

**UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE
HUNTER CENTRE FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

**"THE PROCESS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CREATIVE
INDUSTRIES:
THE CASE OF GLASGOW'S MUSIC INDUSTRY"**

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**This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the entrepreneurial process in the context of the creative economy in the UK. It takes the music industry in Glasgow as its exemplar, drawing upon primary evidence to provide an empirical account of i) how the creative industry context influences the three stages of the entrepreneurial process (i.e. how entrepreneurs identify opportunities, acquire resources and manage their ventures) and ii) the transition of the individual from musician to entrepreneur. Welter (2011) and Zahra and Wright's (2011) contextualised view of entrepreneurship was the justification for including context in the study of process, while Baron (2008) and Moroz and Hindle (2012) provided the framework which was used to approach the process itself. The study assumes that Sarasvathy's (2001) causal and effectual logics drive the process at the level of the agent.

The study takes an interpretivistic approach to data collection and analysis. Empirical data were collected via in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 15 music-entrepreneurs working within Glasgow's independent rock music sector, and with 11 representatives from public and private support agencies and 7 industry experts. Hence, the study is embedded within a unique creative and entrepreneurial context, with multiple perspectives provided by the 33 respondents.

The findings suggest that entrepreneurship in the music industry is expressed in a series of acts (projects), and that the entrepreneurial process is ongoing, with each act informing how the next is undertaken. At each stage, the entrepreneurial process is impacted by agency and context or both. The results suggest that *causal* logic inspires the initial search, *recognition* (following a systematic search or a chance encounter) inspires the fit between the individual and the idea and finally, *effectuation* logic underpins the exploitation stage and enables entrepreneurs to work within their given set of means. The findings also indicate the complex identity transition process from being a musician to becoming an entrepreneur.

The conclusions drawn from the study are placed within the context of the wider debate about creative entrepreneurship. They illustrate how both agency and context

influence the entrepreneurial process, and contribute to our overall understanding of the creative-entrepreneur's move from art to commerce.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS	xiv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Justifying the Research Setting	1
1.3 Research Aims and Objectives	4
1.4 Methods Used	7
1.5 The Structure of the Thesis	8
CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT: THE EMERGENCE OF CREATIVE CITIES AND THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN GLASGOW	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 The Importance of Context in the Entrepreneurship Field	9
2.3 Temporal Context: The Historic Emergence of the Culture Industry	11
2.3.1 The Development of Cultural Policy	14
2.3.2 The Economic Relevance of the Cultural Industries	16
2.3.3 How Cultural Policy was Adapted and Adopted	18
2.4 Spatial Context: Glasgow: Landry's Flagship Project	21
2.4.1 Glasgow, the Industrial City	21
2.4.2 Glasgow, a City of Culture	23
2.5 Institutional Context: From Cultural Industries to Creative Industries	28
2.5.1 Identifying and Defining the Creative Industries	30
2.5.2 Economic Impact of the Creative Industries	32
2.6 Business Context: Music as a Creative Industry	35
2.6.1 The Quality of Place	38
2.6.2 Glasgow as a City of Music	43
2.7 Societal Context: How Creativity Became Central to the City's Idea of Itself	50
2.7.1 Planning for the Warhol Economy	54
2.8 Conclusion	58
CHAPTER THREE: THE PROCESS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLUTION AND CHANGE IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY	63

3.1	Introduction	63
3.2.	The Importance of Context in the Entrepreneurship Field	63
3.3	What We Know About the Entrepreneurial Process	64
3.4	The Process Perspectives	68
3.4.1	Opportunity Recognition.....	73
3.4.2	Resource Acquisition	76
3.4.3	Ability to Respond Effectively in Highly Dynamic Environments	77
3.4.4	What’s Missing from Existing Process Studies?	79
3.5	Context: Business: The Global Music Market	80
3.5.1	The Rise of Music Technology	84
3.6	From Music to Media	86
3.6.1	Adapting to Technology: How the Music Industry Has Changed	86
3.6.2	The Rise of the “E-DIY” Approach	89
3.7	The Role of Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry	92
3.7.1	The Process of Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry	93
3.7.2	Opportunity Recognition.....	94
3.7.3	Resource Acquisition	95
3.7.4	Ability to Respond Effectively in Highly Dynamic Environments	97
3.8	Effectual Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry.....	100
3.8.1	The Premise of Causal and Effectual Logic.....	101
3.8.2	The Principles of Effectuation Applied to Music Entrepreneurship..	104
3.9	Conclusion.....	109
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....		113
4.1	Introduction	113
4.2	Research Aim and Objectives	113
4.3	The Research Approach	115
4.4	Sample Design.....	120
4.4.1	Sample Selection.....	122
4.4.2	Recruitment of the Sample.....	123
4.5	Methods of Data Collection	127
4.6	Data Analysis	135
4.6.1	The Process of Analysis	137
4.6.2	Extracting Themes	139
4.7	Reliability	143
4.8	Limitations of the Research.....	145
4.9	Conclusion.....	146

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PROCESS OF CREATIVE-ENTREPRENEURSHIP	148
5.1 Introduction	148
5.2 Intentions and Motivations	148
5.2.1 A Love of Music	149
5.2.2 A Love of Family	150
5.2.3 A Love of Community	154
5.2.4 A Love of Money	155
5.3 Entering the Entrepreneurial Process	158
5.3.1 The Use of Causal Logic.....	158
5.3.2 The Importance of Serendipity.....	162
5.3.3 The Use of Effectual Logic	168
5.4 Acquiring Resources	181
5.4.1 Legitimacy, Reputation and Status	182
5.4.2 Linking with Socially Endorsed Institutions.....	182
5.4.3 Using Social Ties	189
5.5 Conclusion.....	194
CHAPTER SIX: BECOMING A MUSIC-ENTREPRENEUR.....	196
6.1 Introduction	196
6.2 The Career Transition: From Musician to Entrepreneur	197
6.3 The Music-Entrepreneur: An Oxymoron?	202
6.4 Overcoming the Transition: Becoming a Business	207
6.6 Reputation as a Resource: Music and Marketing	214
6.7 Sustaining the Enterprise.....	218
6.8 Conclusion.....	221
CHAPTER SEVEN: OVERCOMING UNCERTAINTY: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY	223
7.1 Introduction	223
7.2 The Changing Product.....	224
7.3 Death by Digitisation: Retailers and Distribution	228
7.4 Changes in Consumption Patterns: The Relationship Between Artist and Audience	232
7.5 Adapting to Survive: The Local Industry	236
7.6 The Real City of Music: Describing the Musical Community.....	240
7.7 A Creative Micro-Community: Argyle Court	247
7.8 Reciprocity and the Importance of Reputation within the Community	255

7.9	The Disadvantages of Community: Boundaries and Gatekeepers	261
7.10	Conclusion.....	266
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS		269
8.1	Introduction	269
8.2	Contribution to Theory	269
8.2.1	Contribution to Studies of Process	269
8.2.2	Inclusion of Context in the Study of Process	271
8.2.3	The Interplay Between Causation, Serendipity and Effectuation	273
8.2.4	The Transition from Art to Commerce	274
8.3	Contribution to Policy and Practice.....	279
8.4	Recommendations for Future Research	282
8.4.1	Studying the Entrepreneurial Process	282
8.4.2	Studying Entrepreneurship in the Context of the Creative Industries	283
8.5	Concluding Remarks	284
REFERENCES.....		287
LIST OF APPENDICES		339
APPENDIX 1: KEY CREATIVE INDUSTRY PUBLICATIONS, POLICY ACTIONS AND INITIATIVES		340
APPENDIX 2: STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SIC) CODES FOR THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – 1998, 2003, 2007, 2011		355
APPENDIX 3: COUNTRY COMPARISON OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES SECTOR		359
APPENDIX 4: SCOTTISH ARTS & CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – KEY INDUSTRY SECTORS		360
APPENDIX 5: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEUR PROFILES		364
APPENDIX 6: CREATIVE SECTOR SUPPORT INTERVIEW GUIDE.....		368
APPENDIX 7: INDUSTRY EXPERTS INTERVIEW GUIDE.....		369
APPENDIX 8: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEW GUIDE.....		370
APPENDIX 9: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM.....		372
APPENDIX 10: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (I)		374
APPENDIX 11: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (II).....		377

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Context Dimensions Guiding this Chapter	10
Table 2: UK Music Industry Self-Employment Figures	36
Table 3: Context Dimensions Relating to The Creative Industries and The Music Industry	60
Table 4: How the Music Industry Context Impacts the Three Stages of the Entrepreneurial Process.....	112
Table 5: Creative Industries Support Sector Participants	129
Table 6: Industry Experts	130
Table 7: Music-Entrepreneurs.....	132
Table 8: Data Collection Schedule.....	135
Table 9: First-Order Themes	140
Table 10: Second-Order Themes	141
Table 11: Clustered Themes.....	142
Table 12: Entrepreneurial Motivations	157
Table 13: Examples of Respondents' Causal Logic	161
Table 14: The Dimensions of Serendipity	167
Table 15: Examples of Respondents' Effectual Logic.....	178
Table 16: The Process of Music Entrepreneurship	180
Table 17: How the Music Entrepreneurs Accessed their Resources.....	193
Table 18: How the Music Entrepreneurs Defined Themselves	203
Table 19: Connection to Argyle Court.....	252

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A Contextualised Lens and Variable View of the Entrepreneurial Process .	5
Figure 2: Glasgow's Key Creative Milestones to Date	27
Figure 3: The Glasgow Regeneration Zones.....	39
Figure 4: The Relationship between Context and Process.....	63
Figure 5: The Research Approach.....	120
Figure 6: Example of the Scottish Music Industry Supply Chain.....	126
Figure 7: Argyle Court	249
Figure 8: Aerial Shot of Argyle Court	251
Figure 9: The Dimensions of Context and Agency that Impact the Entrepreneurial Process	278

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

ABI	Annual Business Inquiry
CCCS	Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
CEO	Cultural Enterprise Office
CIB	Creative Industry Business
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DEED	Department of Employment and Economic Development
DIY	Do it Yourself
GCC	Glasgow City Council
GCMO	Glasgow City Music Officer
GUCoM	Glasgow City of Music
GDA	Glasgow Development Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Glasgow Education Service
GSA	Glasgow School of Art
GLC	Greater London Council
GVA	Gross Value Added
HIE	Highlands and Islands Enterprise
ICO ICO	ICO ICO Creative
ECOC	European City of Culture
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LPAC	London Planning Advisory Committee
NESTA	National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts
NYCoS	National Youth Choir of Scotland
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PSYBT	Prince's Scottish Youth Business Trust
RCUK	Research Council UK
RSAMD	Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama

SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SMC	Scottish Music Centre
SMIA	Scottish Music Industry Association
SE	Scottish Enterprise
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URC	Urban Regeneration Companies
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
YMI	Youth Music Initiative
VAT	Value Added Tax

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the entrepreneurial process in the context of the UK creative economy. Specifically, it considers how entrepreneurs act in each of the three stages that make up this process, i.e. how they identify opportunities, acquire resources and manage their ventures. The entrepreneurial process, which can take place in any social, economic and historic context, is mainly characterised by two dynamic sub processes: a) the sequential evolution of the business idea across the three stages and b) the interaction between the entrepreneur and the context. This thesis focuses on the second of these sub processes, exploring two aspects of it in particular: i) how the creative industry context influences the three stages of the entrepreneurial process and ii) the transition of the individual from musician to entrepreneur.

1.2 Justifying the Research Setting

Context matters. The process of entrepreneurship “can never be abstracted from its contextual setting; an overt commitment to understanding context must always be an integral part of appropriate process” (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 811). Gartner (1985, p. 70) also notes the importance of exploring the context in which entrepreneurship takes place, cautioning that “observers have a tendency to underestimate the influence of external factors and overestimate the influence of internal or personal factors when making judgements about the behaviour of other individuals”. Zahra (2007, p. 451), meanwhile, highlights the non-linear, often ad-hoc nature of the entrepreneurial process, pointing out that the activities entrepreneurs undertake and the organisations they develop, as Baker and Nelson (2005, p. 330) have described, are “dependent on continuing exchanges with – and constituted by – the environments in which they operate (Scott, 1998:28) and the pressures and constraints that arise from that context (Pfeffer, 2003:xi)” (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 330). Thus, the key to understanding entrepreneurship is to understand that it does

not happen in isolation: it is necessary to know “what came before, and what comes after” (Weick, 1995, p. 389).

Despite this, prior entrepreneurial studies have largely neglected context, and those studies which have set out to discuss it have ultimately yielded inconclusive results. Only nine of the 32 existing process models are based on empirical findings and, of these, only one focuses on context (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 808). In any case, the lack of a multiple-level analysis in these models means that none is able to identify the best way of conducting the entrepreneurial process or to meaningfully assess how the process is affected by agency and context (*Ibid*). This problem is exacerbated by the fact that most researchers adopt a narrow focus; in linking their chosen conceptual theory with a specified phenomenon, they “overlook the characteristics of the phenomena they study in terms of their newness, uniqueness, magnitude, frequency, and complexity” (Zahra, 2007, p. 445).

Welter (2011) and Zahra and Wright (2011) offer similar justifications for contextualising the study of entrepreneurship. Both studies provide theoretical frameworks for studying context which are intended to allow researchers to classify context into specific dimensions or areas of interest, but they differ in terms of which dimensions they select for analysis. These papers also offer useful insights into the value of studying context. While Zahra and Wright (2011) focus on the specific variables that can be used to bridge the gap between theory and practice, Welter (2011) uses context as a lens through which the when, how, who and why of the entrepreneurial process can be examined. Although the papers vary in terms of the specific variables and contextual dimensions which they consider, they both maintain a focus on the influence of the temporal, spatial, institutional, business, social and societal dimensions on entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial process.

The creative industries are illustrative of some of the “most important changes in global flows of capital and culture” seen in decades (Hartley, 2007, p. 6). Growth has exceeded all expectations, and these industries now account for a significant proportion of the world’s economy (UNCTAD, 2012). Yet, despite its growing

economic and political significance, “comparatively little is still known about the creative economy” - and those studies which have sought to discuss its role within overall economic development have failed to provide empirical evidence in support of their claims (Granger & Hamilton, 2010a, p. 5). Consequently, it is now being suggested that researchers should focus on those sub-sectors of the creative economy which offer nations, regions and cities “the greatest potential for economic growth” (Creative Scotland, 2012).

In this spirit, the present study investigates the entrepreneurial process within Glasgow’s music industry. The sector in Glasgow is driven by “a unique mix of cultural, economic, commercial, social, environmental and community factors” (SAC, 2005, p. 8), and explores how these contextual factors affect the opportunity recognition process, the resource acquisition processes, and the management of uncertainty by music-entrepreneurs. Not only is Glasgow highly regarded as a centre for music (it was awarded the UNESCO City of Music Award in 2008), but it was also one of the first cities to use culture to drive its regeneration. It is therefore also important to examine how, and the extent to which, Glasgow’s creative-entrepreneurs are both agents for social change and economic drivers within the local community.

Few prior studies have explored the entrepreneurship process in the music industry; those which have done so have mostly focused on the economic activities of the multinationals (e.g. Burke, 2011) or the activities of specific music stars (Fitterman Radbill, 2013). Although the importance of entrepreneurship in the industry has been acknowledged, researchers have paid little attention to local music entrepreneurs who, unlike their more famous counterparts, “lack power but have presence” (Cheung, 2009, p. 6). Few businesses have the potential to initiate the Schumpeterian gale of destruction, but recent research (Pedelty & Weglarz, 2013), has celebrated the role of this minority while largely ignoring the achievements of the many others. This study seeks to shed some light on this neglected group. It examines the activities and experiences of grassroots-level entrepreneurs through a lens of effectuation in

order to improve our understanding of what actually facilitates entrepreneurship at the local level.

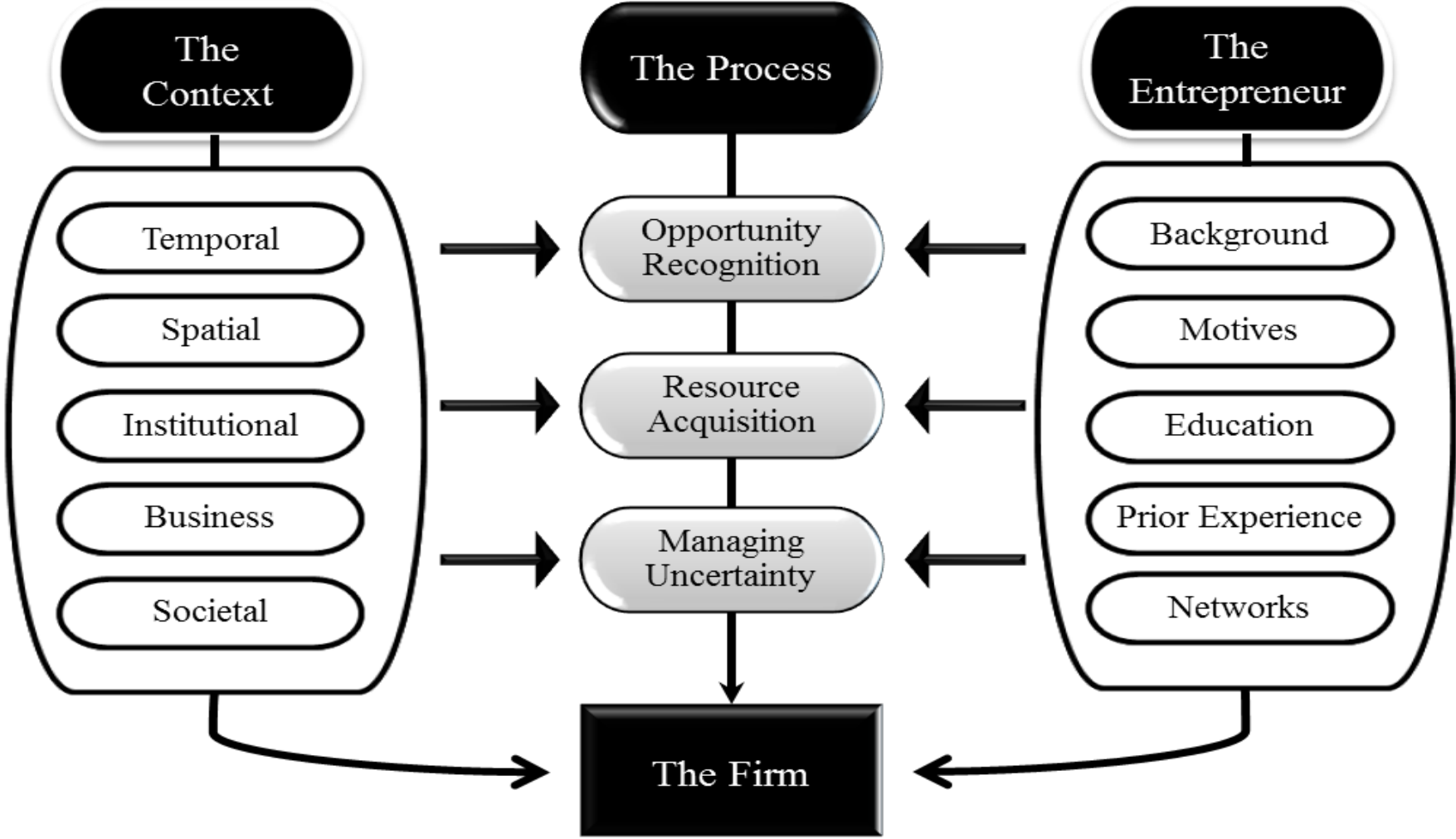
While Laaksonen, Ainamo and Karjalainen (2010) have applied effectuation logic to music-entrepreneurship in their study of the Finnish rock industry, and Hauge (2010, p. 135) has shown how musicians in Norwegian black metal bands “shape, change and develop their life projects as entrepreneurs”, little work of this kind has been done in Scotland. There is as yet no adequate analysis of the organisational forms and working practices associated with the music industry in Glasgow. Such an analysis is overdue, particularly as it may have current implications for cultural policy.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This study explores how entrepreneurs use both causal and effectual logic to identify opportunities, acquire resources, conduct their operational and marketing activities and adapt and manage their ventures, especially in uncertain environments (Moroz & Hindle, 2012). It also considers the ways in which these environments can impact the decision to start a new venture and, subsequently, also affect venture sustainability.

