

Nick Wilson

“Congratulations, it’s a labour market!” A causal-explanatory account of the birth of the UK early music musician labour market

Abstract

The issue of how a ‘new’ labour market emerges for the first time has been given little explicit attention in labour market literature. Indeed, there has been a general ontological assumption that labour markets just exist. This paper seeks to explore this issue by providing a causal-explanatory account of how the UK early music musician labour market emerged in the early 1970s. This is developed through the application of Archer’s Morphogenetic Approach, which recognises a stratified and transformational social ontology. It is argued that the resulting analysis takes account of the dynamic and transitory nature of the labour market, thus emphasising the need to re-think the concept in terms of structures *and* the actions of agents, rather than structures alone. As such, the interdependency of labour market, firm, and market, through the mediation of human agency, is highlighted. The paper makes a call for further research to understand this interplay. It is suggested that the ‘dynamic of entrepreneurship’ represents a useful conceptual way forward in this respect.

Introduction

The starting point for the research reported in this paper was the desire to provide a causal-explanatory account of the UK *early music musician* labour market. The early music movement embraces a group of specialist classical musicians, promoters, instrument makers, publishers and record companies that since the early 1970s have achieved significant cultural and commercial success in the UK and abroad (Butt, 2002). While the history of the early music movement (or ‘historically informed performance’) can be traced back much further, particularly to the work of Arnold Dolmetsch in the early twentieth century, it is only in the last 30 years or so that a discrete group of professional early music musicians has emerged from within the wider classical music field. It is on this group’s activities that this paper’s analysis is chiefly focused.

The core intention behind this ‘account’ is to causally explain a set of phenomena associated with the concept of the labour market. From the outset, a guiding principle of the approach taken was, in the words of Sayer (2001), “to try and work out what is necessarily the case about” this particular labour market. This approach therefore goes further than seeking to explain how a labour market functions, or to predict future performance. Indeed, the account is based on an analysis that looks back in time rather than forwards. This necessarily requires the researcher to provide some explanation of labour market formation. At a certain point in time the labour market did not exist. At another point in time, somewhat later, it did. How did this happen? How do we account for the emergence of a ‘new’ labour market? These are the ontological questions that this paper seeks to explore.

Examination of existing labour market theory reveals little explicit reference to the ‘birth’ of new labour markets. There appears to be a remarkable resistance to discuss the causal mechanisms that give rise to their being. Indeed, in most analyses, there is an implicit assumption that labour markets just exist. An exception is found in Marxist accounts of the labour market. Fine (1998), for example, talks of the ‘(re)creation’ of separate labour markets, noting the dependence “upon how these labour markets and the capital-labour relation are reproduced both within the economy (and not just in production) and within society more broadly” (p.8). There is, however, a growing literature on the related issues of formation of firms (Aldrich, 1999; Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Katz and Gartner, 1988; Romanelli and Schoonhoven, 2001), formation of markets (Rindova and Fombrun, 2001); and the role of individual and collective agents, including entrepreneurs, in this respect (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Shane, S. and Venkataraman, S., 2000). One of the purposes of this paper is to highlight the opportunity of joining up these contributions to our understanding of how labour markets emerge.

Despite labour market theorists’ lack of any particular focus on labour market formation, there has been a gradual acknowledgement of the labour market’s sensitivity to the contingencies of time and space (Peck, 1989; Hiebert, 1994). Jacoby (1990), for example, insists that diachronic analysis – “how the economy acquired its features and the conditions that cause these features to vary over time and place” (p.319-20) – has to be part of economics, alongside synchronic abstraction. While Iacobacci (1992) maintains that the use of historical analysis “to understand the nature of any given labour market phenomenon by identifying the conditions of its emergence and subsequent mutation” (p.28) is the most developed realist feature of institutionalist segmented labour market (LMS) research, closer inspection of LMS literature in general reveals a tendency towards descriptive and static accounts of the labour market. This, I believe, results from a failure of labour market theorists in general to adequately ‘locate’ the concept of the labour market in social space. A second purpose of the paper is, therefore, to address this failing through the application of a particular methodological approach – Archer’s (1995) morphogenetic approach. An account of labour market emergence is presented that locates the labour market in a stratified and transformational social ontology, in keeping with a critical realist perspective.

Defining the labour market

Although the concept of the ‘labour market’ is all pervading in the economic literature, there is a surprising lack of clarity concerning its ontological foundation. The same applies to the concept of the ‘market’ in general. Indeed, Ronald Coase noted that the role of markets in modern economic theory is even more opaque than that of enterprises (Coase, 1988). 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).

The orthodox or ‘Mainstream’ account of the labour market is based on empirical realist ontology. The labour market is defined as the site wherein wage rates and the quantities of labour demanded and supplied are functionally related (Fleetwood, 2003, p.3).

Functional relations are deduced from a Humean account of causality based on the constant conjunction of events. ‘Heterodox’ accounts 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 (ibid, p.6). 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. Fleetwood observes “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).

