherine Mackintosh, who subsequently has been at the forefront of professional early music string playing, benefited from this directly:

⁴ The crumhorn is a fifteenth-century wind instrument, looking something like an umbrella handle, and demands very little technique, hence much favoured by amateur players.

CM: ...there was the kernel of early music in England which was the Dolmetsch family. He was an incredibly charismatic musician...doing things which were 'pooh-poohed' by the establishment because he had looked at original sources, and he really knew his stuff...and he was playing in a way that conventional musicians just couldn't take on board at all. But again his recordings are fascinating to listen to.

NW: When did you first listen to his recordings?

CM: Well, I suppose the late 60s, early 70s.

NW: In retrospect, would you consider him to be a role model?

CM: Well, I'll tell you who was a role model. That was Kenneth Skeaping – who was a pupil. Well not exactly a pupil...but in the circle that were pupils. When I was at College, I started playing with the English Consort of Viols...in my last year at Royal College I took up the treble viol. The Skeaping family, who were already very steeped in early music performance practice...one of the few professional level families to take up playing with gut strings and old bows...there were the Skeapings and then June and Francis Baines, who funnily enough all played in viol consorts. I met up with the English Consort of Viols...and they were run by this elderly couple called Marko Pallis and Richard Nicholson...who had studied with Arnold Dolmetsch...so that's my kind of pedigree.

It is worth noting that Catherine Mackintosh's work with the English Consort of Viols began whilst she was at College – despite the fact that college policy was not particularly supportive of such distractions from mainstream music making. This relates readily with evidence from the survey of early music performers undertaken as part of this research. Performers were asked to state what they regarded as the greatest influence in developing their active involvement in early music (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: *Greatest influence in early music performance*

Greatest influence in early music performance (%)	
Music making with friends	25.0
Opportunities at university or music college	15.8
Encouragement of teachers	9.0
Parents or other family members	3.8
Opportunities at school	2.7
Other	10.8
No response	32.9
Total (n=480)	100

Source: *Early music employment survey* (2003)

One quarter highlighted the importance of music-making with friends. 16% of all respondents considered ‘opportunities at university or music college’ to be their greatest influence in developing an active involvement in early music, compared with just 3% at school. In respect of *professional* performers alone, the influence of a university or music college education is even more pronounced, with more than one quarter (25.5%) citing opportunities at university as the greatest influence on their active involvement (compared with 23.5% citing ‘music making with friends’).

7.3 **Supply**

Motivation, supply and demand are closely linked. Notwithstanding musicians’ applied interest in early music performance on the basis of ‘preferring the sound’, or some other principled allegiance to authenticity, there remains the possibility that early music offered performers an ‘easier’ means of securing work in the face of an otherwise fiercely competitive marketplace. One industry observer outlines the case in more detail:

...most of the people who had the economic incentive to push themselves down the early music route in those days had been beaten in the race for plum jobs in the LPO [London Philharmonic Orchestra], as répétiteurs in

opera houses by other people who had more connections or were technically better. Also in being young...they hadn't invested very much effort in trying to be a virtuoso pianist...so all the conditions for success were present.

This line of thinking is important for revealing the possibility of unacknowledged conditions of action. There is no evidence from the research to suggest that musicians made the conscious choice to pursue early music performance on the grounds presented above (i.e. that they weren't good enough for mainstream classical music performance). However, this is not to say that these factors (another form of identifying an opportunity) did indeed represent a relevant conditioning influence on those involved.

At a very practical level, we might also draw particular attention to the fact that many musicians in the early 1970s had the time to devote to early music performance, since most of them (though not all) were living the precarious life of the freelance performer rather than that of the salaried musician in a major symphony orchestra. One might argue that, to some extent at least, early music's 'success' relied upon the active involvement of musicians with some 'spare' time on their hands.

7.4 Demand

That there is an audience at all for the cultural product of classical music has been seen to depend, to some extent at least, upon the institutional support provided by the education system, in terms of it's providing a means of familiarisation (and therefore of qualification). Andrew Pinnock, formerly the Early Music Adviser to the Arts Council, is well positioned to comment upon this further:

...right through until about 1980, schools selected a small group of the population (10% at most), prepared them for university, and equipped them to understand and appreciate the high culture which universities were then presumed to stand for...So an audience was developed for classical music by the state education system...and now it's not.

Notwithstanding the fact that this causal link remains subject to more detailed analytical scrutiny, the observation is important for reminding us of the complex nature of the demand for classical music (and early music) performance, in the first place. Clearly, the pre-existence of a demand for classical music (i.e. prior to the development of early music in the early 1970s) represents an important conditioning influence. However, this demand is dynamic and subject to changes in fashion, taste, income, education and so forth. From the point of view of the early music performer, therefore, an audience could be (and was) developed through pro-active promotional activities (over and above the performance of early music itself). David Munrow's and Christopher Hogwood's series of programmes on BBC Radio 3 in the early 1970s are particularly important in this respect. We can see then how such promotional activity represented an important element in the singularisation of early music as a tradable good.

7.5 Quality

It has already been observed that the music colleges did not 'take' to early music very readily. Trevor Pinnock (founder-director of The English Concert) recalls the very real impact that the 'quality uncertainty' of early music performance could have on individuals:

And then when I was at the College, I gave up the organ...mm, and they took my scholarship money away because I gave up the organ...and they told me that I wouldn't be able to make a living as a harpsichordist and that I should become a cathedral organist and do the harpsichord on the side.

Chris Sayers recalled how a similar thing happened to the guitarist and lutenist Julian Bream, who also studied at the Royal College of Music.

To suggest a wholly negative view of music college training, however, would be unfair. The influence of particular individual teachers, for example, could be very extensive indeed. As Trevor Pinnock outlines, albeit within a non-UK context:

...interestingly enough both Leonhardt and Harnoncourt studied with the same man in Vienna [Professor Josef Mertin of the Collegium Musicum] – he was a very famous professor – must have been very inspiring man.

The supposition expressed here (though based on a hearsay rather than ‘hard evidence’) is significant in reminding us that despite music colleges’ lack of interest in training students for a career in early music performance (on the basis that few even contemplated that a ‘career’ was possible in this area), they were the places where early music performers were ‘inspired’ to go on and work in this field. This suggests a causal mechanism at work that has to do with the ‘absence’ of formal training in early music performance, rather than its ‘presence’ – a point I return to in more detail in section 7.8.

7.6 Skills

It was not rare to find that the players who were interested in early music were often also interested in contemporary music. The connection, one would suggest, was not mere coincidence, but demonstrates the capacity and interest of musicians to experiment with

‘new’ sounds and musical styles.⁵ Christopher Hogwood outlined this link in connection to his fixing performers in the early days of the Academy of Ancient Music:

CH: So the players were mostly breakaway players. Alan Hacker (clarinettist)...he was a very modern clarinettist with Maxwell Davies⁶ (Fires of London), but he was also ‘early music’. Duncan Druce was the same. He was ex-Cambridge. He was a BBC producer...modern violinist played contemporary music.

NW: How did you know who to talk to, to get players?

CH: You just got a list...sometimes it was by contacts...it was also helped a little bit, by the fact that many of the people who supported Maxwell Davies, also had an interest in period instruments.

This connection with contemporary music also gave rise to some interesting pragmatic compromises with respect to the principle of authenticity. Hogwood recalls:

...if we couldn’t fill in the gaps, we persuaded good ‘professionals’, like Alan Civil, to drop the modern horn and pick up an ancient horn. They didn’t always do it on the same basis as we did. They were doing it more as a ‘joke’...to show that the old instrument didn’t work...whereas we were doing it to show that the old instrument did it better...so there was a little bit of ‘ho, ho, listen to this funny noise on the horn’.

This point is important for highlighting the fact that the group we might label ‘early music performers’ was not made up of one type of individual, all with the same goals, interests and motivations. Implicit within the social nature of a ‘movement’ (such as the early music movement) is the necessary compromise that goes on between multiple individual aims and objectives. The capacity of key individuals (i.e. the founders of early music groups) to respond to these different needs in a *pragmatic* way represents an important causal power in explaining how the movement developed over time, as we shall see in more detail in the next

⁵ The extent to which early music was ‘new’, in a modernist sense, was discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶ Sir Peter Maxwell Davies (born 1934) is one of the most respected British contemporary composers.

chapter. These findings are also significant in re-emphasising the emergent nature of what we might think of as the singularisation (and associated qualification) of early music.

7.6.i Early music performance and scholarship

The early music ‘good’ requires a number of key inputs from other stakeholders. As I have already noted, the role of scholars and musicologists working in university music departments is important in this respect. However, Clifford Bartlett (early music editor and publisher) suggests that the necessary components of early music weren’t always in alignment:

Discovering the early music repertoire came about a decade before the instruments. Right through the 60s there was an enormous amount of early music – baroque, medieval stuff – the repertoire was being played but in a way that seemed unsatisfactory.

Elsewhere, Andrew Pinnock draws attention to the temporal sequence between getting the ‘right’ musical score and providing the resources for undertaking a performance, regardless of judgments concerning artistic worth:

...the peculiarly British – manuscript, edition, performance – mind-set...Early music relied on there being people like Thurston Dart at universities...the BBC willing to showcase their latest edition. Whether the music was worth listening to or not...a whole bunch of musicians who could take it from the page.

In fact, a much more recent event has cast new light on just how important the role of available and affordable scholarship has been to the early music revival. Following a landmark court case,⁷ a legal ruling now gives editors of new editions of early music

⁷ In 2005, a ground-breaking legal ruling awarded copyright to a musicologist responsible for compiling an edited performing edition of music by the 17th-century French composer Delalande. Up until this time, it had

ownership of the intellectual property, potentially preventing already marginal recording projects from going ahead. This draws attention to the practice of re-combining resources in such a way as to allow for 'just rewards' for all those involved.

7.7 Innovation

Earlier in this thesis the relevance of retroduction as a methodological technique was introduced. The essence of the retroductive technique is to determine what was 'possible' in order for the social object under enquiry to exist. Applying the retroductive question to the existence and role of record companies highlights the particularly important role of new technology in the story being outlined here. The particular and far-reaching impact of the technological revolution that was the long-playing record is emphasised by Andrew Pinnock:

I think the critical arrival was probably the LP...there never was, there isn't, there never will be, a large enough live audience in any one place that could be got together to hear an obscure Bach cantata. It was only when the LP arrived that it was possible for the artists to reach that dispersed audience with a transportable product that didn't break on the way. You get serious professional interest in early music only when it is technologically possible to reach the audience – which is a dispersed one. And with each technological innovation such as stereo and then CD...the market grows. But that was the breakthrough...it moved from being a rather Bloomsbury-esque amateur movement in this country (and I characterise the Dolmetsch thing as being that – not the current mob, but Arnold and so on) to being a serious professional option when the recording industry got involved.

This respondent is not alone in attributing so much of what subsequently was to take place in the early music movement to the impact of the recording industry. Colin Kitching, for

been normal practice for the editor to receive an editing fee. This has threatened to put the independent record company involved (Hyperion) out of business, with legal costs in the region of £1 million. See <http://theovergrownpath.blogspot.com/2005/05/hyperion-records-face-catastrophic.html>.

example, an early music performer and ‘fixer’ (i.e. responsible for recruiting the players for particular engagements) for orchestras including The London Classical Players, The Taverner Consort of Players, and The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, is in no doubt that the record companies played a key role:

NW: In terms of the success of the groups, how important was it to get a record contract?

CK: Essential really. It was a forcing house. The ‘boom’ essentially...gave British groups a head start over everybody else, even though some of them ...the Dutch / Belgian school, and to a certain extent Harnoncourt, had been going already...they were sort of overtaken in this flood of activity generated by this strange phenomenon which is the recording industry; and being based in London – Europe-wide, London tends to have more going on than anywhere else, I’m pretty sure.

Kitching’s reference to the particular importance of London is significant here, not least because Peck (2000) has argued that labour market segmentation theorists have remained “largely space-blind” (p.240). He points out that although geographical specificity is occasionally acknowledged, it is typically only at the level of variations between national labour systems or what Rubery (1994) terms ‘societal-specific production regimes’ (see p.239).

The comparative freedom of those involved in making artistic decisions in the late 1960s and early 1970s (i.e. about who to engage for recordings) is worthy of comment. Chris Sayers explains how things were at Decca, when he moved there from the BBC:

NW: When you started at Decca were you making many of the decisions?

CS: It is quite interesting looking back. It definitely says something about Decca and the recording business as a whole. The answer is ‘yes’. When I started in May 1992, Decca was split between two places – the editorial and design departments in Chiswick, but

producers were all hived off with engineers in Kilburn. So that didn't help. There I was in Kilburn – marvellous to be with great people – but almost no contact with head office or head of department. I got there and ...it never occurred to me...and it never occurred to anyone in Chiswick...that I needed to tell them anything about what I was doing at all. Peter [Wadland] never had done. He simply had completely done his own thing...and I carried on without thinking that I needed to ask. And it was only later that I realised the rather surprising nature of this.

To the extent that this autonomous approach to decision-making is no longer prevalent (as a result of changing attitudes towards good management in the context of increased competition, one might suggest), I emphasise the historically contingent nature of this particular conditioning factor. Over and above being in 'the right place at the right time', however, one shouldn't under-estimate the causal influence of recording technology, the mechanism by which early music performers could reach the largest proportion of their audience.

7.8 Resources

Of the eight discussion points revisited in this chapter, the focus on access to resources is probably the most important in terms of our understanding of the prior conditions under which the early music labour market emerged. Here, as well as financial capital, we can consider social capital and human capital as very significant in the context of early music performance.

7.8.i Public funding of classical music and early music performance

Over and above the actual level of public funding available to classical music and fledgling early music activities in the late 1960s/early 1970s – which itself represents an important conditioning factor (i.e. resource constraint) for all those engaged in the field – the ideas and beliefs that justify the level of funding are themselves conditioning factors.⁸ As I indicated in the introduction to this thesis, the rationale for public funding of the arts is underpinned by *market failure* arguments (see O'Hagan, 1998). Classical music is regarded as a public good, requiring subsidy to enable its benefits to be made available to society in general. Implicit in this argument is the notion that the market cannot of itself enable the exchange of artistic goods and services, but requires external intervention to underpin its activities. The idea that classical music organisations *should* receive public sector funding (administered by the Arts Council on the government's behalf), therefore, was prevalent amongst those that worked in this field. From a realist perspective these normative expectations carry with them a degree of causal efficacy, since individuals' behaviours and practices will, in part at least, be conditioned by them. The widely held view that grant-giving bodies be approached as the 'obvious' first port-of-call for funding, rather than exploration of any more innovative 'market'-related approach to income generation, serves as a case in point here.

In a report looking at the 'creation of a regional touring programme by Britain's leading period instrument orchestras' in 1996 (Brookes, 1996), it was noted that none of Britain's period instrument orchestras was a client of the Arts Council of Great Britain, or ever had

⁸ In this sense, following Archer (1995), cultural properties in the form of ideas and beliefs are included under the general umbrella title of 'structural conditions' – though it is noted that Archer herself has elsewhere explored the properties of the cultural system in its own right (1989).

been in the past. This was despite an earlier report to the Arts Council (ACGB, 1992) in which there had been a strong recommendation to fund four organisations (The Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra, The English Concert, The Taverner Consort and Players and The London Classical Players). As Andrew Pinnock, former Early Music Advisor to the Arts Council of Great Britain, explained:

...now what's interesting is of the four recommended for funding (not that we ever did, quite) two of them don't exist anymore...the London Classical Players disappeared completely, and the Taverners are close to being moth-balled...So what large amounts of core support – had we ever put any in (the budget was never large enough to do that – we weren't about to create half a million pound a year subsidised period orchestras – the budget never got above £150,000 for the whole sector), but had we invested heavily in the London Classical Players we would have prevented or delayed the dissolution of an orchestra that nobody misses.

Whilst this view clearly displays the benefit of hindsight, it raises the important question of additionality – or the extent to which public funding would have improved the overall performance of the early music sector, over and above what would have happened anyway. Certainly, from individual early music groups' perspective, public subsidy would have been accepted gladly. Conversation with Roger Norrington, for example, indicated the kinds of financial problems endured, and how they were overcome, in the absence of subsidy:

NW: The early music sector has hardly received any funding or subsidy – do you think if it had, it would have made much of a difference?

RN: It would have made a hell of a difference. We had subsidy for one tour of three concerts in the 20 years that LCP [London Classical Players] existed. We were totally strapped all the time – I don't know how we put anything on. So, of course, if we were in France, someone like Christie⁹, who receives a couple of million a year...Most people did it by using a tremendous amount of other people's money. We got some. That's how we managed. A friend of mine helped with some concerts. Logica helped. NatWest did

⁹ William Christie – the music director of the early music group Les Arts Florissants.

the Experience¹⁰ for three years. We would never have had the Experience without it.

Norrington's comment "...we managed" underplays the commercial success of the early music movement during the 1970s and 80s, in particular. This success is commented on further by Andrew Pinnock:

The rather silly notion that you can never make money out of high-culture is completely contradicted by the period-instrument movement.

Clearly, the causal explanation of labour market emergence that follows will need to take into account this challenge to the market failure rationale for public sector funding of the arts. Of particular interest is how the 'absence'¹¹ of subsidy may have acted as a causal mechanism for those involved in the sector to behave in particular ways (e.g. seeking commercial funding and sponsorship etc.). One might readily speculate that if subsidy had been available, early music's success in winning commercial funding and sponsorship may not have been so evident – since the motivation and need would not have been there. An important point to emphasise here is that these different funding sources cannot be understood as merely interchangeable. For the very way in which an organisation operates and is managed is affected by the chosen route.

7.8.ii Music colleges – Premium funding

For those aspiring young musicians wishing to pursue careers in early music performance in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were very limited opportunities for formal training

¹⁰ The 'Beethoven Experience' was built on the concept of a weekend devoted to discovering Beethoven's works in detail. Several 'experiences' were held at London's South Bank around 1987, to huge critical acclaim.

¹¹ Bhaskar (1993) implies that "real determinate absence or non-being" (p.5) has causal efficacy.

within the country's established music colleges. Christopher Hogwood explains the dominant views of the time:

Nearly everything we wanted to do in early music had no official didactic channel...it did have support...it had support from the Ray Leppards and Thurston Darts...who were paid academics who put their ideas into practice, rather than the paid conservatoire teachers who saw it...I don't think they were against it being period music...I think they were very much trying to train people to a regular career...their job was to put you in a job...and it should be a job as secure as their job, a lifetime contract playing in a professional orchestra.

This prevailing conservatoire view, however, was not just the amalgamated product of individual teachers' thinking concerning a career in music. In effect, this view was also an emergent property of the premium funding¹² structure which music colleges have been the recipient of for many years. For it is on the basis of being specialist institutions for educating and training students in the performance skills necessary for *a career* in the music profession (see Tooley, 1998) that the Higher Education Funding Council of England (HEFCE) provide premium funding. The onus on career development is then implicit in the way in which music colleges are funded. Arguably, any type of activity that went against the status quo in this respect may have faced a degree of opposition. Yet it must be remembered that in the context of a *creative* environment such as a music college, conforming to the status quo appears to be something of a problematic objective. Creativity, after all, demands change and transformation.

¹² Premium funding refers to funding over and above that awarded to other higher education institutions, on the basis of specialism.

7.8.iii Social capital of early music pioneers

The ability to instigate change is, of course, dependent upon the social resources available to those involved. Andrew Pinnock reflects on the social origins of some of the ‘pioneers’ of the early music movement:

...the social origin of the supposed pioneers is quite interesting to track...because people like Norrington and John Eliot Gardiner were hugely well connected – certainly not devoid of talent...but to get to the top you do need a whole lot of things...talent, backing, probably parents and family who have already prised open the institutions that can support you...and battling away from outside – almost nobody pulled it off.

Perhaps someone who did ‘pull it off’, to some extent at least, was the founder of The English Concert, Trevor Pinnock. As he explains:

I wasn’t placed in the right place to know everybody...and perhaps I wasn’t temperamentally suited. I tend to be a bit more of a loner in that respect.

This is not to say he didn’t have influential people backing him:

NW: Did Basil Douglas and Maureen Garnham¹³ share your enthusiasm for early music and period instruments?

TP: They had a great enthusiasm in me...and that’s really how it worked.

Knowing the ‘right people’ and being ‘well connected’ are obvious manifestations of possessing ‘social capital’. Without careful review of the specific context of how this is embedded in any given empirical context, however, this concept lacks analytical rigour. Who *are* the ‘right people’, and who *should* one be ‘connected’ to, anyway? Of course, there is no normative answer to this question – it depends upon the context. The reason for

¹³ Basil Douglas was Trevor Pinnock’s manager and agent; Maureen Garnham (who worked with Douglas) managed The English Concert in its early years.

raising it, however, in this context of explaining labour market emergence, is because we can draw attention to two distinct (but overlapping) social groups. On the one hand, there is the *mainstream* or establishment group – in this study, represented by the classical music elite. This consists both of classical musicians at the top of their professional pecking order, and those involved in the management of leading orchestras, venues, festivals and the like. On the other hand, there is the *opposition*, composed of both ‘corporate’ and ‘primary’ agents (Archer, 1995) – in this study, represented by the key players in the early music movement. The causal power of individuals (such as Hogwood, Pinnock, Norrington etc.) to undertake their early music performance projects was dependent, to some extent at least, upon the quality of their relations with both groups. As I discuss below, instrumental to the quality of the relationships held with these groups was how the key individuals perceived themselves in relation to them.

7.8.iv Self identity of early music pioneers

There is a link to be drawn here between social capital and the notion of ‘counter-site’ or ‘other space’ introduced in relation to Arnold Dolmetsch’s work. This link manifests itself in terms of the founder-directors of early music groups identifying themselves as either being on the ‘inside’ or the ‘outside’ (with regard to one or both of the social groups identified above). Trevor Pinnock sees himself as something of an outsider with respect to the early music network:

I think I have always been ‘outside’ that network, whereas Chris [Hogwood] has always been very much part of networks – and he’s always been connected...he knows absolutely everybody.

It is interesting to reflect on how this may have affected Pinnock's style of management – not least in the context of his describing The English Concert as being a “remarkably close-knit group” (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8).

Elsewhere, Roger Norrington reveals a different take on this issue of ‘belonging’, which contrasts an involvement with ‘modern’ classical music orchestras (part of the classical music mainstream) as against early music performers:

I'm rather different from the Trevor Pinnocks and so on – because I've always been in touch with modern instruments...although not enough, as you rightly asked...not enough. But I've always known how to do it – I conducted modern orchestras before I conducted old orchestras. That's a big difference from someone like Trevor – not that he's the only example. The other...so I'm rather...I'm nearer to an outsider and yet I've been more inside than most...more like Charles Mackerras¹⁴ – who came from the edge but is very interested in it. But the other thing that stands out immediately – of course, is that now I hardly do any early music. I'm a regular modern conductor. I felt relatively ‘inside’ in the sense that I had successful groups and Kent Opera. I was there 15 years. We were busy...It was a ship to be on. Andrew [Parrott] never had a ship...Maybe he wasn't enough of an entrepreneur. I am more of an entrepreneur than he is – that's probably true!

Norrington's sense of belonging within the classical music mainstream is a causal mechanism that enabled him (as an ‘entrepreneur’) to organise tasks and re-combine resources as required. Andrew Parrott, on the other hand, offered an alternative interpretation of what it meant to be an ‘outsider’, indicating that he felt an outsider to both social groups (mainstream and opposition), on account of something to do with class:

NW: I'm increasingly getting a feeling of an ‘outsider’...and yet your work...

AP: I didn't place myself as being on the outside – I think I have been placed on the outside. It is a realisation that in this class-ridden

¹⁴ Sir Charles Mackerras is an internationally renowned conductor who is particularly well known for his historically informed performances of Mozart on modern instruments.

society in Britain...not just class...in this compartmentalised world, people put you in pigeonholes...and that's understandable...a very human thing.

Several of the commentators in this research suggested that Parrott was one of the most talented musicians of his generation working in the early music movement, whilst also noting that his Taverner Consort had not achieved the success or acclaim that it might have done. It would be tempting to make some connection to the supposed absence of the causal mechanism just described (i.e. a sense of belonging within the classical music mainstream). However, this would potentially be misleading for two reasons. Firstly, there is considerable conflicting evidence to suggest that Parrott was well connected (and 'at home') within the classical music mainstream (e.g. his close association with Sir Michael Tippett and the Bath Festival). Secondly, causal mechanisms, after all, tend towards given outcomes and do not act deterministically (since they depend upon agency).

Having noted earlier that Sir John Eliot Gardiner (founder-director of The Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra) was "hugely well connected", it is striking once more to hear him referring to this sense of 'not belonging' initially, at least, to the classical music mainstream:

I was a late starter: most of my contemporaries had much more technical know-how and experience than I had at that stage – but I realised how much music mattered to me! Cambridge was bursting with talented musicians just then, and divided into opposing groups. I didn't feel I belonged in any of them.

This sense of being a late starter relates equally to his involvement in early music – as I describe more fully in the next chapter.

Despite the relatively equal gender balance in terms of male and female early music performers (see Chapter 9), musical direction and leadership has traditionally been a male-dominated world (Lebrecht, 1996). Caroline Brown (Hanover Band) was one of just a handful of female founder-directors of professional early music groups in the UK¹⁵. Brown offers a perspective where ‘belonging’ refers to collegiality with other performers:

I was an organiser when I was 10. I organised Brighton Youth Orchestra...it has always interested me – but I wasn’t doing it from outside, but from within. They are very much my friends – all of them. They are very much my colleagues. So I grew up playing with them. Held my own with them, too.

One might suggest that Brown’s self identification with other performers (in both classical music mainstream and early music opposition) is the key to her particular approach to managing ‘friends’ and ‘colleagues’ in The Hanover Band.

7.9 Other contingent events

In concluding this account of conditioning structures and agential properties influencing the subsequent activities of early music performers and those setting up early music orchestras and ensembles, reference must be made to those critical (and unforeseen) contingent events that have shaped the course of what followed. There were many examples of “historical specificity” (Hodgson, 2001) or events, practices, ideas etc., which perhaps through luck or misfortune could only have happened at the particular time they did. One thinks, for example, of Ted Perry (founder of the Hyperion record label), driving along in his black taxi, listening to the radio, and chancing upon a studio performance of Hildegard’s “*A feather on the breath of god*”. So intrigued was he by what he heard that he decided to make a

¹⁵ See also Mary Berry, who founded Schola Gregoriana of Cambridge in 1975.

recording of it. This was to launch his independent record label (1980), and become one of the best-selling records of early music in the UK.

Perhaps more than any other unforeseen event, it was the suicide of David Munrow in 1976 that had a profound impact on all those in any way connected to the early music revival, as Felix Warnock, early music performer and, later, manager of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, acknowledges:

I was introduced to David Munrow...who I didn't know before, who said at that point, that he was moving out of the specifically very early renaissance music, and his next big project was supposed to have been forming a baroque orchestra...and 'was I thinking about finding out about bassoons of that period?' To which I replied, half honestly, that I was...because I kind of was, but needed a push to do something about it...and that never happened, because he died...mm, which was a surprise really...but in a way what developed out of that was that Chris Hogwood kind of adopted...took on that project, which became eventually the Academy of Ancient Music.

Munrow had been an extraordinary influence on performers and audiences alike. Before his death, at the age of 33, he had presented 655 editions of Pied Piper on Radio 3, which introduced countless children and adults to early instruments and music. He had also given many concerts and made some memorable recordings with his group The Early Music Consort. Certainly, there would have been another early music story to tell, had Munrow not died at such a tragically young age.