While the process of entrepreneurship is the main focus of this thesis, issues of agency and context are also explored, and both individual and contextual variables are considered alongside the main elements of the process model (which are opportunity recognition, resource acquisition and the ability to adapt to dynamic environments) (Welter, 2011). Figure 1 presents the conceptual framework which has been used to guide this study, capturing the interplay between the environmental context and the entrepreneur. The agency dimension encapsulates those variables related to the individual, such as motivation, prior experience, educational background and networks, while the context captures the key features of the economic environment, including the nature of the business, formal and informal institutional dimensions, historical and geographical dimensions, the societal dimension of place and how the social dimension interacts with place.

Figure 1: A Contextualised Lens and Variable View of the Entrepreneurial Process



The thesis seeks to fulfil three main research objectives, which are as follows:

1. To explore how entrepreneurial opportunities come into existence, how these particular opportunities are discovered, and what modes of action are used to exploit them in the context of the creative industries;
2. To understand how entrepreneurs handle the transition from musician to entrepreneur and clarify how they access resources from a number of sources and combine them in different ways; and
3. To understand how music entrepreneurs adapt to, and survive in, highly dynamic environments, and to establish the role and importance of personal and professional networks in supporting sustainability and growth.

Since entrepreneurship, especially in the creative industries, is a relatively under-researched field of academic interest, in which the underlying concepts have not yet been adequately defined, the overall aim of this empirical study will be that of theory development (Eisenhardt, 1989), rather than theory testing (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Key critiques from within the entrepreneurship domain and from broader management and social science fields have outlined the need for future research to contain stronger theoretical engagement (Bygrave, 2007). They suggest that the approaches of current research have rendered the studies unable to cope with the emergent nature and complexities of entrepreneurship in the creative industries, which are characteristically dynamic.

This study aims to demonstrate the diverse demographic characteristics and industry experience of entrepreneurs, and to highlight that the entrepreneurial process is unique in each case. The present study also highlights the need to develop research into creative sector entrepreneurship, in order to underline the importance of the sector within the wider economy and its need for further support. The study has been specifically designed to examine key elements that will contribute to an overall understanding of the act of entrepreneurship, rather than to facilitate the strict

construction of conclusions. The focus of the study is on individual actors and their role in the entrepreneurship process.

1.4 Methods Used

An interpretivist approach was adopted as it was deemed to be the best approach towards meeting the study's research aims. Such an approach allows the researcher to penetrate the realities and interpret the perceptions of the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), and uncover the meanings they give to their experiences in the lived world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Rather than applying deductive reasoning to formulate hypotheses, the aim here is to develop insights from proximity to individually-lived experience. Accordingly, data was collected using *exploratory* collection methods, and *inductive* techniques were employed to develop an innovative method of data analysis.

Data was gathered from 33 in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Chell, Haworth & Brearley, 1991). The interviews were designed to collect detailed information, while allowing respondents to openly express opinions and feelings about their experiences within the industry (Graham, Burnes, Lewis & Langer, 2004, p. 1089). A deliberately diverse sample was selected, with participants chosen for the likelihood of possessing unique and highly interesting stories and insights that they could bring to the research process (Patton, 1990, p. 104). In addition, it is important to note here that the high profile and public nature of the respondents meant that their real identities were retained for the purposes of authenticity, as well as to provide a truer sense of how the entrepreneurial process in the music industry really takes place, and while anonymity was offered, it was, in fact, never requested. The interviews, which were conducted face-to-face, took place in Glasgow, usually at the participant's place of business.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis continues, in Chapter 2, with a review of the broader industry context, i.e. the creative economy in the UK. The discussion focuses on the temporal, spatial, institutional, business and societal contexts within the cultural and creative industries. Chapter 3 focuses specifically on the process of entrepreneurship, and on the interaction between entrepreneur and their context and explores how wider contextual factors affect the three stages of the entrepreneurial process: opportunity identification, resource acquisition and venture management. Chapter 4 presents the underlying philosophical assumptions and methodological approaches of the research. In particular, the reader is introduced to the interpretivist ontology employed in the research. Insight is offered into the design and construction of a representative sample and the development of the analytical tools which were used to create the final dataset is outlined.

The analysis of the subject is divided into three chapters. The first chapter of analysis, Chapter 5, examines how the respondents became entrepreneurs and the processes they initiated or participated in at the venture creation stage, from the discovery and exploitation of opportunities to the acquisition of resources. The second analysis chapter, Chapter 6, focuses on the respondents' transition from musician to entrepreneur, showing how this worked in practice for them in the music industry. The final chapter of analysis, Chapter 7, discusses how these entrepreneurs manage their ventures in the face of uncertainty, how they self-market and self-manage their careers and illustrates how networks, reputation and market status all have a significant influence on whether or not they survive. Finally, Chapter 8 draws the findings together in order to answer the research questions and reflects upon the overall contribution of the thesis, positioning its conclusions within the context of the wider creative sector debate. This chapter also suggests ways in which this research might be built upon in the future, to further extend our understanding of how entrepreneurs operate in the creative sector and of the process of entrepreneurship in the music industry.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT: THE EMERGENCE OF CREATIVE CITIES AND THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN GLASGOW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the context of this study, i.e. the creative economy in the UK, focusing specifically on its temporal, spatial, institutional, business and societal dimensions. The chapter also sets out a broader discussion of the key features of the cultural and creative industries, drawing on literature from early urban studies and current contributions to the field to show how these industries play a central role in contemporary discussions of economic development. It concludes by reviewing the impact of the cultural industries at national, regional and local levels, with particular reference to Glasgow.

2.2. The Importance of Context in the Entrepreneurship Field

Welter (2011) illustrates how a contextualised view of entrepreneurship can contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon, arguing that an understanding of context is important for appreciating the temporal (Delmar & Shane, 2004), spatial (Katz & Steyaert, 2004), institutional (Polanyi, 1957), business (Porter, 1990), social (Granovetter, 1985) and societal (Weber, 1984) effects on entrepreneurship as well as the *who*, *why*, *what*, *where* and *when* dimensions of entrepreneurship. These refer, in more detail, to *who* chooses to become an entrepreneur; *why* some entrepreneurs recognise opportunities and others do not and *why* entrepreneurial activities may vary across countries, regions and industries (Baker, Gedajlovic & Lubatkin, 2005); *what* types of ventures they create; *where* entrepreneurship happens (including considerations of the industry or market, the social or family network, the impact of geography and hard and soft infrastructure, and institutional dimensions such as social and cultural norms and regulations); and *when* it might occur (i.e. in time and historical context). All of these have an impact on *who* (Welter, 2011).

In Zahra and Wright's (2011) paper, context is considered in terms of its ability to help entrepreneurship research to "influence managerial practice and public policy".

Building on Welter’s (2011) ‘lens’ view of the ‘omnibus’ context, Zahra and Wright (2011) suggest that the temporal (Delmar & Shane, 2004), spatial (Katz & Steyaert, 2004), institutional (Polanyi, 1957) and social (Granovetter, 1985) dimensions of context all affect the interactions which occur at a micro-level and our understanding of the ways in which new firms create value for their founders and for society as a whole. They suggest that, by including these dimensions of context, researchers can “enrich the field while guiding, inspiring, and even provoking public policy debates” (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 81). Following the above authors, the discussion of context in this chapter focuses specifically on its temporal, spatial, institutional, business and societal dimensions. These are introduced in Table 1.

Table 1: Context Dimensions Guiding this Chapter

Context Dimensions	Description
Temporal	1). Changes taking place within groups and societies over time, such as industrial upheavals (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 75). 2). The emergence of ventures or industries over time (Zahra, Filatotchev & Wright, 2009).
Spatial	1). Geographic location and concentration of new firm activities and of the institutions and individuals that promote and support them. 2). The hard and soft infrastructure of location; geographic mobility of firms and their founders (Katz & Steyaert, 2004).
Institutional	1). Formal: political or regulatory frameworks that influence entrepreneurship. 2). Informal: factors that shape the characteristics of the external environment; these may explain the rate and types of opportunities available and the variety of modes used to exploit them for profit (Zahra & Wright, 2011).
Business	1). How industry and markets impact entrepreneurship and a venture’s structure, processes and growth. 2). The life cycles of the venture, its industry and market; geographic location (Wiklund, Davidsson, Audretsch & Karlsson, 2011).
Societal	1). The wider context of society at macro level. Emphasis is placed on entrepreneurial activities occurring within the context of everyday life. 2). Human relationships at micro level: a). The entrepreneur’s social and family network b). The relationships developed with investors, partners and other stakeholders (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003).

The dimensions identified in the above table are all interrelated; for example, studying the creation of a new venture and the relationships which have developed

will require the researcher to take into account the institutional and temporal contexts. If the venture is located in a specific area, or is operating in a certain industry, then spatial and business dimensions also need to be considered.

Another way of looking at context is to see the environment as an outside set of conditions, to which the organisation must adapt (Aldrich, 1999). In the field of industrial economics, Porter (1990), focusing on environmental competition, developed a framework describing the five fundamental environmental influences on organisations. These are: barriers to entry, rivalry among existing firms, pressure from substitute products, and the bargaining power both of buyers and suppliers. Conversely, entrepreneurship can also influence context. De Bruin (2005), in her study of multi-level entrepreneurship, highlights how entrepreneurship impacts upon both micro and macro contexts. As Welter explains, “context on a higher level of analysis (the political and economic system) interacts with the phenomenon on lower level (opportunities identified by the entrepreneur) and results in a context-specific outcome” (Welter, 2011, p. 167).

2.3 Temporal Context: The Historic Emergence of the Culture Industry

Creativity and its role in society has been the subject of considerable academic commentary and policy debate in recent years (Evans, 2009). A growing recognition of the role and importance of cultural and creative activities has led a number of economies to use culture as a means to promote economic growth (Costa, Seixas & Roldão, 2009). Policy makers in some regions and countries have placed the cultural and creative industries at the centre of wider strategies for economic development (Granger & Hamilton, 2010b) in the belief that these industries “facilitate communication, the building of trust, and the reduction of uncertainty” (Trippel & Toedtling, 2008, p. 25). However, “as a broad area of economic activity, comparatively little is still known about the creative economy”, (Granger & Hamilton, 2010a, p. 5), meaning that it is difficult to generalise about, let alone measure or support, the creative economy and its impacts. This is despite the fact that few topics have sparked so much debate in contemporary, post-industrial societies as

the crucial role played by the creative industries in economic, social and cultural development (Howkins, 2001).

Academic discussions of the origins of the creative economy usually begin by considering the changes which occurred in the world economy after each of the world wars (Mommaas, 2004), or the collapse of industrial and manufacturing dominance in the West (Bontje & Musterd, 2009). It has also been suggested that its development is closely associated with the redefining of the arts as an sector (Hall, 2000; Roodhouse, 2006).

The concept of the creative economy was first introduced into the literature in 1944 in *Dialektik der Aufklärung (Dialectics of Enlightenment)* by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). Authors from the Frankfurt School of Marxist social theory, Adorno and Horkheimer were the first to draw attention to the effects of modernisation on culture (O'Connor, 2007). When they relocated from Germany to the USA, the authors experienced the rise of mass media culture for themselves. They argued that in its growing commercialisation, and its commodification of film, music and media, American culture was becoming “both a major force of production and formative mode of social organisation and control” (Kellner, 2007, p. 56). They argued that this system of cultural production, dominated as it was by the media, did not affect only working class culture; everyone was drawn into the new dynamic (Kellner, 2007; O'Connor, 2007). They attributed this trend to “the growth of leisure time, education and disposable income leading to an increased consumption of leisure goods and cultural goods” (O'Connor, 2000, p. 21). In response to this phenomenon, they produced the first critical theory of the cultural industries, in which they drew a distinction between the traditional creative arts and industrially produced forms of mass culture. O'Connor (2007, p. 9) points out that much of Adorno and Horkheimer's work appeared around the same time as the founding of a number of arts foundations and cultural ministries across Europe. He suggests that by coining the term “culture industries” (*Kulturindustrie*), they contributed to the emergence of a distinct discourse that was instrumental in

legitimising the place of these industries within cultural policy (Girard, 1982; Garnham, 1987; Mieke, 1989).

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, critiques of US mass culture had emerged in the UK, to some extent inspired by the work of the Frankfurt School (Black, 2006). Both Hoggart's (1957) community studies of working class life, *The Uses of Literacy*, and *Culture in Society* by Williams (1958) were seen as attempts to understand the changes in British culture caused by 'massification' and to historicise the notion of art and culture, with the notable difference that these authors gave their discussion a more sociological grounding by celebrating the role of the working class (Reeves, 2002). As a result of these two studies, the Community Arts Movement (Baldry, 1974) began to recognise the social benefits of culture and the arts in terms of individual and community development (Reeves, 2002). When theorists from the Birmingham School of British Cultural Studies, now the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (Turner, 2003, p. 2), concluded that mass culture was "playing an important role in integrating the working class into existing capitalist societies" (Kellner, 2007, p. 58), Adorno and Horkheimer's (1944; 1972) earlier notion that mass culture was a threat to the working class way of life was, by extension, rejected.

By the mid-1960s, academics studying British culture saw it as being part of the fabric of daily life (Turner, 2003), a view that was strengthened with the election of the Labour Government in 1964 and Wilson's "white heat of technology" speech (Wilson, 1964), and by Jennie Lee's appointment as the first Minister for the Arts in 1965. The new government's White Paper *A Policy for the Arts - the First Steps* (HMSO, 1965) asserted that "in any civilized community the arts. . . must occupy a central place [sic]" (Black, 2006, p. 126). As Black (2006, p. 135) explains, government policy throughout the 1960s was based on a "belief in the moral value and uses of culture and a desire to infuse Britons with it". The 1965 White Paper sought to develop knowledge, understanding, education and practice of the arts, and to improve their accessibility throughout the UK. This was also the first time that industries based on culture were seen not just as an area of expenditure, but also as a

source of income. Showing an awareness of the arts that went beyond considering only producers and artists and identified the sector's commercial potential, highlighting tangible economic evidence of this potential within the recorded music industry (which is believed to have doubled in size in the 1960s). The White Paper was therefore significant because it represented an attempt to break away from a cultural policy centred on the 'arts' – and on subsidies (Harris, 1970).

2.3.1 *The Development of Cultural Policy*

It was not until 1970 that the first major attempt was made at an international level to study the industrial features of culture, and to highlight its importance to national and regional economies (Evans, 2001). The study, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), was commissioned in order to outline the overall shape of British cultural policy and to detail its "virtues and difficulties" to date (Green & Wilding, 1970, p. 6).

In its report, *Cultural Policy in Great Britain* (1970), UNESCO recognised that, while the government had made significant inroads in supporting the arts and culture through funding and subsidy by means of National and Regional Arts Councils, there was a need for a deeper understanding of British culture, due in part to the "profound social, educational and economic changes" and "technical advances in methods of communication" that were taking place (Green & Wilding, 1970, p. 44). The report argued that the culture industries could be used to tackle development issues and thereby be made an indispensable part of British economic life (Girard, 1982), although it also concluded that, at the national level, further policy-making was still needed.

"Britain has undertaken little long-range planning of any kind so far, nor studied methods in other countries, nor taken much care over cultural information. Statistics in the whole field covered by this report are hard to come by, hard to compare, and hard to rely on. A series of lengthy particular studies is needed, besides a more vigorous public discussion of relative

priorities. Research into cultural policy can, happily or unhappily, no longer remain the province of the amateur, the journalist and the part-time academic” (Green & Wilding, 1970, p. 62).

The UNESCO report outlined the need for an information exchange between countries, as well as for cross-national investigations and the sharing of experience in terms of specific “themes, concepts and methods” (Green & Wilding, 1970, p. 6). In the early 1970s, this idea was taken further as a number of academics in the UK sought to legitimise the economic role played by the arts, inspired by the work of French (e.g. Althusser, 1971) and Italian (e.g. Gramsci, 1971) theorists (Turner, 2003). The ‘political economy school’ emerging at the time believed that in the capitalist society of the UK, culture was increasingly being produced as a commodity, and therefore should be subject to the logic and contradictions of that same system of production (Garnham, 1977). By the mid 1970s, the ‘production-of-culture’ school had emerged in the US; this looked more deeply into the complex interplay between cultural creators and consumers (Peterson, 1978, p. 295). Around this time, labour and cultural sociologists (Peterson & Berger, 1971; Hirsh, 1972; DiMaggio, 1977; Peterson, 1978) began to draw distinctions between the different kinds of cultural commodities which existed (Segers & Huijgh, 2008), examining how they were produced, how they were distributed and how to “create the conditions needed to bring consumers in contact with cultural objects” (Peterson, 1978, p. 295).