Fleetwood (2003) has re-defined labour markets as “synonymous with the social structures that constitute them” (p.1). Providing that ‘structures’ are understood here explicitly in terms of the continually reproduced and/or transformed medium and outcome of interaction with human agency (i.e. from a critical realist perspective) then this definition would appear to suffice. However, there is a danger that treating the labour market as synonymous with the social structures that constitute it, may then lead to both the actions and beliefs of agents as being considered external to, but dependent upon, the labour market. For example, it is important for us to understand how those agents (or individual ‘actors’) that participate in the labour market *become* participants. Otherwise we are concerned only with those people who are ‘in’ (or ‘out’) of the labour market, not those who had the potential to be, or did not have the potential to be. To adequately *explain* the labour market, therefore, we must provide an account that explains how the social structures and cultures ‘constituting’ the labour market are themselves either reproduced or transformed, through the mediation of human agency. Such an account explicitly recognises the dynamic and transitory nature of the ‘labour market’ and therefore cannot be reduced to structures alone.

Labour market formation

The above discussion raises important issues about the theoretical nature of the labour market under review. These inevitably influence how we understand labour market formation – or the emergence of a labour market for the first time. For example, if we treat the labour market as a special kind of market (Rosenbaum, 2000), and follow Hodgson (1988) in defining the market as ‘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 and structured by those institutions’ (p.174), then we are left with something of a conundrum concerning the ‘thinness’ or infrequency of exchanges that is characteristic of a new market. The question arises as to how many commodity exchanges constitute ‘a large number’? Thus, in the early days of the early music revival is it appropriate to talk of a ‘labour market’ as such, even though only a handful of friends and colleagues were being ‘employed’ on a small-scale project basis?

Three essential and related features of the labour market are highlighted by this dilemma. Firstly, the concept of ‘exchange’ is central to our understanding of the labour market.

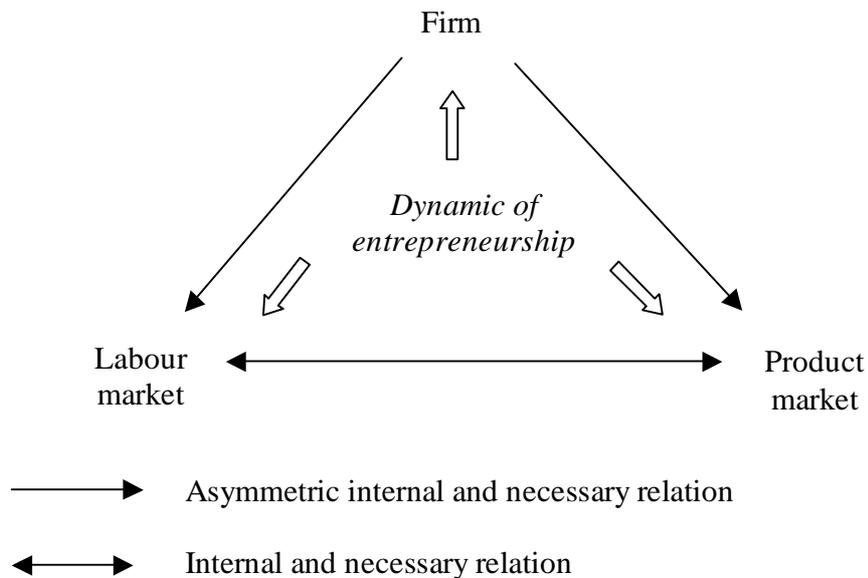
The exchange of labour power for money is what happens ‘in’ a labour market. However, this feature on its own is not enough to warrant the term ‘labour market’. It appears that the number of exchanges taking place (and therefore probably the number of actors involved) is also important. A labour market must be of a certain size, in order to *be* a labour market. From a conceptual point of view, it could be argued that this is when an element of choice is introduced (two or more actors could be employed to undertake the same job). Callon (1998), for example, stresses the role of ‘calculative agents’ in the market. However, in practice, we know that there are such things as non-competitive labour markets (Marsden, 1986). The third essential feature of the labour market is regularity of exchange. Two aspects of this feature are worth highlighting. Firstly, regular exchange is dependent on the demand for the product or service, and therefore the market itself. In other words, the labour market is internally and necessarily related to the product market. Secondly, regularity is a feature that can only be observed after the event. The formation of a labour market can only be defined retrospectively. All of this leads one to agree (at least in part) with Fine (1998), in noting that “labour market theory cannot be picked off the shelf and applied; it must respond and correspond to the specific combination of socioeconomic relations, processes, structures and agents through which the market coordinates the underlying relationship between capital and labour” (p.12).

Such emphasis on the combination of socioeconomic relations, processes, structures and agents urges us to consider the relationships between the newly founded labour market and the new firm (e.g. early music orchestra) and the new product market (e.g. for live or recorded early music performance). It is difficult to be clear about the interdependency between a ‘new’ labour market, firm and product market. However, Lazonick (2003) argues that markets are the consequences of economic development, and therefore firm formation. Closer inspection reveals two kinds of relations between the labour market, product market and firm (see Figure 1). The product market is necessarily and internally related to the labour market, and vice versa. You can’t have one without the other. The firm, on the other hand, is asymmetrically related to both the labour market and product market. It is possible to conceive of labour markets and product markets without any firms (e.g. where there are only self-employed producers), but not the other way round¹. Such a perspective focuses attention on the purposive and collective market space-creating activities of entrepreneurs and others. Schoonhoven and Romanelli (2001) refer to this as the ‘dynamic of entrepreneurship’ which they see as ‘a transforming agent in industry and society, one that is born of existing conditions and one that, at the same time, redeploys resources toward new organizational and industry arrangements’ (p.385).