7.10 Concluding remarks

This chapter has identified some of the key conditions and resource constraints (relating to scarcity and qualification) that enabled and constrained the exchange of early music

performers’ labour power. In so doing, it has also revealed an ensemble of causal configurations (i.e. mechanisms and powers) that appear significant in explaining labour market emergence (see Figure 7.2).

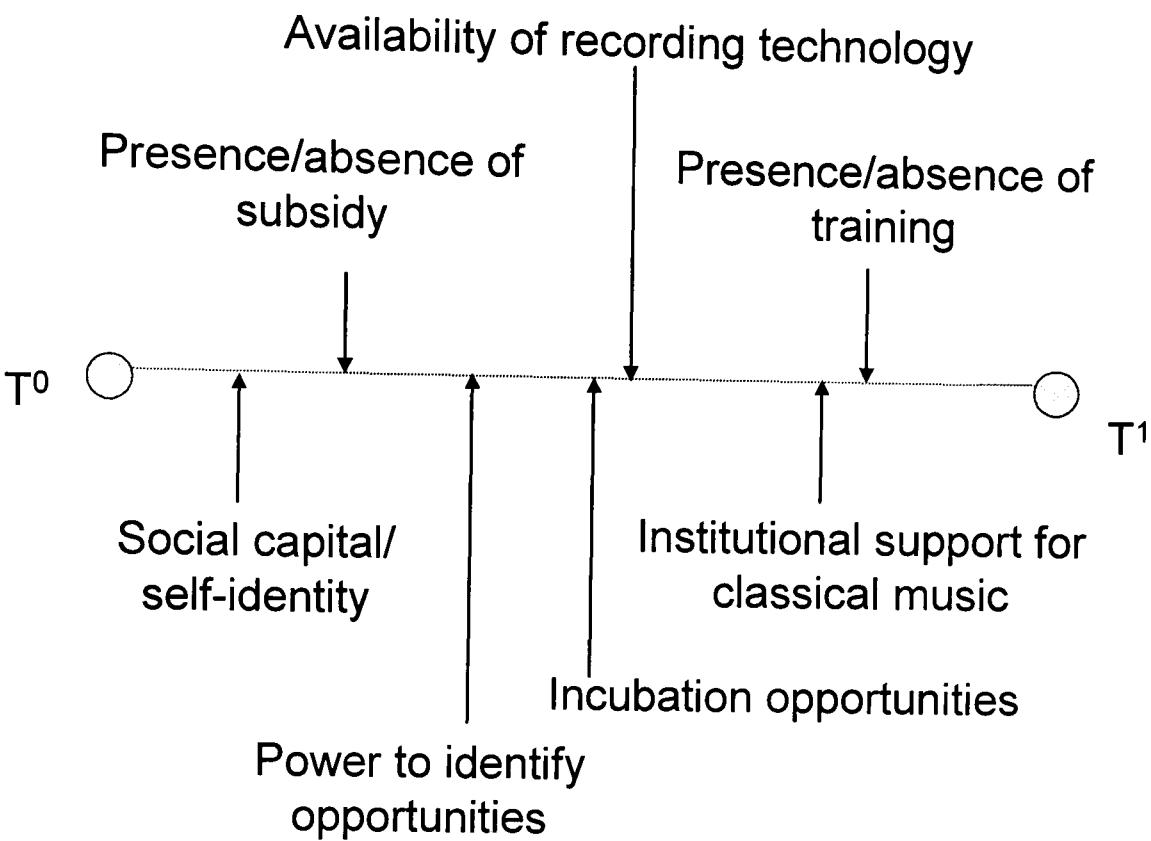


Figure 7.2: *Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (1)*

N.B. This figure does *NOT* intend to convey the temporal order of these mechanisms between T⁰ and T¹.

These include the respective levels of public sector funding and formal training at music colleges for both classical music and the emergent early music performance; the potential of recording technology; the incubating opportunity to promote early music (especially through established institutions such as Oxbridge and the BBC); the power to identify opportunities; and the sense of belonging to the existing mainstream. It is particularly striking to observe the dualistic nature of some of these mechanisms. What can appear as a constraint (e.g. absence of funding) to some, represents an enabling influence for ‘entrepreneurial’ others.

This highlights the sense in which social mechanisms can have multiple or apparently contradictory polar tendencies. It is not simply the case, for example, that a lack of public funding conditions individuals to behave in certain ways. Rather, we can point to this triggering *either* the kind of behaviour that is risk averse and avoids setting up new organisations (as implied by current market failure arguments), *or* the kind of behaviour that encourages risk taking (as demonstrated in the case of early music).

The thrust of this chapter has been to introduce the particular conditions under which enabling tendencies underlying market emergence have been realised. I explore the significance of the conditions outlined here in the next chapter, in relation to Phase 2 of this causal explanatory analytical account, where the focus is on social interaction.

Chapter 8

Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (2):
Social interaction

8.0 Introduction

The next crucial stage in the process of labour market emergence (between T^1 and T^2 – see Figure 8.1) is when the individuals conceiving of agential projects reflect on whether to undertake these or not. In the light of their (imperfect) knowledge of the conditions that will influence their success, these individuals then act in certain ways (notably setting up early music groups and ensembles).

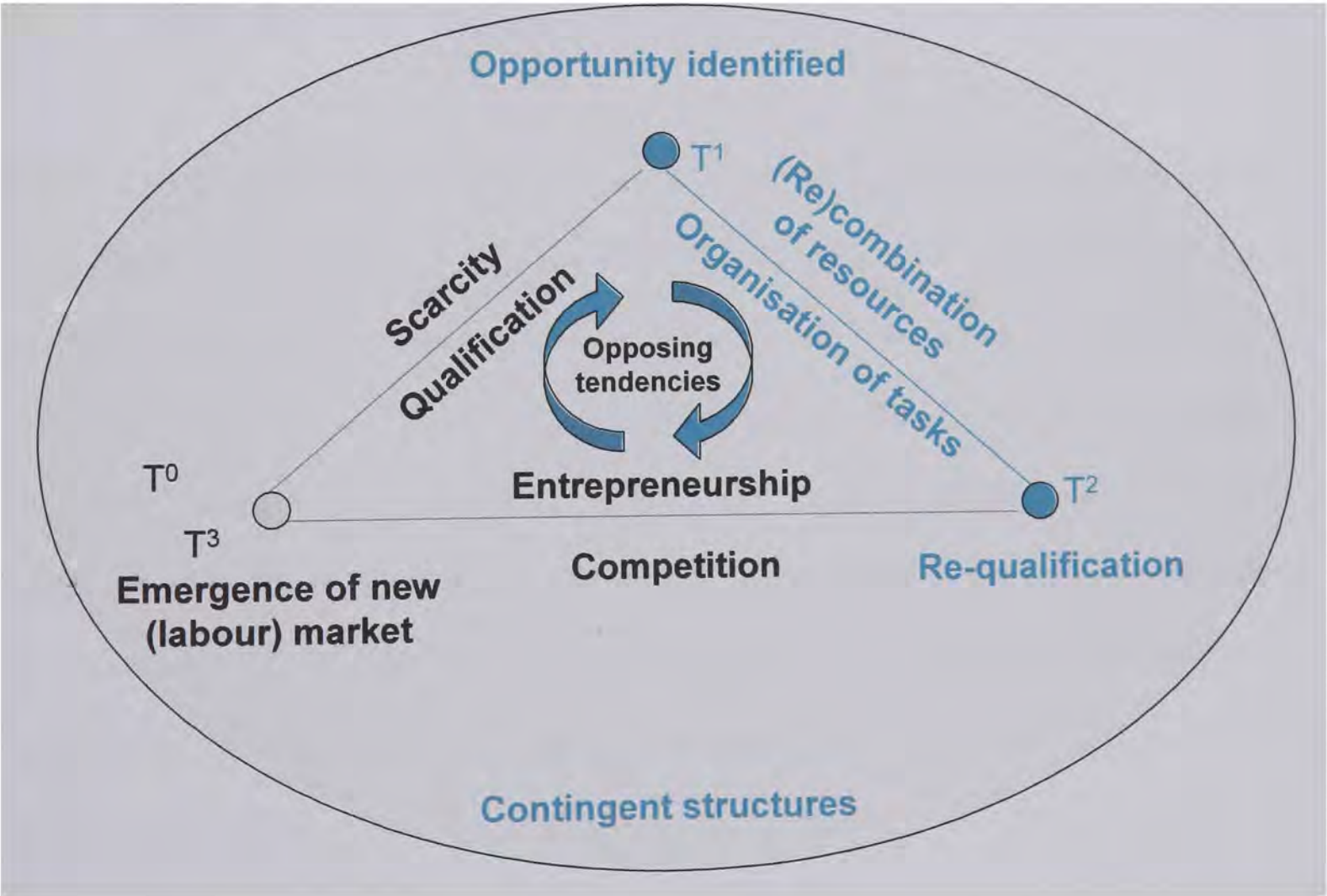


Figure 8.1: Conceptualising labour market emergence (2) – Social interaction

The agential projects referred to here can be thought of as the establishment of new period instrument orchestras or ensembles. The chapter is structured according to the four elements of social interaction which are highlighted in the conceptual model of labour market emergence in Figure 8.1:

1. Opportunity identification
2. (Re)combining resources
3. Organisation of tasks
4. Re-qualification

8.1 Opportunity identification

Earlier, I put forward the claim that *identifying the opportunity* can be thought of in terms of conceiving of an agential project which implicitly involves the re-qualification of an economic good. The word ‘implicitly’ is chosen carefully here, since agents do not think in terms of the abstract concepts discussed. This conceptualisation leaves many questions unanswered in terms of the explicit motivations and strategic decision-making involved in opportunity identification, of course. It is the purpose of this section to explore these issues in more detail in the particular context of early music performance. Four aspects of opportunity identification are considered – intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation; social capital and self identity; learning from others; and emergent versus deliberate origins.

8.1.i Intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation

We have already observed that the context of early music performance does not appear as the most likely one for a discussion of entrepreneurial profit and financial gain. Yet, as I have been keen to emphasise, the early music movement in the UK has been very successful in commercial as well as artistic terms. Our understanding of opportunity identification must therefore address both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of motivation.

Chris Sayers makes a powerful case for the intrinsic causal properties of music, when commenting on one of the pioneering European early music ensembles in the mid 1960s:

I heard Concentus Musicus¹ in about 1965...looking back the standard was probably not very high – but you were so convinced. There was enough about it to really transport you and ...this is an emotional response – nothing to do with arguing the case, nothing to do with the theory...it was a completely emotional response – the thing appeared to be revealed.

In Archer's (1995) account of the morphogenetic approach (which underpins this analysis), she is careful to include the role of cultural emergent properties, i.e. norms, values and beliefs. She has also been at great pains to refute an overly rational account of *homo economicus*, which failed to take account of our normativity and our emotionality (see Archer, 2000: 4). Indeed, in her book on *Being Human*, Archer provides a lengthy discussion on the role of emotions "as commentaries on our concerns". In claiming that emotions are "commentaries upon our doings" (Ibid: 213), however, she also distances herself from emotional cognitivism, noting that a commentary plays an 'active' role towards a concern (p.196). In other words, what we do is also dependent upon our emotions. Archer

¹ Concentus Musicus Wien was founded by Nikolaus Harnoncourt in 1953, and is, for some, "largely responsible for launching the authentic instrument movement" (<http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Concentus-Musicus-Wien.htm>).

refers to the “shoving power” of emotions as being critical (p.197).² This appears to be the thrust of what Sayers says. Several further reflections from early music performers serve to broaden this debate. Trevor Pinnock highlights the immediate or ‘non-cognitive’ impact of music:

So, I think that in general that would suggest to me that people have come to it through the mind...whereas I came to it very much through the gut – through my contact with music.

Catherine Mackintosh refers to her ‘passion’ for performance, therefore implying an emotive element – “I had that sort of passion...I just did have that passion – and I still do”. It is interesting to reflect on how she shies away from referring to her decision to go down the route of early music performance as a conscious ‘choice’, as such:

NW: Was it a conscious decision to go down this route?

CM: Subconscious I should say. There was definitely a tide flowing...gaining momentum in the late 60s – just at the time I was choosing...well not choosing my pathway.

For Felix Warnock, his interest in early music followed what he describes as an instinctive response to the music:

I think it was the fact that it was new...and that was the kind of music I particularly knew about and liked...but I had a kind of instinct that I wanted to explore.

That there is a link between the emotional impact of music and what people do (either through choice or not), is difficult to deny. This, we should note, extends to professional performance of music, the establishment of early music ensembles, as well as to amateur music-making. John Eliot Gardiner is explicit about music’s causal powers, eloquently

² Interestingly, Archer uses the example of someone “becoming a concert pianist” to outline her case here.

elaborating upon the transcendent possibilities of music – a subject that is, of itself, worthy of much further research:

...just the ineffable mystery of the whole process of musical transmission. It's so potent...and it's the reason why all musicians I respect are in music in the first place. That rare possibility of entering a totally different realm of existence and feeling...and it only happens once in a blue moon, but it's incredibly potent when it's there.

The reference to “rare possibility” is illuminating with regard to how individuals might be motivated to act in pursuit of ‘opportunities’. Indeed, before a ‘creative’ idea is formed (or received for the first time – in the case of a musical performance), it holds the promise of something that is only constrained by what is ‘possible’. This is a powerful state of ‘not-knowing’, relating to what Bhaskar (1993) terms ‘real negation’. We are all intuitively aware of the excitement and emotional intensity that this state can induce in us. However, rather than merely seeing this state as an emotional by-product of risk-taking (itself associated with knowledge, information and calculative rational action), or other entrepreneurial behaviours, such as entrepreneurial judgment (Knight, 1921) or decision-making (see Palich and Bagby, 1995), I suggest that, paradoxically, the very absence of knowledge is itself causally efficacious and that this causal mechanism has largely gone undiscussed in the literature on entrepreneurship. In effect, what I am arguing here is that those involved in the process of entrepreneurship are often driven to act (and incur personal financial risk) by the lure of the unknown (i.e. what *might* happen) in addition, perhaps, to what their particular knowledge might lead them to believe *will* happen.

To focus on the “ineffable mystery” of music as a motivating influence is certainly beguiling. However, causality, as we have seen, is often very complex. It would be naïve to

suggest that more pragmatic (extrinsic) motivating factors weren't also involved in the decisions of individuals to engage with early music performance – especially at a professional level. Nevertheless, as Clifford Bartlett observes, they do not appear as primary motivators in the case of early music:

I'm sure – 'this is how we are going to make a lot of money' – wasn't anywhere near what they were doing. I'm absolutely certain of that without discussing it.

The distinction between motivating factors and enabling factors, though not easy to draw, is important here. For whilst financial gain may not have explicitly formed a reason why musicians engaged with early music performance, this is not to suggest that a pragmatic and enterprising (i.e. business-like) approach to early music performance wasn't very important in enabling individuals to establish new ensembles and orchestras, and establish a viable position in the field. I return to this key issue, in the context of the specialist organisation of tasks, later in this chapter.

8.1.ii Social capital and self identity

I discussed the relevance of social capital and self identity in the context of agents' prior allocation of resources in Chapter 7. This section now extends that discussion in the context of opportunity identification.³ To begin with we can draw attention to a cast of 'corporate agents' (Archer, 1995) whose influence is as great, if not greater in some cases, than the generally heralded musical pioneers of the UK early music movement (such as David Munrow, Christopher Hogwood, Trevor Pinnock, Roger Norrington etc.). These are

³ The reader will note that I have included discussion of 'opportunity identified' in both Phases 1 & 2 of this analytical account – in keeping with my conceptualisation of the opportunity as an emergent property of entrepreneurship.

individuals who because of their particular positions or roles in the existing classical music field (bestowing on them both knowledge and power) were able to play an active role in changing the status quo. One such corporate agent – Peter Wadland, producer for the record company Decca – has already been introduced. He played a pivotal role in the setting up of The Academy of Ancient Music. Other corporate agents include the likes of Basil Lam and Hugh Keat – producers at the BBC, Dr Andreas Holschneider, President of DG records, Ted Perry at Hyperion, Basil Douglas (artist manager) and Richard Wood, CEO of The Early Music Shop and organiser of The Early Music Exhibition.

The social positioning of early music performers in the pre-existing classical music arena (i.e. as ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’) is an important factor influencing their capacity to pursue their agential projects (as discussed in Chapter 7). We can note, for example, how Roger Norrington’s first early music work with period instruments was undertaken within the relatively mainstream musical environment of Kent opera.⁴ Elsewhere, Clifford Bartlett notes that Peter Holman (of The Parley of Instruments),⁵ who studied with Thurston Dart at King’s College, London, was “very well placed because his father was a record dealer”. The contention is that this would have given him access to a wide range of historically informed recordings available from continental Europe.

Our understanding of ‘incubation opportunities’ (highlighted in the previous chapter) can also be extended in the context of this focus on opportunity identification. In terms of the BBC, first of all, we can note that it played a critical role in the launching of the vocal

⁴ Kent Opera was a small-scale opera company established by Norman Platt in 1969. Although predominantly using modern instruments, it had the aim of presenting opera in English “in a manner as faithful as possible to the composer’s intentions” (see http://www.kentopera.org.uk/html/about_us.html).

⁵ My research revealed that Peter Holman, together with Andrew Parrott, in the early 1970s, may well have founded the *first* (albeit short-lived) period instrument orchestra in the UK, called The 24 Violins.

ensemble Gothic Voices (who recorded the best-selling “*A feather on the breath of God*” for Hyperion), as Kate Bolton explains:

In fact, Gothic Voices started out life as a BBC recording project – initiated by Hugh Keat and Christopher Page – together they did studio recordings and that...that’s just one example – there are countless examples.

It is interesting to speculate on whether the group’s own interpretation of their origins, as published on their website – “Like so many of the best things in life, the birth of Gothic Voices came about almost by accident”⁶ – underplays the particular alertness to opportunity displayed by its founders.

Two examples from an Oxbridge context are also worth presenting here. The first relates to the founding of The Tallis Scholars. Peter Phillips recalls:

It was November 1973, nearly 26 years ago actually...I was at Oxford, with good singers all around the place, and I made the most of that. I had no plans, except that I had no plans to do anything else. Without calculating, I knew that I was going to go on with it, but the idea that it would be a success never crossed my mind.

Phillips’ reference to “without calculating” is interesting, since it points to the overwhelming strength of his desire to set the group up and perform as an end in itself. However, we should not lose sight of his inference of there being “good singers all around the place” at Oxford. Robert King’s launching of his Kings Consort was equally dependent upon this sense of opportunity whilst at university (in this case, Cambridge):

GI: You founded The King’s Consort while still very young. Where did the impetus to do so come from?

RK: It was very simple. I was at university, finding all this music I wanted to perform. Nobody at university is going to ask you to

⁶ <http://www.gothicvoices.co.uk/c1p0.php>.

perform music so you've got to do it yourself. I had all these wonderful people around me: tenor Charles Daniels just down the road at King's College, Angus Smith, now of the Orlando Consort, about two rooms away from me, and many other good singers. So I thought we'd get out and do a concert. The standard of poster advertising in Cambridge was very poor, so we designed the most eye-catching posters imaginable. Final proof that we were doing something worthwhile came with a concert in which we put on the Monteverdi Vespers. Come the night, the queue to get in stretched out of St. John's College chapel, down the road past Trinity College and at one point got as far as Caius College. There were about 2000 people trying to get into the concert, for which there were only 1100 seats.

Robert King's remarks highlight two important issues. One is the proactive nature of acting upon his imagination (a subject I come back to later in this chapter). The second concerns King's eye for the pragmatic and non-musical aspect of this project (i.e. designing eye-catching posters). Again, one might characterise this as enterprising behaviour.

8.1.iii Learning from others

When it comes to explaining why (and how) those involved in early music performance in the UK acted the way they did, we need to consider the extent to which they were influenced by others from Europe and beyond. The work of the likes of Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Gustav Leonhardt,⁷ through teaching, through live performance and most of all through their recordings, was more than merely a backdrop to UK early music performance in the early 1970s, but represented a precedent which could be actively drawn upon by those contemplating setting up new groups. Christopher Hogwood explains:

⁷ Gustav Leonhardt and Nikolaus Harnoncourt are known particularly for their historically informed performances of Bach, with groups they had founded in the 1950s. The two men shared a major project to record all of Bach's sacred cantatas, which was launched in 1971.

...the evidence of Harnoncourt and Leonhardt, both here and in Amsterdam showed that bigger groups could be put together...and the reason we knew that was that we heard the recordings.

For record companies making decisions about whether or not to engage fresh new early music groups in the UK, this precedent was also significant. Trevor Pinnock recalls the cautious manner in which Dr Holschneider, President of DG records, decided to contract The English Concert:

TP: ...record companies always want something new and young. And, mm, I don't think there were many serious groups...so it was natural. And he'd been researching the field for a long time. He'd seen me in 1973 and thought this was the way to go...and then he just waited.

NW: Why did he wait?

TP: I think for things to get better – to settle down. He was a cautious man, he had other people under contract. He wanted to find the right moment.

Clifford Bartlett puts forward an interesting viewpoint on why John Eliot Gardiner, who had formed The Monteverdi Choir in 1964, waited a further fourteen years before he set up The English Baroque Soloists:⁸

He was a bit late...he wanted to...he said "I'm not going to have early music until they are good enough" i.e. he wasn't going to do the donkey-work. He told me in the queue for the BBC canteen.

One might suggest that John Eliot Gardiner was alert to the opportunity that early music performance presented, but was also calculating in terms of how to exploit this opportunity. He certainly learned from what other groups were doing already – though whether this

⁸ This use of the word 'Soloists' should perhaps not go unnoticed. The sense of the 'specialist' performer is explicitly referenced here.

learning can be labelled ‘subconscious’, as Kirzner (1973) describes, is a matter of conjecture.

The question of whether the so-called early music ‘pioneers’ in Britain really were innovators, or whether they were, as one respondent suggests, actually rather good at imitating others, raises some interesting issues:

I don’t think the English version of early music was pioneering...it was imitative. The Austrians with Harnoncourt, and the Dutch – there is a lot of Concentus Musicus history now because it has just turned 50 – but an incredible achievement founding an ensemble that good, in the early 50s. We waited 20 years before deciding to copy it – which is pretty well what happened. The BBC provided a nursery within which British artists minded to copy what the continentals were already doing very well, until they could do it. The reason I think that might be worth stressing is because there is something strange about the British musical establishment which prevents it pioneering anything.

Arguably, the opinions being expressed here reflect a musical ‘establishment’ that lives up to its name in the sense of being highly stable (and standardised) – an institution that was resistant to change. Whilst this inertial tendency might readily be understood as high culture’s resistance to the underlying relativism of post-modern life in the UK (see Bennett, 2001: Chapter 3), this reading would miss a more nuanced feature of market emergence, where standardisation (giving rise to stabilised goods – see Callon et al, 2002: 197) plays an important role alongside transformation (understood in terms of innovation). The emergence of a new market (both for early music labour power and goods), therefore, had both to overcome this resistance in some way, and crucially replace it with a new resistance of its own (in order for newly stabilised goods to be able to compete in the market). This is an important insight that follows on from my discussion of opposing tendencies in the review in Chapter 6 of entrepreneurship (a theme I return to in more detail in the next chapter).

8.1.iv Emergent versus deliberate origins

For my final take on opportunity identification I highlight the tension between rational planned decision-making of a deliberate strategic nature and the emergent reality that actually transpires. Here we might particularly draw attention to the difficulty of respondents in ascribing causality to events (sometimes taking place 30 years ago), which often just appeared ‘to happen’.

Taking the founding of The English Concert, as an example, conversation with Trevor Pinnock revealed something of the organic way in which it grew out of earlier activities:

NW: On to the founding of The English Concert, can you tell me a little about how this ‘historic event’ came into being?

TP: Well, it grew out – the Galliard Harpsichord Trio had gone for 6 years. Then we decided it was enough. We’d run out of repertoire, and we weren’t getting on so well – the three of us together...and then I decided that I wanted to continue on this ‘old instrument’ tack...and I looked around for other players to try to make up a string quintet. I had a string quintet and flute (Stephen Preston who is still with me). And, that was in 1972 (November)...we got together and did some playing and tried to get things going...and I think it was May 1973 (The English Bach Festival) that we put things on stage for the first time.

Roger Norrington, for example, describes the formation of The London Classical Players (LCP):

NW: Can I get on to the formation of LCP and how that came about? Was it ...in turning ‘Classical’...was that a conscious effort to move things forward – I mean, spotting the market niche?

RN: No. It was an accident really. We had the London Baroque Players⁹ and we got to *The Creation*.¹⁰ What do you call it?

⁹ The London Baroque Players was an informal group of players who accompanied Norrington’s Schütz Choir (founded 1962), when required.

London Classical Players...A few years later we got to Berlioz...and someone sent us a birthday card saying ‘congratulations on the London *Romantic* Players’. By then we were too well known to change our name again.

Elsewhere, Caroline Brown describes the beginnings of The Hanover Band in terms of ‘sheer chance’:

NW: Let’s move on to The Hanover Band and how you set it up...when, what, why?

CB: At the time you had The English Concert and AAM [Academy of Ancient Music] just playing baroque music, and nobody was playing classical music at all. It was an absolute hole...and I’d been in Vienna playing these Mozart piano trios etc. with Melkus.¹¹ I also met ...mm...Monica Huggett¹² who was a contemporary of mine at the Academy whilst I was at the College, and I had often talked about playing classical music on period instruments. It was just sheer chance because there was literally nothing going on, and our desire. I can’t tell you any more about how it happened.

It is notable that Brown mitigates the sense of being just a lucky accident by referring to her ‘desire’ to make it happen. Once more, deliberate strategy meets emergent conditions.

The formation of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (OAE), which now describes itself as “the UK’s leading period instrument ensemble”,¹³ does appear to have been the product of a particular kind of rational decision-making undertaken by a group of early music performers. This orchestra was established in 1986 (some thirteen years after The

¹⁰ Haydn’s oratorio *The Creation* first performed in 1799.

¹¹ Eduard Melkus was a “formidable” period violin soloist and founder of the Vienna Capella Academica (1965).

¹² Monica Huggett is a specialist baroque violinist. She was invited to form an orchestra with Ton Koopman (1979) – which later became the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra. She is founder of the ensemble Sonnerie, in the UK, and is Artistic Director of the Portland Baroque Orchestra in the US.

¹³ The OAE is “Associate Orchestra of the Royal Festival Hall” and “Associate Orchestra at Glyndebourne” – indicating the extent to which it has become part of ‘mainstream’ classical music performance in the UK. (<http://www.oae.co.uk>).