Miege (1979) took this idea even further, providing a clearer understanding of the complex interplay between the labour processes in the cultural industries and the variable dynamics of consumption patterns. He identified that while traditional commodities are designed for repeat purchase, cultural commodities are rarely designed in this way; once purchased, these products are expressions of individual identity and contribute to the buyers sense of self. Rather, Miege (1979) explained, these products being cultural commodities are also designed for repeat consumption. Thus, while the cultural product has an obvious ‘exchange’ value in that it can be

traded as a commodity, the artist's input and the symbolic meaning attached to the product by the consumer mean that it also has a 'use' value.

Miege (1979) highlighted the fragile nature of the cultural industries and cultural commodities and showed how the latter form a link between creation and consumption. By identifying new ways of realising 'exchange and use value', different ways of understanding consumer demand and different ways of focusing on consumption (O'Connor, 2007, p. 12), Miege's (1979;1989) studies were able to connect the key issues of the debate together. When UNESCO established its own comparative research agenda in 1978, focusing "on the place and role of cultural industries in the cultural development of societies" (Footer & Graber, 2000, p. 6), the concept of the 'culture industry' had given way to that of the 'cultural industries' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002).

2.3.2 The Economic Relevance of the Cultural Industries

By the early 1980s, policy makers could no longer ignore the growing interest in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). In an era when policy was judged primarily in terms of its financial rewards, cultural policy, which had previously been marginalised, became more attractive because it was now economically relevant (O'Connor & Wynne, 1996; Hesmondhalgh, 2002). In the UK, commentators observed, the cultural industries suddenly became aligned and associated with "markets, marketplaces and individualised consumers". Under the new economic framework of the Conservative Government (1979-1990), all cultural activity had to demonstrate an economic return and to be seen to deliver "value for (public) money" (Hamilton & Scullion, 2002, p. 135).

This view was further reinforced by the Greater London Council (GLC), who while diametrically opposed, in political stance, to the national government at the time the Industrial Strategy, driven by Ken Livingston (GLC, 1985), placed emphasis on leisure and tourism and explicitly recognised the economic significance of cultural industries at national, regional and local levels (Howkins, 2001; Eisenberg, Gerlach

and Handke, 2006). As O'Connor (2000, p. 18) explains, the cultural industries were deemed to include:

“broadcast media, film, publishing, recorded music, design, architecture, new media – and the ‘traditional arts’ – visual art, crafts, theatre, music theatre, concerts and performance, literature, museums and galleries – all those activities which have been eligible for public funding as ‘art’”.

The GLC's strategy was concerned with both the promotion and the democratisation of cultural production and distribution, and with providing a more accessible approach to the funding of cultural activities. Its popularity was underpinned by an increasing acceptance that the commodification of culture was something that could no longer be ignored and that the more traditional forms of cultural policy had to be integrated into a wider economic and cultural strategy. This view was solidified in a position paper written by Nicholas Garnham for the 1983 GLC conference on cultural policy, which stated:

“If one turns one's back on an analysis of that dominant cultural process, one cannot understand the culture of our time or the challenges and opportunities which that dominant culture offers to public policy makers” (reprinted in Garnham, 1990, p. 155).

Garnham's focus was on developing a more “democratic cultural policy”, and as the GLC saw it his main point was that public policy had the ability to use the market as a way to distribute cultural goods and services, but in a way that followed the demands of the audience rather than the wishes of the producers themselves (O'Connor, 2007, p. 24). However, at the time of his written address, the Labour GLC was under threat from the Conservative Government, and the cultural industries policies he set forth were never fully realised. By 1986 the GLC had been formally disbanded, but its cultural industries policy agenda did not disappear entirely (Bianchini, 1987). The GLC had, in essence, changed the language of cultural policy and in doing so it inspired policies of public cultural investment that were seen by

many “as the leading edge of a radical social and economic agenda” (Hewison, 1995, p. 238). As O’Connor (2007, p. 24) states: “...it represented an industrial approach to cultural policy, using economic means to achieve cultural (and economic) objectives”.

2.3.3 *How Cultural Policy was Adapted and Adopted*

The debate surrounding the importance of culture was given added momentum within the UK following the publication of John Myerscough’s study, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (Myerscough, 1988), which demonstrated the multiplier effects that derive from cultural industries. In it, Myerscough developed a model that could “measure the impact of spending on the arts” (O’Connor, 2007, p. 27). The report suggested that the cultural industries offered more than just a direct, industry-specific impact; they could also be used to address social issues such as unemployment, education and the fostering of identity and social inclusion, and could be linked to specific local development processes (Ambert, 2003). While there may have been a growing concern within the cultural sector that the debate was now centring exclusively on economic benefits, Myerscough’s (1988) report saw local people as being the principal assets through which both economic and cultural regeneration could be achieved (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). His report was instrumental in establishing the arts as a significant, growing and value-added industry in its own right (Reeves, 2002).

The study had a far-reaching impact on the cultural sector, providing a powerful justification for its existence and continued public support. It was followed by a generation of studies which sought to document and argue the case for the arts and cultural industries as important agents for economic development and urban renewal (Howkins, 2001). As a result, a number of formerly industrial cities, such as Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool, began to seek creative solutions for their economic restructuring problems and to attempt to compensate for years of decline in the traditional manufacturing industries by embarking on ambitious cultural development strategies, often based on flagship capital projects (Comedia, 1991).

In Sheffield, for example, the City Council, alongside the Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED), developed cultural industries policies aimed at addressing the city's de-industrialisation. These were not cultural industries policies from the outset, but were, rather, part of a local economic strategy to tackle unemployment and to promote economic recovery. The result was a thriving cultural industries quarter in a formerly run down central location, the success of which helped to promote the notion of the value of local cultural industry policy in Britain (Frith, 1991).

For all of these cities, however, initiating this kind of cultural development was difficult. They were obliged to accept that their futures depended on attracting new investment and new business, and that this would have to be done in partnership with the private sector (Brown, O'Connor & Cohen, 2000, p. 438). The problem with this was that their old, heavy manufacturing and industrial image could be off-putting to many inward investors. Accordingly, plans were put in place, local tax and funding incentives were improved and marketing schemes were integrated with business support and training incentives (Green & Wilding, 1970) in order to attract outside investors, tourists and potential high-income residents (GCC, 2012). If the facilities to attract these outsiders were not already there then they were built (O'Connor, 2007). Meanwhile, campaigns were launched to persuade residents that not only would the local economy benefit from the newly created employment and boosted visitor spending, but that the new facilities would enable the city to present a forward-looking image to the wider world. Gradually, policy makers realised that their cities did not need simply to attract new industries and services; they also needed to completely re-invent themselves if they were to compete with other cities at a national level and, with the advent of globalisation, in worldwide terms (Brown et al., 2000). This new outlook demanded an overall management strategy for the cultural industries sector, and that this be integrated with the overall strategic vision of the city (Lovatt & O'Connor, 1995).

In the early 1990s, Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) compiled a collection of case studies that showed the various ways in which cultural policy in Western Europe was linked to urban regeneration. In France, for example, special attention was devoted to developing cultural industries in film and cinema, while in Italy, models were based on state intervention (O'Connor, 2007, p. 27). In the UK, the early 1990s saw cities linking quality of life issues with leisure and tourism and adopting a wider notion of culture, as seen in urban regeneration models drawn from North America. In the US, the image- and facilities-based approach suggested by Brown et al. (2000) was linked to the redevelopment of city attractions, Baltimore's Inner Harbour and Boston's Faneuil Hall being notable examples (Doucet, 2007). With the publication of Porter's *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (1990), terms like 'industrial and institutional agglomeration', 'industry', 'sector' and 'cluster' began to appear in policy statements and strategies at the regional level (Scott, 2006). 'Classic' location theory (Muller, 1997; Clark, 2000), the importance of agglomeration economies (Von Thunen, 1826; Fujita & Thisse, 2002), the reclamation of industrial districts (Marshall, 1920), the power of clustering (Porter, 1999) and the role of networks (Shaw & Conway, 2000) were combined with other theories that focused on urban amenities (Jacobs, 1961) and local atmospheres (Zukin, 1988) with the effect that policies and strategies opened out to include a wide range of ideas.

However, North American culture-led urban development tended to be consumption-orientated, with related leisure, tourism, retail and office developments, while in the UK, the continuing influence of the GLC's approach meant that initiatives tended to focus on cultural production as being the key to regeneration (Brown et al., 2000). In line with the new emphasis on the creation of vibrant mixed-use spaces for both production and consumption (*Ibid*), the Sheffield example inspired other cities to target deserted or run down areas in and around their business districts for investment and redevelopment. The concept of the creative city emerged out of the cultural quarter policy, attempts to foster tourism, flagship projects such as festivals and sporting events and a more general focus on appropriate city planning.

Earlier studies had already explored the process and outcomes of creative activity undertaken in response to emerging trends in the global market place (Di Cicco, 1949), but the first investigation to make explicit reference to the new policy agenda introduced by Myerscough in 1988 was that undertaken by think tank Comedia in 1991. Comedia developed a conceptual ‘toolkit’ which focused on harnessing the creative potential of cities. In its original formation, the creative cities strategy saw cultural production as a starting point from which to develop “further profitable interconnections, facilitating cross-fertilisation and enhancing ideas and projects” (Comedia, 1991, p. 138). Comedia’s founder, Charles Landry (2005, p. 8), expressed a belief that “every city had the potential to do something great” and that each one could be a “world centre for something”. By “unleashing, harnessing, and empowering potential from whatever source”, cities could make the most of their resources and transform their weaknesses into strengths. For Landry, Glasgow was the breakthrough project, and the city’s rich cultural fabric was the source from which he drew inspiration.

2.4 Spatial Context: Glasgow: Landry’s Flagship Project

This section aims to demonstrate how the cultural policies discussed above have been put into practice in Scotland’s largest city. It provides a brief outline of how Glasgow was transformed from being an industrial city in decline, to becoming the European City of Culture in 1990, and how authors such as Myerscough (1991) and Landry (Comedia, 1991) had an impact on its economic and cultural development initiatives.

2.4.1 Glasgow, the Industrial City

Known as the second city of the British Empire, Glasgow’s wealth had been built on the tobacco and slave trades during the 18th and 19th centuries (MacInnes, 1995). In the early 1930s it was the fourth largest city in Europe (behind London, Paris and Berlin), with a population exceeding one million (GUCoM, 2008, p. 12). However, the industrial and economic upheavals of the 1960s-1980s took a significant toll on

the city. As Devine (2006, p. 643) explains, Glasgow's spirit, in the form of a large proportion of its working population, was invested in shipbuilding, heavy engineering and coal mining. De-industrialisation therefore triggered mass unemployment and a crisis of identity which significantly undermined both the national psyche and local self-confidence. By 1979, industry had been streamlined and inward investment had dried up (MacInnes, 1995). The manufacturing industries of the 'Clyde Built' era, i.e. shipbuilding, coal and steel, had almost disappeared, urban decline set in and the population dwindled (McArthur & McGregor, 1986; Keating, 1988; Hibberd, 2008).

The changes in the wider economic environment, and the perceived inadequacies of the city (Paddison, 1993), meant that Glasgow had become relatively unattractive to new industrial investors. The city's policy makers realised that Glasgow needed to improve its infrastructure and urban landscape and to address its housing problems and its "softer, social and community issues" (Turok, 2004, p. 2). But they also saw that Glasgow needed a change in mindset, and that the city had to start planning for a post-industrial future.

In the early 1980s, Glasgow began its attempt to restructure itself and to grapple with issues like unemployment, the redefinition of identity and the fostering of social inclusion (Di Cicco, 1949; Keating, 1988; Boyle & Hughes, 1994; Cunningham-Sabot, 1996; Hall, 1998; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999; Landry, 2008). Local and regional government became more proactive in their efforts to promote economic development and employment growth. The city began to develop its service sector and consumer industries, with a particular focus on tourism (Short, Benton, Luce & Walton, 1993). However, outwith the city, Glasgow had a negative image as a dangerous place, synonymous with gangs and violence (Paddison, 1993), and together with the effects of de-industrialisation, this greatly hampered efforts to generate a tourist industry and to attract businesses and inward investment (Booth & Boyle, 1993). On the other hand, Glasgow also had a vibrant and rich cultural fabric upon which to draw, in music, theatre, literature and the visual arts (Comedia, 1991). The decision to focus on these dimensions inspired a number of cultural policies, and

a series of high profile events were launched to attract visitors to the city. These events and cultural resources became central to the city's marketing literature and in turn inspired further important developments (GCC, 2012).

2.4.2 *Glasgow, a City of Culture*

The first of these cultural initiatives was the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign, launched in 1983 (Booth & Boyle, 1993), which was aimed at reversing Glasgow's image among both residents and visitors as a city of poverty and unemployment (Turok, 2004). No opportunity was missed to promote the slogan; even the Queen was pictured underneath a Miles Better umbrella (with Glasgow's then Lord Provost, Michael Kelly) at the opening of the Burrell Collection in October 1983. The first high profile event to take place was the annual Mayfest cultural festival, which began in 1983, and in 1988, the Garden Festival was held to mark the centenary of Glasgow's first international exhibition, the 1888 International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry. These events and others led to the city being designated as the European City of Culture (ECOC) in 1990 (GUCoM, 2008). The ECOC title solidified Glasgow's image as a post-industrial city (Hibberd, 2008), with the 'year of culture' that followed stimulating further growth in the city and throughout its cultural industries. As huge investments were made in Glasgow's cultural infrastructure, it became one of the first British cities to use the arts as a catalyst for urban regeneration.

Wishing to capitalise on its successes, Glasgow City Council (GCC) commissioned a report from John Myerscough (1991) to enable it to assess the city's position and decide on future policy. *Monitoring Glasgow* (1990) was designed to provide a statistical picture and analysis of the economic and social impacts of the 1990 cultural programme. The report included an extensive account of the development in Glasgow's cultural sector and concluded that the year of culture's main achievements in developmental terms were market growth, an increased level of access to the arts and improved perceptions of the city (Reeves, 2002). This assessment, while providing an indication of potential post-1990 opportunities, also became a

benchmark against which subsequent events were measured, and paved the way for more comprehensive debate and policy development around the use of culture and the creative industries in regeneration. The ECOC award and Myerscough's (1991) report, together with the Comedia Group's research (1991), formed the basis of Glasgow's cultural industries strategy in the 1990s.

Comedia, who were invited to Glasgow in 1991, emphasised the potential value of leisure, tourism and the cultural industries as drivers of the city's economy. Glasgow's policy makers hoped that Comedia's framework would show them how to foster the city's creativity, industry and infrastructure in order to enhance its attractiveness to both visitors and residents (Markusen, 2006), improve the quality of life in the city and make it a "model of sustainable urban living" (Hall, 1998, p. 64). Creativity became a priority; conditions had to be fostered where "people could mix and mingle, where ideas could be generated and alternatives disseminated, and where imagination and the harnessing of opportunities were the norm" (Landry, 2008, p. 42).

In *Making the Most of Glasgow's Cultural Assets* (Comedia, 1991), Landry highlighted the potential of the city's cultural industries as a tool for regeneration. However, while acknowledging the particular strength and richness of Glasgow's musical heritage, he argued that, if it was to move forward, the city would have to recognise the economic importance of all its artistic and cultural activity, particularly in light of its high profile re-invention from being known as "the cradle of steam navigation" to becoming a European Capital of Culture (Bellamy, 2006, p. 1).

The Comedia (1991) toolkit presented Glasgow's local government with a simplified understanding of the processes of urban and regional development (Chatterton, 2000). It emphasised the need to create and support "high-value jobs and innovation, and the need to make corresponding improvements to the city's physical, cultural and social environment" (Landry, 2008, p. 13). In other words, Glasgow had to ensure that it had the necessary preconditions in terms of hard and soft infrastructure to generate new ideas and inventions (Landry, 2000).

Accordingly, the then government-sponsored Glasgow Development Agency (GDA, later to become Scottish Enterprise) was tasked with:

“(1) raising awareness of and educating in the creative economy, (2) promoting the concept as a whole, (3) developing an organizational ethos and culture open to innovative and creative opportunities, and (4) reinterpreting and reviewing existing projects, as well as establishing (5) new possibilities from within a ‘creative city’ perspective, and (6) instigating scientific ‘creative city’ demonstration projects [SIC]” (Comedia, 1991, p. 138).

It was the GDA’s job to ensure that the city had the flexibility to think ahead and consider its long-term objectives. Glasgow could only become a centre for the cultural industries “if it nourished the multiple interactions that took place” there (*Ibid*, p. 20).

Glasgow responded by promoting itself to entrepreneurs and other cultural workers with the ability to control and exploit the resources it had to offer, and by positioning innovation and entrepreneurship at the heart of the local economy (Audretsch and Thurik, 2000). Since then, the city has worked strategically towards regeneration (Landry, 2008, p. 7) and towards urban renewal, both by investing in its infrastructure and by promoting itself through titles, awards, events and campaigns (GUCoM, 2008, p. 10). Figure 2, below, summarises the major cultural milestones and creative events which can be said to have helped Glasgow project itself internationally as a creative city over the past four decades.

Comedia (1991) built a detailed evidence base from Glasgow’s experiences, upon which was developed a social rationale for investment in the arts, and since then, Landry has adapted his ideas and extended his framework. The first instance of this progression was a discussion document, *The Social Impact of the Arts* (Landry, Bianchini, Maguire & Warpole, 1993), which looked at how the UK Government measured the impact of the arts in relation to social agendas. Using a number of detailed case studies, Glasgow included, the report outlined the need for a national

research agenda focusing on the impact of the arts on social development at the local, regional and national level. The findings of over 60 separate research projects were studied in depth and later summarised and reported in Matarasso's (1997), *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*, which was the first large-scale attempt to gather evidence of the social impact of the arts in the UK.