The dynamic nature of labour market emergence cannot then be accounted for without due consideration of the structural conditions within which the entrepreneurial actor identifies, evaluates and exploits an opportunity (through redeployment of resources) in the process of social interaction. As such, Fine’s (1998) assertion that “labour market structures are defined historically by the creation and reproduction of definite socioeconomic structures” (p.10) is recalled.

¹ Even in a monopolistic market where there is a single firm there will be the need to sustain the supply of labour over time and therefore all three features of the labour market can be seen to exist

Figure 1: Labour market relations and the dynamic of entrepreneurship



A brief history of the early music movement

Having presented something of the conceptual argument underpinning this research we can now return to the specific context under consideration – the early music movement, and more particularly, the early music musician labour market.

The cultural phenomenon of ‘early music’ can usefully be thought of as a late twentieth century ensemble of social practices that relate to the performance of older repertoires of Western classical music (Dreyfus, 1983). The roots of the early music sector in the UK can be traced further back to the influential activities of Arnold Dolmetsch (born 1858) who made his own instruments, introducing the recorder to the UK, and authentically performing works of early composers on the instruments for which they were written (see Campbell, 1975). Something of a maverick, he was admired by many but regarded as an outsider by the classical music establishment. It was not until the late 1960s that the revival of early music really began to gain some momentum.

In understanding what ‘early music’ is, it is helpful to consider three essential features of the early music product (and its market). The first is the ‘core product’ which is the early music repertoire itself. This music extends from liturgical chant of the Middle Ages through Classical symphonies of the eighteenth century and more recently in to the repertoire of the 19th and even 20th centuries. The second essential feature is what we

might think of as the ‘tools of production’. The musicians play on what are known as “original instruments”, which include antique and reconstructed instruments of all sorts. The third essential feature relates to the ‘process of production’. The performance of early music is subject to a set of ideas and beliefs which constitute the discipline of ‘performance practice’. This, in turn, is based on musicological research of treatises and archival documents of many kinds.

In identifying the ‘pre-history’ of the early music movement in the UK we can point to three different types of events which all went on simultaneously. Firstly, early music repertoire was performed by professional classical music ensembles (of various sizes) on modern musical instruments. There was little specific interest in performance practice, though stylistic interpretation is always a feature of musical performance. Alongside this, a number of individuals started experimenting with original instruments and formed ad hoc groups with like-minded amateur enthusiasts. Much of this playing was based on detailed musicological research. Then, a few professionally-trained classical musicians established their own ‘early music’ groups, consisting of three or four players, sometimes a few more. Often these groups started out playing on modern instruments. Their activities coincided with an increasing awareness of historically informed performance practice.

The ‘need’ to perform music in a historically informed style has been the subject of much debate, particularly since the commercial success of the early music sector over the last thirty years or so (Butt, 2002). Arguments for and against have tended to focus on the question of ‘authenticity’ and the extent to which performances faithfully re-create the music as the composer would have intended it. While this is not the place to engage with this debate it is important to recognise that the emergence and subsequent elaboration of the early music labour market is predicated upon a battle of ideas and beliefs as much as the material structural conditions that existed in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Method

As noted earlier, Archer’s (1995) morphogenetic approach – which she describes as the methodological complement to critical realism – has been chosen as an appropriate vehicle for providing a causal explanatory account of the early music musician labour market. It is maintained that the morphogenetic approach is ideally suited to this task, given the particular focus on emergence and elaboration. 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 possessing causal powers and liabilities; and non predictable but none the less explicable *outcomes* arising from interactions between the above (Archer et al., 1998, p.377-8). The analytical separation of structure and agency is a key feature of this approach².

Before applying the concepts of the morphogenetic approach, three aspects of abstraction – taking a particular focus or emphasis (Lawson, 1997) – should be understood: the

² For a full account of the morphogenetic approach, see Archer’s ‘Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach’ – Part II

appropriate vantage point, the level of generality and the space-time extension or scope involved (ibid, p.228). The vantage point of this analysis seeks to contrast the causal-explanatory power of the morphogenetic approach in explaining labour market emergence with that of existing labour market theory. The explicit focus on the early music musician labour market requires the emergence of this particular labour market to be explained rather than labour markets in general. This does not preclude any general observations being drawn subsequently, subject to the appropriate health warnings. Finally, the concrete events being explained are limited by the scope of analysis. The emergence of the UK early music musician labour market is being considered here over a specific period of a few years (late 1960s in to the early 1970s). Within this time-frame many critical incidents may have taken place, each of which requiring their own causal explanation, and morphogenetic cycle. Depending on the scope of analysis, therefore, we could choose to develop many morphogenetic cycles, all of which being related to each other over time. However, given the particular level of abstraction highlighted above, the following analytical account is based on one iteration of the morphogenetic cycle. This backtracks through the social interaction responsible for the labour market's emergence and locates its own origins in a prior structural context. As such, three distinct phases of the cycle are discussed: conditioning –interaction –elaboration. Each of these phases additionally take account of the 'parts' (structure and culture) and the 'people' (groups of agents – in a double morphogenesis).

The following analytical account is based on some early analysis of twenty-five interviews with founders, players and other experts from the early music sector in the UK, carried out as part of a doctoral programme of research. It is therefore offered as work in progress.