English Concert, The Academy of Ancient Music, and The Taverner Consort). The orchestra's formation stands apart from those previously discussed on the basis that it grew out of professional early music performers' dissatisfaction with the state of early music performance in the UK. There were three main issues in this respect. First, it was felt that there weren't enough opportunities for bringing in conductors from outside of the UK; second, there was the feeling, amongst some players at least, that early music performance was lining the pockets of the founders (or "robber barons" as Norrington playfully referred to himself and others); and third, that altogether things had got rather stuck – nothing was really changing. As one performer put it "we knew that something *new* needed to happen. We'd all been attached to Trevor [Pinnock] or Chris [Hogwood] or John Eliot [Gardiner]...and sort of 'owned' as it were". Felix Warnock, who was one of the performers involved in setting up the orchestra, takes up the story:

What was happening then was that these orchestras were beginning to run in to some problems. I think a lot of it was a feeling that what we, the players, were doing, was making the careers of the people who ran them. So, all the orchestras that existed were the property of their one artistic director – Roger Norrington had his orchestra, Chris Hogwood had his, John Eliot Gardiner had his group. It seemed to me, and a few other players when we discussed this kind of thing (which I have to say wasn't very often), that there were several things happening: one was, that it excluded quite a lot of interesting people who were working outside the UK – such as Ton Koopman, Gustav Leonhardt, Nikolaus Harnoncourt...the same list of people, who really never came to London, because there wasn't any vehicle for them to work with...there wasn't a platform to bring to London interesting directors. By the time we got to the late 80s, the situation in London for people like myself who were working musicians, had got rather stuck. Nothing was really changing...and yet, if we looked forward 5 or 10 years, we could also see that the employment prospects for ourselves could actually be diminishing as the individual directors of these ensembles pursued their careers around the world...leaving us, the pool of players who made it all happen, without any focus for our activity...we had become marginalised.

This particular piece of the bigger story about labour market emergence is revealing. We return to some of the implications in the discussion of ‘elaboration’ in Chapter 9. For the present, however, it is worth drawing attention to the way in which the actions of the founder-directors described above (e.g. Christopher Hogwood, Trevor Pinnock, John Eliot Gardiner etc.) changed not only the structural conditions for subsequent transformation of the labour market, but also their own relationships with that labour market. In re-combining resources (which I now discuss in greater detail), the founder-directors experienced their own relations with other performers, managers, promoters etc. to be changed. This represents what Archer terms the “double morphogenesis of agency” (1995).

8.2 (Re)combination of resources

We have already observed that many of the founder-directors of early music ensembles came from established positions in the mainstream classical music field, where their prior legitimacy was assured. In their new guise as directors of early music orchestras and ensembles they were to play an arbitrage role. They had the job of acquiring the performers’ skills they required, but also selling these skills (and their own) to record companies, promoters and broadcasters. As such, their role transcended simple supply-side and demand-side categorisation. As we have seen, this was to give rise to the tension between supply-side shared enthusiasm for early music, and demand-side role as employer and entrepreneur, which ultimately contributed (in part, at least) to the setting up of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment in 1986. Arguably, it may also have had some impact on whether or not these “robber barons” were able to acquire public funding, as one interviewee implies:

...the profits were retained by the founder-directors in most cases...the royalty percentages...and the band got a fee. Whether it would have been right to invest large amounts of public money in the career vehicle of an individual, who could have chosen (and in fact Hogwood quietly does) to spend some of the earnings on reinvesting in the ensemble?

Despite the general over-supply of classical musicians, those involved in the first professional period instrument ensembles were faced by a particular resource constraint in the form of a shortage of skilled (and suitably motivated) players. After all, there had been no didactic paths for training musicians in early music performance. The existing classical music channels were not able to provide the necessary knowledge about which performers to employ. Music directors' personal networks were essential for bringing together players. This involved the pragmatic 'combining' of musicians with rather different motivations to those leading the agential project. This, of course, was not without its risks, both artistically and commercially. Nevertheless, one might suggest that the risks involved in the stabilisation of the early music 'good' were more limited than later in the qualification process. Caroline Brown, for example, refers to her initial role in setting up The Hanover Band as "playing at it".

The performance of early music as an economic good had not yet become fully stabilised. Its characteristics were not clear (with performers from varying backgrounds having different motivations and, one might suggest, variable technical proficiency). We can link this idea of a pre-stabilised phase to Aldrich's (1999) observation that idiosyncratic jobs can emerge which then become incompatible with longer term objectives (see pp.127-132). (Re)combination, as such, was a process that continued well beyond the setting up of an early music orchestra. Caroline Brown explains:

NW: And did you have a core group of players right from the start...or did you have to change personnel?

CB: We had a real core at the start...it changed a lot...you 'sift out' a lot...mm, mostly sifting out.

In a context where it was difficult to acquire the resources necessary for early music performance, it is interesting to note how new opportunities were created. John Bickley, for example, describes how he re-drew the boundary between artist management and concert promotion (effectively representing both the supply and demand-sides of the market):

One trait that we were quite good at – ahead of the game – was to...the idea that you were either a concert promoter or an artist manager. It doesn't seem so strange now – but we almost had to invent work for artists – that applies to Utrecht [Festival]. We didn't start Utrecht, but we got called in because we could supply artists...we started Music at Oxford¹⁴ which rapidly grew to 40-50 concerts a year...there were other things we started.

The extent to which Bickley and other UK-based music agencies were alert to opportunity is also apparent here:

...but, in terms of running the business, music agencies were very much ahead of the game – you know, words like 'globalisation'...working out which territories – I mean it was all export led. 70% of our work was outside the UK very early on – within two or three years of starting. There would be almost no other sector in the country where that was the case at that stage.

Bickley's point about reliance on foreign demand is clearly very important here. One might even suggest that consumer attachment to early music in the UK (and associated qualification of the early music good) was, to some extent, led by consumers' interest in early music in other countries first. Related to this issue is the observation that the 'UK'

¹⁴ A regional music venue and concert series, based in Oxford.

early music performer labour market was not restricted to only British players. Christopher Hogwood recalls:

With the AAM I took the conscious decision to involve foreign musicians, notably with Jaap Schröder leading, Michel Piguet on oboe and Christophe Coin on cello and gamba, since they provided us with an alternative musical language and approach in a way which was very healthy.

Caroline Brown also sought non-UK players for the Hanover Band, though her reasoning was slightly different:

Period instrument playing had a very bad name in England at that time [1980]...I thought it must be possible to get modern players to start playing old instruments and get to the same high standards as other...major chamber orchestras of the time. I tended to choose players that had played with Roger Norrington or Trevor [Pinnock]...but also to bring in a whole new sector of the profession, really – and particularly, to bring in wind players from Holland.

A final point on the recombination of resources concerns the thought processes behind the particular chain of events (and therefore resources (re)combined) that characterised early music performance in the early 1970s. As Andrew Pinnock recalls:

...there was an assumption that the moment you discovered a manuscript then everything else fell into place...the BBC would do it...people would be paid...that's reproduced even in the recent Handel *Gloria*¹⁵ thing, isn't it? You move in a space of weeks...nobody says is it worth performing or did he write it? By the time of the CD – he better have written it!

There was, in a manner of speaking, a 'right' (legitimate) way of doing things. This, of itself, determined what resources (including musicologists, editors, performers, promoters etc.) were required. Andrew Pinnock raises the interesting implications of this as to how early music was marketed – with obvious implications for derived demand of labour power:

¹⁵ Handel's *Gloria in excelsis Deo* was discovered in the Library of the Royal Academy of Music in 2001, and given its first performance at the International Handel Festival on 3rd June of that year.

We weren't selling them really compelling performances of music primarily...though a number of them happened to be. We were selling them editions in recorded form – which paralleled the editions on the page...and had we said, 'don't think too much about this, just listen – thwack, it hits you in the guts...these people can play like you've never heard'...we really didn't try that...and I'm not sure the fundamental appeal – see Classic FM, it's an anti-intellectual sales-pitch which has revealed a vast audience. We never sold early music that way – you had to be dead-clever to engage in it...and the number of people who wish to behave like that in their free-time is pretty tiny.

It is arguable whether this interpretation of early music marketing in the early 1970s is indeed a fair representation of all those involved. One suspects, for example, that Munrow's approach to "compelling" performances of early music on the BBC was nearer the "anti-intellectual sales-pitch" alluded to above. These kinds of arguments all too easily break down into a polarised view of elitism on the one hand, versus the 'dumbing down' of the arts on the other. The emergent reality, one might suggest, tends to be nearer something in between.

8.3 Organisation of tasks

As I have argued in Chapter 6, the specialist organisation and coordination of tasks constitutes a further necessary condition of the process of entrepreneurship. It is here that we can consider in more detail what I have so far described in terms of enterprising behaviours. Two broad aspects of these behaviours can be distinguished – commercial acumen, and mode of leadership.

8.3.i Commercial acumen

It is notable that various respondents commented on the entrepreneurial and commercial skills of individuals like David Munrow and Christopher Hogwood, in the discussion of what made the early music revival *possible* in the early 1970s. This stands in contrast to the commentaries on Arnold Dolmetsch, who, whilst now celebrated as a pioneer of the early music movement, was considered in his own lifetime as something of a maverick figure, always at the fringes of the mainstream classical music industry.

Richard Wood (CEO of The Early Music Shop) mourned the fact that the Dolmetsch family, who carried on with Arnold Dolmetsch's interest in early music, did not benefit as much as they perhaps should have done as the result of their lack of commercial sense:

Yes – the Dolmetsches in this country – they had no commercial sense at all. At a fairly early stage I knew all the Dolmetsch people and in commercial terms we were earning in profit what they were doing in turnover. It was crazy – all *this* [speaking at the Early Music Exhibition, organised by the Early Music Shop] could have been theirs really.

In passing comment on the founder-director of one particular, and well known, early music ensemble, one of the interviewees highlights the apparent tension between the need for an 'alternative' musical perspective, on the one hand, and being able to make this alternative perspective commercially viable, on the other:

I: He was a little too much the brown rice and sandals type for my taste.

NW: The brown rice and sandals thing is a tag that even now it is difficult to get rid of. What do you put that down to?

I: Mm...sort of uncommercial take on the musical profession. It was uncommercial when we first started. We didn't know that it was

going to be so successful. Like contemporary musicians – it tended to attract people that were slightly more bizarre!

Here again we might draw attention to the sense in which the music ‘profession’ demands a certain way of doing things, underpinned by normative behaviours and beliefs and maintained through the endorsement of those involved. The “bizarre” behaviours of contemporary and early music performers need to be understood in the context of the tendency towards standardisation, introduced earlier in this analytical account.

8.3.ii Modes of leadership

It is, of course, difficult to separate the particular agential properties of those performers who went on to found their own early music orchestras and ensembles (in terms of their leadership and organisational skills and attributes) from the social impact of their position as employers. For some, the employer’s hat sat quite comfortably. Roger Norrington, for example:

NW: Did you ever think of yourself as an employer?

RN: Yes! When we had the orchestra – very much so. I was an employer – we had a board, we had a staff. We had a manager, and a fixer and a librarian, and yes.

Caroline Brown is equally clear on this matter:

NW: Did you or do you think of yourself as an employer?

CB: Very much so!

Trevor Pinnock was more equivocal, while making particular reference to his ‘responsibilities’ as an employer:

NW: Have you ever thought of yourself as an employer?

TP: Yes and no, I would say. I have always been aware of the fact that I have a workforce of real people who have got mortgages and things, and rely on me for quite a portion of their work – because of the loyalty aspect.

We might characterise Pinnock's style of leadership as 'benevolent dictatorship'.¹⁶ He is very candid about what this entailed:

I've always had a very personal element of, you could call it control, but it's regarding who's in the group, who's playing what, how are people treated, are the conditions right, mm, are the travel conditions right? We didn't do a lot of the sort of touring that a lot of groups do, because I wouldn't agree to the conditions for artists...then we'd lose work because of that, but I don't mind...all of that sort of thing I took very personally. You see the group was set up...it has been a remarkably close-knit group, although it has had change, it has what I call organic change over the years. You see, we have no contracts – never had contracts. And, it seemed to me the only way that there could be any loyalty – not to make it just an ad hoc group, was that I had to have as much loyalty as I expected from other people. And that became a sort of ground rule. And it's quite a difficult one to live with. That means that you have to be loyal to people even in their weaknesses as well as their strengths.

This quote is important for drawing attention to Trevor Pinnock's strategy for managing early music performers in the face of a constantly changing market. For what is highlighted is the sense in which he cultivated an approach within The English Concert where all involved knew where things stood. By placing great emphasis on loyalty, and reinforcing this within an unspoken agreement, the opposing market tendencies towards transformation (i.e. the constantly changing market) and standardisation (i.e. knowing where things stood) could be actively managed to the benefit of those involved in this organisation.

Andrew Parrott, on the other hand, appeared far less comfortable with this leadership role:

¹⁶ This term was introduced by one of the early music performers interviewed – who suggested that it was used by Pinnock himself to characterise his style of management.

NW: Do you ever think of yourself as an employer?

AP: If I have I have been an abysmal failure...it relates partly to what I was talking about – because each group was different – I wasn't creating a defined a group as TEC or Tallis Scholars – there wasn't a body of individuals on whom we depended...there were a group of individuals being employed occasionally – but no, I don't think I ever did see myself that way.

Interestingly, Christopher Hogwood was perhaps the most emphatic about *not* thinking of himself as an employer:

NW: Did you or have you ever felt of yourself as an employer?

CH: I don't – though I should...having run it for so long. A lot of people depend on it...I think *now* a lot of people regard it as their employment...but I'm very off centre...while we were doing it *then*...it was much more of a commune...I happened to organise it...but anybody else could have run and did run similar groups.

One might suggest that Hogwood's opinion regarding his directorship of The Academy of Ancient Music underplays his particular attributes as a leader. Here, we might link this discussion with what Weber referred to as "charismatic authority" (see Langlois, 2005). "Within the sphere of its claims," Weber states, "charismatic authority repudiates the past, and is in this sense a specifically revolutionary force" (Weber 1947: 361-2). It is striking how both Arnold Dolmetsch and David Munrow have been described by many of those interviewed in terms which equate with this sense of charismatic authority.

Of Dolmetsch:

He was an incredibly charismatic musician...

Arnold Dolmetsch himself was so accustomed to being in opposition that he could never quite bring himself to trust the novel experience of being admired and sought out.

Of Munrow:

First of all he was a dazzling virtuoso. He played the dozens of instruments that were his particular domain with the kind of brilliance that I can't help think was to play the instruments better than they ever had been played. His knowledge of medieval music was encyclopaedic. What was so marvellous about it was that it wasn't a dusty kind of knowledge, it wasn't a pure scholar's knowledge, it was a very vibrant and communicative knowledge.

Communication was what David Munrow did best...

David Munrow was a salesman – and a bloody good one too. He did an amazing job...but, you know, at what price?

The influence of the life (and tragic death) of David Munrow cannot be overstated. He is mentioned repeatedly in the interviews carried out for this research. It is significant that it was not just his life which influenced others, but also his death – which left a huge gap which was then, in part at least, filled by the likes of Christopher Hogwood and Andrew Parrott.

8.4 Re-qualification

The process of qualification (and re-qualification), which was introduced in Chapter 6, is central to this analytical account of social interaction. In fact, it can be observed that what has been discussed here in terms of (re)combination of resources and the organisation of tasks relate closely to this process. In tracing the journey from early music product to early music good (i.e. from the idea of authentic performance to a temporally stabilised economic object of exchange), we can first draw attention to how early music performers worked in competition with classical musicians (despite necessary overlap in some quarters – e.g. in the case of brass players). For the directors of early music ensembles, promoters and record

companies, this involved re-qualifying or singularising the economic goods (involving the (re)combination of resources, such as labour power) being exchanged.

The fact that early music performers developed a relatively strong sense of shared identity should not come as anything of a surprise, especially given that this identity was partly defined in terms of its competitive opposition to the classical music status quo. This opposition, in the case of Michael Morrow's Musica Reservata,¹⁷ is described by Clifford Bartlett as having a revolutionary zeal:

Then the sudden break was Musica Reservata in the late 60s. They were enormous events – you could put on a medieval programme and fill the QEH¹⁸ – which you wouldn't do now...except...with minimal advertising...Michael Morrow, now dead, was the ringleader. He was not a conductor. He was a man with good ears – a concept of the sound he wanted. That's what was so good about Reservata – they broke away, a completely different style of singing, influenced if anything by the Balkans...some musicology behind it and a lot of intuition and guts, and the desire to do something revolutionary and have a complete break. In the vocal side [i.e. style of singing] – this didn't carry on at all.

The feeling of 'us' versus 'them' was probably heightened, as Hogwood recalls, both by the generally non-hierarchical nature of early music performance at the time, and the sense that those involved were part of a very small group of like-minded individuals:

The first 10 years or so worked fairly communistic and fairly egalitarian...no one took any extra money for anything. There was no particular hierarchy...there wasn't really a pecking order or preferred players – because there weren't enough players to go around.

However, we can begin to trace something of a development from this *inter*-competition that existed (i.e. with professional classical musicians), as success led to some degree of *intra*-

¹⁷ Musica Reservata was a group of performers focusing on medieval and renaissance music. The well-known composer Michael Nyman describes Morrow as the "founder and guiding light behind Musica Reservata, the most vital, energetic and enlightened early music group ever, shamelessly ignored" (http://www.chesternovello.com/default.aspx?TabId=2432&State_2907=2&workId_2907=11453).

¹⁸ The Queen Elizabeth Hall, the second biggest concert hall at London's South Bank.

competition (between early music groups themselves). Trevor Pinnock is revealing about this aspect of ‘internal’ competition:

I wouldn’t allow Simon Standage¹⁹ to lead for me and for John Eliot [Gardiner]...I forced that he had to choose one or the other. So that was – now looking back, I’m surprised, it shows how strongly I felt about the survival of this English Concert. There I was thrown in to sort of big business stuff...and I remember having a very complicated day with meetings with Simon Standage and then inviting John Eliot to dinner, and then we were going to meet both Simon Standage and another player...and heavy duty stuff...I got what I wanted out of it...I hope he got what he wanted.

What is reinforced by this analysis is that just as *products* undergo qualification (involving singularisation by the producers and attachment/detachment on behalf of the consumer/buyer), so *labour power* also undergoes qualification, and re-qualification. In the case of the early music labour market, this involved the singularisation of early music performers both in respect of the pre-existing classical music mainstream, and subsequently in respect of different and competing early music ensembles and orchestras. As we see above in the case of Simon Standage, there is a level of detachment and attachment that takes place between those that employed early music performers and the performers themselves. I discuss how this process emerged in more detail in the following chapter.

8.5 Concluding remarks

In the course of this chapter I have advanced my analytical account of the UK early music labour market’s emergence to focus primarily on the key phase of social interaction. At issue here has been the explanation of why and how individuals acted in certain ways. The analysis focused on the processes of opportunity identification and re-qualification, in

¹⁹ Simon Standage is well known as a violinist specialising in 17th - and 18th-century music.

particular. When taken together with the findings of Chapter 7, we can now point to a further ensemble of causal configurations that help us to explain the phenomenon of labour market emergence. These are presented in Figure 8.2.

It is in the complex interaction of these causal influences, under conditions of market competition (i.e. between classical music and early music performance) that we can now begin to discuss the elaboration of the early music labour market. The next chapter provides a more detailed analysis of this elaboration, based on the retrodution of two deep level causal mechanisms – the morphogenetic tendency towards transformation and the morphostatic tendency towards standardisation.

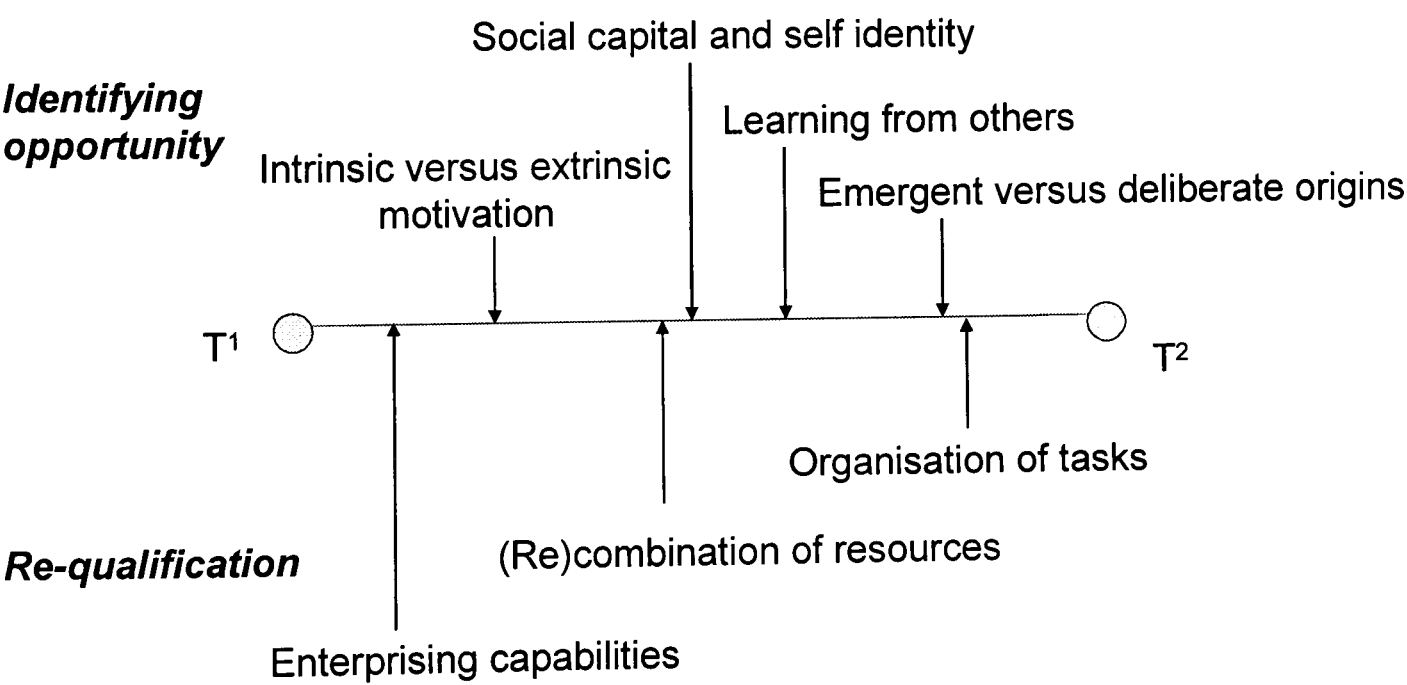


Figure 8.2: *Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (2)*

N.B. This figure does *NOT* intend to convey the temporal order of these mechanisms between T¹ and T².

Chapter 9

Analytical account of early music labour market emergence (3):

Elaboration

9.0 Introduction

The analytical account of the UK early music labour market has now reached the third and final phase of the morphogenetic/static cycle, in which I explain the labour market's emergence in terms *both* of structural elaboration (morphogenesis) and structural reproduction (morphostasis). Underpinning this account is the realist commitment to the stratified nature of reality. In Chapter 3, I introduced a stratified conception of reality in which there are three domains – the domain of the empirical, actual and real. Experiences and events, which reside in the empirical and actual domains, can be explained in terms of mechanisms which reside in the real domain. The first section of this chapter comprises an account of the events and experiences which make up the early music labour market in the domain of the actual and empirical (focusing on the processes of hiring, training, rewarding and promoting). Drawing on a mixture of survey and interview data, I consider how the emergent labour market enables and constrains the exchange of early music performer labour power. This analysis represents, in effect, what the emergent labour market actually *is*.¹ I then discuss in more detail the underlying 'deep' level morphogenetic and morphostatic tendencies, which under conditions of competition, play a central causal role as generative mechanisms in the emergence of the labour market.

¹ The labour market, it will be recalled, has been conceptualised as comprising the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome.

9.1 The emergent early music labour market

The account presented here illustrates a range of emergent features of the market and, as such, is not rooted to one specified point in time (though it takes a notional starting point of the early 1970s). In first providing some basic context concerning those individuals undertaking early music performance in the UK, I draw on the survey data collected for this research. It is important to emphasise that the descriptive statistics presented are not being interpreted as constituting event regularities. Following Lawson (1997), they can be understood in terms of demi-regularities, which indicate limited, partial and unstable event patterns, from which the realist method seeks to reveal causal mechanisms.

To the extent that the family environment is a major factor in giving children and young adults a ‘way in’ to early music performance, I have studied the occupational status of both parents of performers. The majority of early music performers are born into families where one or both parents undertake managerial or professional occupations (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Main occupational status of parents

Occupation^a	Mother %	Father %
Managerial and professional	47.1	78.1
Administrative and skilled	11.0	14.0
Other occupations	2.9	5.0
Housewife	30.4	-
No response	8.6	2.9

Base: all respondents (n=480)

a = categories re-code listed occupations according to the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (ONS, 2000)

This profile is even more marked for professional early music performers, with 60% having managerial or professional mothers and 82% managerial or professional fathers. Such findings are consistent with mainstream sociological thinking on the importance of ‘life chances’.² Reflecting more widely on diversity within early music performance, we can note that there appears to be a more or less equal distribution of male and female performers (49.7% compared with 50.3% surveyed). The proportion of men to women involved in professional performance is slightly lower still (47% compared to 53% female).

There can be no denying that early music performance has remained an almost exclusively white and middle-class activity. Fewer than 10 of the 480 respondents were of an ethnic minority background. Despite ‘cultural diversity’ representing a cornerstone of UK cultural policy (see ACE, 2003) and the ever-greater numbers of British-born ethnic minorities ‘breaking out’ of their traditional employment opportunities, it seems unlikely that this proportion will change significantly over the years to come.

The findings of the survey do indicate some general shifts in the profile of early music performers, however, since the movement began back in the early 1970s. Table 9.2 highlights some of the key trends that have emerged.

² It was noted earlier, for example, that Bourdieu (2002) describes early music (e.g. Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier*) as representative of the highest level of ‘legitimate taste’, being “appreciated by those fractions of the dominant class that are richest in educational capital” (p.16).

Table 9.2: *Summary early music performer profile by age of respondent*

Early music profile % per cent	Age of respondent		
Characteristics of respondent	Under 40	Between 40-60	Over 60
Professional*	81.6	46.0	10.1
Studied early music (f/t)	59.8	19.0	5.7
Not studied early music	12.6	34.3	47.5
Been paid for early music performance	93.1	76.0	35.5
Studied at music college	74.7	35.1	14.2
Intended to have career in classical music	60.9	34.7	11.3
Intended to have career in early music	27.6	11.6	2.8
Hold regular position with early music ensemble	56.3	36.4	4.3
Undertake paid work on or with modern instruments	73.6	42.6	11.3
Male	37.9	50.4	55.3
Play a medieval or renaissance instrument	11.5	16.5	22.7
Play a stringed instrument	29.9	17.4	9.2
No. of respondents (n)	87	242	141

Base: (n=470) * Professional status is self-reported by respondents

Though some care must be taken in interpreting this empirical data too prescriptively, it provides some persuasive evidence suggesting an apparent ‘professionalisation’ (and ‘institutionalisation’) of early music performance over time. This is linked to greater options to specialise in music performance in general, both in terms of cultural acceptance of music performance as a career option, and in relation to the many opportunities that exist for specialised study at music colleges.

The data also suggests there has been an increasing polarisation between the professional baroque or classical performer and the amateur or semi-professional medieval or renaissance specialist. We can see this by noting the marked decline in the proportion of performers playing a medieval or renaissance instrument by age of respondent, and the marked increase in the proportion of professionals. We might suggest that the distinctiveness of medieval and renaissance music (often played on completely different instruments to those used for later repertoire, and sounding quite different to modern ears to more familiar baroque and classical music) played a key role in the emergent qualification of the 'early music' good. In this respect, however, it is somewhat ironic to observe that as the early music good has become more stabilised, so it appears also to have moved away from its roots in medieval and renaissance music.