The purpose of Matarasso's report was to make cultural bodies aware that participatory arts programmes created positive ripple effects in the surrounding social environment and that funding these programmes also produced multiplier effects in areas such as personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imagination and vision, health and well being which, crucially, far outweighed the cost of funding them (Matarasso, 1997, p. 88). The report showed that in cities such as Glasgow, and elsewhere, only marginal changes were needed in social policy priorities in order to capitalise on the positive benefits the cultural industries had to offer, and it set out a clear and workable methodological framework in support of its claims (Matarasso, 1997). In the wake of the report, the cultural industries became increasingly closely linked with both public and private social development initiatives designed to ensure that cities could be seen as inherently creative, vibrant, dynamic and worthy of continued investment.

2.5 Institutional Context: From Cultural Industries to Creative Industries

The growing importance of the cultural industries and the associated rise in related research coincided with the election of the New Labour Government who expressed a determination to address issues of inclusion and economic development (Appendix 1). By the time New Labour won the UK General Election in May 1997 and started promoting the nation's cities as signs of the UK's diversity and creativity, it was clear that a shift had taken place which was to have major consequences for the recognition of the role of arts and culture in terms of wider social and economic development.

Bilton (2007, p. 5) observes that the Labour Government's campaign to capitalise on the success of the UK's creative industries and the 'Cool Britannia' brand drove urban policy frameworks at both regional and national level. According to Ross (2007, p. 17), Britain became "an island of creativity...rolled out under the watchful eye of the media... and resembled one never-ending launch party, with artists and arts grandees playing front-page". It is argued that the government mobilised creativity *through* culture as part of its global post-industrial strategy (Frith, 1991, p. 137); previously subsidised areas of the arts and culture were merged with new growth areas to become the 'creative industries' (Hibberd, 2008). This "brought creativity from the back door of government, where it has sat for decades, round to the front door" (Howkins, 2001, p. 19).

In 1997, the government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 1998) took these ideas further, rebranding the 'cultural' industries as the 'creative' (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999). Some commentators have suggested that this apparently small shift in terminology was not simply a semantic one but, instead, was highly political (Pratt, 2008a, p. 14), and was an indication of the nature of the transition from Old Labour to New Labour governance (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005); the creative industries were being distanced from the cultural in order to align them with other policy areas (Pratt, 2008a, p. 14). This ensured that economic, commercial and individualist dimensions would be emphasised through the provision

of robust output measures. For Drake (2003, p. 512), this rebranding emphasised the “economic value of the products rather than the less easily understood and potentially more contentious concept of culture”.

A number of commentaries have discussed the government’s creation of the cross-departmental Creative Industries Task Force, showing that it drew upon key industry players and policy makers in order to identify a range of strategies and develop creative solutions to perceived problems faced by the new industries (Ross, 2007). An important regional dimension was added to the development of an evidence base around the economic contribution of the creative industries, with every region of Britain soon having its own Cultural Consortium, along with designated “creative hubs” and “cultural quarters” designed by the Creative Industries Task Force Regional Issues Working Group (Bilton, 2007; Flew, 2011).

However, as Hartley (2005, p. 23) suggests, “the creative industries are so varied in scale, organization, and sector that they are barely recognisable as a coherent object of analysis” and, consequently, there has been a considerable amount of debate about whether the terms ‘creative industry’ and ‘cultural industry’ are interchangeable, or whether they in fact denote different areas of activity (Drake, 2003). Despite these doubts on the coherence of the concepts involved, a document entitled the *Creative Industries: 1998 Mapping Document* (DCMS, 1998) was an attempt to provide a national overview of the economic contribution of the creative industries as well as “a blueprint for action for both Government and the industries themselves” (DCMS, 2001, p. 4).

This report significantly increased the recognition of the importance of the creative industries, and the development of these industries became a key element within national strategies for competitiveness and change. Since the lens through which creative industry policy was discussed was primarily an economic one, particular attention was paid to definitions, with the Standard Industrial Classification, as set out by the DCMS (1998), being used to define the sectors and sub-sectors within the creative industries (Evans, 2009).

2.5.1 *Identifying and Defining the Creative Industries*

According to the DCMS (1998, p. 3), the creative industries comprise:

“...activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property [SIC]”.

They involve the supply of goods and services that contain a substantial element of “artistic, imaginative or intellectual effort”, and which are associated with or “play a vital role in sustaining cultural activities” (Turok, 2003, p. 554). The 1998 mapping document produced by the DCMS defined 13 key industry sectors, which were advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio (DCMS, 1998, p. 10). All of these sectors have in common that they are characterised by an overlapping of cultural and commercial activities (Watkins & Herbert, 2003).

The 13 sectors were drawn from the UK Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities (SIC) (the British equivalent of the International Standard Industrial Classification used by the United Nations) and provided a workable framework for collecting and presenting data on creative businesses and contextualising the creative industries within the wider economy (Appendix 2). Analysis of the SIC code data underpins any serious creative industries strategy in Britain. This data is drawn from official government sources such as the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) and/or the Labour Force Survey (LFS).

According to Evans (2009), however, important inconsistencies existed within the DCMS’s definitions; these were reflected in economic mapping exercises which counted antiques traders but not dance teachers, for example (DCMS, 1998).

Similarly, Howkins (2001) questioned the definitions, arguing that the term ‘creative industry’ should have been extended to include both business-led and scientific creativity. Commentators have also varied in their expressed opinions of what they consider to be creative industries. The original DCMS (1998) definition excludes galleries, libraries, archives and museums, cultural heritage and cultural tourism, but Pratt (1997) includes everything from fine art and literature to museums, libraries and nightclubs, but excludes sport, tourism and entertainment. Caves (2000, p. 1) includes “cinema and TV films, even fashion, toys and games”, while Scott (2000, p. 30) defines the outputs of the creative industries as “artefacts imbued with imaginative aesthetic, symbolic value and semiotic content”, produced by sectors “catering to consumer demands for amusement, ornamentation, self-affirmation and social display” (Scott, 1999, p. 807).

In contrast to the DCMS definition, these interpretations highlight the relative dominance of “symbolic value, sign value or expressive value in the output of the creative industries” (Drake, 2003, p. 512). This echoes arguments from both Zukin (1995) and Lash and Urry (1994, p. 15) that “what is increasingly produced are not material objects, but signs”, and that goods and that services are becoming increasingly “aestheticized”.

This discussion among academics, along with Ken Robinson’s (1999) report on the findings of the national commission on creativity, education and the economy, *All Our Future: Creativity, Culture and Education*, have led observers to suggest that public institutions in government and education were the first bodies to identify the creative industries, rather than the industries themselves (Hartley, 2005), and that it was arguably their policy documents and publications that had succeeded in raising awareness among policy makers (Pratt, 2008a).

Although Britain may have been the first country to attempt to profile its creative industries in this way, it is by no means the only country to have done so (Bop Consulting, 2010). The DCMS’s 1998 definition and list of creative sectors were soon taken up by other nations, who began to develop their own analyses, based to a

greater or lesser extent on the UK model. These included the Scandinavian states, Italy, France, Germany, Spain and others, although there were often significant departures from the British approach (Power, 2003; Holzl, 2006; Boix, Lazzarotti, Hervàs & De Miguel, 2011). Since then, there has been much discussion of the structural characteristics of the creative industries, and a number of alternative approaches have been suggested as being more accurate ways of interpreting and mapping the sector (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; WIPO, 2003; KEA European Affairs, 2006; UNESCO, 2009; European Commission, 2010a; UNCTAD, 2008; 2010).

Ultimately, it appears that there is no right or wrong approach, just different ways of interpreting the structural characteristics of creative production. This is perhaps because there are no universally accepted definitions of the cultural and/or creative industries, nor is there a consensus as to the set of economic activities upon which they are based (Appendix 3). Notwithstanding the lack of agreement on “where the boundary lies between creative industries and other economic activity” (Turok, 2003, p. 554), attempts continue to identify and promote these industries (Evans, 2009, p. 1018), driven by their growing economic importance. While the DCMS’s list of relevant sectors and the subsequent international discussion have provided useful indicators of the types of economic activity that can be categorised as creative, a clearer picture of the significance of the sector is presented in the creative industries’ growth rates, which are increasingly deemed to be outstripping those achieved in many other parts of the economy (Kloosterman, 2004; Hartley, 2007).

2.5.2 Economic Impact of the Creative Industries

In April 2012, the Secretary General of UNCTAD announced that the creative economy, including both cultural and creative industries, now accounts for a significant portion of the world’s economy, its growth having exceeded all expectations (UNCTAD, 2012). In Britain, the most recent estimates suggest that in 2010 (using the 2007 SIC revised codes), the creative economy employed just under 2 million people, with just over 1.5 million being employed directly in the creative industries and the rest working in related creative occupations (DCMS, 2010). This

represents 5.1% of the UK's total workforce. However, the impact of the creative industries in terms of gross value added (GVA) has, according to one measure, declined significantly (DCMS, 2011). The creative industries in the UK were previously said to have accounted for around 5.64% of GVA, while enjoying year on year economic growth, but in the 2011 edition of its *Creative Economic Estimates*, the DCMS implemented a number of methodological changes, with the result that the figure was cut in half, to 2.89%.

This apparent reversal is readily explained. Firstly, the new report included changes to the SIC codes (see Appendix 2 for an outline of the 1998, 2003, 2007 and 2011 codes) arising from a number of additions and subtractions. For example, the updated codes for 2010 and 2011 include design and reduce subsectors within software and electronic publishing, as well as reflecting changes in technology, digital media, software and broadcasting. The scaling factor has also been dropped. This was previously applied to the GVA results obtained from government surveys, in order to allow for the incomplete coverage of the UK's creative economy (DCMS, 2011). Over time, this adjustment has become less necessary as the data has become more accurate; its removal from the 2011 calculations is the reason why the GVA estimates in the recent edition are considerably lower than those of previous years.

Although these changes in definitions and codings reflect the changing environment in which the creative economy operates in Britain, they have raised some concerns at the national level. Researchers have highlighted the significant economic benefits generated by Scotland's arts and creative industries, but the DCMS's classification excludes a number of creative sectors, such as crafts, which are an important component of the Scottish creative industries (see Appendix 4). Moreover, by removing the scaling factor, the DCMS is in effect ignoring the increasingly high number of micro-enterprises in the country (Creative Scotland, 2012).

In omitting non-standard cultural occupations, it can be argued that the DCMS is ignoring a number of sectors which offer continuing possibilities for employment, growth and entrepreneurship. Their actions have, once again, prompted questions

about what occupations should be included in, or excluded from, the definitions. At the international level, even after the success of the 2012 Olympic Games in London, the UNCTAD definition still fails to acknowledge sport as part of the creative economy, yet in Glasgow, which is due to host the Commonwealth Games in 2014, sport is now increasingly being seen as one of the creative industries most likely to attract tourists and visitors to the city (UNCTAD, 2012). As Power (2011, p. 7) explains, the economic potential of these dynamic industries remains largely “underestimated and untapped”.

The idea of an economy based on individual creativity has become increasingly attractive to governments; not only are growth rates in this sector outstripping those seen in many other parts of the economy, but the sector also offers many people a route into employment which does not usually require them to go through traditional training and recruitment processes. Consequently, there is a much higher rate of self-employment in this sector (Ross, 2007, p. 13). This is true in Scotland and across the UK as a whole: figures suggest that around one third (approximately 34%) of the sector is self-employed. However, the figure may actually be higher still, since current classifications are neither comprehensive nor reliable, and may not capture all sole traders, freelancers or other workers (Brinkley & Holloway, 2010, p. 5).

It has been suggested that the DCMS’s definitions still fail to adequately distinguish between the various cultural sectors, with the result that policy makers tend to adopt a “one size fits all” approach, without understanding the differing natures of the industries, where they are located, and their varying impacts on economic and urban development (Ibid). Among researchers, too, these industries “rightly or wrongly, are said to share something that makes treating them as interlinked or similar meaningful and worthwhile”, and they are often treated as though the only difference between each of them is their emphasis on either outputs, inputs or processes (Flew, 2011, p. 19). In reality, the creative and cultural industries are not all the same. Nor can they be seen simply as “cyclically dependent on the rest of the economy”; they are subject to a range of pressures and stimulants, including, but not limited to, “industrial restructuring, rates of entrepreneurship and sole-trading, or the extent of freelance

working” (Power, 2011, p. 17). It is, therefore, essential to understand how they are structured, but so far researchers have preferred to focus on understanding those sub-sectors that offer nations, regions and cities “the greatest potential for economic growth” (Creative Scotland, 2012).

2.6 Business Context: Music as a Creative Industry

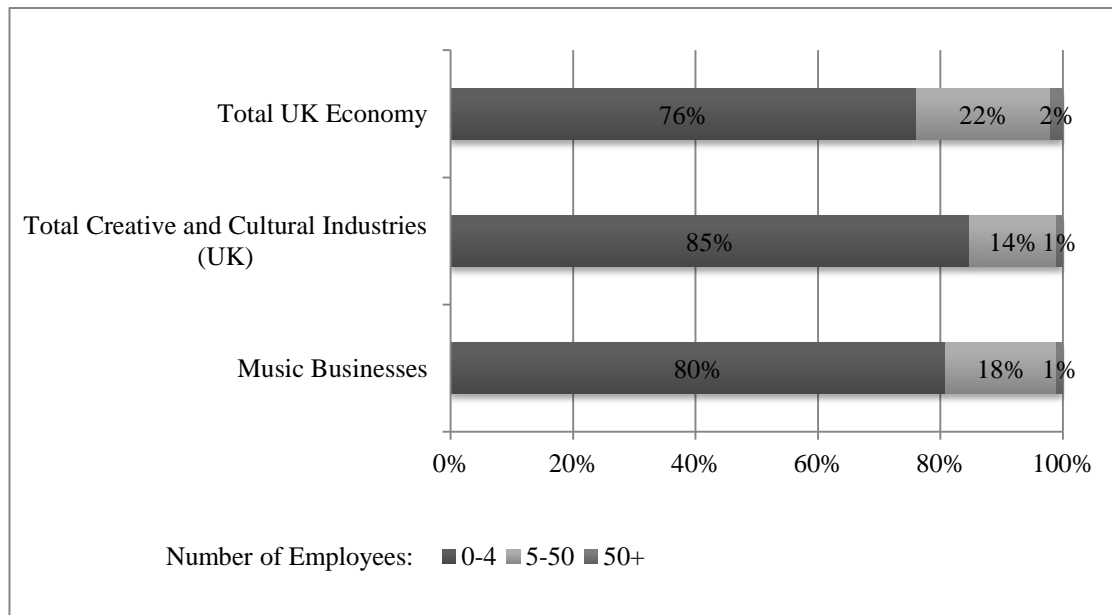
Music is the most intangible and one of the most pervasive of the creative industries. It is an example of what Frederiksen (2002, p. 7) terms a ‘hybrid industry’, in that it generates value both from tangible goods and from intangible services, knowledge and experience. Yet it is only relatively recently that music has commonly been considered as a creative industry, or that sound recordings, printed music and digital files have been thought of as commercial products. This means that it is often difficult to disentangle economic considerations from political, social and cultural ones when analysing the music industry at the local level.

In recent years, the music industry has been challenged by “technological and aesthetical innovations from both inside and outside the industry” (Peltz, 2011, p. 1). It has been shaped by the convergence which has taken place between the media and information industries; essentially, it has been forced to make the transition from being the manufacturer and distributor of a physical product to becoming a service provider organised around the management and exploitation of talent (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004, p. 49). The technological innovations may have created structural issues for the wider industry, but they have also opened it up to new actors, and it now encompasses firms of all sizes, types and stages (Timmons & Spinelli, 2007). This has left the industry with an hour-glass structure: at one end are the Majors (a small number of large, transnational corporations which have dominated the music industry for the last 50 years), and at the other are thousands of freelancers and small, independent businesses.

The Majors and a small number of international entertainment organisations remain the most significant force within the hour glass, but the majority of people in the

industry actually work in small or micro size businesses which carry out a variety of roles. In the UK, approximately 120,000 people work in the music industry (BPI, 2011) – this is despite the fact that none of the Major labels have a presence in the country. More than 5,100 music businesses (MB) are listed in published directories, and approximately 81% of these employ fewer than 5 people (see Table 2) (UK Music, 2011, p. 33).

Table 2: UK Music Industry Self-Employment Figures



Source: *Creative & Cultural Skills (2010). The Creative and Cultural Industries: Music. London: Sector Skills Council.*

Most current research, which tends to rely on government data, largely ignores the contribution made by these micro-firms, freelance workers and project workers, concentrating instead on larger businesses. According to government estimates, the Scottish music industry accounts for a mere 0.47% of all employment in the creative sector (Creative Scotland, 2012, p. 31), which works out at just over 400 people, but current figures presented elsewhere suggest that the number is likely to be much higher. According to the British Phonographic Industry Handbook for 2011, the Scottish music industry employs around 6% of the UK total share, which is approximately 6,133 people. Thus, the prior research to date appears to have compounded the government’s errors and under-represented a significant proportion of those working in the creative sector.

According to the 2008 UNESCO Bid document, in Glasgow alone there are over 2,922 people working in the music industry, contributing an estimated £74.6 million to the city's economy. However, Myerscough's report suggests that only 464 of these are self-employed (Myerscough, 2011). One possible explanation for this apparently low level of self-employment is that many people in the creative sector choose to report their working activity under different industrial classifications; almost half of all musicians are said to be classified as engaged in non-creative industries or in businesses (Page & Carey, 2011, p. 1). This has been borne out by recent research into graduate employment activity in Glasgow's music sector, which shows that, with few stable employment opportunities and an oversaturated market, music graduates often do a variety of jobs to earn a living (Mason, Sheridan & McFarlane, 2012).

In reality, the sector is mostly freelance or project-based and heavily dependent on entrepreneurial individuals and their core products and services. Many cultural and creative enterprises may only have one or two key people working for them (European Commission, 2010b), but, despite this, these enterprises are collectively making a significant contribution to the creative economy (Power, 2011, p. 7). Although Scotland's music industry is said to account for only 0.47% of total creative sector employment, the effects of the industry at a national level have been widely documented; these include both direct industry impacts and the multipliers associated with high profile events and festivals such as T in the Park and the MOBO awards (Myerscough, 2011). When the direct contribution (i.e. spending by the supply chain and workers within the creative industries) and indirect contribution (i.e. through the supply chain) of these multiplier effects is measured, the overall number of jobs involved rises to 130,000, the GVA climbs to £6.3 billion and the total industry turnover rises to £12.5 billion (Stephen, 2012).