Causal-explanatory account of the emergence of the UK early music musician labour market

The prior classical music field (pre-1970)

While 'early music' orchestras had existed for some years on the continent, in the early 1970s there was no professional early music orchestra established in the UK. Early music, if performed at all at a professional level, was performed on modern instruments and in a style consistent with the overall musical offering of existing classical music orchestras, ensembles and groups. Control of inputs, processes and outputs was therefore at the discretion of the artistic and general management of such organisations. The necessary and internal relationship between such classical music organisations and the promoters and venues that contracted music organisations for concerts and recordings is fundamental to our understanding of the prior structural conditions. This structural emergent property (SEP) represented a *necessary complementarity* and both parties were engaged in the situational logic of protection. Conditions for classical music organisations in the early 1970s were not particularly supportive from an economic perspective. Limited state support and the general effects of Baumol's 'cost disease' (Baumol and Bowen, 1966), created significant economic pressure on classical music groups. With not enough work to go round, competition for engagements was keen.

With no obvious opportunity for improvement, orchestras had every vested interest in protecting their position. Promoters and venues (including Festivals, broadcasters and record companies) also had a vested interest in protecting their future as their livelihood was dependent on the performers themselves. In turn, the musicians' interests were bound up with the success (or otherwise) of existing classical music organisations, their roles being internally related to the organisations they played for. Finally, as the musicians gained the skills necessary to perform in professional classical music organisations through instruction from other classical musicians (themselves either formally or currently holding positions in classical music ensembles), the teachers (and therefore the music colleges) also had a vested interest to protect the status quo.

To the extent that classical music activities were a matter of indifference to large sectors of the population, there was then little structural predisposition to either support or oppose the prevailing forms of classical music performance. This can be seen as a further reason for an enduring state of affairs – or classical music musician labour market morphostasis – whereby most institutional vested interests were essentially neutral to it.

The legacy of Dolmetsch's fervour in promoting historical performance lived on, however, outside of the professional classical music field, in the form of enthusiastic amateurs and their early music ensembles (particularly viol consorts, recorder consorts, and madrigal groups). By the late 1960s some professional classical musicians had also begun to perform early music in small groups of their own, or they joined forces with the amateur players in their spare time. A few began performing early music professionally, usually at small music clubs or festivals. The BBC promoted broadcasts of these small ensembles.

The rise of the early music advocate (pre1970)

The gradual development of 'opposition' to the existing form of classical music activity (i.e. period instrument performance) was mediated through contingent developments. Musicians were actively discouraged from fulfilling their interest in early music by those protecting the status quo (to the extent of Music Colleges removing scholarships from students spending too much time practicing 'early music'). As such, these musicians were *obstructed parties* – a particular category of 'corporate agent' – and their situation can be described as representing contingent incompatibility. Understanding the origins of these obstructed parties is informative in terms of understanding how blurred the boundary between professional and amateur musician remains in some classical musicians' eyes.

A second group of obstructed parties existed in the form of those non-performing musicians who wished to promote or host early music concerts. In the early 1970s early music was generally regarded as rather 'extreme', much like some contemporary music. The level of demand for early music was essentially uncertain and so the risks involved in promotion were all the greater.

Early music as a battle of ideas

It is important to note here that ‘discouragement’ of historically informed performance practice cannot be discussed in terms of structural arguments alone. Clearly, in such a field as music performance, ideas relating to *how* a piece of music should be played are at least as significant as the structural boundaries pertaining to those involved. It is striking how little attention has been given in the labour market literature to the central influence of conflicting ideas or aesthetic ideals in determining how a labour market is structured.

Historically informed performance is premised on a number of doctrinal views and beliefs. These have been the subject of much debate, particularly over the last 20 years (e.g. Taruskin, 1995; Kenyon, 1988; Dreyfuss, 1983 etc). Discussions centre on issues of authenticity. From an analytical perspective, the critical point here is the extent to which the views held by early music protagonists are compatible with the existing mainstream views. In the case of ‘constraining contradiction’ (see Archer, 1995, p.230) the doctrines of the historically informed performance group are logically inconsistent with those of the established mainstream classical music field. The views of the former and the latter groups cannot be upheld simultaneously. In contrast, in a situation of ‘competitive contradiction’, the views of the early music ‘movement’ are not dependent on the mainstream because the two are only contingently related. The ‘accentuation’ of an ‘independent’ contradiction (such as historically informed performance) is, in Archer’s terms, ‘a supremely social matter’. Accentuation depends on groups, actuated by interests, *making* a contradiction competitive, by taking sides over it and by trying to make other people take their side’ (*ibid*, p.239).

To make analytical progress here we must be more specific about what views are being discussed. One of the difficulties though is that there was no *one* manifesto or account of what the early music movement actually stood for. The debate as to whether early music is in fact ‘modernity’ in a particular guise (see Butt, 2002) emphasises the breadth of argument in this respect. However, in view of the fact that historically informed performance in practice led to a separate group of people playing music in a different style and on a different set of instruments to the mainstream, it would appear that the situational logic is best characterised as ‘constraining contradiction’. This has a significant bearing on how the early music musician labour market was subsequently transformed³.