By way of putting some conceptual boundary around the labour market, it is important to note that the numbers involved in professional early music performance (and therefore the labour market) are small, when compared with classical music performance in general. Early music performance is, of course, a specialist niche market. Colin Kitching, of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (OAE) hazards a guess about the total number of players involved:³

I used to think that OAE had a pool of about 100 players – people who had a reasonable chance of playing with them. That indicates to me that the overall pool in London or England must be incredibly small – well under 1000 – I mean *well* under 1000.

The Early Music Register 2003 listed nearly 3,000 individuals and ensembles actively involved in this field. This compared to 100 or so in the year it was begun (1971). Making

³ It was noted in Chapter 4 that there were 1,595 Members of NEMA (though this included amateurs – who represented 44% of the survey).

an estimate of the commercial value of the market has similarly proved very difficult. Neither the managers of early music groups interviewed, a number of record producers, the General Secretary of the Musicians' Union, nor the British Phonographic Industry's (BPI) chief statistician were prepared to venture an opinion. The chart-topping record sales of early music performances, particularly in the late 1970s and early 1980s, must speak for themselves. Richard Wood, of The Early Music Shop, however, was prepared to comment upon the early music instrument retail market:

I can only guess...eh...what you never know is how much the unregistered companies...there are probably 300-400 makers. It must be something like £20-30 million. All I'm doing is taking our own turnover and projecting it across.

This exploration of the early music labour market now continues by considering its enabling and constraining influence on each of the main labour market processes (hiring, training, promoting and rewarding) in turn.

9.1.i Hiring

How did the emergent early music labour market enable and/or constrain the process of hiring early music performers? We can see something of the enabling *and* constraining effects of the socially embedded and emergent nature of the labour market in Colin Kitching's observations about fixing orchestras:

It was one of those...it was not a very systematic business, I have to say. Particularly in terms of conductors – they're great in saying that they don't like people, but they are not very good in actually building a really hands-on...you know, so many of these orchestras have arisen by...I'm sure there's a word for it...a whole...mm...spread of influences that bring people together...some of which I've mentioned before. It doesn't always mean that you end up with the perfectly chosen group...but it's probably one that works best in its own organic way – in terms of its mix of social

and professional. But I often think to do the job really rigorously...like John Eliot Gardiner founded the Lyon Opera Orchestra – he started it from scratch and just auditioned everybody. My groups were never done like that...and you could say that it was a mistake...because you can get yourself into difficulties with maybe someone who doesn't work out so well as a player who, nevertheless, is very socially integrated in the group – and what do you do then?

So, this process was enabling in the sense of working in its own “organic” way, but constraining in the sense of leading to “difficulties” concerning those that don't work out.

This is taken up further by Catherine Mackintosh:

It's a very difficult business, this...deciding who should be in an orchestra...'cos, even if you meet up with marvellous new players...for everyone that comes in someone has to go out.

Under these circumstances, the role of the fixer and/or the founder-director in hiring the 'right' people for the job (involving attachment and detachment) becomes paramount. This role was circumscribed by a number of issues, as Christopher Hogwood explains:

...the money wasn't very big – Decca kept it small, it was under constraint – so it was not a question of choosing from a big heap – it was just getting out your shortlist and phoning.

For Marion Friend, former fixer for The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, fixing was something of a “farce”. This stemmed from the particular rotating 'principal' system they operated at the OAE (i.e. with more than one principal or head of orchestral section). Marion noted how each of the principals of the orchestra had their own personalities and views concerning who should play in the orchestra. She recalled the general manager of the orchestra “bawling her out” for fixing the wrong players, because no one had told her who the preferred players were – dependent on which principal was in place for any particular concert.

The particular need for fixers to be well connected⁴ and, indeed, to collaborate closely with colleagues working with other early music orchestras and ensembles, is highlighted by Heather Jarman:

HJ: We would collaborate...and say ‘help I’m short of an oboe’...we were never fiercely competitive. We would always help each other out.

NW: To that extent there was a strong feeling of belonging to an early music sector?

HJ: Yes...

Unlike in established classical music orchestras, where it is the norm, the early music groups did not hire early music performers through auditions. Heather Jarman explains:

HJ: We never ran auditions before, but I remember that we were often scraping the bottom of the barrel before...to get players...there just wasn’t the pool of players. We ran an anti-clash diary and we would share players, because we knew that if one of them was working the others couldn’t do it.

NW: And when did this stop becoming necessary?

HJ: I was still doing it when I left in 83 – it might have been until some time in the 90s.

This is an important insight concerning the collaborative nature of the emergent labour market. It was a necessary feature of the market to enable early music groups to hire the performers they needed (from a very small pool of players), at least for the first ten years of professional period instrument orchestras’ existence. The increasing stabilisation of early music performance brought with it a level of standardisation, so that holding auditions, for example, has become commonplace (as in the wider classical music sector). However, as we will discuss further in the next section, the opportunities to train as an early music performer

⁴ We can relate this to Towse’s (1995) emphasis on the industry ‘grapevine’ reducing information costs.

increased and so too did the competition for jobs. For young players seeking to break in to the market, the best route appeared to be through joining orchestras for tours. Christopher Hogwood observes:

Any group that tours a lot has room for younger people. Any group that stops touring – can use its oldest players.

The implication here is that early music performers valued the time they could spend on other activities, perhaps including teaching or performing chamber music repertoire with smaller groups of performers. An interesting insight on this comes out of discussion of the possible setting up of the BBC early music or period instrument orchestra. Chris Sayers recalls:

There's one interesting development I missed out on as a technician – but Tony Burton was involved with this – in the 70s there was serious talk about the BBC setting up a period orchestra. I know that Tony tried to get this to happen – and there was support from BBC – we would have been like WDR [West Deutsche Rundfunk], but it didn't happen.

Caroline Brown suggests why this was the case:

CB: I think the general view was we didn't want to be held back.

NW: Why would it have held them back?

CB: Because it would have been a routine job – and they didn't want anything routine. We were lucky – we were free to go where we wanted – being held down to one place we found rather boring, at the time. But in actual fact, I think it would have been a jolly good idea now – in retrospect.

Christopher Hogwood backs up this view:

...they didn't want to have to commit themselves for so many weeks...they wanted to do a week's recording with the Academy, and then go home to their families or their teaching or their string quartet...and even the leaders, the Simon Standages, wanted to have other things on their list...nobody wanted to be in the pay of an institution.

What is interesting about this quote is that, as we have seen, one of the very reasons that performers set up The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment was because they felt some loss of independence in working for the likes of Hogwood, Pinnock and other mainstream early music orchestras. For many individual performers, it would appear that avoiding ‘routine’ has remained important. David Pickard (formerly manager of OAE) sheds further light on this aspect of early music performance:

I do think that the sort of person who is reckless enough to try and make a career with period instruments is the sort of person with an enquiring mind, not a person who has become a musician so as to get a nice salaried stable job in a symphony orchestra. A lot of them play contemporary music, for instance.

Whilst commenting on this particular need for artistic autonomy, we can also note how it had practical implications for hiring performers. Colin Kitching explains:

CK: ...above all, they [early music orchestras] booked further ahead [than modern classical music orchestras].

NW: Why did they book further ahead?

CK: They always have...I think it was historically in order to get the players you wanted. Somehow the...whether the dates were firmed up – we’ll never know, but on the whole they used to clinch the dates in time to do that.

As a final point, before looking at training in more detail, it is important to highlight the potentially important foot in the door that those teaching early music performance could provide their students. Catherine Mackintosh, one of the most respected early music performance teachers in the field, observes:

Certainly, I used to manage to get my students work...in the early days. I would think until probably the early 90s. But the last ten years I would say they sink or swim on their own merits.

Here again we might draw attention to the emergent nature of the labour market where more formal, institutionalised practices become the norm.

9.1.ii Training

Probably the most rigorous training of early music performance took place in the concert halls and recording studios. ‘On the job’ training was essential for helping the players to become accustomed to their original instruments. As Trevor Pinnock recalls, despite trying to make as much room for rehearsing as possible, there never seemed to be enough:

...although we tried to do lots of rehearsal my impression is that when we did go on the platform we weren’t necessarily well enough prepared, I don’t think...in those days...especially because in those days the instruments seemed so enormously difficult...people weren’t at ease with them...whereas now the young players...they are just instruments...tools of the trade...there’s no mystery attached to it.

As far as training in early music performance at music colleges and university, we can draw on this research’s survey data once again to provide a general background. Several key points emerge. Half of all respondents (51%) had attended university. This rises to two thirds of all professional early music performers (66%), and three quarters of those individuals who classified themselves as ‘semi-professionals’. Not surprisingly, perhaps, most studied music while at university (49% of those who studied).

Classical music training at a music college appears to have been an important enabling route to a career in early music. Three quarters of professionals (72%) studied performance at a music college. Overall, the highest proportion of early music performers surveyed studied at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London (n=41). However, less than half

(45%) of the professional early music performers studied early music on a full-time course in the UK.

While a higher proportion of professionals than semi-professionals or amateurs studied early music full-time, when it comes to part-time study of early music in the UK, this finding is reversed (see Table 9.3). There is little difference between professionals and non-professionals in terms of their take up of private early music instruction in the UK. Notwithstanding the importance of training in the specialist field of early music performance, it is interesting to note that one in five professionals (21%) have never studied early music per se.

Table 9.3: *Early music study by professional status*

Professional status	Part-time study received	Private tuition received
Professional	12.2	31.6
Semi-professional & amateur	28.3	29.4

Base: n=196 professionals and 297 semi-professionals and amateurs

Although, as we have seen, the evidence suggests that both the opportunity for and the take-up of specialist training in early music performance in the UK increased significantly during the 1970s and into the 80s, John Bickley believed that the music colleges had still not done enough to support new generations of players:

I think our gut reaction is that conservatoires have only been playing lip service, when you analyse it. They have appointed quite glitzy people to their staff, but they are hardly ever around. Although there are very committed people on the faculties that are responsible for the staff, it is still not generally taken seriously inside, as a specialist skill that certain artists can develop.

For Catherine Mackintosh, formerly on the staff of the early music department at the Royal College of Music, there have been more positive signs of genuine interest in early music performance:

CM: Laurence Cummings [Director of the early music department] does wonderful work at the Academy...he's got a very very good course there – because the Academy director is disposed towards it.

NW: Am I right that everyone has to do baroque instruments as a second study?

CM: At the Academy – no, I don't think so. It is the case at the Royal Scottish Academy, I think...when I was teaching there. That was a good scheme actually (in their second year). There are quite a lot of players now in the profession who have come from that stable.

We can begin to put forward an overview of the emergence of training provision for early music performance. In the early days of the early music 'revival', teaching in the Colleges was generally not encouraged. As the movement stabilised and became more successful (artistically and commercially), "the teaching in the Colleges seemed to kick in...and we had a completely new influx of player in the mid 90s who were totally inexperienced", as Caroline Brown recalls. At the height of its success, however, the early music performers who were able to teach were "so busy performing" that they were unable to commit the time. Unfortunately, as the interest from younger players to perform early music grew, "the whole market was flooded with period instrument recordings" and the decline in music sales worldwide impacted upon early music, its performance and training. One might then accuse the music colleges of doing too little, too late. But, according to Andrew Pinnock this would be missing the point:

Educational establishments, traditionally damned for failing to teach early music, actually provided the environment in which people with the nous to do it could teach themselves. An awful lot of stuff...what actually happened doesn't look like it should have done.

There is clearly the kernel of a very important, albeit paradoxical finding, here, which relates to what was discussed in Chapter 7. This concerns the extent to which the success of the early music movement can, in part at least, be attributed to the music colleges and what they *didn't* provide. By not institutionalising the process of creative discovery (in terms of 'new' approaches to early music performance), performers had to do this for themselves. Nevertheless, they *were* able to do this in the space that music colleges and universities afforded. One might speculate, therefore, as to the impact that later institutionalisation (resulting from an underlying tendency towards standardisation) of specialist early music performance practice might have had on its creative course.

9.1.iii Promoting

In line with observations concerning the classical music performer labour market, it would seem that opportunities for progression and promotion within the early music performer labour market are slim. Catherine Mackintosh elaborates:

CM: The sad thing is...it is sad...there is no increment as you get more experienced. If you are sitting in the rank and file of AAM aged 53 you're getting the same as someone straight out of College.

NW: That doesn't seem right does it?

CM: No. But that is the case...and always has been the case. That's the life you choose as a freelance player. I don't know...symphony orchestras probably have some different system with pensions.

Caroline Brown is equally sanguine on this 'problem':

I think that is a huge problem within our sector. You finally work your way up your section...then I don't know what you do. You leave...you go and play chamber music...you go and play with someone else. It's not like other distinguished professions – if you're a lawyer you get the benefit

of training half way up. You're sent off to train further. I think it's been a huge problem. We just haven't had a structure.

One might be tempted to disagree to some extent at least given the particular role played by the principals in choosing which performers play in their section. Most of the early music orchestras were predisposed towards some kind of hierarchical structure, even if they professed otherwise. In the particular case of the OAE, for example, this appears to contradict the fundamentally democratic nature of the organisation. Felix Warnock recalls:

Well, we created what seemed to be the best democratic structure that we could...I suppose there were probably about one hundred [players] then...that was both a deliberate decision based on how we saw our situation, and also had seeds of problems later on...because we had created an excessively democratic structure...if everybody...all these 100 people had an equal say about what would happen next...then the management problem of how to deal with that was practically insolvable...So in that sense, democratic orchestras are problematic!

Annette Isserlis outlines how this democratic structure was not something which was lastingly reflected in players' fees:

When we first started [at OAE] we were all on the same rate...everybody was getting the same, and I thought it was really nice...of course, that didn't last. For Glyndebourne the fee structure is such that principals get a lot more than sub-principals...and so on...and this is the case for recordings too.

We might suggest here that such a change reflected the normative practices carried out in the wider classical music field. Once again, we can associate this 'change' with what I contend is the labour market's underlying tendency towards standardisation. It is to be stressed that what I term the 'tendency towards standardisation' is itself a dynamic tendential force. Thus, where the context involves a relatively high degree of flux (such as in respect of early music performance in the early 1970s), this morphostatic tendency might give rise to significant change (as opposed to stasis). Discerning the difference, therefore, between

opposing morphogenetic and morphostatic tendencies (i.e. towards transformation and standardisation) is not a straightforward task. I return to this task in the final section of this chapter.

For Trevor Pinnock, the hierarchical structure of The English Concert had its clear benefits (and problems):

TP: We have a quite hierarchical system in The English Concert which again has advantages and disadvantages. But then someone would be given a fixed position. Whatever the disadvantages, at least people knew within the orchestra that this is where they normally sit and they actually do have a job, and they are part of an entity.

NW: And that hierarchy is based on your perception of their talent?

TP: It's largely based on...I would say that this is the unhealthy bit of it...which happens in a lot of orchestras...it is largely based on the number of years in the group.

This admission indicates a kind of progression, even though it is based on longevity rather than meritocracy. A different kind of progression altogether was taken by the erstwhile early music bassoonist, Felix Warnock, who moved in to the management of the orchestra (The English Concert, and later, The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment):

I had been aware for some time that playing the bassoon in orchestras was probably not going to be something that would be completely fulfilling for ever. It's one of the curious things about the orchestral profession that there is really no structure in it at all, and if you are quite good at it, quite young, you get thrust into quite prominent positions quite early, and then there isn't very much anywhere to go after that, except to survive...and looking around orchestras I'd always wondered what happened to orchestral players in their 50s, 'cos they were mostly not playing in orchestras. So, at that time, in my own life, I was looking to do something else.

This is not just significant for individuals, like Warnock, who took this path, but because it once again highlights the need for careful reading of supply-side and demand-side influences.

9.1.iv Rewarding

Artists' markets in general have been described as 'winner takes all' markets (see Abbing, 2002). In other words, large amounts of money are earned by only a very small minority of individuals. The early music movement over the last 30 years has unquestionably made a few individuals very rich⁵ and given a nucleus of professional performers a comfortable living.⁶ As the former early music advisor to the Arts Council of Great Britain notes:

Everybody could make – did make for a surprisingly long time – lots of money out of early music. Companies, artists, it was a commercially very successful movement – and artistically astonishingly successful, some of it.

This view is endorsed by the music publisher, Clifford Bartlett:

NW: Where did the money go?

CB: Mostly paying players. There was a period when players were probably doing better than conventional orchestral players – they were all counting as soloists. Europe wanted them thanks to the records...that decayed a bit because now Europe is producing similar players, but...there was a period when Britain was ahead.

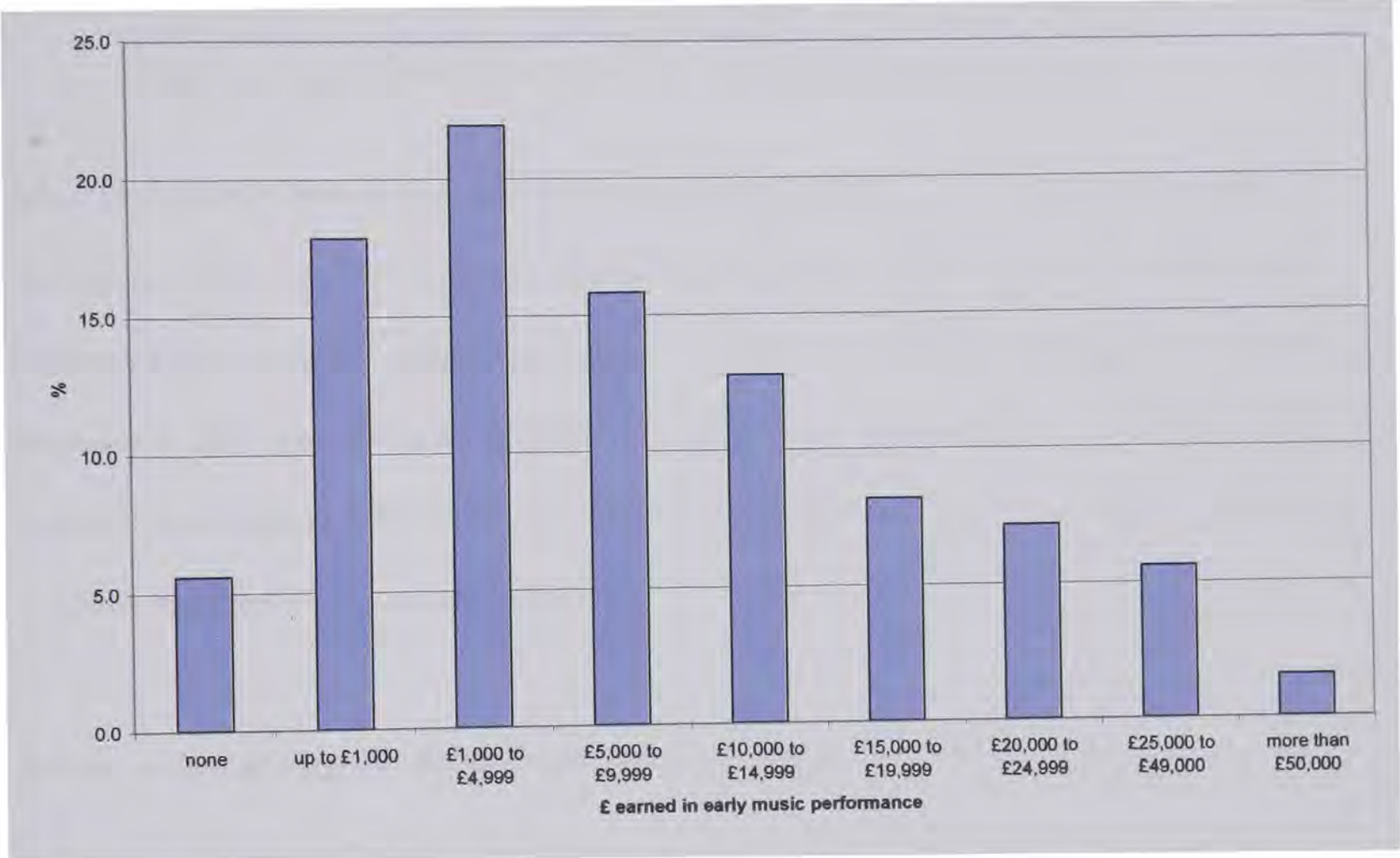
John Bickley agrees:

The other thing that we benefited from was that countries like Spain and France – the fees that one could get were astronomic compared to what you could get in this country.

⁵ The 'robber barons' – as Norrington refers to them – meaning the founder-directors of period instrument orchestras set up in the early 1970s particularly.

⁶ Though as Catherine Mackintosh remarks "when you get kids and a mortgage to pay...we're still paid a pittance really".

For most of the early music performers surveyed for this research, however, it would be impossible to sustain even a modest living on the earnings from early music performance alone. From the analysis of professional early music performers only, the average annual earnings between September 2002 and 2003 were circa £9,500. However, the distribution of actual earnings suggests that most individuals earned less than this (see Figure 9.1). There is certainly a skewed distribution of earnings for early music performers, which is very much in line with other research on artistic labour markets (e.g. Towse, 1995).



Base: all respondents (n=480)

Figure 9.1: *Annual earnings from early music performance (2002-2003)*

Nevertheless, for professional players in the early music orchestras and ensembles discussed in this analytical account, the fees paid were higher than for comparable classical music professionals, on account of their ‘specialism’, as Annette Isserlis notes:

I think, you see...because of the nature of what we do, players had to have a different instrument if they were going to be truly 'authentic' for everything they did, and it was an incredible outlay – not only in expenditure, you had to put in the skill and research to make it work.

Christopher Hogwood explained how this operated across the sector:

There's a MU [Musicians' Union] minimum...we always pitched it a little above the minimum...and as far as we could, at more or less the top. They all speak to each other...there is a range – a Gubbay⁷ concert at the lower end, ...Jiggy [John Eliot Gardiner], Trevor [Pinnock] and myself – I think nobody in the early music world sees much to be gained by changing allegiance from one orchestra to another in terms of economic payment.

Most professional early music orchestras are now considered by the MU as 'Category 1' orchestras, which puts their freelance concert rates (i.e. fees) in line with the earnings of both leading chamber and symphony orchestras in the UK.⁸ Generally speaking, early music performers have not received royalties for either live performance or recording work undertaken (though founder-directors – who were seen to be synonymous with the orchestra – receive royalties and/or management fees).

9.1.v Comparing the classical music and early music labour markets

The historical account of early music labour market emergence that has been presented indicates some important changes to the conditions and practices associated with early music performance over the course of the study (a period of 30 years or so). These changes, I suggest, are representative of the dynamic nature of the labour market, best understood as emergent over relatively longer periods of time, rather than 'overnight' temporal emergence.

⁷ Raymond Gubbay is known for presenting 'popular' classical music events, often to very large audiences.

⁸ Based on the Association of British Orchestras/Musicians' Union Casual concert/Freelance orchestral agreement – April 2002.

In Table 9.4 I summarise early music labour market conditions in the 1970s and 1990s respectively, comparing these with the pre-existing classical music labour market. What will be readily apparent is that the early music labour market has undergone a process of change, whereby it is now structured in a very similar way to the pre-existing classical music labour market. The final part of this chapter is now devoted to explaining this process (and associated implications) in terms of ‘deep’ level underlying causal mechanisms within a context of market competition.

9.2 Underlying causal mechanisms explaining labour market emergence

The conceptual model that frames this account of labour market emergence (re-presented in Figure 9.2) has been built on our understanding of entrepreneurship (i.e. involving opportunity identification, resource recombination and the organisation of tasks), the process of qualification (i.e. involving stabilisation and attachment/detachment), and the context of competition which characterises market activity. As the account has been presented I have drawn attention to what I take to be two opposing causal tendencies which are deep level mechanisms for market emergence. These are the morphogenetic tendency towards transformation, on the one hand, and the morphostatic tendency towards standardisation, on the other.

Table 9.4: *Comparison of early music and classical music labour markets*

Characteristic	Early music performance (1970s)	Classical music performance (1970s and later)	Early music performance (1990s)
Supply-side features	<i>Under-supply</i> of performers	<i>Over-supply</i> of performers	<i>Over-supply</i> of performers
Social embeddedness	Very high (characteristic of amateur music-making)	Higher than average	Higher than average
Hiring of performers	Ad hoc and informal	Auditions/trials the norm	Auditions now the norm
Received Oxbridge training	Very high proportion	Higher than average proportion	Higher than average proportion
Role of teachers in hiring	Very influential	Less influential overall	Less influential overall
Nature of work	Highly flexible (includes teaching and chamber music)	Relatively flexible (greater emphasis on salaried positions)	Relatively flexible (though not salaried positions in the main)
Securing engagements	Book performers well in advance	Book performers less far in advance	Book performers less far in advance
Attitude of music college	Not supportive for a decade or so	Supportive – premium funding depends upon careers in music performance	Supportive – specialist courses offered in all music colleges
Promotion	Limited opportunities	Limited opportunities	Limited opportunities
Paying	‘Specialist’ fee for performers (non-hierarchical)	Standard fee setting in line with MU (hierarchical)	Fees agreed according to MU Category 1 rates (hierarchical)
Public subsidy	Very little or no subsidy received	Substantial (but declining) subsidy for Arts Council ‘clients’	Limited subsidy now offered to a small number of ensembles

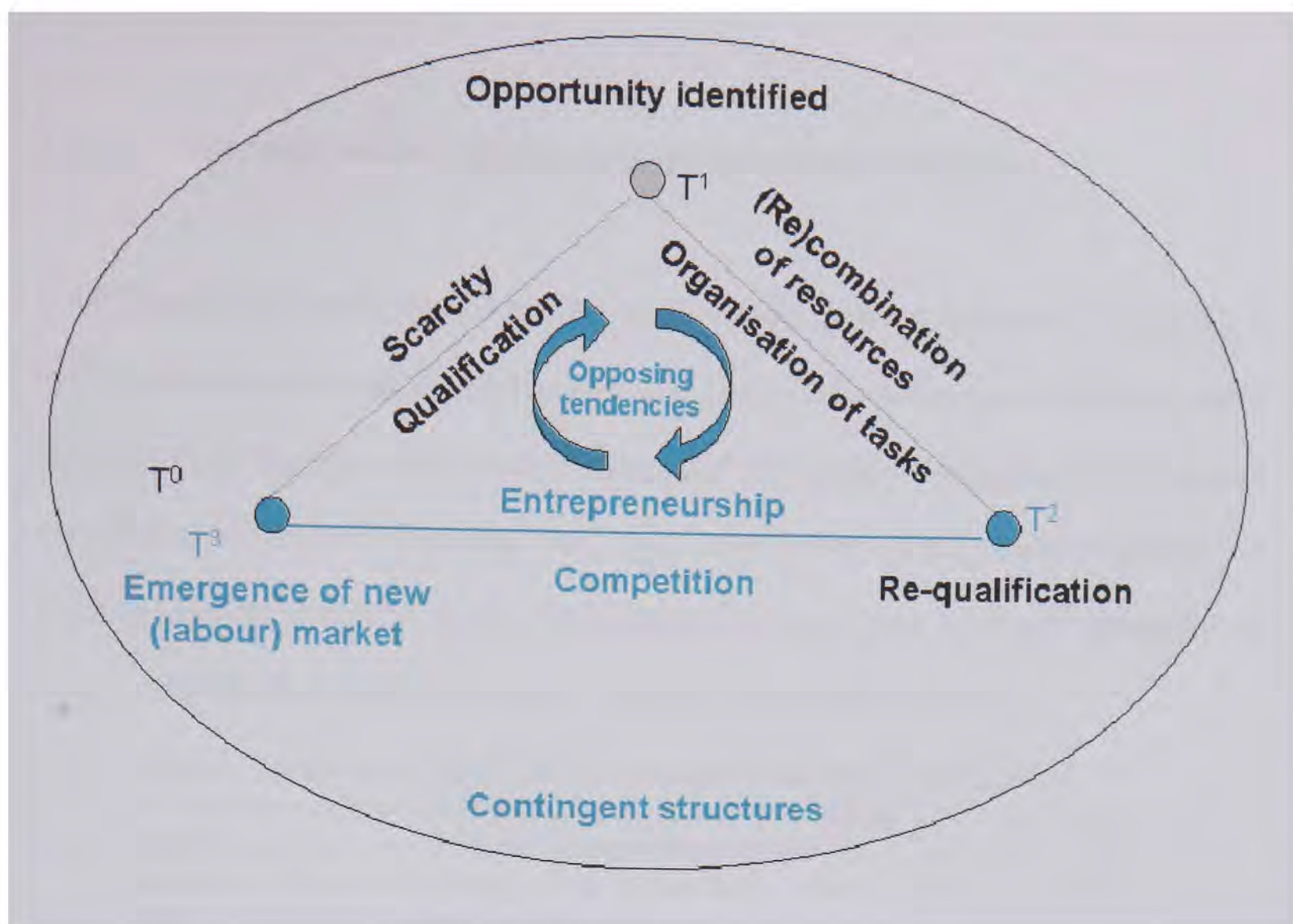


Figure 9.2: Conceptualising labour market emergence (3) – Elaboration

In this final section of the analytical account I explore the impact of these two mechanisms in more detail. This involves tracing the historical trajectory of the early music movement (impacting both markets for goods and labour power) and its competitive relationship with the pre-existing classical music field, during the period 1970 through to the late 1990s. Attention is cast on the emergent causal properties of this competitive relationship – for it is the interplay of the market tendencies towards transformation and standardisation (which I take to exist in all markets), under competitive conditions (such as those existing between classical music and early music performers and organisations), that gives rise to the emergence of a ‘new’ labour market.