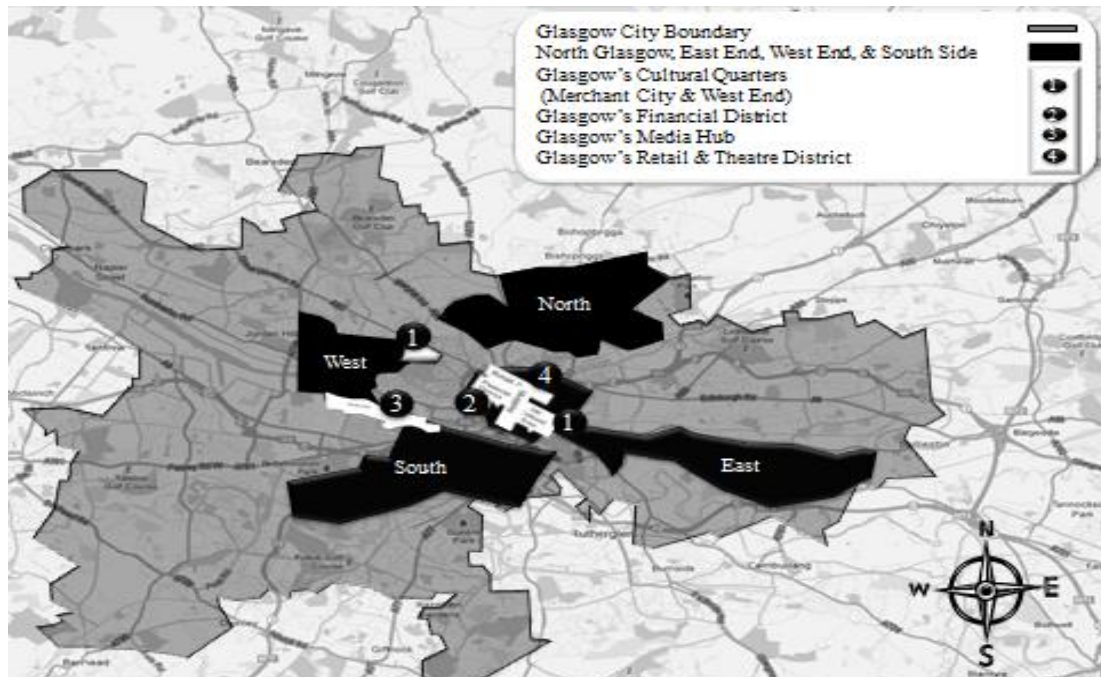
The literature suggests that the creative industries, including music, are closely connected to place, and that location plays a key role in fostering enterprise and synergies (GUCoM, 2008; UNCTAD, 2012). An idea, it is argued, is nothing unless

the surrounding environment supports its production, distribution and consumption, and the creative process itself involves distinct ways of thinking that must be cultivated both in the individual and in the society surrounding them. Thus, to develop an understanding of how the creative industries impact economies, we must do more than just focus on definitions or employment statistics. It is also necessary to explore the influence of the city: those urban innovations that, according to Landry and others, provide the physical and social environment which can foster creativity from within (Comedia, 1991).

2.6.1 The Quality of Place

Bianchini (1989) and Pratt (1997) both highlight that Glasgow was one of the first cities to implement a range of creative industry-led strategies, integrated with city development and regeneration plans. Intelligent investment has been centred on cultural institutions and the “renewal of the city’s historic core and bohemian cultural quarters”, something which has, in turn, been a basis for Glasgow’s wider economic regeneration (Leadbeater, 2008, p. 1). In early 2000, an intensive building programme began, focusing initially on the city’s 18th century districts. Since then, the City Centre, the West End, the East End and the South Side of Glasgow have all been the focus of intensive regeneration (Figure 3). Throughout these redevelopment efforts, care has been taken to preserve the existing architecture and also to preserve the different neighbourhoods’ individual identities (Trapp, 2003).

Figure 3: The Glasgow Regeneration Zones



Historic areas of the city have been converted into luxury housing; former warehouses, disused factory buildings and riverside docklands have become regeneration projects, and throughout the city, some of the most deprived areas in the UK have become the focus of intensive investment (Gomez, 1998). Former warehouses became fashion houses (such as the Italian Centre on Ingram Street); empty market buildings became restaurants or bars (such as the Merchant Square on Albion Street); and following the publication of Zukin's (1988) seminal work, the Todd Building on Ingram Street was converted into loft apartments. Artists began colonising dilapidated workshops and empty units, vacated merchants' houses became boutique hotels and restaurants (such as the Merchant City Inn on Virginia Street), while some of the city's redundant and disused churches (the Tron Theatre, and St. Andrew's in the Square) were converted into performance spaces.

The formerly residential East End and South Sides of the city are now home to venues such as the Barrowlands and Carling Academy, while along the water's edge the newly developed Docklands Media Park has been established, which houses the Science Museum, the Riverside Transport Museum, the Science Tower,

the Armadillo and the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre). More recently, a new, purpose-built media hub has attracted publishing, broadcast and media companies such as BBC Scotland, Scottish Media Group, the Tramway, the Citizen's Theatre and Scottish Ballet.

Glasgow's city centre is one of the best preserved Victorian city centres in Britain and has the third largest financial quarter in the UK (GUCoM, 2008). The Merchant City, once a historic area of markets and warehouses, is now at the centre of Glasgow's cultural quarter (Wall, 2007). In the city centre, a new concert hall has been erected in recent years, along with a new building for the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, while in the Merchant City area, the City Halls and the Fruitmarket concert venues have been redeveloped with the intention of raising the quality of artistic output. These areas also house a range of café/bar/restaurant facilities. The redevelopment of Glasgow's housing stock, retail sector, hotels, offices and landscape, the refurbishment of Argyle Street, Buchanan Street and Sauchiehall Street, and the building of the St. Enoch Centre, Princes Square and Buchanan St shopping complexes have all been accomplished since the 1990s with the help of major private investment (Myerscough, 2011).

In these ways, Glasgow has sought to turn itself into an attractive location for tourists and to enhance the quality of life of those living and working in the city. City leaders have used symbolic imagery and language, logos, slogans and photographs to present these re-emerging areas as "attractive places to visit, live and work" (Avraham & Daugherty, 2009, p. 334). At the same time, they have sought to enhance the city's competitiveness by branding and promoting its creative spaces, whether in terms of the city itself, its districts, quarters or 'scenes' (Lange, 2006). The formerly disused shipyards and factories, of which only a few remain, are often thought of as little more than a potent cultural symbol in the wider "elegiac discourse" surrounding the city's identity (McArthur, 1993, p. 102).

In the years which have passed since Comedia (1991; 1993) and others originally developed their social rationale for investment in the arts, more than 80 cities and

regions around the world have produced explicit sectoral strategies for change, from Beijing in China to Bilbao in Spain (Hartmann, 2008). While, Comedia is no longer a formal think tank and is now a coalition of network collaborators, cities such as London have seen increased employment resulting from investment in the creative industries, as Bianchini (1989) and Pratt (1997) highlight, others, such as Glasgow, have seen this investment lead to place-making or cultural regeneration (British Council, 2009, p. 10).

Glasgow's investment strategies are based on the same growth imperative that has driven policy intervention across the UK and the prioritisation of the creative economy elsewhere (Evans, 2009). In countries such as the Scandinavian nations, Scotland and New Zealand, a key element within these city level, creative-led renewal strategies is the 'cluster', defined by Michael Porter (1999), the architect of cluster theory, as:

“...geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialised suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions (i.e. universities) in a particular field that compete but also co-operate” (reprinted in Porter, 2000, p. 15).

Clusters have emerged in the film, media, furniture and fashion sectors (Mommaas, 2004; O'Connor, 2007; Evans, 2009). Evans (2009, p. 1006) also cites examples from the field of higher education, including Silicon Valley (Stanford), Route 128 Boston (MIT, Harvard) and Silicon Fen (Cambridge). In the UK and Europe, the clusters which have emerged, such as Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter, Salford's MediaCityUK, Copenhagen's 10 Creative Zones (*Ibid*), Stockholm's Music District (Power & Hallencreutz, 2002), Glasgow's Merchant City and financial quarter (Avraham & Daugherty, 2009), and Amsterdam's Westergasfabriek district (Bonink & Hitters, 2001) are localised and are either part of, or linked to, spatial strategies and plans which have been designed to regenerate urban and former industrial districts (Evans, 2009).

Where such cultural and creative-led renewal strategies have been put in place, the creative scene in many cities has also experienced growth, yet as numerous commentators have highlighted, many have also experienced the polarising effects of a creativity-based city planning policy (Chatterton, 2000; Catungal & Leslie, 2009; Cheung, 2009). Zukin (1995) and Kunzmann (2004), while agreeing that a supportive city infrastructure is vital, caution that this kind of planned approach and formal designation of cultural zones can be problematic, because positive regeneration outcomes may in some areas “stifle other kinds of development and make the achievement of cultural development more difficult in non-designated areas” (Dang & Duxbury, 2007, p. 19).

This has happened in Glasgow, which, like many other cities in the UK, Europe and the US, has seen the fragmentation of the city into discrete creative districts, leading to displacements (Zukin, 1988; Berger, 2002; Bontje & Musterd, 2009) and “increased economic leakage and local dis-benefit” (Evans, 2009, p. 1017). Regeneration in the city’s East End, for example, which is one of the most deprived areas in the whole of the UK, has been slow; outside the city’s creative hub, this area remains poor. As Peck (2005, p. 749) explains, “increased public subsidies for the arts, street-level spectacles, and improved urban façades” reap returns in the form of “gentrification and tourist income”, but do little to tackle the underlying problems of exclusion, oppression and inequality (Catungal & Leslie, 2009). It is to be hoped that the intensive regeneration now being implemented in Glasgow in preparation for the 2014 Commonwealth Games will change things.

Lazzeretti, Boix and Capone (2008) explain that different cities specialise in nurturing and accommodating different creative sectors. In some, traditional creative industries such as publishing, architecture or music have a strong presence, while others focus on the new industries that have grown out of recent shifts in technology, such as software, advertising and computer game design. In Barcelona, Berlin and Helsinki, visual and public art and design have been vital to the success of the cities’ development strategies (Evans, 2009, p. 1027), while in Glasgow, the multiplier effects of its live music and festival traditions have made these key features of the

city's tourism strategy (GUCoM, 2008). Their contribution was most publically acknowledged in 2008, when the city was awarded the title UNESCO City of Music in recognition both of its musical heritage and its current achievements.

2.6.2 *Glasgow as a City of Music*

The UNESCO award did not only draw attention to Glasgow as a city of music; the associated report also contained a comprehensive portrait of the work being done there (GUCoM, 2008, p. 24). The report commented upon the sheer number of performers, venues and music-related businesses located in the city. The scale of the industry is revealed in a database collated by the government from existing databases of music-entrepreneurs and musicians in the city; this gives a good indication of the scale and size of the commercial sector, the number and density of outreach programmes in operation, and the number of higher education institutions offering music courses. With an estimated turnover of £186 million, and over 184 professional organisations employing 3,484 full-time employees, the industry has had a significant impact on the Scottish economy (Myerscough, 2011, p. 6). A further 1,779 self-employed musicians, actors, dancers, artists and authors work in the city, and as “Glasgow’s music businesses continue to generate more output, the number of jobs is set to increase” (GUCoM, 2008, p. 13).

These figures are perhaps less surprising, however, given the emphasis being placed by the city on culture-based regeneration projects and sector-based initiatives in the film, music and television industries (Evans, 2009, p. 1011). Following the development of its former industrial districts, the city is now home to the headquarters of BBC Scotland and Scottish Television, and to six of the country’s largest music industry employers: The Royal Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra and the National Theatre of Scotland. It is also the base for a number of independent production companies and a range of supporting organisations such as Scottish Screen, as well as a number of higher education institutions (Myerscough, 2011).

Beyond this, Glasgow's historic association with small, independently owned music businesses and its indie scene are widely recognised within the industry (BPI, 2009). Its music entrepreneurs have an international reputation, and it has produced a number of international artists, including Primal Scream, Belle and Sebastian, The Delgados, Travis, Mogwai and Franz Ferdinand. Live music is a key driver of the night-time economy in the city. This has had a positive ripple effect, kick-starting opportunities for a range of local businesses, from networks of pubs, clubs and bars, to rehearsal rooms, local labels, retailers and manufacturers of sound, stage and theatre equipment. Practice rooms and recording studios are dotted around the city's side streets, while long established venues such as Barrowlands and King Tut's Wah Wah Hut compete with numerous newer venues to offer platforms for musicians and the chance to be seen by international labels. As Dubini and Aldrich (1991) explain, "such places and the networks within act as a lubricant to the often overheated, chaotic and almost frenzied process" whereby the entrepreneur seeks to orchestrate the fit between the identified opportunity and the required resources.

Glasgow's music festivals also play a critical role in exposing musical genres and artists to new markets, as well as promoting the region as an attractive tourism destination; in fact, Williamson, Cloonan and Frith (2003) found that live music was the only Scottish music activity attracting inward investment. The cultural benefits of music in the region have been described as "widespread in terms of identity, participation and heritage, generating income for both the tourist and leisure economy" (SAC, 2005, pp. 8-9). The largest live music events have also had a knock-on effect in the regions outwith Glasgow that have gone on to host them; for example, when the T in the Park festival moved from Strathclyde Country Park in South Lanarkshire to Ballado near Kinross it created a range of opportunities for the local community. The growing importance of the live music business is reflected in increasing corporate and government involvement. Venues and promotions have become increasingly controlled by a small number of international operators, such as Dennis Desmond's Irish-based MCD and Simon Moran's SJM group, who together own DF Concerts (Scotland's biggest promoter) and produce T in the Park.

Meanwhile, Celtic Connections is run by Glasgow City Halls and funded by Glasgow City Council.

In Glasgow, public and private investment in the music sector has gone hand in hand with wider city regeneration and education development strategies (Landry, 2008, p. 6). A number of support agencies have appeared across the city to “maximise opportunities for creators and performers in Glasgow to develop excellence” (The Cultural Commission, 2005, p. 83). The aim of these support initiatives and projects is to create support structures for the creative sector and to widen participation in it; the ultimate aim is to create an environment where it is easier for the new and the innovative to flourish. While many of these agencies only operate in an advisory capacity, a number also provide funding options and finance opportunities, with some even becoming stakeholders or partners. In addition, organisations such as NESTA and the Prince’s Trust also offer funding and investment for those in the arts.

In accordance with First Minister Jack McConnell’s pledge to put arts and culture at the centre of his administration’s policies¹, steps have been taken to improve musical education provision in the city (Williamson & Cloonan, 2007), with schools, universities and colleges providing opportunities for music making as well as courses in music and management. According to the most recent Myerscough report (2011, p. 9), there is a “major concentration in Glasgow of Scotland’s specialist institutions which provide practice-based training in music, drama, dance, art and design”. These include the Glasgow Education Service (GES), the Glasgow School of Art (GSA), the former Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (RSAMD), now renamed the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, as well as a number of national youth organisations. Together, according to the report, in the period 2008-2009 these accounted for around a fifth of Glasgow’s creative sector, “totalling some £39 million and employing some 707 full-time staff” (*Ibid* p. 65).

In 2005, the Scottish Arts Council (now Creative Scotland), together with Scottish Enterprise and the Scottish Executive, embarked upon a survey of Glasgow’s

¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2003/11/4641> [Accessed 13 October 2012].

contemporary music scene, conducting studies on issues ranging from musical education provision to festival numbers (SAC, 2005). *The Scottish Music Industry Association: Feasibility Study* was commissioned to document the need for a single body to represent Scotland's expanding music industry, and in 2008, just as Glasgow became a UNESCO City of Music, the Scottish Music Industry Association (SMIA) was formally established to represent the industry and its artists.

In 2009, the roles and responsibilities of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) and Scottish Screen were formally merged to establish Creative Scotland 2009 Ltd, which became the new leading body for the arts and screen industries in Scotland (www.sac.com). The new organisation's stated aim was to deliver "a first-class cultural infrastructure that the whole country can enjoy" (Creative Scotland, 2012). With a broader remit and more funds available for distribution to the creative sector than its predecessors, totalling £83 million annually (Leadbeater, 2012), Creative Scotland makes "one third more awards with one third fewer staff" (Creative Scotland, 2012).

Not all of Creative Scotland's most recent policies have found favour with the creative community, however. In October 2012, more than 100 artists from across Scotland criticised the organisation and its management in an open letter to Sir Sandy Crombie, Creative Scotland's Chairman², following Creative Scotland's decision in July 2012 to alter its funding policies and remove almost 50 ensemble groups from "regular, fixed-term funding and onto support on a project-by-project basis" (Kettle, 2012). The letter was interpreted by some in the media and industry commentators as expressing a shared wish among the artists who signed it to stabilise and simplify funding processes (BBC, 2012), and Creative Scotland and the government both stressed the importance of resolving the issues by December 2012 (Ferguson, 2012). Since its original submission, a further 300 artists in the community have signed an online petition³.

² <http://www.creativescotland.com/news/an-open-letter-from-sir-sandy-crombie-chairman-creative-scotland-09102012> [Accessed 13 October 2012].

³ <http://www.change.org/en-GB/petitions/sir-sandy-crombie-chairman-creative-scotland-respond-and-act-on-the-letter-of-8-october-2012-from-100-artists>.

Creative Scotland's funding policies may have received criticism, but there is also evidence to suggest that other initiatives have significantly increased creative opportunities across Scotland in recent years (SAC, 2009, p. 6). In Glasgow, for example, music entrepreneurs have collected awards and titles such as the NESTA Young Innovator of the Year Award and the Prince's Trust Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award.

In Glasgow, as elsewhere, advances in information and communication technology are opening up new forms of musical production and distribution, and linking smaller local businesses with global production, marketing and distribution networks (Graham et al., 2004). The consolidation of major companies in the recording, radio and live music industries, increased competition from large multinational companies and a decline in the number of artists signed by the Big Three Major labels mean that despite its strong local heritage and networks, Glasgow's local music industry has been extensively penetrated by global industry structures – creative workers are more integrated in the wider economy than had previously been thought. But, as Glasgow has become more internationalised and its reputation has grown, more and more musicians have emerged. Moreover, as the city's creative sector has diversified and its infrastructure has improved, its broadcasting, recording and film industries have all expanded. Cumulatively, this means that making and playing contemporary music in Glasgow is now a market-orientated business, albeit one which is supported by an established infrastructure and an enthusiastic media.