While beliefs about the rights and wrongs of historically informed performance practice are central to our understanding of cultural conditioning, they represent only part of the

³ Archer describes how the situational logic of *constraining contradictions* leads to some form of syncretism. The existence of constraining contradictions within the Cultural System conditions *ideational unification*. This appears to represent the case in the early music sector over the last few years. Increasingly we find that mainstream classical music orchestras are including early music in their repertoire, with performances being influenced to some extent by historically informed performance, but players still using their modern instruments.

story. Just as important were the beliefs shared by many in the classical music field about the impact of the early music movement on their own lives and their own employment. The enduring belief about early music being unable to sustain a career grew out of the fragile career opportunities for all classical musicians. As teachers were themselves products of the classical music infrastructure, it was not surprising to see their experiences being passed on to subsequent generations of players as if gospel truth. Early music performance threatened to take away opportunities for professional work from what some teachers regarded were better qualified and more deserving classical music musicians. It is not so important whether the concerns were based on any evidence or, indeed, whether they were justified, what mattered is that the ideas and beliefs held conditioned opportunities for those wishing to play early music on or with period instruments.

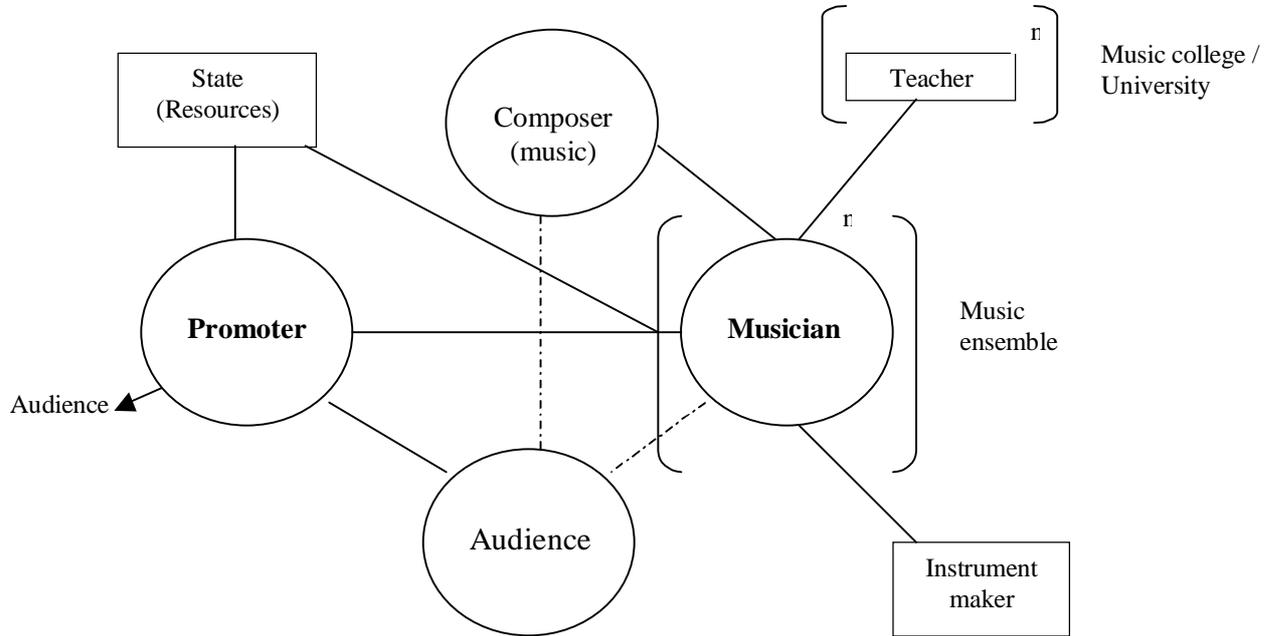
Who were the early music advocates?

So far, we have identified a group of ‘obstructed corporate agents’ which is crudely seen as including all those who want and are in a position themselves to perform or enable others to perform early music in a historically informed manner. This categorisation presupposes both the opportunity for becoming disposed towards early music in the first place, and the ability to be able to act in some way on that predisposition. Such ‘corporate agents’ are distinguished from ‘primary agents’ – who may also want to perform early music but are not in the position of being able to do anything actively about it. It should be noted here that this does not mean that primary agents have no influence on the emergence of an early music labour market.

Individuals’ life chances are fundamental in this respect. This is so, not least because appreciating classical music depends to a large extent on familiarisation and knowledge about the art form. Bourdieu (1979), for example, 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).

From the previous discussion, however, it is also apparent that the corporate agents described here (obstructed parties) have the opportunity to effect a change in the performance of classical music (and by implication the labour market) precisely because they are well positioned in the existing social structure, as musicians or promoters (see Figure 2). Agents’ positioning has been shown to provide a legitimacy (see Wilson and Stokes, 2004) that is essential for leveraging key resources that enable the reproduction and transformation of the new labour market.

Figure 2: Prior Social Structures in Classical Music Field



Obstructed parties
(early music advocates)

—— Relations of production
- - - - Relations of consumption

The birth of the early music musician labour market

It was observed earlier that ‘structures’, such as those making up the early music musician labour market (à la Fleetwood), must be explained explicitly in terms of the continually reproduced and/or transformed medium and outcome of interaction with human agency. So far this analytical account has provided a summary of the conditions for social interaction. We can now move to the interaction itself and implications for our understanding of labour market emergence. In so doing, a particular event is highlighted as being of critical importance. This is the establishment of the first professional early music orchestra in the UK, which itself can be seen as an act of firm formation. The reason this is important is because all three essential features of the product market (early music repertoire, original instruments, and historically informed performance practice) and of the labour market (labour power exchanged for money, labour market of a certain size, and regularity of exchange) are present for the first time (see Table 1).