9.2.i **The goods market and the tendency towards transformation**

If we consider the pre-existing market for classical music performance first, we can bring to attention the way in which the gradual rise of early music performance, as discussed earlier in this analysis, brought with it a need to respond to the increased competition it represented. Certainly in the early 1970s, early music was not regarded by the musical establishment (with the notable exception of the BBC perhaps) as in any way a serious ‘alternative’ to mainstream classical music performance. As Roger Norrington observes:

Normally speaking – I don’t think ...most of them didn’t really notice. If you were running the LSO [London Symphony Orchestra] you didn’t know what was going on down in the gutter with early music...but the BBC were interested. They used to take a lot of our stuff. The establishment didn’t notice...we weren’t a threat at that point.

However, this was to change. Chris Sayers outlines the feeling of ‘threat’ that was experienced by classical musicians:

I can understand if that caused a degree of resentment...The intolerance has nearly always come from the other side. Most of the early music practitioners I’ve worked with are very tolerant – live and let live. So maybe ‘threatened’ gets to the heart of it.

The ‘threat’ turned in to the very real experience for professional musicians of finding that their work was being taken away by period instrument orchestras and ensembles, as Caroline Brown explains:

A great jealousy was felt from them [established orchestras] because we were suddenly picking up all the recording contracts and taking the work...and taking the work from them. And, so, there was a tremendous rebellion.

As Felix Warnock notes, this sense of jealousy would have been compounded by the feeling that the standard of playing was also lower than theirs:

...you know, the first time anyone played a Mozart symphony on old instruments, it probably sounded terrible.

Looking back, one might suggest that the established market for classical music was slow to respond (by way of adopting many of the stylistic aspects of historical performance which it now has more readily embraced (see, for example, Norrington, 2004: 5)). I consider the underlying reasons for this slowness to re-qualify its offerings in terms of baroque and classical period repertoire in my discussion of the tendency towards standardisation, below (see 9.2.iii).

Turning to the nascent early music goods market, which was only emerging in the early 1970s, we can highlight the sense in which it remained in a ‘pre-qualified’ state for some time. The early music ‘good’ had not yet been fully stabilised. As we have discussed, it was generally received as something on the fringes of mainstream classical music performance, and indeed as rather ‘amateurish’. I have pointed to the date of 1973, when several of the leading UK early music orchestras were established, and *Early Music* magazine (published by Oxford University Press) was launched, as being a significant milestone. However, even as late as 1976, there remained doubts about the durability of early music as a singularised product. John Bickley, for example, notes:

We were, I remember, being slightly nervous about would this continue? Should we go into more conventional things? – and we did resist that many many times.

History shows that the early music good did indeed have a sustainable future. However, it is worth highlighting here that in referring to the process of qualification, I am not suggesting that there ever was any such thing as a single homogenised early music ‘good’; rather, various distinctive modes of historically informed performance developed. The enthusiastic

amateur medievalist became somewhat marginalised by the increasingly professional baroque and classical specialists. In addition, the notion of ‘authenticity’ began to lose something of its bite, as Caroline Brown observes:

The amateur world doesn’t overlap what is happening in the professional world. In the professional world, once the record companies got in – and it was driven by that – the aggressive identifying things as ‘authentic’ which musicologists detest...there’s been a whole lot of anti early music revival in the musicology world which is mostly I would say untenable...the trouble with any argument if you push it too far, it becomes unreal.

The move towards later repertoire (i.e. first classical and then romantic) increasingly polarised the performance of ‘early music’ to some extent into the *baroque* specialists (and one might include earlier renaissance and medieval repertoire here too) and the period instrument *classical* specialists. Hogwood, for example, notes:

And then it got to a point when we started playing repertoire later than baroque (‘cos it had all started exclusively as baroque) and we started pushing a bit...and then those players who really were temperamentally inclined to baroque and earlier started to say – well, I play the baroque oboe but I don’t want to buy a new one...And so we came to the point of running two teams.

With investment from record companies, much of the classical period repertoire was lined up for the authentic treatment by early music orchestras and ensembles. As we have seen, a big shift came with the setting up of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (1986), as this propelled period instrument performance into the mainstream, with regular work at Glyndebourne and at London’s South Bank. Roger Norrington recalls:

I totally understand that they [The OAE] wanted to become...and I said in other interviews ‘This is the first grown up old instrument orchestra – because they don’t belong...it’s the end of the era of the robber barons’ I said...And I think that’s true.

I consider the implications of this development on the labour market below.

9.2.ii **The labour market and the tendency towards transformation**

Taking the pre-existing classical music labour market first, once again we can note that in the case of each of the main labour market processes (i.e. hiring, training, promoting, rewarding) there were deeply embedded ways of doing things. Despite the subsequent need for *re-qualification* (both of the classical music ‘good’ and associated labour power), arising from competition with early music, there is little evidence to suggest that the predominantly freelance and project-based nature of the labour market has changed in any significant and discernible respect. Indeed, one might suggest that the underlying tendency towards transformation (which I associate with a market response to competitive pressure) has not given rise to what might be thought of as a transformed labour market for classical musicians.

The same cannot be said for the early music labour market, however, as I have detailed in the previous sections of this analytical account. Across many aspects of labour market activity (including hiring, training and rewarding), early music performers in the 1970s and 1980s experienced considerable change. I have particularly drawn attention to the increase in labour supply, aided to some extent at least by the development of specialist training in early music performance. However, as Heather Jarman recalls, the labour market remained relatively ‘thin’ for rather longer than one might have thought:

HJ: ...there was a lot of work in that sector...almost anyone could get a job in the sector if they learnt to play the right kind of instrument.

NW: Is that true?

HJ: Yeah...there just weren’t people around. I don’t know how players finally learnt that there was this big job market...because certainly in my day they just didn’t seem aware of it. You would

have thought that between [19]73 and 83 some guys would have thought ‘mm, those guys are getting a lot of work and doing quite well’...but they didn’t.

During the 1980s, concert fee levels, already set at a ‘specialist’ premium, were systematically raised by the top professional ensembles, taking advantage of the huge increase in demand, particularly from abroad. For a period of time, early music performers were able to pick and choose what work they wanted to pursue. The possibility of a BBC early music orchestra (discussed earlier) is a case in point.

Those who set up early music orchestras in the early 1970s found that their relationship with performer colleagues was itself transformed in response to their emergent employer/employee role. As we have seen, it was partly in response to this development that performers set up The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. Hogwood recalls how this involved performers switching their allegiance with individual groups:

...for example, when Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment got the Glyndebourne contract, a lot of people who were no longer ‘studenty’ changed their allegiance from The English Concert or whatever to them.

Another feature of this development was the way in which mainstream classical music performers (such as Sir Simon Rattle) now worked alongside early music performers. Their influence in terms of how early music performers themselves were considered by the wider musical establishment, was key – as Andrew Parrott recalls:

It was only because he [Rattle] was an establishment figure that he could make that decision [i.e. to engage The OAE for Mozart operas at Glyndebourne]...it was not his thing...it was precisely because he was outside it that enabled him to make the decision and have the influence.

The nature of the labour market for early music performers was constantly changing, therefore, but in a way that increasingly shared many of its characteristics with the pre-existing classical music labour market.

9.2.iii The goods market and the tendency towards standardisation

Under conditions of flux, such as those experienced in the competitive market context of early music performance, the (morphostatic) tendency towards standardisation may represent an important causal mechanism that explains transformation of a particular kind (i.e. towards standardisation), as well as reproduction (i.e. the maintenance of an already standardised environment). Though at first sight this reference to transformation (of any kind) appears to be somewhat paradoxical, the crucial point of what is being argued here is the dynamic nature of the tendential forces at work (i.e. *towards* transformation or standardisation) mediated through human agency. The relationship between classical music and early music performance (both as economic goods and in terms of their related labour markets) serves as a good empirical context to explain further what I mean by this.

In the case of the classical music ‘good’, this had long been stabilised, such that all those involved in the early 1970s (e.g. promoters, venue owners, managers and agents, festival organisers and audience) were very familiar with the offerings available in the existing market context. We can think of this market context as having the emergent property of “necessary complementarity” (Archer, 1995), where those involved were engaged in the situational logic of protection. In other words, existing classical music organisations had a vested interest in protecting the status quo – if it was working well enough for them. This

standardising tendency, in turn, can help us to explain the mainstream's apparently slow response to the introduction of early music performance (as suggested above).

In terms of the early music 'good', however, we can note that the whole discussion of qualification (which underpins my analysis of markets and their emergence) is premised on singularisation, which itself is inherently standardising. As I have mentioned already, this standardising tendency did not give rise to a homogenous early music good as such. However, we can legitimately refer to standardisation in terms of the gradual 'mainstreaming' of early music performance, where those involved (on both supply and demand sides) knew what could be expected in terms of quality and standards, as compared with other classical music offerings. According to Felix Warnock, at least, this has brought its own set of problems:

The other thing which is different now is that the whole standard of performance has changed. There is much less possibility of experimenting with things which fail...we are judged by a different standard now – you've got to be better than it used to be...I see a problem now with how to bring on a next generation of players, because once again we have got into a situation which is rather static...nothing's changed very much in recent times.

This quote reminds us of the dualistic nature of the relationship between transformation and standardisation. Early music needed to become stabilised in order to be "judged" alongside the already qualified classical music good. However, this very process of standardisation has transformed the way in which early music performers 'experiment' to the extent that Warnock suggests further transformation is now required. I return to this theme in the final chapter.

9.2.iv **The labour market and the tendency towards standardisation**

The classical music labour market underwent little transformation over the period of study. Given the long history of classical music performance, the industry has established ‘ways of doing things’ in line with its entrenched cultural values (Harris, 1999). This, we might suggest, follows competitive strategies that endorse ‘best practice’ and institutionalised norms about the most efficient⁹ ways of employing labour power. Under competitive conditions, therefore, the labour market tends towards *both* transformation (encouraging innovative behaviours) and standardisation (maximising efficiency through ‘tried and tested’ ways of doing things). Crucially, however, I suggest that the research reported here indicates that in respect of labour markets, the tendency towards standardisation appears stronger than that towards transformation. Conversely, the tendency towards transformation appears stronger than that towards standardisation in the goods market. Of course, it must be emphasised that the focus of discussion here is on tendencies, and, therefore, I am not suggesting that these market characteristics are in anyway deterministic. Furthermore, we should also be careful to avoid any reification of social structure. It is through the actions of early music performers and pioneers (i.e. human agency) that these social structures, possessing tendential emergent properties, are mediated.

9.3 **Concluding remarks**

I have now concluded my analytical account of labour market emergence in the particular context of early music performance. This sought to put forward a non-conflationary causal

⁹ It should be stressed that I use the term ‘efficient’ in a broad sense to encompass the objectives and motivations of those involved – rather than advocating utility maximisation.

explanation. This involved re-conceptualising the labour market in terms of the dynamic and relational processes of qualification (involving singularisation and attachment/detachment) and entrepreneurship (itself re-defined in terms of market transformation). In the final phase of analysis presented in this chapter, I suggested that underlying morphogenetic and morphostatic tendencies (causal mechanisms), in the context of competitive market conditions, can help us to explain the emergence of the early music labour market (see Figure 9.3).

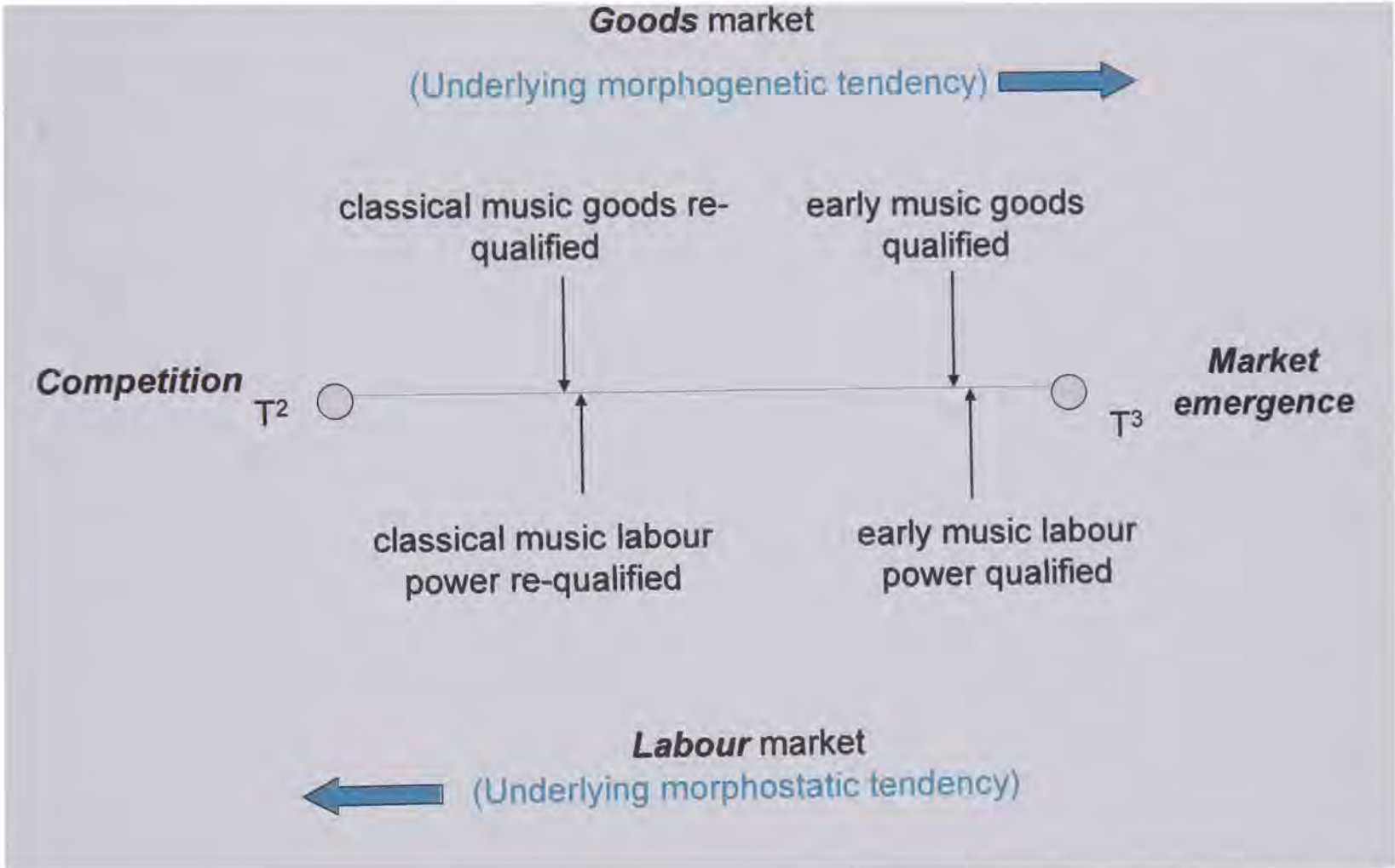


Figure 9.3: *Causal configurations for early music labour market emergence (3)*

Particular attention is drawn to the dominant underlying morphogenetic tendency which characterises the goods markets, and the dominant underlying morphostatic tendency which characterises the labour market (though noting that all markets contain *both* tendencies). Understood in the context of the competitive dynamic existing between classical music and

early music performance, these tendencies interact to give rise to the qualification of early music labour power. It is the exchange of this qualified labour power for the first time (itself dependent upon the process of entrepreneurship) that represents the temporal emergence of the early music labour market. The implications of these findings are discussed in the next chapter, followed by conclusions relating to the overall findings of the thesis.

Chapter 10

Discussion and conclusions

10.0 Introduction

The aim of this thesis has been to provide an explanation for how the UK early music labour market emerged. In problematising labour market emergence in the opening chapter, I highlighted the inadequacy of current theory to explain the particular case of early music performance. In particular, I suggested that this inadequacy reflected a problem with economic theorising known as conflation. Our understanding of the labour market (and its emergence) has been subject to reductionist tendencies, where either the market is ‘downwardly reduced’ to the spontaneous individual behaviours of those involved (upwards conflation), or where actors’ actions and behaviours are ‘upwardly reduced’ to institutional pressures – such as those implicated in labour market segmentation (downwards conflation). Furthermore, our understanding of entrepreneurship has been subject to an overly agential and voluntaristic approach, where the constraining and enabling powers of structures, including those partly constituting the market have been ‘downwardly reduced’ to the actions of individuals we call entrepreneurs (upwards conflation). My aim in this thesis, therefore, has been to provide a non-conflationary causal explanation of labour market emergence, which could provide answers to the following four questions:

- i) *when* did the early music labour market appear for the first time (i.e. its temporal emergence)?

- ii) *how* did the early music labour market with its particular emergent properties appear for the first time, and subsequently change over time (i.e. its relational emergence)?
- iii) *how* are the emergence of the early music *labour* market and early music *goods* market related?
- iv) *what* is the relevance of entrepreneurship theory to our understanding of labour market emergence in this context?

Through answering these four questions I have sought to make a contribution to knowledge in four related areas (as outlined in Table 1.1). For the benefit of the reader, I repeat this table here (Table 10.1), since this now forms the basis of my discussion in this concluding chapter.

Table 10.1: *Potential contributions to knowledge about labour market emergence*

Problems with existing labour market theory		Potential contribution to knowledge
1.	i) Assumes that labour markets exist ii) Does not adequately account for reproduction and transformation of relevant social structures	Explaining the <i>temporal emergence</i> of a labour market
2.	Does not adequately account for the relation between the <i>parts</i> (agency and structure) and the <i>whole</i> (labour market and its emergent properties)	Explaining the <i>relational emergence</i> of a labour market
3.	Does not adequately explain the emergent relationship between different types of market (for labour and goods)	Explaining the emergent relationship between labour and goods market
4.	Does not adequately explain the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship	Explaining the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship

10.1 Explaining the temporal emergence of a labour market

The problem of causally explaining *when* the early music labour market appeared for the first time is dependent on our ability to explain *how* this emergence took place. The approach taken in this thesis required not only a re-conceptualisation of the labour market per se (to account for the reproduction and transformation of relevant social structures), but also a conceptualisation of temporal emergence that was itself based on a realist causal account of relational emergence (i.e. explaining *how* the labour market emerged). Presentation of the answers to my first two questions in this final chapter should be seen as complementary. I preface my answers with a brief overview of the theoretical steps taken to develop my conceptual model of labour market emergence.

10.1.i Re-conceptualising the labour market

The labour market was re-conceptualised as comprising the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome. This re-conceptualisation had the benefit of re-focusing attention on “the interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own” which “results in contingent yet explicable outcomes” (Carter and New, 2004: 6). In other words, it offered a dynamic and non-conflationary account of the labour market. I have, therefore, explained the labour market in terms of participating individuals, their behaviours and practices, as well as the emergent relational structures (such as those constituting the so-called price mechanism) which condition such behaviours and practices.

10.1.ii Re-conceptualising market emergence

Having re-conceptualised the labour market in the non-conflationary terms presented above, I introduced three further theoretical bridges to help us explain its temporal and relational emergence:

- 1) Firstly, it was noted that the market is partly constituted by the tendencies towards competition and transformation. Markets are inherently competitive and transformational.
- 2) Secondly, I observed that market transformation can usefully be explained in terms of the qualification mechanism. Qualification involves comparison with other competing goods. On the supply-side, producers singularise and temporally stabilise new products allowing them to become comparable (e.g. the early music 'good' as compared with existing classical music 'goods'). On the demand-side, prospective consumers make attachment/detachment decisions between competing goods and the new good being introduced into the market. This process of qualification usually takes place over an extended period of time.
- 3) Thirdly, I provided a re-conceptualisation of entrepreneurship as the process whereby the tendency towards market transformation (involving the exchange of a newly qualified or re-qualified good) is realised. By explicitly linking entrepreneurship and market transformation in this way, attention was cast on a range of processes, mechanisms and contingent conditions (causal configurations) under which we might expect to observe the temporal emergence of a market (including opportunity identification; resource (re)combination; the organisation of tasks; and re-qualification).

10.1.iii The temporal emergence of the UK early music labour market

Following the conceptual arguments put forward in this thesis, I suggest that we can outline two alternative answers to the question of when the UK early music labour market first appeared (i.e. its temporal emergence). The first answer (which I reject on both conceptual and empirical grounds) follows directly from my re-conceptualisation of the labour market, but fails to take sufficient account of the process of relational emergence. The second answer (my preferred approach) takes into account the theoretical insights concerning qualification and entrepreneurship. Even though I reject the first answer, I present it here together with my preferred approach, since it serves to raise some key lines of argument that underpin my account.

Answer 1: If a labour market ‘comprises the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome’ then we might suggest that the early music labour market appeared at the time of the first agential projects that sought to exchange the labour power of early music performers. Accordingly, we could legitimately refer to an early music labour market at least as far back as the late 19th century, when Arnold Dolmetsch and others were performing, sometimes in a professional context. On the face of it, this is a rather unsatisfactory answer, however, for several reasons. Firstly, the implication is that a labour market could in fact ‘appear’ as soon as anyone *conceives* of the idea to involve another’s labour power in exchange activity. There is a dubious level of methodological individualism implicit in this proposition, which seems to defy the logic of referring to the labour *market* in the first place. Secondly, this interpretation of the labour market raises the question of

whether we can, in fact, refer to specific labour markets – such as that for early music (rather than a labour market per se) – with any degree of ontological gain. Given the ‘open’ nature of the social world, it could be argued that it is in the very nature of social structures and agential properties to defy the boundary conditions laid down in my re-conceptualisation of the labour market. It may be more appropriate, therefore, to refer to *the* labour market, considering its effects upon early music performance as merely one particular empirical case. This being the case, the labour market is constantly emerging, and the meaning of temporal emergence loses its validity. Thirdly, this answer has little to recommend it in terms of what it adds to our understanding of market development in the particular empirical context of early music performance. As I have highlighted throughout this thesis, the commercial activities of early music performers in the early 1970s in the UK were of a different order to that which had gone before. I explored this in some detail in the discussion of labour market processes (hiring, training, promoting and rewarding) in Chapter 9.

Answer 2: The second answer to when the UK early music labour market first appeared (my preferred choice) is also based on my conceptualisation of the labour market. However, this builds on the further theoretical insights reported, and makes the fundamental revision of focusing on when early music labour power was first exchanged as a ‘qualified good’ – which I have argued usually takes place over an extended period of time. In view of the fact that the qualification process is itself an emergent process (discussed in more detail below), we cannot be precise concerning the day, month, or even the year that this can be said to have taken place. Qualification, after all, cannot be explained fully in terms of the empirical observation of one or more particular market transactions. Nevertheless, the analytical account presented here highlights a level of stabilisation associated with the early music

good and the labour power of early music performers in the period circa 1973-76. This emergence over years is consistent with observations about the nature of market creation (see Aldrich, 1999; Schoonhoven and Romanelli, 2001) and “the time most markets take to coalesce” (Sarasvathy and Dew, 2005: 560). As I have already explained, it is on the strength of my arguments concerning the relational emergence of the labour market that this second answer is most readily defended. I now turn to a discussion of this second area where my thesis makes a contribution to knowledge.

10.2 Explaining the relational emergence of a labour market

I have argued that a labour market (the ‘whole’) is comprised of structures *and* agency (the ‘parts’). To remind the reader, we can think of relational emergence as that relationship which makes it possible for the whole to be more than the sum of its parts (Elder-Vass, 2004). Thus, when we speak of the *emergent* properties of a labour market (including the so-called wage rate mechanism), we are referring to properties that depend upon the interaction of those ‘emergent structures and agential properties which enable and constrain agential projects with the exchange of labour power as their intended outcome’, but are irreducible to these alone. The challenge undertaken in this thesis has been to reproduce the mechanisms responsible for this emergence in the particular case of early music performance in the UK. This has required the development of an analytical and historical account of labour market emergence (Chapters 7-9), where causal mechanisms and contingent structures have been highlighted. The conceptual link with entrepreneurship was vital here in terms of re-orienting the research focus towards opportunity identification, (re)combination of resources, organisation of tasks and re-qualification. It is through the

analytical account presented that I have been able to answer the question ‘*how* did the early music labour market with its particular emergent properties appear for the first time, and subsequently change over time?’

In this final chapter’s discussion I now focus on a number of the most important causal configurations (refer to Figures 7.2, 8.2 and 9.3) which help us to explain the relational emergence of the early music labour market. I suggest that the level of funding and training, together with incubation opportunities and enterprising capabilities, interact with other ‘deeper’ level mechanisms (i.e. the tendencies towards transformation and standardisation) to give rise to observable labour market outcomes. I consider each of these key causal mechanisms in turn.

10.2.i Presence/absence of subsidy

The findings of this thesis encourage a close look at what kind of institutional support enables creative activity, such as early music performance, to develop. The emergence of a successful early music goods (and labour) market, in the absence of any appreciable level of direct state funding, raises the question of whether subsidy for high culture is always necessary. It certainly can be argued that the commercial success of the early music movement defies traditional thinking with regard to this issue. This, of itself, is a noteworthy observation that warrants careful consideration by those responsible for subsidising the arts (i.e. the Arts Council).¹ The case for subsidising classical music

¹ I should stress that in saying this I am not in any way suggesting that subsidy has been a ‘bad’ thing, or that it should be scrapped. Many arts organisations which contribute significantly to national and international cultural heritage simply could not survive without the public funding they receive. However, the evidence of the early music movement does raise significant questions which require further attention.

performance (and other arts) has been made largely on the basis of ‘market failure’ arguments (see O’Hagan, 1998). These retain a commitment to market equilibrium (i.e. where the market ‘clears’). The supposition is that the ‘market’ for classical music is an imperfect one, where externalities associated with its public good qualities prevent market clearance. The findings of this thesis highlight two major theoretical challenges to this position.