Yet, despite the evident vigour of the sector, previous research has largely failed to take the importance of cities like Glasgow into account, where much of what is produced, distributed and consumed falls outside the Major label system which is usually studied by the majority of music industry analysts and academics. Observers of the music industry in Glasgow have tended to play down its diversity by paying relatively little attention to smaller music companies and their entrepreneurs. With most research – even at the local level – only covering the 'measured' industry (GUCoM, 2008), the freelance and self-employed have been under-represented. This

apparent lack of interest in those outside the mainstream was highlighted again recently when, as part of its *Delivering Quality First* operational restructuring plan, the BBC cancelled its radio programme *Introducing Scotland*. This programme, based in Glasgow, had run for over eleven years and was intended as a showcase for “the best new unsigned, undiscovered and under the radar music in Scotland”⁴, but despite a petition of 7,000 signatures and a Holyrood debate led by Joan McAlpine, the last programme was broadcast on May 16th 2012. With this move, the BBC was seen by some to have ignored the growing emphasis now being placed on the Scottish music scene at the industry and policy levels.

A number of studies are, however, now beginning to highlight the growing economic importance of the Glasgow music industry, and the city and the industry may be seen in a new light as a result (Myerscough, 2011). The data in Myerscough’s qualitative report, written on behalf of Glasgow City Council, suggests that Glasgow is a staging ground, and those within it *are* making *some* contribution even if it is only noticed by others in a small way (Ibid). Moreover, Glasgow’s music-entrepreneurs can be seen as examples of people in the creative sector who are finding new ways of working and living. While the music industry is still dominated by a few multinational corporations at the global level, at the regional and local level, the term ‘music industry’ is more than just a label or classification; rather, it represents a vibrant community of businesses, venues, events, artists and musicians, all competing and cooperating with each other and with the wider (global) music sector.

New entrants into communities like Glasgow’s music community face a range of challenges: from adapting to the structural changes happening across the music industry, to finding support and investment and overcoming the liability of their newness. The creative sector has limited resources, and personal, informal networks (Harvey, 1989, p. 351) are now “entirely inherent to the entrepreneurial way of doing business” (Shaw & Conway, 2000, p. 368). The relationships established within these networks are “unique to individuals; intrinsically lodged in a personalised way, being continuously nurtured and developed” over time (Carson, Cromie, McGowan

⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00x592r>, [Accessed 11 October 2011].

& Hill, 1995, p. 180). As more and more business is now conducted on an informal basis, with localised networks providing access to global partners and social interaction revolving around friendships and mutual acquaintances (Aldrich, 1999; Brooks, 2000), the business process is becoming increasingly “path dependent”, and future relationships are therefore more likely to be influenced by previous connections (Throsby, 2001). Commenting on these local networks, some have argued that the geographic closeness of small music businesses “creates a series of mutual benefits, develops the localised skilled workforce, and a culture of creativity and innovation” (Wall, 2007, p. 22). Other commentators, however, remain unconvinced, claiming that despite the talk of ‘scenes’ and ‘enterprise clusters,’ the vast majority of economic activity in the music industry still takes place at the global level and is influenced by institutional and societal factors (Dubber, 2007).

In previous generations, firms were less likely to form stable trading relationships, but today, it is argued that these localised networks facilitate practical organisation around collective action. This has led to the emergence of “strong clusters represented by their own associations” (Turok, 2003, p. 552). These milieus develop over time in an organic way (Scott, 2006); as more creative professionals follow freelance careers, moving from job to job or project to project at will (Huws, 2007), the new economy grows wherever they are (Florida, 2002, p. 15). Professionals are usually drawn to more urban neighbourhoods (Florida, 2002, In. Hartley, 2007, p. 139), but whether these are upmarket districts or more downmarket areas which they might then revive, these creative communities grow organically from their surroundings (Scott, 2006). For example, in Glasgow, such a creative community exists; located in the Finnieston area of Glasgow, Argyle Court, or the Hidden Lane, as it is now more widely known, began its life as a privately owned creative industry enclave in 1989. Its studios and spaces are currently home to over 80 businesses working within the creative sector, from music to the arts. Such creative milieus can in turn significantly affect a region’s or neighbourhood’s ability to home-grow or attract and retain creative talent.

Creative- and culture-led policies have done much to improve the urban landscape, but in many cases, these policies have been implemented without any real understanding of what makes a given city creative, or what kinds of relationships enable and sustain the creative process. City leaders may attempt to strengthen their city's creative industries by designating specific districts as 'creative' or 'cultural quarters' (Bop Consulting, 2010, p. 31), but the reality is that often these clusters emerge in an entirely unplanned way; creative individuals have simply located to certain city neighbourhoods and have built a new economy there themselves (Turok, 2003). According to Hartley (2007, p. 139), much of this creativity is "native and of-the-moment", and this is what makes it "indigenous". The hard news for civic leaders is that while they can, and must, do whatever is in their power to cultivate creativity, there is no way of knowing where the creative sparks will ignite. Landry suggests (2008, p. xi) that they can best create opportunities for innovation and creation by harnessing people's imagination and innate talents. Their key challenge is to make sure that their cities remain perceived as cutting edge and creatively relevant.

2.7 Societal Context: How Creativity Became Central to the City's Idea of Itself

When Richard Florida set out his urban creativity strategies in his 2002 book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002), he argued that "taxes, incentives and business-friendly policies are less important in attracting jobs than social legislation and government-provided amenities" (Malanga, 2004, p. 45). In many respects, the origins of Florida's underlying concept can be traced to the earlier ideas of Adam Smith (1776) and Alfred Marshall (1920), who were among the first to mention the significance of "idea generation in urban economies" (Glaeser, 2005, p. 594). While acknowledging the numerous explanations of regional growth offered by the fields of economics and economic geography, Florida focused on the link between the attractiveness of a neighbourhood and its attraction of talented people (Manning & Darnton, 2006). Florida (2002), managed to connect the three key areas of debate: the creative class, the creative economy (direct and indirect industries) and the conditions which are thought to attract creativity (Peck, 2005).

Florida also drew on the work of Jane Jacobs (1961) in arguing that “economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas” (Florida, 2002, p. 249); essentially, this means that a talented workforce and a base of economic activities is only likely to achieve regional growth in a tolerant, open-minded and diverse atmosphere. One of his primary objectives was to show cities “how to operate within the new paradigm, in the form of a smart, energetic ‘how to’ manual, loaded with supporting statistics and examples” (Cronheim, 2004, p. 934). Like Landry (1991; 1993), Florida based his work on the relatively simple underlying theory that “human creativity has replaced raw materials, physical labour and even flows of capital as the primary generator of economic value” (Markusen, 2006, p. 1924); indeed, only Florida saw a new class structure emerging from this new knowledge economy (Florida, 2002).

His work sheds light on the professions operating in the ‘new economy’ and their relation to place. Florida suggested that this new creative class has largely superseded the triad of blue-collar, white-collar and wealthy class system which had been characteristic of industrial economies (Lang & Danielsen, 2005). For him, “regional economic growth is driven by the locational choices of these creative people...the holders of creative capital” (Florida, 2002, p. 292). However, Florida’s thesis was initially dismissed by academics; his views were explained in terms of the “enduring legacies of entrepreneurial urbanism” (Peck, 2005, p. 767), or as the “third model of metropolitan economic development, the two other being the social capital and the human capital models” (Darchen & Tremblay, 2010, p. 226).

Traditionally, theorists believed economic growth to be a product of social cohesion, and argued that regional growth happens in tight-knit communities where people and firms share strong ties (Putnam, 2000). These traditionalist thinkers aligned their social capital theory with the performance success of industrial clusters (Ross, 1999) – in essence, a theory of growth through infrastructure and resources. In contrast, Florida was sceptical about the value of “old-school urban-economic development” (Cairncross, 1997, p. 27), arguing that “the key to growth lies not in reducing the

costs of doing business” but, rather, in exploiting the talents of “highly educated and productive people” (Florida, 2004, p. 32).

According to Florida (2002), regional growth only comes from creative people and from the innovation they inspire. He argued that more must be done to realise this untapped reservoir of potential creativity, first by acknowledging “creative people as being key to economic growth”, and second by identifying “the underlying factors that shape the locational decisions” of these professional categories (Florida, 2004, p. 34). In essence, his thesis offers a complementary approach to the human capital model, with an emphasis on urban amenities (Darchen & Tremblay, 2010). As Peck (2005, p. 744) explains, Florida’s creative class were not motivated by material rewards alone, but more precisely by the desire to live “exhilarating lives in interesting places, and what really mattered were these ‘magnetic qualities’ of place”.

It has been argued that creative individuals are attracted to live in certain cities because they want the stimulation that comes from being located near excellence and like-minded people. In cities such as Florence, Vienna, Manchester, London, Paris and St. Petersburg, art, music, literature, science, medicine, technology, philosophy and political thought all flourish simultaneously. Others have suggested that they are drawn by a milieu where “economic excess and the best working conditions have been more pronounced” (Törnqvist, 2004, p. 242). Faced with the challenge of re-inventing and repositioning their cities for a post-industrial future, policy makers and urban developers, who had initially viewed Florida’s creative indices with some scepticism, began to accept them and see them as a way of attracting this creative class (Malanga, 2004; Landry, 2005).

In the years following the publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, cities from San Diego to Baltimore followed Florida’s advice and embraced urban creativity, either as part of, or as a complement to, their own regional and city-wide regeneration strategies (DCMS, 2001). In so doing, city leaders became increasingly attracted to the notion that these new cultural industries could, and perhaps would, provide the basis for economic regeneration. Even in countries where Landry’s

toolkit (Comedia, 1991) and Florida's (2002) indices were not universally welcomed, cities began competing more intensively than ever before for high-class residents (Florida, 2002), tourists (DCMS, 1998), conventions, sporting events (DCMS, 2007), entrepreneurs (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999), investors (Comedia, 1991), industries (Howkins, 2001), businesses (Henry, 2001) and global capital (Aldrich, 1999). Cities such as Barcelona, Cologne and Bologna all attained 'creative city' status. A wide range of creative initiatives were launched, and an expanding list of cities (sometimes even neighbouring ones, in the same region) claimed a variety of tags: 'science city', 'creative city', 'city of culture' (Peck, 2005); and titles such as 'leisure capital', 'shopping capital', 'culture capital', 'sports capital', 'a city for kids/families', 'a romantic city' and 'city of music' (Landry, 2005, p. 45).

In the UK, cities such as London, Leeds, Sheffield, York, Manchester and Liverpool began to adopt similar slogans. These aimed to "capitalise on a diverse range of industry strengths and growth sectors, within a national or regional/state enterprise frame-work" (Landry, 2008). In Glasgow, by the turn of the 21st century, campaigns, awards and new titles had become commonplace. These, together with its most recent campaign, 'Glasgow: Scotland with Style' (2005 to date), have further reshaped the city's image (Landry, 2008, p. 154). Glasgow may not have been one of Florida's immigration destinations for his new creative class, but this chapter shows how the city has placed the creative and cultural industries at the centre of its development and regeneration strategies in an attempt to tackle social and economic decline and to find its own unique niche market (Florida, 2005; Landry, 2005).

Resources from the government-funded Glasgow Development Agency (GDA) have aimed to ensure that the city has the flexibility to think ahead and consider its long-term objectives. In 2008, it applied to host the 2014 Commonwealth Games, a bid that was accepted. In January 2013, Glasgow beat 30 other UK cities to become the Technology Strategy Board's (TSB) 'future cities demonstrator', and on the 1st of February 2013, the Centre for Creativity, Regulation, Enterprise and Technology (CREATE) opened in the city. CREATE is the Research Council UK's (RCUK)

centre for copyright and new business models in the creative economy (<http://www.create.ac.uk>), and is part of a consortium of 7 UK universities⁵ led by and based at the University of Glasgow. The centre's mission is to examine the business, regulatory and cultural infrastructure of the UK's cultural and creative industries with the aim of helping these industries to thrive and become innovation leaders within the global digital economy. Peck (2005) suggests that, as the creative scripts pioneered by Landry (Comedia, 1991) and Florida (2002) have grown in influence and perceived success and popularity, it has become increasingly common for cities to evaluate their effectiveness through the acquisition of these high prestige initiatives, events and accolades. He describes "governments and practitioners waving the banner of creativity to showcase their cultural heritage, and urban amenities aimed at attracting the knowledge economy" (Markusen, 2006, p. 1926).

Just as the European Commission's 2010 Green Paper, *Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries* (European Commission, 2010b), pointed out the importance of quality of place in attracting talent and stimulating the EU's creative and cultural industries (CCIs), urban planners have also come to realise that the spatial proximity between related firms fosters relationships and facilitates an exchange of information and knowledge in various ways (Thrift, 2006; Ramage, 2008). As Malmberg and Maskell (2001, p. 7) explain, "a close relationship, almost a partnership, grows among related firms in a given geographical area". This is particularly the case in cities like London, which have the institutions and infrastructure in place to enable firms to "learn, compare, compete and collaborate" (Turok, 2003, p. 550). City leaders have realised they have to engage with these dense networks of individuals and organisations if they are to build trust (Landry, 2008).

2.7.1 *Planning for the Warhol Economy*

⁵ The others are the University of East Anglia, the University of Edinburgh, Goldsmiths (University of London), the University of Nottingham, the University of St. Andrews and the University of Strathclyde.

Building this cultural infrastructure is not, however, an easy task. It requires “cultural engagement rather than homogenization” (Hartley, 2007, p. 6). Mommaas (2004) argues that the central task for planners is to develop strategies which do not aim simply to stimulate the clustering of cultural activities “at particular urban sites, but rather to create favourable conditions for a creative milieu to take shape and become embedded in place” (Pumhiran, 2005, p. 2). The implication for researchers is that if they are to capture the full picture, they need to account not just for “the ‘buzz’ and glamour of cities, but also for the ‘hum’—the everyday, mundane, and the ordinary which makes up life for urban dwellers” (Chatterton, 2000, p. 393). Further to this point, Grabher (2002, p. 258), in his study of London’s advertising industry, noted that:

“Rather than equating the agglomeration of creative projects in Soho simply with reduced costs of transaction, it provides a vibrant site for ‘hanging out’, training and thus, gaining access to networks at the peripheries of projects... Through processes of negotiating meaning, these networks act as local interpretive communities which filter noise into signals”.

Brown et al. (2000, p. 445), in their comparison of Sheffield and Manchester, suggested that: “the problems with physical linkages are ... often questions of social linkage”. As Cunliffe (2004, p. 410), suggests:

“Creativity emerges in the spontaneous, taken-for-granted, non-verbal/verbal, subjective, un/conscious ways in which we respond, react, and negotiate meaning with others. Our knowledge is constructed through our interactions, and we make sense of what is happening around us as we interact with our surroundings”.

The true essence of a creative city can therefore be argued to be reflected in the interactions within the sector and in how knowledge is passed around; cities therefore need to look beyond simply planning the provision of facilities and also take account of the soft infrastructure, the people, the skills, the networking and the

social context of those involved in the creative industries (Gnyawali & Fogel, 1994). As Currid (2007, p. 6) argues in her research into New York City, the creative economy often operates far from boardrooms and offices and instead can be seen in the social life of the city:

“It is the social life of creativity—from industry parties to 2 a.m. nights at Passerby or the Double Seven—that is the central nexus between culture and commerce. It is in this realm that creative people get jobs, meet with editors and curators who write reviews and organize exhibitions and shows. Designers like Dior’s Hedi Slimane or the late Stephen Sprouse plug into the nightlife scene to become inspired for their next collection; simultaneously business deals across creative industries are made while just hanging out late into the night... It is this seemingly informal social world that drives and sustains the cultural economy, and it is why New York has been able to maintain its creative edge”

As Mumford (1938, p. 462) explains, “a city’s physical organisation, from its industries and its markets to its infrastructure and lines of communication, have to be subservient to the needs of society”. However, De Propriis, Chapain, Cooke, MacNeil and Mateos-Garcia (2009, p. 13) point out that current research largely fails to provide examples of:

“...the structure and governance of relationships inside these clusters; the mix of formal and informal relationships between firms, the drivers of new firm start-ups and the role of government intervention...These micro-creative clusters often stimulate the auxiliary activity (cafés, retail etc), and while remaining relatively small in scale provide that key ingredient, the creative milieu that is needed for micro-business to grow [SIC]”.

The creative industries are reliant on a supportive environment. As in any industry, creative activities rely on the networks of firms and workers which make up that industry (Harvey, 1989, p. 351); they are “an expression of [the] cultures,

conventions, and institutions that come into existence in any agglomerated structure of production and work” (Scott, 2006, p. 8). Creative workers need “easy access to local, tacit know-how; a style, a look, a sound, something that is not accessible globally” (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999, p. 14). Ultimately, the bars, cafés and clubs which spring up in these creative milieus are where creative professionals are able to informally access this local know-how. These locations can often be where they learn about their industry and what is being done by their peers. The task for urban policymakers is therefore to ensure that their plans take into account the every-day lifestyles and needs of many creative workers, through policies which will feature more spaces and places for the new economy to interact, as well as cultivating the social environment in order to stimulate the mechanisms by which the cultural economy most effectively operates (Currid, 2007).

In Glasgow, creative practitioners, academics and policy makers alike all tend to see the city itself as an indispensable resource base which supports them in developing ideas, projects and markets (Turok, 2003). Intelligent investment has been applied to create new cultural artefacts and generate urban tourism (Hall, 1998; Landry, 2000), and the cultural industries have been at the heart of the city’s development and regeneration plans. Industries such as music have become both an important part of the local economy and a symbol of an independent future (Myerscough, 2011). Even so, shedding the image of the past and changing the attitudes of the present is a slow process. The growing tension between the funding bodies in Scotland and the creative sector they were designed to support has highlighted the difficulties involved in encouraging and supporting creative activities. However, as Currid (2007) suggests;

“...it is not about dumping money into public art or giving grants to artists and designers by way of tedious grant proposals and applications that take so much time that most artists would rather spend painting or designing. Instead, what this approach asks for is actually engaging with the city and the very built environment in which art and culture thrives”.