Table 1: Essential features of early music musician labour market emergence

Date	Events being described	Essential features of the product market satisfied	Essential features of the labour market satisfied	Stage of morphogenetic cycle discussed
Pre 1970	Early music repertoire performed by professional classical music musicians	1. ✓	1. ✓	Conditioning
		2. ✗	2. ✓	
		3. ✗	3. ✓	
	Early music performed on authentic instruments by amateurs	1. ✓	1. ✗	
		2. ✓	2. ✗	
		3. (✓)	3. ✗	
	Small-scale early music projects performed by professional musicians	1. ✓	1. ✓	
		2. (✓)	2. ✗	
		3. (✓)	3. (✓)	
Early 1970s	Early music orchestra(s) established	1. ✓	1. ✓	Interaction & Elaboration
		2. ✓	2. ✓	
		3. ✓	3. ✓	

Essential features of the product market:

1. Core product (early music repertoire)
2. Tools of production (authentic instruments)
3. Process of production (performance practice)

Essential features of the labour market

1. Exchange (labour power exchanged for money)
2. Size (labour market is of a certain size)
3. Regularity (regular exchanges)

The analytical account continues, therefore, with particular reference to the formation of the first professional early music orchestra in the UK.

The formation of an early music orchestra (1973)

'Y' worked for a leading classical music record company. He had long harboured a desire to record an early music or 'period instrument' orchestra. One day, after a recording session with a leading classical music chamber orchestra, he asked the harpsichord player, 'X', who he knew from his solo recitals and his work with leading mainstream classical music orchestras:

“since you play with that group, would it be possible to conceive of a period instrument group of about the same size playing to anything like that standard?”

X replied “Yes!”, although he now admits that this was rather foolish at that time. X then quickly contacted friends and colleagues who he knew had a leaning towards the early music repertoire, or who he thought would be willing to “experiment” and put together a group for their first recording. The recording took place in a church in South London, and, in this way, one of the leading early music ensembles was formed.

In the limited literature on the history of the early music movement (see, for example, Haskell, 1988; Sherman, 1997) X is singled out as a 'pioneer'. Certainly, he played a pivotal role in redeploying resources (see below). The ability to mobilize resources is seen as a key determinant of entrepreneurial behaviour (see Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Casson, 2000). However, it is interesting to reflect on the collective nature of the 'entrepreneurial dynamic' in this light. Firm formation (setting up of X's early music orchestra) required the active involvement of other 'obstructed parties' (in this case, record-company executive 'Y' and early music musicians). It is apparent that X's stance towards early music stood in alignment with Y's desire to set up a baroque orchestra, and the motivations of those players that wished to become involved. Such congruence was an important factor in explaining why concerted action was to ensue (see Archer, 1995, p.332).

The entrepreneurial dynamic – redeploying resources for firm and labour market emergence

A critical aspect of the analysis of social interaction is to consider whether the early music advocates (revealed above) had access to appropriate resources to take the conflict to the dominant parties (the established classical music organisations). The resources required can be considered in more detail in terms of financial, human and social capital (wealth; experience and sanctions). Financial capital was important in the sense in which promotion of concerts and recordings was expensive and risky. Y's support of X's new early music group could not have happened without access to the significant financial backing of Y's major record company. Indeed, it is in the particular ability of record companies at this time to provide the funds for speculative early music recordings that the future of the early music movement in the UK partly depended. However, it is not simply a matter of the record company having access to financial resources. Crucial at this stage was the 'bargaining power' of the social actor Y in terms of his ability to secure

the resources required for the first recording. While Hodgson (2001) talks of the importance of ‘historical specificity’ it is important to avoid seeing this as simply the result of a long chain of contingency. We have already identified a set of structural and cultural emergent properties that are themselves dependent on necessary and internal relations.

As has been noted, the protective state of necessary complementarity made acquisition of skills in historically informed performance difficult in the early years of the new labour market. There were no courses specialising in early music in the UK in the early 1970s. Authentic original instruments were not readily available. There were very few reliable early music editions to pick from off the shelf. Before the formation of professional early music ensembles there was also no dedicated forum for ideas or opportunity for players to build their experience.

However, it is in the very fact that the obstructed parties were themselves playing out roles which were internally related to the music organisations holding the power of control that sufficient resources could be found to effect change (see Figure 2). For example, X gained valuable legitimacy from performing with a renowned classical music chamber orchestra for many years. It is not insignificant that the spur to establish an early music orchestra resulted from a conversation held at a recording session with this group. Thus, social capital played a key role in respect of the resources required for mobilisation. Similarly, social capital provided the means of collaboration between obstructed parties (would-be early music musicians) that was to be so important through social interaction.

Artists’ labour markets are different?