Firstly, we might infer that if one follows the theoretical logic of ‘market failure’ applied to the arts, then high culture (associated by implication with a static equilibrium model of the market) and entrepreneurship (associated with a Schumpeterian dynamic model of the market – and consistent with my approach) become incompatible. As I have shown in the course of the analytical account presented in Chapters 7-9, this is clearly not the case at all. Indeed, it is precisely through the process of entrepreneurship, involving the identification of opportunity, (re)combination of resources, organisation of tasks and process of re-qualification, that early music performers were able to transform the existing market (for classical music), introducing the newly qualified early music good.

Secondly, the conceptualisation of the early music labour market and its emergence have highlighted two opposing market causal mechanisms which I have discussed in terms of the morphogenetic tendency towards transformation and the morphostatic tendency towards standardisation. As I inferred in Chapter 6, we can think of the tendency towards transformation as being consistent with Schumpeter’s position on the disequilibrating nature of entrepreneurship; whereas, the tendency towards standardisation recalls Kirzner’s market process perspective, which argues for an equilibrating position. If, as I suggest, both these

tendential positions are *necessary* features of the market, then this again calls into question the logic of market failure arguments – based as they are on a static equilibrium model of the market.

Of course, we cannot simply infer from the findings that the presence or absence of subsidy per se will have a particular impact (good or bad) upon market activity. Firstly, in talking of the ‘absence’ of subsidy we are referring explicitly to *direct* funding of early music activity – the subsidy of classical music performance was the very real context into which early music performance emerged. Secondly, it is the interaction of causal factors which are specific to any given context (such as early music performance) that must form the focus of any causal explanatory model. Nevertheless, I draw attention here to an underlying theme of this analytical account which concerns the relevance of dialectic to our understanding of labour market emergence. For it can be argued that the absence of resources (and, indeed, absence of knowledge about these resources and their future value)² – what Bhaskar (1993) refers to as “transformational negation” or “real non-being” – constitutes a causal mechanism in this context of market emergence. The causal efficacy which I attribute to an absence of specialist training in early music performance can also be taken as an example of this dialectical influence.

10.2.ii Presence/absence of training

We cannot account for the novel activities of early music performers without taking due note of the deeply embedded nature of the existing classical music market, its culture and

² Note that this is a particular interest of those working in the field of entrepreneurship research.

traditions, which were most strongly disseminated in the practices of the leading music colleges. Yet, as the industrial historian Edward Constant has observed (1980: x): “community practice defines a cognitive universe that inhibits recognition of radical alternatives to conventional practice”. Constant notes, for example, that “No manufacturer of piston aircraft engines invented or independently developed a turbo-jet. No designer of conventional reciprocating steam engines invented a steam turbine, no manufacturer of steam locomotives independently developed diesel engines” (Ibid). The implication of this perspective is that the active pursuit of new ideas (like historically informed performance) does not readily emerge from the heart of the pre-existing ‘mainstream’. From this viewpoint, one may not have expected to find the roots of the early music revival in the classical music market-supporting institutions – such as the music colleges and music departments of universities. In fact, this is precisely where the revival did take root. The key finding from this research is that it did so (in the case of the music colleges, at least), in spite of, rather than in line with, the institutions’ reaction to early music performance.

What is important to acknowledge here is that it was not the training itself, as offered by both music colleges and university music departments, which contributed to the performers’ development of early music performance, but the opportunity and space³ that these sites provided for individuals to pursue their distinct ideas. We might suggest that the nascent early music performer labour market in the early 1970s benefited (paradoxically) from the relative autonomy and artistic freedom that could emerge in the absence of specialised institutional support for early music performance training. This contrasts with the more

³ We might think of the ‘creative space’ as being comprised of more than 3 dimensions: i.e. it is part-physical, part-temporal, part-psychological etc. (see also Foucault’s discussion of “heterotopic sites” (1967) which provides an interesting parallel perspective that could be explored in further research).

established and stabilised market (e.g. during the late 1970s and beyond) which benefited from formalised training opportunities (indicative of labour market standardisation) in early music performance.

10.2.iii Incubation opportunities

In Chapter 7 I drew attention to the ‘incubation opportunities’ presented at the Oxbridge universities and the BBC. In the context of this discussion we might re-evaluate this appraisal, making something of a distinction between the two cases. Whereas Oxbridge provided a conducive and *implicitly* supportive (extra-curricular) ‘creative space’ for individuals to explore early music performance, the incubatory involvement of the BBC took the form of *explicit* support for early music performance, through scheduling and commissioning. The distinction is important in terms of our understanding of qualification (and its role in market transformation) and what can be seen here as the early adoption of the pre-stabilised early music good. The BBC’s influence was more pervasive than at first it might seem. Radio 3, in particular, provided the means of hearing (and therefore comparing) pioneering performances of early music including those recorded by Dolmetsch and his pupils from the early 20th century, and later by the European performers – notably Leonhardt and Harnoncourt, as well as those given by young ‘unknown’ performers and orchestras in the UK. It was through this medium that record company representatives, promoters and venues got to hear of these performers. Furthermore, studio performances of early music offered performers the opportunity of rehearsing repertoire (which itself required more time than ‘normal’ classical music performance) prior to taking it on tour in live concerts. By the

time record companies such as DG, EMI and Decca came to record the works, the players had benefited from days of on the job training (i.e. practice).

Rather than seeing this role played by the BBC as coincidental, it is worth noting how the institution played the role of incubator to early music performance. Though in a business context we normally think of incubators as incubating new products and services, this research reminds us that it is the people behind the business and their particular skills and management behaviours (as employers and as employees) that are being ‘grown’ and nurtured. Furthermore, it was, in fact, through the particular skills and behaviours of those people working in the BBC (with a particular interest in early music) that this public sector organisation played such a key role in market creation and transformation. This leads on directly to my discussion of enterprising capabilities.

10.2.iv Enterprising capabilities

We cannot under-estimate the importance of the record companies in terms of their investment (in the absence of subsidy) in early music performance. However, it would be wrong to imply something of a ‘one-way street’ here. Record companies did not simply invest in ‘early music’ as a kind of homogenous resource or content to be exploited. Both supply-sides and demand-sides of the market were constituted by real people possessing particular agential properties (including enterprising capability). ‘Doing business’ with these companies required an approach that could engage with a commercial mindset. The references made in interviews to the entrepreneurial and salesman-like qualities of David Munrow and others reinforces the view that communication not just between performers (on

the supply-side) but between performers and others in the industry value chain (on the demand-side) was of central importance. I refer to 'enterprising capability' primarily in respect of this communication process. Nearly all of the key founder-directors of early music orchestras and ensembles (i.e. the demand-side employers) were themselves respected performers (i.e. supply-side employees) before they undertook to set up their new groups. The relationships that existed between these individuals and their performer colleagues (as well as existing promoters, venues, record company representatives etc.) would have an influential bearing on their ability to recombine resources and organise tasks effectively.

The very act of founding new period instrument orchestras and employing performers to play in the orchestras led to the relationship between the founders and their colleagues changing. Over the course of ten years or so from 1973 onwards, the early music performers began to feel that this relationship was a little too one-sided. Dissatisfaction with the newly established status quo (i.e. with the early music 'robber barons' being felt to be gaining at the expense of the performers) led, in part, to the launching of The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment in 1986. This should caution us against adopting easy, stereotypical models of the labour market which are based on the rather static opposition of supply-side and demand-side influences and attributes. It is not just 'chance' that some of today's employees will become tomorrow's employers – rather, this appears to be the tendential outcome of an internal and necessary relationship that is inherently destabilising.

10.2.v Opposing market tendencies

I have sought to develop a conceptual model that can provide a causal explanation of labour market emergence in terms of the interaction between underlying causal mechanisms and the specific context of early music performance. In focusing on qualification and entrepreneurship in my conceptual model I have subsequently been able to introduce a range of ‘causal configurations’ which help to explain the emergence of the early music labour market. In this last chapter, however, I now focus on a further level of causal explanation, in which underlying causal tendencies represent ‘deep’ level mechanisms for market emergence.

The observation that markets are inherently transformational would be accepted by most commentators as self-evident. However, I would argue that our understanding of this characteristic has been advanced in this thesis through the revealing of what I term the market’s opposing underlying tendency towards standardisation. This mechanism refers to the tendency towards market relationships and/or ways of doing things becoming standardised. It is through conceptualising the market in terms of the emergent outcomes of these two opposing tendencies (i.e. towards transformation and standardisation) that I suggest this thesis makes its most central contribution to our understanding of labour markets and their emergence. I now discuss the nature of these two opposing tendencies and their interaction, beginning with a more detailed explanation for their emergence as key underlying mechanisms.

In Chapter 6 I argued that all markets are inherently competitive (i.e. they are partly constituted by a tendency towards competition).⁴ In the case both of labour markets (e.g. for early music performers) and goods markets (e.g. for classical music performance) competition represents an important context for transformation. Indeed, there would be no need for entrepreneurship (understood as the process whereby the tendency towards market transformation is realised) if markets for goods were not intrinsically competitive. Producers are compelled to innovate new goods and services precisely because of this competitive environment. Transformation, then, sits very comfortably with our understanding of markets (and, indeed, of our understanding of entrepreneurship). However, transformation (in the sense of producing new goods) is not the only response market-sellers have to competition. The other key response is to be more efficient in how one produces existing goods. This efficiency is often achieved through some kind of process of institutionalisation which we can conceptualise as the tendency towards standardisation. The replication of ‘best practice’ (in music colleges as elsewhere), for example, is inherently standardising.

The tendencies towards transformation and standardisation need to be understood as dynamic mechanisms or forces towards change (and stasis), which act upon individuals involved in market activity (of any kind). Market actors can either reproduce existing market institutions or change them. Many critical realists have held the view that institutional *reproduction* does not require any specific effort, since institutions are self-reproducing patterns of behaviour (Leca and Naccache, 2006). Institutional *change* or creation, on the other hand, implies a specific effort, because individuals must go beyond

⁴ In stating this, it is important to remember that tendencies are not always realised. The position put forward is not, therefore, at odds with the views of Marsden (1986) and other institutionalist approaches which focus on the institutional conditions necessary for the establishment of a competitive labour market.

existing routines to elaborate and diffuse new ones. However, this research highlights the fact that institutional reproduction does require specific effort. This is because social structures (partly constituting the market) possess inertial properties. Market structures (which pre-exist the actions of those involved in the market) are not static, but inherently dynamic, moving in particular directions – either *towards* transformation or *towards* standardisation and stasis. Whilst I would not wish to suggest that social structures are subject to the same ‘Newtonian’ forces as objects existing in the natural world (the social world is always mediated by human agency, after all), it is useful to think of social structures as possessing the characteristic of inertia (i.e. resistance to changes in velocity unless acted upon by an outside force). Velocity is a vectoral concept – implying both magnitude and direction. In the social realm, therefore, we might think of *magnitude* relating to the strength of any underlying tendency or mechanism, and the *direction* indicating whether it is primarily morphogenetic or morphostatic. Thus, early music performers engaged in the project of setting up new period instrument orchestras, needed to overcome the resistance to change that was inherent in the existing classical music labour market (see Chapter 9 for discussion of both transformational (morphogenetic) and standardising (morphostatic) influences). It is important to note that both tendencies lie behind *transformations* actually being observed. In characterising the tendency towards standardisation as morphostatic, I am indicating the direction of its action rather than the state after it has been realised. Institutional reproduction (implying actual morphostasis), therefore, would require some force to counteract both the tendency towards transformation *and* the tendency towards standardisation.

The analytical account of labour market emergence presented here has brought to attention the particular dominance of the underlying tendency towards transformation in the (early music) goods market and the tendency towards standardisation in the (early music) labour market. I now discuss the nature of the emergent relationship between labour and goods markets in more detail.

10.3 Explaining the emergent relationship between labour and goods markets

In the opening chapter of this thesis I highlighted the chicken and egg nature of the relationship between the (early music) labour and goods markets. In Chapter 6 I suggested that analytical dualism may help us to explain the relationship between goods and labour markets more effectively. In this final chapter I want to explore this contention in a little more detail, reflecting in particular on the ‘opposing’ causal tendencies highlighted and the process of qualification, which I have maintained usually take place over an extended period of time. I also seek to justify more clearly the distinction made between the underlying dominance of the tendency towards transformation in the goods market, and the dominance of the tendency towards standardisation in the labour market.

If we look at the tendency towards standardisation in the early music labour market we see that this was manifested in the development of institutional practices, consistent with the pre-existing classical music labour market (e.g. formalised training; auditions etc.). Paradoxically, perhaps, it was in its *pre*-stabilised form that the early music labour market was most distinctive (i.e. informal hiring process; ad hoc training; specialist fee arrangements etc. – see Figure 9.4). I am using this term ‘distinctive’ to describe the

features of the economic good being exchanged that make it clearly different to other pre-existing competing goods. This contrasts with the early music goods market, however, where I contend that its *pre*-stabilised form lacked the distinctiveness necessary to enable the early music good to be qualified (i.e. compared with other existing goods – such as classical music performance). The early music good's distinctiveness, for example, was something that had not been stabilised in Dolmetsch's day (people didn't really know what this 'early music' was all about), but was acquired in the early 1970s, as it became more readily comparable with other singularised goods.

The key issue here is to conceptualise what exactly determines *when* the process of qualification itself emerges. As discussed in Chapter 6, for all types of market, qualification requires the conditions that will allow for the comparison of goods (i.e. as temporally stabilised products). In the light of my findings concerning the difference in underlying market tendencies (towards transformation in the case of the goods market and towards standardisation in the case of the labour market), we might now suggest that these conditions will not be the same for the labour market and the goods market.

In the case of the goods market, the stabilisation of the new economic good and the underpinning legitimation of subsequent exchange in 'the market' (through qualification) depend upon having achieved a sufficient level of *distinctiveness* from pre-existing goods (e.g. classical music performance). In the case of the labour market, on the other hand, stabilisation and legitimation (through qualification) depend upon having achieved a sufficient level of *parity* with pre-existing labour market processes (e.g. those of the labour market for classical musicians). It is clearly the case that the qualification of early music

labour power as a *distinct* form of labour power, must depend upon the distinctiveness of ‘early music’ being established in the first place. To this end, we might suggest that the relationship between the goods and the labour market can indeed be understood in terms of analytical dualism. The separability of the two ‘embedded’ markets (i.e. for goods and labour power) depends on this temporal distinction between the distinctiveness of the economic good being established prior to parity with pre-existing labour market processes.

The implications of this assertion lead on to the suggestion that the temporal emergence of the UK early music labour market depended upon the qualification of the early music good in the first instance. However, even though the distinctiveness of ‘early music’ was established in the early 1970s, the emergence of the labour market, as I have argued, equally depended upon the qualification of early music labour power, involving increasing parity with pre-existing classical music labour market processes. It is important to stress that this conceptualisation of labour market emergence emphasises the on-going nature of (relational) emergence, rather than the appearance of phenomena for the first time (temporal emergence).

10.4 Explaining the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship

The final area where this thesis has sought to make a specific contribution to knowledge is in respect of the relationship between labour market emergence and entrepreneurship. The purpose of introducing entrepreneurship to this exploration of market emergence was to help explain this particular phenomenon. I have been able to make a contribution to knowledge

both in terms of our understanding of entrepreneurship itself and associated re-examination of the relevance of entrepreneurship theory to our understanding of labour market emergence.

I have put forward the ontological claim, based on an immanent critique of relevant literature, that entrepreneurship is the process whereby the tendency towards market transformation is realised. This re-focuses attention on the specific *conditions* under which the exchange of a newly qualified good is realised. Thus, my study of labour market emergence was framed around the investigation of opportunity identification, resource (re)combination, organisation of tasks, and re-qualification. This conceptualisation is significant methodologically, but also because it removes any reductionist need to focus on who is (or isn't) an entrepreneur (in the context of early music performance) – an area of debate which has often caused unnecessary difficulties in the empirical study of entrepreneurship.

The link in this thesis between *entrepreneurship* and *market* transformation makes explicit a connection which most commentators would accept was present, implicitly at least, in the leading theoretical approaches (e.g. Knight, 1921; Schumpeter, 1934; Kirzner, 1973; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). In re-conceptualising entrepreneurship in terms of the process whereby *market* transformation is realised, I have been careful not to apply any conditions as to the type of market concerned (i.e. for labour power or goods). As I have discussed in the previous section, the conditions underlying labour market emergence are not the same as those for related goods markets. We now need to consider these differences (particularly the

underlying tendencies towards transformation and standardisation) with respect to our understanding of entrepreneurship.

I have earlier suggested that the market tendency towards transformation sits readily with our overall conceptualisation of entrepreneurship, and particularly Schumpeter's (1934) dynamic and disequilibrating perspective. Indeed, the reader will recall that my very reason for introducing the entrepreneurship literature in the first place (as theoretical scaffolding for this study) stems from its apparent ability to help us explain economic transformation. It is in respect of my discussion of the opposing tendency towards standardisation (held to be dominant in the labour market) that we can now make a further contribution to our understanding of entrepreneurship. For I maintain that entrepreneurship involves transforming existing market structures *and* stabilising these transformed structures through standardisation. Market actors involved in entrepreneurship don't just transform by disturbing the economic status quo and overcoming resistance to change, they also actively introduce and stabilise some new order (involving standardisation to a greater or lesser degree). It is an *active* involvement because market structures, as we have seen, have inertia. So, those directly involved in the market transformation process need to bring order to the very process of transformation that they have been partly responsible for creating. At the very least, this is a point which needs to be emphasised more strongly in the arena of entrepreneurship education, where the focus on transformative behaviours (see Gibb, 2005) represents the main point of departure.

The discussion of order creation is also important for pointing entrepreneurship researchers towards an area of growing research interest (see McKelvey, 2004). This concerns the link

between entrepreneurship and order creation (McKelvey, 2004; Fuller and Warren, 2005) and the literature relating to self-organisation (see Prigogine, 1955; Prigogine and Stengers, 1997; Gleick, 1987; Lewin, 1999). As McKelvey has suggested, “Entrepreneurship is about order creation not equilibrium. It is time to put more emphasis on helping entrepreneurs, at the initial start-up phase, deal with adaptive tensions, critical values, phase transitions, and coevolving causalities” (McKelvey, 2004: 337). Certainly, my research reported here has highlighted the importance of the “adaptive tensions” and “coevolving causalities” associated with both transformatory and standardising market mechanisms. The implications of my findings go beyond the “start-up phase”, however, as I now explain.

It follows from the assertion that labour markets are partly constituted by a dominant tendency towards standardisation (as opposed to transformation), that labour market innovations become increasingly scarce over time. The more mature the labour market, the greater likelihood that the tendency towards standardisation has been realised, leading to deeply embedded labour market processes and behaviours (e.g. as observed in the mature classical music performer labour market). This, one might suggest, would be the case until some kind of ‘phase transition’ (or ‘creative destruction’ in Schumpeter’s terms) led to the introduction of a new innovation. Conversely, the newer the labour market the more likelihood of innovative approaches to hiring, training, promoting and rewarding being introduced and singularised (e.g. the fledgling early music labour market).

To respond to the conceptual question raised in Chapter 1, it would appear that young labour markets do indeed possess characteristics which are discernibly different to mature markets. This is an area that would usefully benefit from further research. In particular, there are

important questions arising for the study of entrepreneurship relating to the nature of ‘phase transitions’ and ‘crisis values’ (especially relating to my discussion of opportunity identification, resource (re)combination, organisation of tasks and re-qualification), the dualistic relationship between standardisation and transformation mechanisms, and their causal impact upon the introduction of innovations. For what has been argued here is that stasis and structural standardisation are causal mechanisms giving rise to agential change and market transformation, and that agential change and market transformation, in turn, are causal mechanisms giving rise to stasis and structural standardisation. Notably, this realist and non-conflationary approach can be understood as being consistent *both* with Schumpeter’s (1934) disequilibrating view and Kirzner’s (1973) equilibrating view of entrepreneurship. It is the complex interplay of these opposing causal mechanisms, acting together with the causal configurations highlighted in the analytical history presented in Chapters 7-9, that gave rise to the emergence of the UK early music labour market.

Finally, it is readily acknowledged that there are wider implications of this research for our understanding of entrepreneurship and related phenomena, such as entrepreneurs, entrepreneurial behaviours and entrepreneurial firms. Most importantly, perhaps, the conceptualisation put forward in this thesis carries with it some boundary conditions for the process of entrepreneurship. These include market (not just organisation) transformation; the exchange of a newly qualified good; and the enabling and constraining influence of both social structures and agential properties on agential projects. Entrepreneurship, therefore, is a social phenomenon that takes place within a very wide variety of contexts (including non-capitalistic economic exchange). As such, the conceptual model used in this research (or an adaptation of it) can usefully be applied to many varied empirical cases of entrepreneurship.

This could help us understand much more about this key process of social and economic change.

I now conclude this chapter, and the thesis as a whole, with a discussion of methodological issues arising and related contributions to knowledge.

10.5 Methodological issues arising and contributions to knowledge

This analysis of the emergence of a labour market could not have been undertaken successfully without adopting an ontology that takes account of the transformative and stratified nature of social reality. To that end, critical realism, and realist social ontology in particular, have not just proved their worth in delivering a practically adequate causal-explanatory account of labour market emergence, but they have done so where other approaches would have been unable to provide a viable alternative account. Rather than assume some notional prior existence, I have been able to causally explain how the early music labour market emerged in such a way that avoided conflationary theorising.

This thesis represents a substantive research project, built on a critical realist approach and adopting a realist method – based on Archer’s morphogenetic approach. It has been demonstrated that, despite criticisms to the contrary (e.g. King, 1999), critical realism offers a compelling approach from which to undertake applied social science research. Furthermore, because the analytical account presented is grounded in the ‘domain’ of early music performance, the causal explanation put forward does have enough ‘bite’ (see Runde, 1998) with which to differentiate between competing perspectives. After all, for the realist,

“a statement is true (or false) in virtue of the way the world is” (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000: 15).

My discussion of the methodological merits of critical realism and the morphogenetic approach, in particular, would be somewhat one-sided, however, if I was not to raise some of the more challenging aspects of its application in this research context. The opportunity to learn from the challenges faced represents an important contribution to knowledge that can be applied to future research.

10.5.i Applying non-conflationary theorising

As was noted in Chapter 3, I would agree with the view that “conceptualization stands out as the most central social scientific activity” (Danermark et al, 2002: 41). In particular, the emergent nature of the labour market (and markets in general) makes it difficult (and yet all the more important) to retroduce a non-conflationary conception of the object at the centre of this study. In Chapter 5 I highlighted the importance of distinguishing between the market as a social object (comprised of both structure and agency) and the market as social structure. My definition of the market – as comprising the emergent social structures and agential properties that enable and constrain those agential projects with the exchange of a qualified good as their intended outcome – focuses attention on “the interplay between pre-existent structures, possessing causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own” which “results in contingent yet explicable outcomes” (Carter and New, 2004: 6). For the reasons outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, existing theoretical approaches to the study of labour markets have all too often

succumbed to conflationary theorising. The re-conceptualisation of the market as a ‘social object’, comprised of *both* structure and agency, represented an important non-conflationary starting point for the analysis that followed.

10.5.ii Operationalising the morphogenetic approach

A key premise of analytical dualism and the morphogenetic approach is the temporal primacy of pre-existing structures. When it came to operationalising the morphogenetic approach, however, this encouraged the researcher (initially at least) to ascribe undue prominence to structure over agency in the first phase of ‘conditioning’. At issue here is the observation that agency is not fully circumscribed in terms of ‘actions’ (considered in Phase 2 of the approach). Agential *practice* is only one aspect of the human condition. For example, as Archer herself stresses, our “continuous sense of self” is “prior to, and primitive to, our sociality” (Archer, 2000: 7). Agential properties have the power to influence what people do, but are not themselves ‘practices’. Rather, they are derived from our embodied practices (Ibid), for example, our capabilities and behaviours which facilitate communication, management, opportunity identification, and so forth. We might also observe that like social forms, agential properties are ‘a necessary condition for any intentional act’, and that they can be seen to pre-exist the intentional act itself. In consequence, our agential properties are also important *conditioning* influences (and these have been incorporated into the conceptual model underpinning the analytical account in this thesis).

At the heart of the morphogenetic/static approach is the basic distinction between morphogenesis and morphostasis. As has been argued in this final chapter, morphostasis (which is usually understood in terms of ‘no change’ (see Archer, 1998: 378)) can, in fact, be a dynamic process (requiring change), since pre-existing structures can (and do) possess *inertial* emergent properties such as the tendency towards transformation. This suggests that the realist researcher must apply some considerable care in drawing the distinction between morpho-*genesis* and *stasis* when operationalising the morphogenetic approach. This would seem a particularly important issue in the entrepreneurship field, given the tendency to focus on transformation (and morphogenesis) rather than standardisation (and morphostasis).

10.5.iii Abstraction and the stratification of social ontology

From a general methodological standpoint, the retroductive search for ‘deep’ level causal mechanisms may (unwittingly) encourage a causal explanation that is based on social structural factors rather than on agential factors – which take place and are experienced in the actual and empirical domains. Wary of committing the epistemic fallacy, one might suggest that there is a danger of downwards conflation in undertaking the realist approach – despite Archer’s (2000) emphasis on re-focusing on the role of the agent in explaining the social world. As Archer (2007: 20) herself has stated, “what we have omitted to examine is why people do not respond in uniform fashion under the same circumstances”. It is not that the realist theory is in doubt, rather that the operationalising of critical realist theoretical perspective can itself give rise to some unexpected and emergent outcomes.

The commitment to three ontological ‘domains’ (Bhaskar, 1978; see Figure 2.1) is itself called into question by the empirical study of early music performance. We might suggest that the philosophical distinction between the domains of actual, empirical and real oversimplifies the complex nature of stratified social ontology.⁵ Mechanisms (being themselves emergent) can be more or less ‘deep’ and will be emergent within and across these three domains. Given the particular aesthetic context of early music, it is an intriguing question as to whether that which appeals to our *senses* (i.e. in the actual domain) can best be understood and causally explained at the level of the deep or ‘real’. In accepting the stratified nature of social ontology, we must also recognise the potentially complex and emergent manner in which causal mechanisms are embedded in and of each other.

Although I have recognised the importance of our emotional response to music as a motivating force, I have chosen not to research this particular causal factor in great detail in the course of this research. In omitting it from my account, I am aware that much of what makes the subject of early music worthy of study in the first place is left unexplored. My silence on this area of interest betrays the particular level of abstraction I brought with me to the research project, as well as the limited resources I could apply to this research (e.g. my own limited knowledge of psychology, neurology and the study of emotions as a separate area of research).

⁵ Bhaskar himself (2007: 197) stresses the need to understand the stratified nature of social ontology in terms of “a progressive deepening of our understanding of being”. Bhaskar has introduced at least seven domains in his more recent work.

10.5.iv Future research

From what I have just said, it will be clear that one avenue for further research would be to explore the particular ‘power’ of music to move us (i.e. to behave in certain ways). It would be interesting to pursue the premise that music (like society) was both stratified and emergent. This would suggest that music possesses a transcendental emergent property which is not reducible to either the aural stimuli picked up by the listener, or knowledge about the music, or some sense of an experience shared (see Greenwood, 1994), but is in some way greater than all these combined. There is every reason to suggest that this emergent property of music has an important part to play in our causal explanation of early music labour market emergence.