Not everyone is enthusiastic about, or in favour of, the idea of a creative economy; for all its successes, Glasgow, like other cities, still faces the challenge of encouraging all its citizens to fully acknowledge the degree to which music and other creative activities are woven into its fabric. If they are to win more support, Glasgow's artists must find ways to translate their creativity into outcomes that yield an economic return from the public investment which has been put in, and Glasgow's policy makers must create an environment where the new and innovative can flourish.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored themes from the current literature on the emergence, definition and role of the creative economy. The concept has generated great debate in policy circles in terms of its role in regeneration and economic development, while the growing focus among cities themselves on image enhancement means that this set of ideas and policy options has attracted increasing attention at both academic and industry level. Authors from a range of disciplines have expressed widely differing views on the development, design, implementation, impact and effect of the creative economy; what is needed now is a new and more compelling basis for analysis, especially with regard to the individuals and businesses who are working inside the creative industries. In its exploration of the entrepreneurship process within the music industry, this study is framed to meet this need.

By attempting to study the creative industries as a whole, much of the existing research fails to acknowledge the complexities faced by individual sectors and sub-sectors. Nor has the prior research properly recognised and acknowledged the activities of a growing number of culture workers; by focusing on data derived from government surveys and sources, it has in general favoured larger businesses and ignored the contribution made by micro-firms, freelance workers and project workers. In contrast, then, this study has been designed to shed light upon how some of the entrepreneurial micro-firms and freelancers in Glasgow's music industry operate both local and global levels, showing how they reconcile the tensions

between their creative imperatives and the demands that come from being part of the global entertainment industry.

Across the UK, locally-based creative industries have in many instances built upon the distinctive history and identity of their respective localities to achieve competitive advantage for the broader economy (DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones, 2007). Accordingly, studies in entrepreneurship are now beginning to look more closely at localities and the importance of the project economy, especially in industries such as music and the arts. Researchers in entrepreneurship now emphasise the importance of collaboration, recognise the importance of developing networks, and stress the importance of “complementary skills in enhancing creativity” (Chell, 2001, p. 228). They have identified the cultural, institutional and infrastructural factors which have had the greatest effect in the local creative economy on the general climate, within which small firms in the music sector develop (Gnyawali & Fogel, 1994; Cohen & Fields, 1999). Table 3 (below) outlines how these contextual variables impact upon the creative industries in general and in Glasgow’s music industry in particular.

Empirical research which genuinely demonstrates an understanding of the context within which entrepreneurship occurs has the potential to enrich our understanding of “the dynamics of entrepreneurial activities as well as their manifestations”. It also ensures that the theory which is developed is grounded “in the qualities of the context, providing richer and more accurate insights” (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 73). Accordingly, the following chapter explores how the contextual factors discussed thus far impact upon the entrepreneurial process in the music industry, specifically in terms of “how opportunities come into existence, why these particular opportunities are discovered, and what modes of action are used to exploit them” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2001, p. 16).

Table 3: Context Dimensions Relating to The Creative Industries and The Music Industry

Context Dimensions	Description	The Creative Industries	Glasgow: a City of Music
Temporal	<p>1). Variations in time such as historical milestones or industrial upheavals (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 75).</p> <p>2). The emergence of ventures or industries over time (their life cycle) (Zahra, Filatotchev & Wright, 2009).</p>	<p>1). The concept of the creative industries has evolved from previous conceptualisations of the cultural industries. First appeared in the 1990s when the UK government branded the cultural industries creative (Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002, p. 227).</p> <p>2). Creative industry businesses do not always begin as start-ups; research suggests many are essentially project-based. Examples can be seen in the theatre (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006), movie (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998), and music sectors (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2005).</p>	<p>1). Glasgow has a historic relationship with music (Devine, 2006, p. 356). A 1918 <i>Herald</i> newspaper (World War I. In. UNESCO, 2008, p. 20) article reported that “<i>Music in Glasgow at the moment seems to be very much in the position of certain necessary kinds of food. The demand far exceeds the supply</i>”. The city was awarded the UNESCO City of Music title in 2008.</p> <p>2). Those making a living in the city’s music industry often continue to work in their official career (musicians may continue to perform, for example) alongside their business activity as a way of reducing the risk associated with uncertain labour prospects, gaining information about the wider environment and acquiring on-the-job experience (Cope, 2003; Draper, 2008; Mason et al., 2012).</p>
Spatial	<p>1). The geographic location and concentration of new firm activities, and of the institutions and individuals that promote and support them.</p> <p>2). The hard and soft infrastructures of locations as well as the geographic mobility of the firms and their founders (Katz & Steyaert, 2004).</p>	<p>1). “There is no economy on earth in which the creative industries play such an important part in overall growth and job creation, and that is an immense asset to the UK that we are determined to preserve and strengthen” (BIS, 2009).</p> <p>2). Creative individuals are attracted to live in certain cities because they want the stimulation that comes from being located among excellence and like-minded people. Others have suggested that they are drawn by a milieu where “economic excess and the best working</p>	<p>1) Over 50% of the musical workforce in Glasgow are either self-employed or freelance (GUCoM, 2008). When the direct and indirect multiplier effects are measured, the overall number of jobs involved rises to 130,000, the GVA climbs to £6.3 billion and turnover to £12.5 billion (Stephen, 2012).</p> <p>2). Glasgow was one of the first cities to implement a range of creative industry-led strategies, integrated with city development and regeneration plans. During intensive regeneration, each area developed its own distinct profile. Since then, more than 80 cities and regions around the world have produced similar sectoral strategies for change, from Beijing in China to Bilbao in</p>

		conditions have been more pronounced” (Törnqvist, 2004, p. 242).	Spain (Hartmann, 2008).
Institutional	<p>1). Formal: political or regulatory frameworks that influence entrepreneurship.</p> <p>2). Informal: factors that shape the characteristics of the external environment; they may explain the rate and types of opportunities available and the variety of modes used to exploit them for profit (Zahra & Wright, 2011)</p>	<p>1). The industrial strategies engineered in the 1980s have had a massive influence on the growth rate and dynamics of entrepreneurial activities in the creative industries.</p> <p>2). While traditional commodities are designed for repeat purchase, cultural commodities are rarely designed in this way; once purchased, these products are repeatedly used. They are expressions of individual identity and individual sense of self (Meige, 1979). While the product has an obvious exchange value, the artist’s input and the symbolic meaning attached to the product by the consumer mean that it also has a use value.</p>	<p>1). In the past three decades, investment in the creative sector has gone hand in hand with wider city regeneration strategies in Glasgow (Landry, 2008, p. 6). Agencies operate in an advisory capacity and a number also provide funding options and finance opportunities, with some even becoming stakeholders or partners.</p> <p>2). In Glasgow, the music scene began to develop around clusters of musicians, producers and fans who shared musical tastes (Aldrich, 1999). The internet now enables local bands to instantly connect to their fans through their own sites and Twitter pages, and to communicate directly with fans (Kaya, Steffens, Hearn, & Graham, 2010). This instant connectivity permits the development of a flexible web of personal and professional relationships which can be managed online.</p>
Business	<p>1). How industry and markets impact upon entrepreneurship and a venture’s structure, processes and growth.</p> <p>2). The life cycles of the venture, the industry and the market; the competitive environment and the geographic location (Wiklund, Davidsson, Audretsch & Karlsson, 2011).</p>	<p>1). The creative and cultural industries are not dependent upon economic growth or decline but are subject to other pressures and stimulants including “industrial restructuring, rates of entrepreneurship and sole-trading, or the extent of freelance working” (Power, 2011, p. 17).</p> <p>2). According to the DCMS (1998, p. 3), the creative industries involve the supply of goods and services that contain a substantial element of “artistic, imaginative or intellectual effort”, and that are associated with or “play a vital</p>	<p>1). Glasgow has a diverse music sector ranging from established classical companies to young, independent labels (SAC, 2005). The “commercial” community is made up of a large number of small businesses with no ties to larger organisations (because there are none). They operate in a variety of areas, from creative services to manufacturing and dissemination.</p> <p>2). Many are small businesses or self-employed freelance workers who move from project to project and may hold more than one job at a time in order to make a living (Mason et al, 2012).</p>

role in sustaining cultural activities”
(Turok, 2003, p. 554).

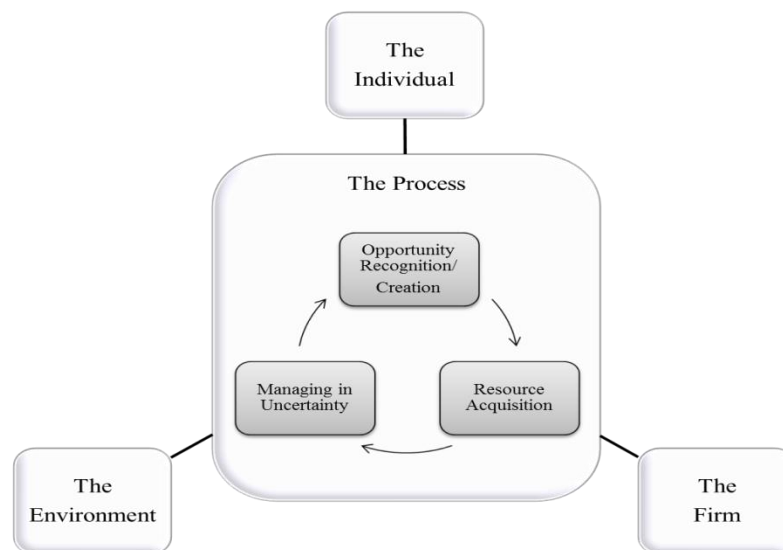
Societal	<p>1). Entrepreneurial activities occurring within the context of everyday life; the wider social context.</p> <p>2). The entrepreneur’s social and family network.</p> <p>3). The relationships developed with investors, partners and other stakeholders who influence the emergence and survival of the firm (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003).</p>	<p>1). Mommaas (2004) argues that equal attention must be paid by policy makers to the development of the intangible cultural infrastructure that directly cultivates a more creative milieu, and that the task for planners is to develop strategies not just to stimulate the clustering of cultural activities “at particular urban sites, but rather to create favourable conditions to enable a creative milieu to take shape and become embedded in place” (Pumhiran, 2005, p. 2).</p> <p>2). The creative sector has limited resources; personal, informal networks are now “entirely inherent to the entrepreneurial way of doing business” (Shaw & Conway, 2000, p. 368).</p> <p>3). As more and more business is conducted on an informal basis, the business process is becoming increasingly “path dependent”, and future relationships are more likely to be influenced by previous connections (Throsby, 2001).</p>	<p>1). Creative milieus develop over time in an organic way (Scott, 2006). They significantly affect a region or neighbourhood’s ability to home-grow or attract and retain creative talent.</p> <p>2). Personal and extended networks are central to the creative process, but even more so to the new creative class (Harvey, 1989, p. 351). Cities such as Glasgow act as a lubricant to the often overheated, chaotic and almost frenzied process whereby the entrepreneur seeks to orchestrate the fit between the identified opportunity and the required resources.</p> <p>3). Much of the business in Glasgow’s music industry takes place through informal contacts and chance encounters rather than in boardrooms and offices (Wilson & Murphy, 2004, p. 126).</p>
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CHAPTER THREE: THE PROCESS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLUTION AND CHANGE IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion which was initiated in Chapter 2, focusing on one specific creative industry in order to better explore its structure and understand the role of entrepreneurship at both local and global levels. Concentrating on the music industry, this chapter considers the interaction between entrepreneur and their context and explores how wider contextual factors affect the three stages of the entrepreneurial process (Figure 1): opportunity identification, resource acquisition and venture management. The present chapter also offers a broader discussion of the structural changes that have taken place in the music industry, showing how advances in technology have opened up opportunities for a wide range of actors to compete.

Figure 4: The Relationship between Context and Process



Source: The Author

3.2. The Importance of Context in the Entrepreneurship Field

Many observers argue that it is the entrepreneurs within the creative industries who are driving a revolution that is transforming and renewing economies worldwide (Bygrave, 2003, p. 1). Even so, the literature in the field of economics has only recently started to pay specific attention to the importance of entrepreneurship in the creative industries. A discrete sphere of scholarship has now emerged which has gone some way towards acknowledging the central role creative-entrepreneurs play in driving economic development and sustaining competitive advantage. However, despite the fact that it is almost impossible to develop an understanding of the entrepreneurial process in the creative sector by looking at the sector as a whole, this is what much of the existing research has attempted to do. It has therefore failed to understand or even often to acknowledge the complexities faced by individual sectors and sub-sectors.

Current research suggests that opportunity recognition, creation or discovery is not simply the result of heuristics but is in fact reflective of an individual's situated cognition. Entrepreneurs recognise opportunities based on who they are, what they know, whom they know, where they are located, and the richness of information, knowledge and resources to which they have access (Haynie, Shepherd, Mosakowski, & Earley, 2010). By engaging with the context that surrounds the individual, the firm and the process – in this case, Glasgow's independent music industry – it should be possible to improve our understanding of where and how entrepreneurs in this sector locate their opportunities, and how they exploit these opportunities with the limited resources available to them (Haynie et al., 2000). In other words, it should be possible to understand how the entrepreneurial process works.

3.3 What We Know About the Entrepreneurial Process

Gartner (1985, p. 697) presented a useful conceptual framework for describing the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. The framework integrated what he saw as the four major elements in the venture creation process: “the characteristics of the individual(s) starting the new venture; the organization they create; the environment

surrounding the new venture; and the process by which the new venture is created”. According to Gartner, the venture creation process is complex, for the following reasons:

“The entrepreneurs and their firms vary widely; the actions they take or do not take and the environments they operate in and respond to are equally diverse – and all these elements form complex and unique combinations in the creation of each new venture” (Gartner, 1985, p. 697).

In Gartner’s (1985) view, the process of entrepreneurship can only be comprehensively described by including all these key elements, so it does not make sense to consider one element in the framework in isolation. Since then, researchers from a range of disciplines, including sociology, psychology and management, have explored the entrepreneurial process, focusing variously on the who, what, how, why, where and when of entrepreneurship (Hindle, 2010a). As a result, critics have argued, the field has come to signify a broad category, within which “a hodgepodge of research is housed” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 217).

The breadth of the field is evident in the range of approaches that have been adopted. To date, most researchers have discussed entrepreneurship in terms of *who* the entrepreneur is (Delmar, 2006), and *what* he or she does (Venkataraman, 1997). Others have been interested in *why* they do the things they do (Davidsson, 2005). For example, some researchers have pointed to *passion* as an explanation for the “goals that control and guide desires, thoughts, plans, and behaviours and that persist over time, regardless of costs, external obstacles, and moral objections” (Frijda, 2005, p. 512). The individual’s passion for their craft activates a sense of “pleasure and promise” (Rockwell, 2002, p. 52) because they are motivated by a love of what they are doing (Belitz & Lundstrom, 1997, p. 57). This passion can “enhance mental activity, and provide meaning to everyday work” (Brannback, Carsrud, Elfving & Krueger, 2006, p. 3), and it is said to foster individual drive, the desire to achieve, a willingness to work long hours, and to maintain courage and persistence in the face of obstacles (Bird, 1989; Bierly, Kessler & Christensen, 2000).

Researchers have described the way entrepreneurs search for information in terms of their individual cognition style (Shane, 2000; Delmar, 2006), and have argued that the extent to which individuals recognise opportunities is largely contingent on their personal (and therefore unique) insights, skills and aptitudes (Venkataraman, 1997). Others have concentrated on gaining a greater understanding of what entrepreneurs do and of the behaviour of different types of entrepreneur (nascent, novice, serial and portfolio) (Shapero, 1982; Gartner, Carter & Reynolds, 2010), as well as the different types of organisations they can create (sole trader, corporate venture, franchise, family firm). Gartner, Starr and Bhat (1999) identified three role identities, which are the inventor, the founder, and the developer. In the early stages of the entrepreneurial process, they argue, activities are typically linked to the inventor's identity. Here, entrepreneurs seek out new ideas, develop new products and/or scan the environment for market-disruptive opportunities (Wilson & Stokes, 2005). In the latter stages, the activities undertaken are more likely to be related to the founder's identity, as they assemble the tangible and intangible resources necessary to create a firm. As the venture becomes more formalised, the entrepreneur takes on role of developer.

Some researchers have focused on the resources entrepreneurs acquire and looked at where these come from (Aldrich, 1999); entrepreneurial network literature (Shaw, 1999), for example, argues that personal and professional networks not only provide access to finance, information, advice and support, but that they can also enhance an entrepreneur's legitimacy, reputation and status (Baum & Oliver, 1991). In the music industry, researchers have focused on how business ideas originate and on the processes through which they are realised (Caves, 2000; De Bruin, 2005; Laaksonen et al., 2010; Burke, 2011; Peltz, 2011).

Entrepreneurship can occur – or fail to occur – in any firm, regardless of its sector, geographic location or developmental stage; it has “evolved beyond the classic start-up to include companies of all types and in all stages” (Timmons & Spinelli, 2007, p. 79). As Hindle (2010a) suggests, much is already known about the six generic questions at the heart of entrepreneurship research: who, why, what, how, when and

where. The ‘who’ is inextricably linked to the ‘why’, the ‘what’ is inextricably linked to the ‘how’ and the ‘where’ is inextricably linked to the ‘when’, yet, as Hindle explains, without reference to a unified framework, the answers to these questions remain narrowly focused, and the theory offered in the field will remain fragmented.

Recent studies have pointed to the heterogeneity of research in this field, and to the lack of adequate explanations of how entrepreneurship actually occurs (Moroz and Hindle, 2012). While acknowledging the work that has been done, they conclude that the current theory is underdeveloped and, critically, that it is unsupported by systematic evidence. They argue that the problem is made worse because of the complexity of human action, which:

“... makes it very difficult for a singular theory to be sufficiently *embracing* and *general* to explain an action-based phenomenon such as entrepreneurship in a highly useful manner across a wide variety of circumstances... all we really have, to date.... from the most well-evidenced and least controversial components of the disparate cluster of extant offerings..... is a hodgepodge of different perspectives, using a variety of different multidisciplinary theories that investigate entrepreneurship in narrowly themed contexts” (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 789).

Entrepreneurship is essentially an economic phenomenon, involving “a nexus of two phenomena: the presence of lucrative opportunities and the presence of enterprising individuals” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 218). Each of these prioritise the creation of wealth rather than its transfer. Over the last few decades, economists (Low & MacMillan, 1988) and entrepreneurship theorists have been determined to identify the role played by entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in the modern economy (Brock & Evans, 1986), and literature in the field of economics is now beginning to acknowledge their central role in “economic development, prosperity, and evolutionary change” (Shane, 2000, p. 448).