In recognising that the obstructed parties lacked resources – particularly in terms of the lack of skills and experience associated with playing what amounted to new instruments in new ways – it is also important to highlight the particular strength of purpose afforded by the early music musicians’ love of early music and belief in their approach. This raises a key issue that has been discussed frequently in relation to artists’ labour markets in general – namely that of motivation. Mainstream accounts of labour markets (and many Heterodox accounts too) generally consider 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. Frey and Pommerehne (1989) make the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation – i.e. the artistic drive to create, and non-pecuniary motive or ‘psychic rewards’, and a response to pecuniary rewards. As Towse (2001) notes, this could call for a theory of supply based on liking for work rather than dislike. Indeed, Caserta and Cuccia (2001) have pointed to the reversal of ‘traditional results’ of the labour market process, which they suggest stem from the fact that workers (e.g. early music musicians) derive satisfaction from the process of work.

We can see, then, that a musician’s motivation to perform early music in an historically informed manner has the potential to act as a strong substitute for the lack of material resources (as described above). Arguably, a consequence of this is that the ‘obstructed

parties' (in this case, early music musicians and supporters) are more likely to effect a change in the existing labour market conditions since they are not motivated by extrinsic rewards alone.

The effect of labour market emergence on the actors involved

X's actions changed not only the structural conditions for subsequent transformation of the labour market, but also his own relationships with that labour market. This represents what Archer terms the 'double morphogenesis of agency'. It has important implications for our understanding of the labour market in terms of the dualistic characterisation of *supply-side* and *demand-side* activities. It was as a classical music performer (supply-side) interacting with other corporate agents that X was in a position to found his early music ensemble and become the director / employer (demand-side) of other performers. The process of labour market formation has been shown to involve a more complex dynamic of agents drawing on aspects of both sides of the labour market. Thus, X's position as a respected performer is key in understanding how he came to be in the right place (at the right time) to co-found his early music orchestra and thus begin to represent a key demand-side influence in the emerging early music musician labour market.

As a modern classical musician opting to 'experiment' with a newly formed early music group we can also see the morphogenesis of agency at work. The very act of choosing to play on an old instrument with an unproved group of like-minded professionals (and amateurs) is transforming at the level of social structure and agency. Early music performance is again given some legitimacy by the involvement of a classical musician from the 'dominant party'. The fee offered for that work is set at a level that recognises the 'specialist' nature of the labour required – thus attracting those with the technical skills required to play 'difficult' and unwieldy instruments. In being involved, the player himself is recognised as an early music musician, reinforcing the overall legitimacy of the early music movement.

Elaboration of the early music musician labour market

The emergence of the early music musician labour market became internally and necessarily related to a plurality of other social institutions for the first time. Amongst these, as noted earlier, are the relations with firms and the product market. Archer terms this 'multiple integration'. She identifies two sources of multiple integration, the intended and the unintended, "which intermingle and determine the exact nature of structural relations to emerge" (*ibid*, p.339).

The analytical account presented here focuses attention on the causal powers or liabilities of relations that govern the flux of events (see Sayer, 1992, pp.104-5). Particular prominence has been given to the social structures and relations that governed the setting up of the first early music orchestra in the early 1970s, and that, in turn, gave rise to the emergence of the early music labour market itself. The asymmetrical internal and necessary relation between firm and labour market (see Figure 1), together with the double morphogenesis described above, provide an important example of 'unintended'

multiple integration. The newly established early music orchestra (along with several others, soon after) became the dominant party in the field of early music performance. With control remaining in the hands of the founders (as opposed to the players who may well have formed part of the assertive alliance that overthrew the former classical music dominant parties) some of the players found themselves becoming obstructed parties again and re-formed alliances (democratically managed new orchestras) to promote change (in a further morphogenetic cycle). Thus, we find that the early music musician labour market transformed itself in the following years⁴.

Conclusions

The analysis presented above makes both theoretical and methodological progress in terms of how we account for the emergence of a 'new' labour market. Such an achievement disputes Fine's (1998) contention that research based on an empirical mode of study has little to add in these respects. Indeed, it is in the application of a realist causal explanatory framework (Archer's morphogenetic approach) to the specific context of the early music musician labour market that advances have been made.

It can be argued that the analytical account of labour market emergence put forward has the advantage over previous accounts of the labour market in locating the concept in an explicitly dynamic social and cultural context. As such, we can begin to see, for example, how the formation of a new labour market is conditioned by structures present in pre-existing labour markets (e.g. the classical music musician labour market); how the social interaction of agents (and entrepreneurial actors) impacts the subsequent reproduction and transformation of the labour market (e.g. through the formation of early music orchestras); and how labour market elaboration is a continuous and 'necessary' facet of its reality (with intended and unintended consequences for all involved). In embracing the stratified and transformational ontology that underpins the morphogenetic approach, it is clear that the concept of the 'labour market' cannot be understood in terms of structures alone. Explicit reference to the actions of agents is a necessary component of a full account of the labour market.

In focusing on the formation activities of specific actors in the early music movement, the approach taken goes some way in demonstrating the interdependency of labour markets, firms, and markets, and introduces some preliminary steps in drawing together what, up until now, have appeared as more or less separate literatures. It does this with particular reference to the 'dynamic of entrepreneurship', or the purposive and collective market space-creating activities of entrepreneurs and others. To the extent that the creation of labour markets (and indeed markets) are rarely the explicit purpose of the agents involved, particular attention therefore focuses on the role of firm formation and its consequences for labour market emergence. More research could usefully be undertaken to elaborate the causal relations at work here.

⁴ The reproduction and transformation of the early music musician labour market will be considered in more detail in later papers from this research.