Further research on the early music sector itself could usefully reveal more about how it has been successful commercially despite receiving virtually no public subsidy, and despite little formal training opportunities in the UK until ‘too late’. This, after all, was not the primary focus of the research undertaken here. With ‘creativity’ being seen as a fundamental source of competitive advantage for British business (see Cox, 2005), the search for innovative higher education approaches to the nurturing and support of creative (and entrepreneurial) talent is receiving considerable attention from government and universities alike. The insights revealed here about the creative ‘space’ and about market emergence require further exploration in this context; so too, the advances in our thinking about entrepreneurship and its particular role in market creation.

The re-conceptualisation of labour market emergence presented in this thesis lends itself to further study of labour markets emerging in altogether different industries and competitive conditions, and the role of entrepreneurship in this regard. Though considerable space has been given over to understanding the specifics of early music performance in terms of its categorisation within the creative and cultural industries, many of the insights gained, one might suggest, are generalisable across other empirical contexts. It would be desirable to re-trace the research undertaken here in the context of an apparently contrasting industry or market sector. Derived labour in the early music performance sector, as we have seen, is very closely allied to the early music 'goods' market. In choosing a contrasting case to study, one would wish to look for a greater separation between the goods and derived labour markets, where the labour involved also has less autonomy. The 'under-labouring' realist conceptual model used to frame the research carried out in this thesis should form the basis of that enquiry.

REFERENCES

References

- Abbing, H. (2002) *Why are artists poor?*, Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam.
- Ackroyd, S. and Fleetwood, S. (eds.) (2000) *Realist perspectives on management and organisations*, Routledge: London.
- Adler, M. (1985) 'Stardom and talent', *American Economic Review*, 75: 208-212.
- Adorno, T. (1981) 'Bach defended against his devotees', trans. S. Weber and S. Weber, (eds.) *Prisms*, Cambridge, Mass.: 133-146. [originally published in 1951]
- Aldrich, H. (1999) *Organizations evolving*, Sage: London.
- Aldrich, H.E. and Fiol, C.M. (1994) 'Fools rush in? The institutional context of industry creation', *Academy of Management Review*, 19: 645-670.
- Amabile, T.M. (1998) 'How to kill creativity', *Harvard Business Review*, 76(5), September-October: 76-87.
- Amabile, T.M. (1983) 'The social psychology of creativity: A componential conceptualization', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45: 357-377.
- Appadurai, A. (1986) *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Archer, M.S. (2007) 'The ontological status of subjectivity', In C. Lawson, J. Latsis and N. Martins, *Contributions to social ontology*, Routledge: London, Chapter 2: 17-31.
- Archer, M.S. (2003) *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Archer, M.S. (2000) *Being human: the problem of agency*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Archer, M.S. (1998) 'Realism and morphogenesis', In M.S. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson and A. Norrie (eds.) *Critical realism: Essential readings*, Routledge: London, 356-382.
- Archer, M.S. (1995) *Realist social theory: The morphogenetic approach*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Archer, M.S. (1989) *Culture and agency: The place of culture in social theory*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Archer, M.S. (1979) *Social origins of educational systems*, Sage: London.
- Archer, M.S., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. (eds.) (1998) *Critical realism: Essential readings*, Routledge: London.
- Arts Council of Great Britain (1992) *Period instrument orchestras enquiry*, authored by Nicholas Kenyon, January, ACGB: London.
- Bala, V. and Goyal, S. (1994) 'The birth of a new market', *Economic Journal*, 104: 282-290.
- Barney, J. B. (2001) 'Is the resource-based 'view' a useful perspective for strategic management research? Yes', *Academy of Management Review*, 26: 41-56.
- Barney, J. B. (1986) 'Strategic factor markets', *Management Science*, 32: 1231-1241.
- Barron, D.N. (1998) 'Pathways to legitimacy among consumer loan providers in New York City, 1914-1934', *Organization Studies*, 19(2): 207-233.
- Baum, J.A.C. and McKelvey, B. (eds.) (1999) *Variations in organization science: In honor of Donald T. Campbell*, Sage: Newbury Park, CA.
- Baum, J.A.C. and Singh, J.V. (eds.) (1994) *Evolutionary dynamics of organizations*, Oxford University Press: New York.
- Baumol, W. and Bowen, W. (1966) *Performing arts – the economic dilemma: A study of problems common to theater, opera, music and dance*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

- Becker, G. (1964) *Human capital*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Columbia University Press: New York.
- Becker, G.S. and Murphy, K.M. (1992) 'The division of labour, coordination costs, and knowledge', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, CVII, 4.
- Bennett, O. (2001) *Cultural pessimism*, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.
- Benton, T. and Craib, I. (2001) *Philosophy of social science*, Palgrave: Basingstoke.
- Berger, S. and Piore, M. J. (1980) *Dualism and discontinuity in industrial societies*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Bhaskar, R. (2007) 'Theorising ontology', In C. Lawson, J. Latsis and N. Martins (eds.) *Contributions to social ontology*, Routledge: London, Chapter 12, 192-204.
- Bhaskar, R. (1998a) 'General introduction', In M. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson and A. Norrie (eds.) *Critical realism: Essential readings*, Routledge: London, ix-xxiv.
- Bhaskar, R. (1998b) 'Philosophy and scientific realism', In M. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson and A. Norrie (eds.) *Critical realism: Essential readings*, Routledge: London, 16-47.
- Bhaskar, R. (1993) *Dialectic: The pulse of freedom*, Verso: London.
- Bhaskar, R. (1991) *Philosophy and the idea of freedom*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Bhaskar, R. (1989) *The possibility of naturalism*, 2nd edn., Harvester Wheatsheaf: Hemel Hempstead. [originally published in 1979]
- Bhaskar, R. (1989b) *Reclaiming reality*, Verso: London.
- Bhaskar, R. (1986) *Scientific realism and human emancipation*, Verso: London.
- Bhaskar, R. (1979) *The possibility of naturalism*, Harvester Wheatsheaf: Hemel Hempstead.
- Bhaskar, R. (1978) *A realist theory of science*, Harvester Press: Sussex. [originally published in Leeds, 1975].

- Blaug, M. (2001) 'Where are we now on cultural economics?', *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 15(2): 123-143.
- Bloch, S. (1969) 'Saga of a twentieth-century lute pioneer', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 2: 37-43.
- Blume, F. (1950) *Two centuries of Bach*, trans. Stanley Godman, London and New York.
- Bosworth, D., Dawkins, P. and Stromback, T. (1996) *The Economics of the labour market*, Longman: London.
- Bourdieu, P. (2002) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge: London.
- Braverman, H. (1974) *Labour and monopoly capital*, Monthly Review Press: New York.
- Brighton, A., Pearson, N. and Parry, J. (1985) *The economic situation of visual artists*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation: London.
- Brookes, K. (1996) *Creation of a regional touring programme by Britain's leading period-instrument orchestras*, independent report for Heather Jarman and Christopher Lawrence (AAM), funded by the John S. Cohen Foundation.
- Bryman, A. (1996) *Quantity and quality in social research*, Routledge: London. [originally published in 1988]
- Buckley, W. (1967) *Sociology and modern systems theory*, Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Busenitz, L.W. (1996) 'Research on entrepreneurial alertness', *Journal of Small Business Management*, 34(4): 35-44.
- Busenitz, L.W., West III, G.P., Shepherd, D., Nelson, T., Chandler, G.N. and Zacharakis, A. (2003) 'Entrepreneurship research in emergence: Past trends and future directions', *Journal of Management*, 29(3): 285-308.

- Butt, J. (2002) *Playing with history*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Cairnes, J. E. (1874) *Some leading principles of political economy*, Augustus M. Kelley: New York.
- Callon, M. (2005) 'Why virtualism paves the way to political impotence: A reply to Daniel Miller's critique of *The laws of the markets*', *Economic Sociology*, 6(2): 3-21.
- Callon, M. (ed.) (1998) *The laws of the markets*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Callon, M., Meadel, C. and Rabeharisoa, V. (2002) 'The economy of qualities', *Economy and Society*, 31(2), May, 194-217.
- Campbell, D.T. (1969) 'Variation and selective retention in socio-cultural evolution', *General Systems*, 14: 69-85.
- Campbell, M. (1975) *Dolmetsch: The man and his work*, Hamish Hamilton: London.
- Carter, B. and New, C. (2004) *Making realism work*, Routledge: London.
- Casson, M.C. (1982) *The entrepreneur: An economic theory*, Martin Robertson: Oxford.
- Castañer, X. and Campos, L. (2002) 'The determinants of artistic innovation: Bringing in the role of organizations', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 26: 29-52.
- Castro, A., Méhaut, P. and Rubery J. (1992) *International integration and labour market organisation*, Academic Press: London.
- Caves, R. E. (2000) *Creative industries: Contracts between art and commerce*, Harvard University Press: Boston.
- Chamberlin, E. H. (1946) *The theory of monopolistic competition: A reorientation of the theory of value*, 5th edn. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Coase, R.H. (1988) 'The nature of the firm: Origin, meaning, influence', *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 4(1), Spring: 3-47.
- Coase, R.H. (1937) 'The nature of the firm', *Economica*, 4: 386-405.

- Cole, K., Cameron, J. and Edwards, C. (1991) *Why economists disagree*, 2nd edn. Longman: Harlow.
- Collier, A. (1994) *Critical realism: An introduction to the philosophy of Roy Bhaskar*, Verso: London.
- Constant, E.W. (1980) *The origins of the turbojet revolution*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- Cook, N. (1990) *Music imagination & culture*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Coveney, P. and Highfield, R. (1991) *The arrow of time*, Flamingo, Harper Collins: London.
- Cox, G. (2005) *Cox review of creativity in business*, HM Treasury, at http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/independent_reviews/cox_review/coxreview_index.cfm.
- Creigh-Tyte, A. and Thomas, B. (2001) 'Employment', Chapter 23, In S. Selwood (ed.) *The UK cultural sector*, Policy Studies Institute: London.
- Crinson, I. (2004) 'A realist approach to the analysis of focus group data', working paper, St George's Hospital Medical School, University of London: London.
- Cruickshank, J. (2004) 'A tale of two ontologies: an immanent critique of critical realism', *The Sociological Review*, May.
- Cruickshank, J. (2003) *Realism and sociology: Anti-foundationalism, ontology and social research*, Routledge: London.
- Cruickshank, J. (2001) 'First principles: What are they and who needs them? (Or, is critical realism an underlabourer or overseer?)', *IACR Conference Paper*, Roskilde University: Denmark, August.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1999) 'Social systems model of creativity', In Sternberg, R.J. (ed.) *Handbook of creativity*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L. and Karlsson, J. (2002) *Explaining society: Critical realism in the social sciences*, Routledge: London.
- Dart, T.R. (1954) *The interpretation of music*, London.
- Davidsson, P. (2003) 'The domain of entrepreneurship research: Some suggestions', In J. Katz and S. Shepherd (eds.) *Advances in entrepreneurship, firm emergence and growth*, Elsevier/JAI Press: Oxford, 6, 315-372.
- Davidsson, P., Low, M.B. and Wright, M. (2001) 'Editor's Introduction: Low and MacMillan Ten Years On: Achievements and Future Directions for Entrepreneurship Research', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, Summer.
- Dean, K., Joseph, J. and Norrie, A. (2005) 'Editorial: New essays in critical realism', *New Formations*: 7-26.
- Dean, W. (1976) 'Edward J. Dent: A centenary tribute', *Music and Letters*, 57: 353-61.
- Denzin, N.K. (1970) *The research act in sociology: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*, Butterworths: London.
- Dey, I. (1993) *Qualitative data analysis*, Routledge: London.
- Dobson, P.J. (2001) 'The philosophy of critical realism – An opportunity for information systems research', *Information Systems Frontiers*, June, 3(2): 199-210.
- Doeringer, P. and Piore, M. J. (1971) *Internal labor markets and manpower analysis*, D.C. Heath: Lexington, MA.
- Donington, R. (1975) 'Forward', In Campbell, M., *Dolmetsch: The man and his work*, Hamish Hamilton: London.
- Donington, R. (1963) *The interpretation of early music*, Faber & Faber: London.

- Downward, P. and Mearman, A. (2005) *Triangulation in economic research: Reorienting economics into social science*, unpublished paper presented at Cambridge Critical Realist Seminar.
- Dreyfus, L. (1983) 'Early music defended against its devotees: A theory of historical performance in the twentieth century', *Musical Quarterly*, 69: 297-322.
- Drucker, P. (1986) *Innovation and entrepreneurship*, Heinemann: London.
- Dunlop, J.T. (1957) 'The task of contemporary wage theory', In G.W. Taylor and F.C. Pierson (eds.) *New concepts in wage determination*, McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Dutta, D.K. and Crossan, M.M. (2005) 'The nature of entrepreneurial opportunities: Understanding the process using the 4I organizational learning framework', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, July: 425-449.
- Eagleton, T. (1991) *Ideology*, Verso: London.
- Easton, G. (2000) 'Case research as a method for industrial networks: A realist apologia', In S. Fleetwood and S. Ackroyd (eds.) *Realist perspectives on management and organisations*, Routledge: London.
- Eckhardt, J.T. and Shane, S.A. (2003) 'Opportunities and entrepreneurship', *Journal of Management*, 29(3): 333-349.
- Ehrlich, C. (1985) *The music profession in Britain since the eighteenth century*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Elder-Vass, D. (2006) 'A method for social ontology', paper presented to *IACR Annual Conference*, Tromsø: August.
- Elder-Vass, D. (2004) 'Re-examining Bhaskar's three ontological domains: The lessons from emergence', *IACR Annual Conference*, Girton College, Cambridge: August.
- Elster, J. (1998) *Alchemies of the mind*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Everitt, A. (1997) *Joining in: An investigation into participatory music*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation: London.
- Feist, A. (2000) *Cultural employment in Europe* (Policy Note 8), Council of Europe: Strasbourg.
- Fevre, R. (1992) *The sociology of labour markets*, Simon & Schuster: Hemel Hempstead.
- Fielding, N. (1994) 'Getting into Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis', *Data Archive Bulletin*, September, CAQDAS Networking Project, University of Surrey: Guildford.
- Fiet, J.O. (2000) 'The theoretical side of teaching entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 16: 1-24.
- Fine, B. (1998) *Labour market theory: A constructive reassessment*, Routledge: London.
- Fleetwood, S. (2006) 'Rethinking labour markets: A critical-realist socioeconomic perspective', *Capital & Class*, 89: 59-89.
- Fleetwood, S. (2004) 'An ontology for organisation and management studies', In S. Fleetwood and S. Ackroyd (eds.) *Critical realist applications in organisation and management studies*, Routledge: London.
- Fleetwood, S. (2003) 'Preparing the ground for a viable account of labour markets', unpublished paper submitted to *Capital & Class*.
- Fleetwood, S. (2002) 'A critical realist-institutionalist account of labour markets', paper submitted to the *IACR annual conference*, University of Bradford: August.
- Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. (eds.) (2004) *Critical realist applications in organisation and management studies*, Routledge: London.
- Foss, N. J. and Ishikawa, I. (2006) 'Towards a dynamic resource-based view: Insights from Austrian capital and entrepreneurship theory', *Centre for Strategic Management and Globalization Working Paper 6*, April: available at www.cbs.dk/smg.

- Foucault, M. (1967) 'Of other spaces', trans. J. Miskowiec. See also 'Des Espace Autres', published by the French journal *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, October, 1984, and *Diacritics*, 16: 22-27.
- Freakley, V. (2000) 'The artistic labour market and the rationality/ies of training actors and dancers', unpublished doctoral assignment for the University of Warwick.
- Freakley, V. and Neelands, J. (2003) 'The UK artist's world of work', *Research in Dance Education*, 4(1).
- Frey, B. and Pommerehne, W. (1989) *Muses and markets*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Fuller, T. and Warren, L. (2005) 'Towards a complex explanation of innovation as order creation through emergence', *Complexity, science and society conference 2005*, Liverpool: 11-14 Sept.
- Gaglio, C.M. and Katz, J.A. (2001) 'The psychological basis of opportunity identification: Entrepreneurial alertness', *Journal of Small Business Economics*, 16(2), 95-111.
- Galbraith, J.K. (1963) *The liberal hour*, Houghton Mifflin: Boston. [originally published in 1960]
- Galton, F. (1914) *Hereditary genius: An inquiry into its causes and consequences*, referenced in C. Ehrlich, 1985.
- Gartner, W. (2001) 'Is there an elephant in entrepreneurship? Blind assumptions in theory development', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 25(4).
- Gartner, W.B. (1988) "'Who is an Entrepreneur" is the wrong question', *American Small Business Journal*, Spring, 11-31.
- Gartner, W.B. (1985) 'A framework for describing and classifying the phenomenon of new venture creation', *Academy of Management Review*, 10(4), 696-706.

- Gibb, A.A. (2005) 'Towards the entrepreneurial University entrepreneurship education as a lever for change', *National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship Policy Paper 3*, available at http://www.ncge.org.uk/downloads/policy/Towards_the_Entrepreneurial_University.pdf.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society*, University of California Press: Berkeley, CA.
- Gleick, J. (1987) *Chaos: Making a new science*, Penguin: New York.
- Gordon, D.M., Edwards, R.C. and Reich, M. (1982) *Segmented work, divided workers: The historical transformation of labor in the United States*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Granovetter, M. (1973) 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78: 1360-1380.
- Greenwood, J. D. (1994) *Realism, identity and emotion*, Sage: London.
- Guesnerie, R. (1996) *L'Économie de marché*, Flammarion: Paris.
- Hakim, C. (1987) *Research design*, Unwin Hyman: London.
- Hannan, M.T. (1986) 'Competitive and Institutional Processes in Organizational Ecology', *Technical Report 86-13*, Department of Sociology, Cornell University.
- Hargadon, A. (2003) *How breakthroughs happen: Technology brokering and the pursuit of innovation*, Harvard Business School Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Harman, M.T. and Freeman, J. (1989) *Organizational ecology*, Harvard University Press: Boston, MA.
- Harnoncourt, N. (1988) *Baroque music today: Ways to a new understanding of music*, Christopher Helm: Kent.
- Harré, R. (1986) *Varieties of realism*, Blackwell: Oxford.

- Harré, R. (1979) *Social being*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Harré, R. (1972) *The philosophies of science*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Harré, R. and Madden, E.H. (1975) *Causal powers: A theory of natural necessity*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Harris, L.C. (1999) 'Initial planning: The problem of entrenched cultural values', *Long Range Planning*, 32(1): 117-126.
- Haskell, H. (1988) *The early music revival: A history*, Thames and Hudson: London.
- Hatt, S. (1997) *Gender, work and labour markets*, Macmillan: London.
- Hayek, F. A. von (1945) 'The use of knowledge in society', *American Economic Review*, 35(4): 519-530.
- Heilbrun, J. and Gray, C.M. (2001) *The economics of arts and culture*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2002) *The cultural industries*, Sage: London.
- Hicks, J.R. (1963) *The theory of wages*, Macmillan: London.
- Hodgson, G.M. (2004a) '*What are institutions?*', unpublished essay, Hertfordshire.
- Hodgson, G.M. (2004b) 'Some claims made for critical realism in economics: two case studies', *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 11(1): 53-73.
- Hodgson, G.M. (2001) *How economics forgot history*, Routledge: London.
- Hodgson, G.M. (1993) *Economics and evolution*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Hodgson, G.M. (1988) *Economics and institutions*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Holm, P. (1995) 'The dynamics of institutionalization: Transformation processes in Norwegian fisheries', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40: 398-422.
- Holschneider, A. (1980) 'Über alte Musik', *Musica*, 34, Kassel.

- Hussey, J. and Hussey, R. (1997) *Business research: a practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate students*, Palgrave: Basingstoke.
- Hutchins, E. (1995) *Cognition in the wild*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Jack, S.A. and Anderson, A.R. (1999) 'Entrepreneurship education within the enterprise culture', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 5(3): 110-125.
- Jackson, C., Honey, S., Hillage, J. and Stock, J. (1994) *Careers and training in dance and drama*, Institute of Manpower Studies, Brighton.
- Jackson, W.A. (2006) 'On the social structure of markets', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, November: 1-19.
- Jones, C., Hesterly, W.S. and Borgatti, S.P. (1997) 'A general theory of network governance: Exchange conditions and social mechanisms', *Academy of Management Review*, 22(4), 911-945.
- Kaisch, S. and Gilad, B. (1991) 'Characteristics of opportunity search of entrepreneurs versus executives: Sources, interest, and general alertness', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 6(1), 45-61.
- Keat, R. and Urry, J. (1982) *Social theory as science*, 2nd edn. Routledge: London.
- Kenyon, N. (2002) *Simon Rattle: From Birmingham to Berlin*, Faber and Faber: London.
- Kenyon, N. (1988) *Authenticity and early music*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Kerr, C. (1954) 'The balkinization of labor markets', In E. Wright Bakke (ed.) *Labor mobility and economic opportunity*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, 92-110.
- Kerr, C. (1950) 'Labor markets: their character and consequences', *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings*, 40(2).
- Kervin, J.B. (1992) *Methods for business research*, Harper Collins: London.

- King, A. (1999) 'Against structure: a critique of morphogenetic social theory', *Sociological Review*, 47: 199-227.
- Kirzner, I. (1997) 'Entrepreneurial discovery and the competitive market process: An Austrian approach', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 35: 60-85.
- Kirzner, I. (1973) *Competition and entrepreneurship*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, IL.
- Knight, F. (1921) *Risk, uncertainty and profit*, Houghton Mifflin: New York.
- Kotler, P. and Scheff, J. (1999) *Standing room only: Strategies for marketing the performing arts*, Harvard Business School Press: Boston, MA.
- Kretschmer, M., Klimis, G. and Choi, C. J. (1999) 'Increasing returns and social contagion in cultural industries', *British Journal of Management*, 10, S61-S72.
- Lachmann, L. M. (1986) *The market as an economic process*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Lachmann, L. M. (1956) *Capital and its structure*, 1977 re-issue, Sheed Andrews and McNeel: Kansas City.
- Langlois, R. N. (2005) 'The entrepreneurial theory of the firm and the theory of the entrepreneurial firm', *Working paper 2005-27R*, October, University of Connecticut Department of Economics.
- Langton, J. (1984) 'The ecological theory of bureaucracy', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29(3) September: 330-354.
- Lawson, C., Latsis, J. and Martins, N. (2007) *Contributions to social ontology*, Routledge: London.
- Lawson, C. and Stowell, R. (1999) *The historical performance of music: An introduction*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lawson, T. (2003) *Reorienting economics*, Routledge: London.

- Lawson, T. (1997) *Economics and reality*, Routledge: London.
- Layder, D. (1993) *New strategies in social research: An introduction and guide*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Layder, D. (1985) 'Beyond empiricism: the promise of realism', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 15: 255-74.
- Leadbeater, C. and Oakley, K. (1999) *The independents*, Demos: London.
- Lebrecht, N. (1996) *When the music stops*, Simon & Schuster: London.
- Leca, B. and Naccache, P. (2006) 'A critical realist approach to institutional entrepreneurship', *Organization*, 13(5): 627-651.
- Lester, R. A. (1951) 'A range theory of wage differentials', *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 5.
- Levenhagen, M.J., Porac, J.F. and Thomas, H. (1993) 'Emergent industry leadership and the selling of technological visions: A social constructionist view', In G. Johnson and J. Hendry (eds.), *Strategic thinking, leadership, and the management of change*, John Wiley: New York, 69-88.
- Lewin, P. and Phelan, S. (1999) 'Firms, strategies, and resources', *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 2(2): 1-18.
- Lewin, R. (1999) *Complexity: Life at the edge of chaos*, 2nd edn. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, IL.
- Lipsey, R. G. (1968) *An introduction to positive economics*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London.
- Locke, J. (1690) *An essay concerning human understanding*, Scholar press: London (1970).
- Low, M. and MacMillan, I. (1988) 'Entrepreneurship: Past research and future challenges', *Journal of Management*, 35: 139-161.

- Lumpkin, G.T. and Dess, G.G. (1996) 'Clarifying the entrepreneurial orientation construct and linking it to performance', *Academy of Management Review*, 21: 135–72.
- Mackerness, E.D. (1964) *A social history of English music*, Routledge: London.
- Mackintosh, M. (1990) 'Abstract markets and real needs', In H. Bernstein, G. Crow, M. Mackintosh, and C. Martin (eds.) *The food question: Profits versus people*, Earthscan: London, 43-53.
- Marsden, D. (1986) *The end of economic man? Custom and competition in labour markets*, Wheatsheaf Books: Brighton.
- Marshall, A. (1961) 'On markets', In *Principles of economics* (ed.) Alfred Marshall, MacMillan: London, 323-330.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1974) *The German ideology*, trans. C.J. Arthur, Lawrence and Wishart: London.
- Marx, K. (1865) 'Value price and profit', Chapter 6 from *Speech to the First International Working Men's Association*, June, available at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1865/value-price-profit/ch02.htm#c6>
- Mathews, J. A. (2006) 'A strategic and evolutionary perspective on entrepreneurial dynamics: Reconciling Schumpeter with Kirzner', paper given at the *DRUID* summer conference, 18-20 June, Copenhagen Business School, available at <http://www.druid.dk/conferences/Program%20June%202016.pdf>
- Mayer Brown, H. (1988) 'Pedantry or liberation? A sketch of the historical performance movement', In N. Kenyon (ed.) *Authenticity and early music*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, Chapter 2: 27-56.

- Mayer Brown, H. (1976) 'Instruments of the middle ages and renaissance: In memoriam David Munrow', *Early Music*, 4(3), July: 288-293.
- McKelvey, B. (2004) 'Toward a complexity science of entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 19: 313-341.
- McNulty, P.J. (1980) *The origins and development of labor economics*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Menger, C. (1871) *Principles of Economics*, New York University Press: New York, 1985.
- Menger, P. M. (1999) 'Artistic labour markets and careers', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25.
- Michon, F. (1992) 'The Institutional forms of work and employment', In A. Castro, P. Méhaut and J. Rubery (eds.) *International integration and labour market organisation*, Academic Press: London.
- Mises, L. von (1949) *Human action*, Yale University Press: New Haven.
- Morgan, J. (2004) *Interview with Jamie Morgan and Alex Radov*, November 20, 2004, at <http://www.journalofcriticalrealism.org/news/> (December 9th, 2005).
- Morgan, R. P. (1988) 'Tradition, anxiety, and the current musical scene', In N. Kenyon (ed.) *Authenticity and early music*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, Chapter 3: 57-82.
- Nelson, R.R. (1994) 'Evolutionary theorizing about economic change', In N. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds.) *Handbook of economic sociology*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 108-136.
- Nelson, R. and Winter, S. (1982) *An evolutionary theory of economic change*, The Belknap Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Norrington, R. (2004) 'The sound orchestras make', *Early Music*: 2-5, February.
- North, D.C. (1977) 'Markets and other allocation systems in history: The challenge of Karl Polanyi', *Journal of European Economic History*, 6: 703-716.