Finally, rather than fighting shy of analysing artists' labour markets, on the basis that they are somehow 'different' (Heilbrun and Gray, 2001), the dynamic approach taken in this analysis provides an alternative approach to labour market theory which can be applied across all labour markets. Where 'differences' (such as levels of intrinsic motivation) are thought to exist, their particular influence on labour markets can be explained through discussion of the reproduction and transformation of social structures and cultures and the mediation of human agency. This becomes possible when labour markets are understood in terms of the interaction of specific context-related structures *and* agents.

As a footnote to this paper, the research reported here is based on a preliminary analysis of data collected as part of a doctoral programme of research. Further systematic analysis of that data is currently underway and will reveal more about the early music sector and the emergence of its labour market over time. All comments are welcome.

References:

- Aldrich, H.E. (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, pp.645-70
- Aldrich, H.E. and Zimmer, C. (1986) 'Entrepreneurship Through Social Networks', in D.L. Sexton and R.W. Smilor, eds, *The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship*, 3-23, Ballinger, Cambridge, Mass.
- Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. (eds.) (1998) *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*, Routledge, London
- Archer, M. S. (1995) *Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Baumol, W. and Bowen, W. (1966) *Performing Arts – The Economic Dilemma*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London
- Butt, J. (2002) *Playing with History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Callon, M. (ed.) (1998) *The Laws of the Markets*, Blackwell, Oxford
- Campbell, M. (1975) *Dolmetsch: the man and his work*, Hamish Hamilton, London
- Caserta, M. and Cuccia, T. (2001) 'The Supply of Arts Labour: Towards a Dynamic Approach', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 25, pp.185-201
- Casson, M. (2000) *Enterprise and Leadership: Studies on Firms, Markets and Networks*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham
- Coase, R.H. (1988) 'The Nature of the Firm: Origin, Meaning, Influence', *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 4(1), Spring, pp.3-47, Repr. In Williamson and Winter (1991)
- Dreyfus, L. (1983) 'Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol, LXIX, No.3
- Fine, B. (1998) *Labour Market Theory A constructive reassessment*, Routledge, London
- Fleetwood, S. (2003) 'Preparing the Ground for A Viable Account of Labour Markets', paper sent to *Class and Capital*, March

- Frey, B. and Pommerehne, W. (1989) *Muses and Markets: Explorations in the Economics of the Arts*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford
- Haskell, H. (1988) *The Early Music Revival A History*, Thames and Hudson, London
- Heilbrun, J. and Gray, C.M. (2001) *The Economics of Art and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Hiebert, D. (1994) 'Labour-market segmentation in three Canadian cities', paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers*, March, San Francisco
- Hodgson, G.M. (2001) *How Economics Forgot History*, Routledge, London
- Hodgson, G.M. (1999) *Economics and Utopia*, Routledge, London
- Hodgson, G.M. (1988) *Economics and Institutions: A Manifesto for a Modern Institutional Economics*, Polity Press, Cambridge
- Iacobacci, M. (1992) 'The institutionalist approach to segmented labour markets: a realist interpretation', King's College, Cambridge, Memo
- Jacoby, S. (1990) 'The new institutionalism: what can it learn from the old?', *Industrial Relations*, 29, pp.316-59
- Katz, J. and Gartner, W. (1988) 'Properties of emerging organizations', *Academy of Management Review*, 13, pp.429-441
- Kenyon, N. (1988) *Authenticity and Early Music*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Lawson, T. (1997) *Economics and Reality*, Routledge, London
- Lazonick, W. (2003) 'The Theory of the Market Economy and the Social Foundations of Innovative Enterprise', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 24(1), pp.9-44
- Marsden, D. (1986) *The End of Economic Man? Custom and Competition in Labour Markets*, Wheatsheaf Books, Brighton
- 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, pp.220-244
- Peck, J. (1989) 'Reconceptualizing the local labour market: space, segmentation and the state', *Progress in Human Geography*, 13, pp.42-61
- Rindova, V.P. and Fombrun, C.J. (2001) 'Entrepreneurial Action in the Creation of the Speciality Coffee Niche', in C.B. Schoonhoven and E. Romanelli, eds, *The Entrepreneurship Dynamic*, pp.236-261, Stanford, Stanford University Press
- Romanelli, E. and Schoonhoven, C.B. (2001) 'The Local Origins of New Firms' in C.B. Schoonhoven and E. Romanelli, eds, *The Entrepreneurship Dynamic*, p.40-67, Stanford, Stanford University Press
- Rosenbaum, E. F. (2000) 'What is a Market? On the Methodology of a Contested Concept', *Review of Social Economy*, 58(4), December, pp.455-82
- Sayer, A. (2001) 'For a Critical Cultural Political Economy', *Antipode*, p.687-708
- Sayer, A. (1992) *Method in Social Science: A Realistic Approach*, Routledge, London
- Schoonhoven, C.B. and Romanelli, E. (eds.) (2001) *The Entrepreneurship Dynamic*, Stanford University Press, Stanford
- 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: conversations with performers*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

- Taruskin, R. (1995) *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Towse, R. (2001) *Creativity, Incentive and Reward: An Economic Analysis of Copyright and Culture in the Information Age*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham
- Wilson, N. and Stokes, D. (2004) 'Laments and Serenades: Relationship Marketing and Legitimation Strategies for the Cultural Entrepreneur', in *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 7(3)