- O'Brien, J. and Feist, A. (1995) *Employment in the arts and cultural industries: an analysis of the 1991 census*, Arts Council of England: London.
- O'Hagan, J. W. (1998) *The state and the arts*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.
- Oi, W. (1962) 'Labor as a quasi-fixed factor', *Journal of Political Economy*: 70(6).
- Olsen, W. (2004) 'Methodological triangulation and realist research: An Indian exemplar', In B. Carter and C. New (eds.) *Making realism work: Realist social theory and empirical research*, Routledge: London.
- ONS (2000) *Standard Occupational Classification*, available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk>.
- Osterman, P. (1984) *Internal labour markets*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Outhwaite, W. (1987) *New philosophies of social science: Realism, hermeneutics and critical theory*, Macmillan: London.
- Palich, J.E. and Bagby, D.R. (1995) 'Using cognitive theory to explain entrepreneurial risk-taking: Challenging conventional wisdom', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 10: 425-38.
- Paul, J. (1981) *Modern harpsichord makers*, Gollancz: London.
- Peacock, A. (1992) *Paying the piper: Culture music and money*, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.
- Peacock, A. (1969) 'Welfare economics and public subsidies to the arts', *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, 4: 323-35.
- Peck, J. (2000) 'Structuring the labour market: A segmentation approach', in S. Ackroyd and S. Fleetwood (eds.) *Realist perspectives on management and organisations*, Routledge: London, 220-244.
- Peck, J. (1996) *Work-place: The social regulation of labor markets*, Guilford Press: New York.
- Penrose, E. T. (1959) *The theory of the growth of the firm*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

- Phan, P.H. (2004) 'Entrepreneurship theory: possibilities and future directions', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 19: 617-620.
- Picchio, A. (2000) 'Wages as a reflection of socially embedded production and reproduction processes', In L. Clarke, J. Janssen and P. de Gijsel (eds.) *The dynamics of wage relations in the new Europe*, Kluwer: London.
- Polanyi, K. (1944) *The great transformation*, Beacon Press: New York.
- Porpora, D. V. (1998) 'Four concepts of social structure', In M. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson and A. Norrie (eds.) *Critical realism: Essential readings*, Routledge: London, 339-355.
- Porter, T.M. (1995) *Trust in numbers*, Princeton University Press: Princeton.
- Powell, W. and DiMaggio, P. (1991) 'Introduction', In W. Powell and P. DiMaggio, *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, IL.
- Pratt, A.C. (1997) 'The cultural industries sector: its definition and character from secondary sources on employment and trade, Britain 1984-91', *Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis No.41*, Department of Geography and Environment, LSE: London.
- Pratt, A.C. (1995) 'Putting critical realism to work: the practical implications for geographical research', *Progress in Human Geography*, 19: 61-74.
- Pratten, S. (2000) 'Structure, agency and Marx's analysis of the labour process' In S. Fleetwood and S. Ackroyd (eds.) *Realist perspectives on management and organisations*, Routledge: London.
- Prigogine, I. (1955) *An introduction to thermodynamics of irreversible processes*, Thomas: Springfield, IL.

- Prigogine, I. and Stengers, I. (1997) *The end of certainty: Time, chaos, and the new laws of nature*, Free Press: New York.
- Robinson, J. (1979) 'Markets', In J. Robinson (ed.) *Collected economic papers*, Blackwell: Oxford, 146-167.
- Rosenbaum, E. F. (2000) 'What is a market? On the methodology of a contested concept', *Review of Social Economy*, 58(4): December, 455-82.
- Rubery, J. (1994) 'The British production regime: a societal-specific system?', *Economy and Society*, 23: 335-54.
- Rubery, J. (1992) 'Productive systems, international integration and the single European market', In A. Castro, P. Méhaut and J. Rubery (eds.) *International integration and labour market organisation*, Academic Press: London, 244-61.
- Rubery, J. and Gallie, D. (1988) *Employers and the labour market*, Blackwell: London.
- Rubery, J. and Wilkinson, F. (1981) *Outwork and segmented labour markets*, Academic Press: London.
- Rumelt, R. P. (1984) 'Towards a strategic theory of the firm', In R. B. Lamb, (ed.) *Competitive strategic management*, Englewood Cliffs: NJ.
- Runde, J.H. (1998) 'Assessing causal economic explanations', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 50(1): 151-72.
- Salerno, J. (1999) 'The place of Mises's *human action* in the development of modern economic thought', *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 2: 35-65.
- Sarasvathy, S. (1999) 'Seminar on research perspectives in entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Venturing*, 15: 1-57.
- Sarasvathy, S.D. and Dew, N. (2005) 'New market creation through transformation', *Journal of Evolutionary Economics*, 15: 533-565.

- Sayer, A. (2004) 'Feminism, critical realism and economics: A response to Van Staveren', *Post-Autistic Economics Review*, 29(6): December.
- Sayer, A. (2001) 'For a critical cultural political economy', *Antipode*: 687-708.
- Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and social science*, Sage: London.
- Sayer, A. (2000b) 'Markets, embeddedness and trust: Problems of polysemy and idealism', published by Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, at <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Sayer-Markets-Embeddedness-and-Trust.pdf>.
- Sayer, A. (1995) *Radical political economy*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Sayer, A. (1992) *Method in social science: A realist approach*, Routledge: London.
- Sayer, A. (1984) *Method in social science: A realist approach*, Hutchinson: London.
- SBRC (2006) *The impact of regulation on small business performance*, Report for the Small Business Service of the DTI, unpublished.
- Schoonhoven, C.B. and Romanelli, E. (eds.) (2001) *The entrepreneurship dynamic*, Stanford University Press: Stanford.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (1934) *The theory of economic development: An inquiry into profits, capital, credit, interest and the business cycle*, trans. R.Opie. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Scruton, R. (1997) *The aesthetics of music*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Searle, J.R. (1995) *The construction of social reality*, Free Press: New York.
- Seccareccia, M. (1991) 'An alternative to labour-market orthodoxy: The post-Keynesian Institutional View', *Review of Political Economy*, 3(1): 43-61.
- Shane, S. (2003) *A general theory of entrepreneurship: The individual-opportunity nexus*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

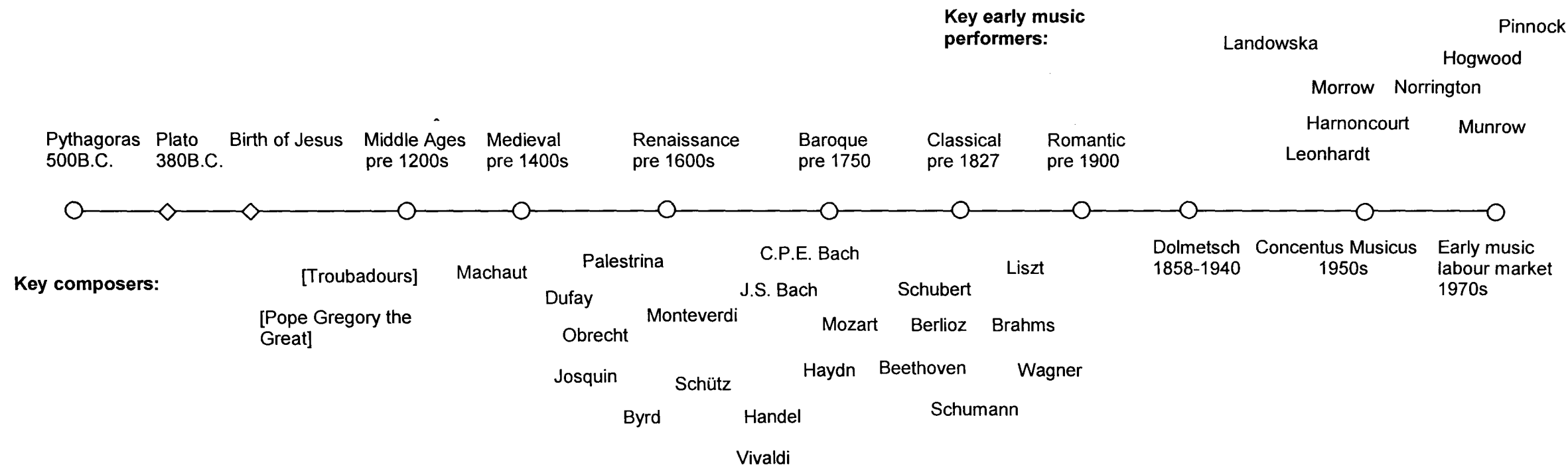
- Shane, S. (2000) 'Prior knowledge and the discovery of entrepreneurial opportunities', *Organization Science*, 11(4): 448-469.
- Shane, S. and Venkataraman, S. (2000) 'The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research', *Academy of Management Review*, 26(1), 217-226.
- Sherman, B. D. (1997) *Inside early music*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Shorthose, J. and Strange, G. (2004) 'The new cultural economy, the artist and the social configuration of autonomy', *Capital & Class*, 84, 43-59.
- Smelser, N. and Swedberg, R. (1994) *The handbook of economic sociology*, Princeton University Press: London.
- Smith, A. (1776) *The wealth of nations*, Strachan and Cadell: London.
- Solow, R. (1990) *The labour market as a social institution*, Blackwell: New York.
- Suchmann, M.C. (1995) 'Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches', *Academy of Management Review*, 20(3) July: 571-610.
- Swedberg, R. (1991) *Joseph A. Schumpeter: His life and work*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Taruskin, R. (1995) *Text and act*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Throsby, D. (1996) 'Economic circumstances of the performing artist: Baumol and Bowen thirty years on', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 20.
- Throsby, D. and Withers, G. (1985) 'What price culture?', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 9: 1-34.
- Tooley, J. (1998) *Educational research: A critique (Tooley Report)*, OFSTED: London.
- Towse, R. (2001) *Creativity, incentive and reward: An economic analysis of copyright and culture in the information age*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.
- Towse, R. (1995) *The economics of artists' labour markets*, Arts Council of England: London.

- Towse, R. (1993) *Singers in the marketplace: The economics of the singing profession*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Towse, R. (1992) 'The earnings of singers: an economic analysis', In R. Towse and A. Khakee (eds.) *Cultural economics*, Springer-Verlag: Berlin, 209-17.
- Vaughn, K. I. (1994) *Austrian economics in America: The migration of a tradition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Villa, P. (1986) *Structuring of labour markets*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Walby, S. (2001) 'Against epistemological chasms: the science question in feminism revisited', *Signs*, 2: 485-509.
- Wassall, G.H. and Alper, N. O. (1992) 'Toward a Unified Theory of the Determinants of the Earnings of Artists', In R. Towse and A. Khakee (eds.) *Cultural economics*, Chapter 18.
- Weber, M. (1947) *The theory of social and economic organization*, trans. A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons, T. Parsons (ed.) Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Weick, K.E. (1979) *The social psychology of organizing*, McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Wernerfelt, B. (1984) 'A resource-based view of the firm', *Strategic Management Journal*, 5: 171-180.
- West, E. G. (1986) 'Arts vouchers to replace grants', *Economic Affairs*, 6: 9-11 and 16.
- Wheelahan, L. (2005) 'Theorising the relationship between the individual, knowledge and skill', *AVETRA 2005 Conference paper* (Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association).
- Wilkinson, F. (1983) 'Productive systems', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 7: 413-429.
- Williamson, O. E. (1991) 'Comparative economic organization: The analysis of discrete structural alternatives', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36: 269-296.

- Williamson, O. E. (1975) *Markets and hierarchies: Analysis and antitrust implications*, Free Press: New York.
- Wilson, N. (2004) 'Unmasking the early music performer: Findings from a UK survey', *Early Music Performer*, 14.
- Wilson, N. and Stokes, D. (2006) 'Entrepreneurship: The road less traveled', *National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship Working Paper*, NCGE.
- Wilson, N. and Stokes, D. (2004) 'Laments and serenades: Relationship marketing and legitimation strategies for the cultural entrepreneur', *Qualitative Market Research: an International Journal*, 7(3): 218-227.
- Withers, G. (1985) 'Artists' subsidy of the arts', *Australian Economic Papers*, 25, 290-5.
- Witt, U. (1998) 'Imagination and leadership: the neglected dimension of an evolutionary theory of the firm', *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 35: 161-77.
- Yeung, H.W. (1997) 'Critical realism and realist research in human geography: a method or a philosophy in search of a method?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(1): 51-74.
- Zahra, S.A. and Dess, G.G. (2001) 'Entrepreneurship as a field of research: Encouraging dialogue and debate', *Academy of Management Review*, 26(1): 8-10.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Timeline of western classical music



Appendix 2 Early music examples (CD for Viva only)

(Audio tracks not for re-distribution):

1. Handel *Music for the royal fireworks – Rejouissance*; Trevor Pinnock/The English Concert (DG)
2. Handel *La resurrezione – Sonata*; Christopher Hogwood/The Academy of Ancient Music (Decca)
3. Purcell *Hear my prayer, O lord*; Robert King/The Choir of New College, Oxford (Hyperion)
4. Purcell *Fantazia 5 in B flat major*; Fretwork (Virgin)
5. Bach, J.S. *Concerto for harpsichord and strings in A major – Allegro ma non tanto*; Trevor Pinnock/The English Concert (Archiv)
6. Handel *Amadigi – Pena tiranna*; James Bowman and Robert King/The King's Consort (Hyperion)
7. Bach, J.S. *Concerto in D minor for 2 violins – Allegro*; Andrew Manze and Rachel Podger / The Academy of Ancient Music (Harmonia Mundi)
8. Bach, J.S. *Mass in B minor – Domine deus*; Nancy Argenta and Howard Milner and Lisa Beznosiuk, John Eliot Gardiner/The English Baroque Soloists (Archiv)
9. Bach, J.S. *Mass in B minor – Qui Sedes*; Michael Chance and Sophia McKenna, John Eliot Gardiner/The English Baroque Soloists (Archiv)
10. Bach, J.S. *Brandenburg Concerto No.2 in F major – Allegro*; Anthony Halstead/The Hanover Band (EMI)
11. Palestrina *Missa viri galilaei – Sanctus*; Philippe Herreweghe/La Chapelle Royale (Harmonia mundi)
12. Palestrina *Missa viri galilaei – Benedictus*; Philippe Herreweghe/La Chapelle Royale (Harmonia mundi)
13. Ward John *Fantasia on In Nomine No.2 in C minor a 6*; The consort of musicke (Musica Oscura)
14. Josquin *L'homme armé Mass – Agnus dei (sexti toni)*; Peter Phillips/The Tallis Scholars (Gimell)
15. Purcell *Now that the sun has veiled his light*; Eamonn O'Dwyer, Robert King/The King's Consort (Hyperion)
16. Bach, J.S. *Christmas Oratorio No.6 – Nun seid ihr wohl gerochen*; John Eliot Gardiner/The English Baroque Soloists (Archiv)

UK EARLY MUSIC EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

INSTRUCTIONS

Please complete this survey and return in the envelope provided. Your answers will be treated entirely CONFIDENTIALLY. Summary findings will be made available on request

Please mark your preferred answer in the appropriate box with a X, unless instructed otherwise

This survey forms part of the primary research for a PhD study being carried out by Nick Wilson, Kingston University (n.wilson@kingston.ac.uk)

1: Please indicate the nature of your involvement in the early music sector:

- Both as a performer and instrument maker
- As a performer only
- As an instrument maker only

If instrument maker only, Go To Q.3

2: What is your main instrument / voice type?

Please write in box

--

3: Do you regard yourself as a professional, semi-professional or amateur performer and/or instrument maker? Answer whichever applies to you

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------|
| | Performer | Instrument-maker |
| Professional | | |
| Semi-professional | | |
| Amateur | | |

4: Have you ever studied a) early music performance, or b) early music instrument-making? Answer all that apply

- | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------------------|--|------------------|
| | a)
performance | When
(year/s) | b)
early music
instrument-
making | When
(year/s) |
| Yes – on a full-time UK course | | | | |
| Yes – on a full-time course outside the UK | | | | |
| Yes – on a part-time UK course | | | | |
| Yes – on a part-time course outside the UK | | | | |
| Yes – privately in the UK | | | | |
| Yes – privately outside the UK | | | | |
| No | | | | |

5: Do you teach a) early music performance, or b) early music instrument-making?
Answer all that apply

Yes – in a school
Yes – in a music college
Yes – in a university
Yes – privately
No

a) Teach early music performance

b) Teach early music inst.-making

6: Have you ever been paid for a) performing, or b) instrument-making in the early music sector?

a)
performing

b)
instrument-making

Yes

No

If NO to both, Go To Question22

7: When did you undertake your first paid work in the early music sector?
Answer whichever applies to you

As a performer

As an instrument-maker

Year

If you are an early music instrument-maker only, please Go To Question 22

8: Thinking back, which one of the following do you think has had the greatest influence in developing your active involvement in early music?

Parents or other family members

Opportunities at School

Opportunities at University

Music-making with friends

Encouragement of teacher(s)

Other (please state)

.....

.....

.....

.....

9: Have you received training in music at a Music College?

Yes

No

If Yes, please give details below

Which Music College	Year(s)	Qualification	Subject studied

10: Have you studied any subject at University?

Yes

No

If Yes, please give details below

Which University	Year(s)	Qualification	Subject studied

If you answered NO to both questions 9 & 10 please Go To Question 12

11: Thinking back to when you arrived at Music College or University (whichever one you went to first), did you intend to have a career in a) classical music in general, or b) early music in particular?

Answer both a) and b)

a)
classical music

b)
early music

Yes

No

12: Do you hold a regular position in any professional period instrument ensemble?

Yes

No

13: How many professional period instrument ensembles (in UK and abroad) have you played or sung for over the last 12 months?

In the UK

Abroad

One

Two

Three

Four

Five or more

14: Please could you estimate
a) what % of your income for early music work is derived from recordings?
b) what % of your early music hours worked is in relation to recordings? (include rehearsals for recording projects)

a)
Proportion of income

b)
Proportion of hours

None

Less than 10%

10-24%

25-49%

50-74%

75-100%

15: On average, how many days early music paid work do you have each month?

Less than 5	<input type="text"/>
5-9	<input type="text"/>
10-14	<input type="text"/>
15-19	<input type="text"/>
20-24	<input type="text"/>
25 or more	<input type="text"/>

16: Thinking back, which of the following has been most important in helping you find paid work in the early music sector a) at the start of your career b) in the course of your career?

	a) At the start of your career	b) in the course of your career
Recommendation from friend / family	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Recommendation from colleague	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Recommendation from teacher	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Winning a Competition or Prize	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Performance at audition / trial	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Other (please state)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

a).....

b).....

17: Over the last 12 months, how much have you earned from your playing / singing in the early music sector?

None	<input type="text"/>
Up to £1,000	<input type="text"/>
£1,000-£4,999	<input type="text"/>
£5,000-£9,999	<input type="text"/>
£10,000-£14,999	<input type="text"/>
£15,000-£19,999	<input type="text"/>
£20,000-£24,999	<input type="text"/>
£25,000-£49,999	<input type="text"/>
more than £50,000	<input type="text"/>

18: Do you expect your earnings to increase, stay the same or decrease over the next 12 months?

Increase	<input type="text"/>
Stay the same	<input type="text"/>
Decrease	<input type="text"/>

19: Do you expect the hours you work as an early music performer to increase, stay the same or decrease over the next 12 months?

Increase	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stay the same	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decrease	<input type="checkbox"/>

20: a) Please could you indicate the highest annual earnings you have had at any stage in your career from your playing / singing in the early music sector?
b) When was this?

	a)	b) Year(s)
Up to £1,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£1,000-£4,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£5,000-£9,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£10,000-£14,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£15,000-£19,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£20,000-£24,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
£25,000-£49,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
more than £50,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>

21: Do you undertake paid work performing on or with modern instruments (i.e. not in early music sector)?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

22: What is your main occupation/job?

Please write in box

(e.g. early music musician / teacher / accountant)

23: Do you have any other occupation(s)?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

If YES, please state which occupation(s)

Please write in box

(e.g. early music musician / teacher / accountant)

24: Please could you indicate your age?

Under 20	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 20–29	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 30-39	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 40-49	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 50-59	<input type="checkbox"/>
60 and over	<input type="checkbox"/>

25: Please could you indicate your gender?

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>

26: What are (or were) your parents' occupations?

Mother's occupation	<input type="text"/>
---------------------	----------------------

Father's occupation	<input type="text"/>
---------------------	----------------------

27: Please indicate your ethnic group

Mixed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Asian or Asian British	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black or Black British	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>
White (British)	<input type="checkbox"/>
White (other)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other	<input type="checkbox"/>

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY

Completed surveys will be sent to:
Nick Wilson, SBRC, Kingston University, Kingston Hill, Kingston upon Thames, KT2 7LB

If you would be willing to be contacted for a further in-depth interview
please include your details below

Please note your completed survey will be analysed separately from this form

NAME:.....

ADDRESS.....

ADDRESS.....

TEL. No.....

EMAIL.....

Appendix 4: List of qualitative interviews

Interviewee	Position	Date
Christopher Hogwood	MD, Academy of Ancient Music (AAM)	10 January 03
Trevor Pinnock	MD, The English Concert (TEC)	18 February 03
Maureen Garnham	Former manager, TEC	10 March 03
Felix Warnock	Former manager & player, TEC; OAE	10 March 03
Andrew Pinnock	Former Early Music Advisor, Arts Council	29 May 03
John Bickley	Founder & director, Magenta Music	5 August 03
Heather Jarman	Former PA to Hogwood, and manager, AAM	5 August 03
Christopher Lawrence	Manager of AAM	5 August 03
Kate Bolton	BBC Radio 3 & Lufthansa Baroque Festival	12 August 03
Richard Wood	CEO, The Early Music Shop	25 October 03
Robert Bailey	Instrument maker	25 October 03
Clifford Bartlett	Early music publisher – Kings Music	25 October 03
Jane Beeson	Administrator, Early Music (OUP)	25 October 03
Robert Duggan	Instrument maker	25 October 03
Caroline Brown	Founder The Hanover Band	29 October 03
Chris Sayers	Former producer for Decca and the BBC	25 November 03
Simon Perry	CEO, Hyperion Records	25 November 03
Andrew Parrott	MD, Taverner Choir, Consort and Players (TCP)	3 December 03
Daniel Pailthorpe	Principal Flute, BBC Symphony Orchestra	20 January 04
Marion Friend	Former fixer for OAE	27 January 04
Annette Isserlis	Viola player for OAE and other	3 March 04
Catherine Mackintosh	Leader (violinist) TEC, AAM, OAE	29 April 04
Colin Kitching	Fixer for TEC, TCP, LCP	4 May 04
Sir Roger Norrington	MD, London Classical Players (LCP)	23 June 04
[24]		

Interview requests declined:

Sir John Eliot Gardiner	MD, Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra
Robert King	MD, Kings Consort
Nicholas McGegan	Conductor, various

Radio interviews transcribed:

	Date
Frans Brüggen	15 March 03
Sir John Eliot Gardiner	13 December 05
Mr Munrow’s Study	1 January 06
[3]	

Other performer sources:

Sir John Eliot Gardiner
Christopher Hogwood
Frans Brüggen
Harry Christophers
Peter Holman
Peter Phillips
Robert King
Gustav Leonhardt
Nikolaus Harnoncourt

Recorder soloist and conductor
MD, The Sixteen
MD, The Parley of Instruments
MD, The Tallis Scholars

Web:

Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview
Goldberg interview

<http://www.sonyclassical.com/artists/leonhardt/>

http://www.styriarte.com/harnoncourt/index_en.php/article/articleview/1404/1/35

Schola Cantorum Basiliensis

Goldberg website

David Pickard

Former Manager, OAE

Kenyon (2002) Simon Rattle

Chris Green

BPI (head of research) – phone interview

John Smith

General Secretary Musicians Union – phone interview

[13]

Total = 40

N.B. Each of the Music Directors (MDs) is also an early music performer in their own right.

Abbreviations used:

AAM Academy of Ancient Music
BPI British Phonographic Industry
OAE Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment
OUP Oxford University Press
LCP London Classical Players
TEC The English Concert
TCP Taverner Consort and Players

Appendix 5: Key informant interview topic guide

N.B. In each case, this guide was modified and directed specifically at the particular informant being interviewed. The questions asked were more specific and context-based than this generic guide suggests.

Introduction:

- My interest is in the emergence of a labour market in the early music sector in the UK
- Particular focus on the emergence of practices and structures since 1973

General background:

Motivation:

Q: Please could you tell me a little about where your interest in music comes from?

Musicians:

Q: How did you get to play with other musicians?

Music:

Q: How did you know what repertoire to play? Who were your guides? What were you influenced by (radio/recordings etc.)?

Skills:

Q: How did you develop your skills as a player/conductor?

Q: How important is studying at an institution – why is this?

Probe: What is the role of the teacher...gatekeeper?

Musical Instrument:

Q: Thinking back, where did you get your instrument(s) from? Has this ever been an issue for you?

Interest in early music:

Q: When and how did your interest in historical performance (early music) begin?

Q: How did this interest manifest itself?

- Playing in ensembles
- Setting up any groups – were you proactive in this at all?
- Researching playing styles etc.
- Buying recordings etc.

- Q: What was the pleasure you got from playing early music?
- Q: Thinking back, who or what were your key influences at that time?
- Q: If you had to account for your interest in early music now – what could you put it down to (family background; schooling; other)?

Emergence of labour market:

- Q: Do you remember when was your first paid work as an ‘early musician’?
- Q: How did this come about – did you actively seek it?
- Q: Did you want to become an ‘early music’ musician?
- Q: Did you do any other kind of work in those days?
- Q: Did you seek teaching in mainstream or early music (or both)? If only early music – why was this?
- Q: To what extent has the need to earn money been important in any decisions that you have taken in your working life?

Specific events/issues:

e.g. The founding of ensembles; specific concerts, tours, recordings; employment of musicians etc.

[This section varied from informant to informant]

Critical Incidents:

- Q: To what extent has the level of competition for work increased, decreased or stayed the same over the last 30 years in the UK (and worldwide)?
- Q: Finally, where do you see your own career, the XXXX, and early music going from here?

Also probe for further interviews with other players.

Appendix 6: Initial coding structure

Organisational level (LxS)

- O1 Pre-existing labour-power exchange structure(s)
- O2 Pre-existing cultural emergent properties at organisational level
- O3 Social interaction at organisational level
- O4 Contingent structures at organisational level
- O5 Elaboration of labour-power exchange structure(s)
- O6 Elaboration of cultural emergent properties at organisational level

Note: While the labour power exchange structure is not specific to *firms* (and so is here referred to as the ‘organisational’ level), it will be helpful in the analysis to think of this as data relating to the transformation and reproduction of relevant firms (orchestras, ensembles, promoters etc.)

Product market level (PxS)

- P1 Pre-existing product exchange structure(s)
- P2 Pre-existing cultural emergent properties at product market level
- P3 Social-interaction at product market level
- P4 Contingent structures at product market level
- P5 Elaboration of product exchange structure(s)
- P6 Elaboration of cultural emergent properties at product market level

Note: The product exchange structure involves a buyer and seller of the ‘early music product’. In the early days of the *emerging* market the distinction between amateur and professional performer (or promoter) is not clear-cut. This level, therefore, is not just about commodity exchanges.

Labour market level (SMEP)

- L1 Pre-existing labour market(s)
- L2 Pre-existing cultural emergent properties at labour market level
- L3 Social interaction at labour market level
- L4 Contingent structures at labour market level
- L5 Elaboration of labour market structure(s)
- L6 Elaboration of cultural emergent properties at labour market level

Note: Nothing comes out of nothing...this level focuses on the pre-existing classical music labour market – though it is noted that O1 also relates to this.