Recent research suggests that the study of process is at the “epicenter of the debate on the nature of entrepreneurship”, meaning that questions about what entrepreneurs do and how they do it take on a central importance (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 802). The entrepreneurship process encompasses a range of functions and actions associated with the perception of opportunities and the creation of organisations and/or the fostering of new means-ends relationships in order to pursue them (Bygrave & Hofer, 1991). The who, the why, the what, the where and the when are important, but the main focus is on the *how*.

3.4 The Process Perspectives

Steyaert (2007) and Hindle (2010a) both argue that entrepreneurship should be conceived of as a set of activities which are best studied as processes. According to Davidsson (2008, p. 4), the entrepreneurial process is “the creation of economic activity that is new to the market”. According to this view, the entrepreneur is the individual who “perceives an opportunity, in turn creating a medium to pursue it, while bringing together available resources and undertaking all necessary functions, and activities, to achieve realisation” (Bygrave, 2003, p. 2). Bygrave defines the entrepreneurial process as involving “all the functions, activities, and actions associated with perceiving opportunities and creating organizations to pursue them” (*ibid*, p. 7).

Bhave (1994) views the entrepreneurial process as being both “internally and externally stimulated”. The latter characteristic is more goal-oriented; in this case, the entrepreneurial process:

“...starts with a decision or desire to launch a new venture, the potential entrepreneur(s) begins actively searching for opportunities, typically selecting several alternate ideas that are considered and evaluated (‘opportunity filtration’) before one is chosen. The selected idea is then elaborated and adapted, until a relatively complete business idea that is judged viable has

been developed by the entrepreneur, who then decides to exploit ‘it’” (Davidsson, 2008, p.8).

The internally stimulated process is the opposite, though according to some studies, it is also just as common (Handy, 2004). In this case,

“...the individual has no prior intention to go into business, yet experienced or were introduced to needs that could not be fulfilled. Finding a solution, the individual becomes aware of others with the same problem, and in turn enters the entrepreneurial process” (Davidsson, 2008, p. 8).

As is often the case in entrepreneurship research, process has been discussed from a variety of perspectives and has given rise to a range of views. Moroz and Hindle (2012) conducted a systematic review of the entrepreneurial process models which had been presented in peer reviewed journals and scholarly books published over the last 40 years. Selecting 32 of these models, the authors looked for commonalities. They concluded that the models fell into four distinct groups: static frameworks (n⁶11), stage models (n12), process dynamic models (n8) and quantification sequences (n1) (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 811).

Despite their apparent focus on process, the majority of the models were found to be static frameworks, and were typically found in studies which addressed the overall process of venture creation. Gartner’s process model was also considered to be static in that it discusses venture creation “without examining the sequence of activities, consists of a limited set of variables connected by speculative causal links (e.g., Gartner, 1985); process oriented but do not capture sequence of dynamics” (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 811). Although Gartner (1985) did not explicitly study process as part of his framework, he acknowledged its central role in establishing a comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurship and new venture creation. The same could also be said of Shane’s (2003) model of recognition, discovery and exploitation and Bhave’s (1994) internally and externally stimulated processes.

⁶ Number of Studies.

Moroz and Hindle (2012, p. 800) found that stage models were commonly used to understand the developmental steps in an organisation's evolution, as marked by key events or milestones in the venture creation process.

According to Bygrave, "entrepreneurship begins with a disjointed, discontinuous, nonlinear (and usually unique) event that cannot be studied with the methods developed for studying smooth, continuous, and linear (and often repeatable) processes" (Bygrave, 1989, p. 7). Thus, while Moroz and Hindle (2012, p. 820) may have found fewer process dynamic models, those that they did find were significant in that they employed "qualitative methods to examine how and why variations in context and process shape outcomes". Many employed temporal and change techniques in order to map the patterns which emerge around life cycle stages, opportunities and decision making. Sarasvathy's (2001) model of effectuation is a process dynamic model that focuses on the inputs and outputs of the process, although she argues that before opportunities can be discovered and exploited, entrepreneurs must first begin with what she calls "means". This means that entrepreneurs must be clear about who they are, what they know and whom they know, and they must use this information to decide between a range of possible outcomes. According to this view, the individual is responsible for initiating the process.

In Sarasvathy's (2001) process model, the individual gets an idea for a new venture either through a deliberate search or by a chance encounter. Sarasvathy (2008) argues that the individual begins the entrepreneurial process in one of two ways: through either *causation* or *effectuation*. The causation process is goal oriented. It begins with a multitude of possible alternatives, from which the potential entrepreneur seeks to select what they think will be the best, fastest and most economically efficient idea most suitable for their skills and resources (Bygrave, 2003). In the effectuation process, the set of means is taken as a given. The individual looks to expand their horizons, from a variety of "localized possibilities to increasingly complex and enduring opportunities fabricated in a contingent fashion over time" (Sarasvathy, 2003, p. 208). Causation processes are *effect dependent* and are excellent in the

exploitation phase of the process, while effectuation is *actor dependent* and can be excellent for exploiting contingencies. Sarasvathy (2008) illustrates the difference between causation and effectuation using a cooking analogy. If you follow the causation logic, you will decide on the menu, determine the ingredients, and then prepare and combine them. If you follow the effectuation logic, you will take whatever ingredients are available to you and work with them as best you can (Davidsson, 2008, p. 10).

Although the various process models which have been outlined above may fundamentally differ in terms of their methodology, research area and level of analysis, they all imply that prospective entrepreneurs look for ideas which will allow them to leverage their own unique interests and skills, rather than venturing into completely unknown territory. The most common model is that of the entrepreneur who discovers and exploits existing opportunities, rather than the effectual entrepreneur who fabricates them “from the mundane realities of life” (Sarasvathy, 2008, p. xiii). But, as scholars focus on the question of which process is better, it has become apparent that there is little in the way of empirical evidence to support either. In Moroz and Hindle’s survey, for example, fewer than half of the 32 models were based on empirical evidence.

Moroz and Hindle (2012) identified two competing perspectives of the entrepreneurial process: the emergence perspective and the opportunity discovery perspective (Davidsson, 2003; Klyver, 2005; Blackman & Hindle, 2008; Hindle, 2010a). The emergence perspective concentrates on the venture creation process. Through its use, researchers are concerned with the dynamics of new venture creation and the development of new means-ends relationships along the way. The venture is the primary focus, with the means-ends relationships that are formed as a result of the process being considered to be of secondary importance (Shane, 2003). In contrast, the opportunity discovery perspective places its emphasis not on the venture, but on entrepreneurial opportunities and their discovery, evaluation and exploitation through new means-ends relationships instead (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). In this view, it is the actions undertaken by individuals and the new means-

ends relationships that arise during the discovery, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities which might (or might not) end up facilitating a new venture. Thus, the opportunity discovery perspective differs from the emergence perspective in that “creativity is favoured over organizing, and the individual opportunity nexus is favoured over that of emergence” (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 810). Moroz and Hindle (2012) have recently suggested that most research adopts either one or the other of these perspectives, but they also recognised that some studies have sought to explain the role played by individual innovation and creativity in the entrepreneurial process by adopting the value creation perspective (which addresses the role of individual innovation) and the creative process perspective (effectuation).

The process models which have been formulated in the previous research may offer some possible answers to the ‘how’ question, but disagreement remains among scholars about what actually constitutes the process of entrepreneurship, and why it is worth studying. Baron (2008, p. 332) suggests that since the success of a new venture depends on “opportunity recognition, acquisition of essential resources (financial and human), and the capacity to respond quickly and effectively to rapid change in highly dynamic environments”, these factors should be the central focus of study. Other commentators have emphasised the importance of exploring the relationship between individual and idea, the significance of the entrepreneur’s knowledge, networks and education, and the role played by “temporality, action (or commitment to action), and context”. The value of the work that has been done in the areas of opportunity identification, recognition and creation, resource acquisition, operational and marketing activities and organisational development and strategy is also generally acknowledged (Moroz & Hindle, 2012). Finally, while the models presented by Bhave and Shane concentrate on opportunity, its recognition or discovery and its exploitation, Sarasvathy’s effectuation model focuses on the logic that guides the entrepreneurial process. Thus, an exploration of this process may be approached from a number of angles. This study approaches the task by considering the key questions of how opportunities are identified, how resources are acquired and how entrepreneurs manage their ventures.

3.4.1 Opportunity Recognition

There is widespread agreement among scholars that somewhere, early in the entrepreneurial process, the individual somehow encounters an opportunity (Dimov, 2011). Understanding how business ideas originate, or how opportunities are recognised, is a major focus of entrepreneurship research. The literature defines opportunities as “those situations where new goods, services, raw materials, and organizing methods are introduced and sold at greater than their cost of production” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 220). These opportunities may be brought about by the emergence of new technologies, market inefficiencies resulting from information asymmetry (Eckhardt & Shane, 2003, p. 339), or through political, regulatory or demographic change (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 220). Schumpeter (1934) has in the past identified such changes as catalysts which can either generate or close off entrepreneurial opportunities (Eckhardt & Shane, 2003, p. 343). Chapter 2 of the present study have an example, i.e. that shifts in the political environment have led to the reallocation of resources from manufacturing firms to services that support the knowledge economy (Landry, 2000).

How and why particular opportunities are discovered are elements which are determined by a complex mix of factors, including the motivation of the entrepreneur. An individual may be motivated by economic, social or lifestyle factors (Elfving, 2008; Carsrud & Brännback, 2011). Many researchers have argued that the main objectives for most entrepreneurs are profit and growth, while others have suggested that personal motives are far more important (Cyert & March, 1963). Entrepreneurial motivation may be intrinsic or extrinsic; the entrepreneur may be pushed by an internal stimulus, or pulled by the incentive of achieving their end goal. Burke (1997), in his study of composers, suggests that artist-entrepreneurs who start up their own company are usually pushed by external changes rather than pulled by their love of music (p. 463). Beyond this, enculturation, experience and education (Morrison, Demorest, & Stambaugh, 2008), and the support of family, friends and

others can all help to determine an individual's propensity to enter the entrepreneurial process (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996).

Paige & Littrel (2002) found a number of motivating factors which may influence the behaviour of individuals working in small firms in the creative industries. These include the desire for independence, the seeking of a good work/life balance and personal happiness, and the gratification that comes from personal artistic expression. Chaston (2008) found that the majority of small businesses in the creative economy focus on creative output rather than financial success, while Cox and Jennings (1995, p. 4) found successful entrepreneurs to be intrinsically motivated by interest in, and enjoyment of, their work and the sense of achievement it provides.

A taxonomy of entrepreneurial identity types has been used to distinguish between the two types of motivation. Smith (1967) put forward a distinction between the craftsman, who is motivated by intrinsic rewards such as autonomy and who is driven by a need for independence, and the opportunist, who is focused on the functional activities associated with management and motivated by the prospect of growth. Timmons & Spinelli (2007) distinguished between life style and high-growth entrepreneurs, in that the former category is content to maintain a comfortable standard of living, while the latter is driven by the achievement of a high level of success/economic gain.

While it is most often conceptualised as an outcome, opportunity can also be seen as an unfolding process. As Dimov (2011, p. 133) explains, opportunities are essentially metaphors for entrepreneurial actions, used to describe what entrepreneurs do; they are "situated expressions of prospective entrepreneurs' motivation, knowledge, and cognitive and learning abilities". Previous research has shown that individuals differ in their ability to identify entrepreneurial opportunities, and that, at any given time, only some people will be able to perceive particular market changes or know how to create specific products or services. One reason for this is that information is imperfectly distributed, so that "no two people share all of the same information at the same time" (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 221). However, according to this

view, entrepreneurs are, in general, able to identify or craft opportunities that other people miss, even in circumstances where the information which has generated the idea is there for all to see.

Bhave (1994, p. 230) suggests that the strongest trigger is often when “the prospective entrepreneurs [experience], or [are] introduced to, needs that [can]not be fulfilled by others” (Davidsson, 2006, p. 139). Seeing an opportunity, the entrepreneur takes the necessary action to capitalise upon it (Bolton & Thompson, 2000). This implies a match between the market, on one hand, and the knowledge, skills and competencies of the entrepreneur on the other (Wickham, 2004). But opportunities do not come pre-packaged (Venkataraman, 1997), and the opportunity recognition process is far from straightforward. There have been numerous instances of aspiring entrepreneurs failing to identify a variety of opportunities, or identifying the wrong ones. Moreover, as Singh (2001, p. 11) explains, entrepreneurs may spot the right opportunity but then fail to act upon it in the best possible way. The usual recommendation in the literature is that entrepreneurs should systematically search for opportunities (Chandler, Dahlqvist & Davidsson, 2003). Kirzner (1973, p. 217), on the other hand, argues that this is impossible, since opportunity, by definition, is always unknown until it is discovered often by chance or created, and one cannot search for something one does not know exists or where it exists. In his view, alertness is the only alternative for aspiring entrepreneurs (*ibid*, p. 216).

From the review, it is apparent that individuals can and will discover entrepreneurial opportunities without actively searching for them, but it is also evident that they do not always occur through serendipitous discovery, as some have suggested (Martello, 1994; Von Stamm, 2005; Wennberg, 2010). For the most part, the research suggests that opportunity discovery is an idiosyncratic process (Venkataraman, 1997): prior knowledge, work experience, education, personal experience and other factors may all play a part, alone or in combination. Aldrich (1999, p. 333) suggests that potential opportunities “ultimately derive from a mix of individual experience, network connections... learning from others, and blind variation”. In fact, the research suggests that many would-be entrepreneurs forgo alertness (Davidsson, 2008) and

instead utilise contacts in their chosen industry to help them spot gaps others have missed (Burns, 2001). This is where the fit between individual(s) and ideas becomes so important (Venkataraman & Sarasvathy, 2000, p. 658).

3.4.2 Resource Acquisition

Having addressed the *how* of opportunity recognition and discovery and *why* so many individuals are motivated to take on the risks of becoming self-employed, the next step is to consider *what* modes of action are used to exploit opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2001, p. 16). As start-ups in most industries lack proven track records, they generally begin with very little in the way of tangible (physical and financial) or intangible (human and social) resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Jones, Macpherson & Jayawarna, 2011, p. 8). However, by leveraging their existing knowledge and industry experience and identifying their strengths and capabilities, entrepreneurs are able to identify the “valuable, rare, imperfectly inimitable and non-substitutable resources” (Barney, 1991) which are accessible to them, and can combine these in new and meaningful ways to create value for the firm (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

The entrepreneur’s ability to combine and integrate their knowledge with external sources can greatly enhance the dynamic capabilities of a firm and create a competitive advantage (Jones et al., 2011, p. 9). As Penrose explains: “not only can the personnel of a firm render a heterogeneous variety of unique services, but also the material resources of the firm can be used in different ways, which means they can provide different kinds of services” (Penrose, 1959, p. 75). Yet, current theories offer little assistance to researchers in understanding how entrepreneurs access and configure resources against a background of severe resource scarcity (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 329).

One way of financing a venture outside the traditional routes is bootstrapping (Jones et al., 2011); this allows the entrepreneur to supplement their existing resources quickly and cheaply in order to respond effectively to new opportunities (*Ibid*, p. 11).

Social ties are especially important in facilitating this strategy, and for overcoming the liability of newness in general (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Family and social networks are the “means at hand” (Sarasvathy, 2000) through which entrepreneurs can access a variety of resources (Jones et al., 2011, p. 11). Family networks, in particular, can be of immeasurable help in providing entrepreneurs with the financial capital, information, or access to clients which they need (and family members are often the first to be employed), and the emotional encouragement and support they offer are also crucial, especially for entrepreneurs operating in turbulent environments (Smallbone & Welter, 2001). Even the social connections of the entrepreneur’s extended family can influence opportunity emergence and exploitation (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Aldrich & Kim, 2007). These pre-existing networks, and the entrepreneur’s ability to create new ones (Lee, 2008), are important at all stages of the venture creation process, from initial motivation through to opportunity identification and resource acquisition, to the point that they can “strongly shape the trajectory of a firm” (Jones et al., 2011, p. 7).

Another strategy which helps entrepreneurial firms thrive in highly uncertain, resource-constrained environments is bricolage. Lévi-Strauss broadly defined bricolage as making do with “whatever is at hand” (Lévi-Strauss, 1967, p. 17), or, in other words, recombining the available resources to solve problems and create opportunities (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 333). This may mean using these resources in ways for which they were not originally designed, but the aim is always to combine materials in ways which will create value for the consumer (Duymedjian & Clemens Ruling, 2010). Lévi-Strauss (1967) offered no more specific definition, hypothesising only that individuals have the ability to work within their given set of means. Scholars from a range of disciplines have since applied his concept to a wide range of phenomena, with the result that ‘making do’ has taken on a variety of meanings (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 334).

3.4.3 Ability to Respond Effectively in Highly Dynamic Environments

The ability to make effective decisions and respond quickly to abrupt changes in the commercial environment is crucial (Baron, 2008, p. 334). If initial exploitation is successful, this will create its own challenges and bring a new set of demands. The original venture will have to change, and will need constant refinement and improvement. It will need to take into account the characteristics of the market (Porter, 1990), the opportunities available (Shane, 2000), the resources it has and those it calculates that it needs to realise its objectives (Rumelt, 1984), while also monitoring what the competition is doing (Chell, 2001). At the same time, it must continue to provide value for the customer (Bolton & Thompson, 2000, p. 87).

The need to respond to customer demand or market shifts can also have an impact on the entrepreneurial process; entrepreneurs must continually ensure they add value to all areas of the business, either through cost efficiencies, market leadership, acquisitions, by finding alternative ways of doing things or by updating and honing their craft. As the organisation takes shape, the entrepreneur's (and by extension, the individual's) knowledge expands. Their tacit and explicit knowledge becomes attuned to the environment within which they are operating, and they will usually learn to put the needs of the business before their own (Shane, 2000).

This has been the conventional pattern in the past, but the current shift towards a knowledge-based society is causing entrepreneurship researchers to re-evaluate their understanding of how creative businesses take shape and are managed. Chapter 2 suggested that a large number of workers in the music industry are self-employed. At a local level, the lack of stable employment opportunities in the industry means that many more are quasi self-employed, and therefore need to work in a number of other freelance positions while at the same time self-managing their artistic output and marketing themselves to the wider community. The research suggests that entrepreneurs have to integrate two identities: their identity as a musician, from which they draw the passion and motivation to pursue their goals, and their identity as a small firm (Menger 1999), which enables them to make a living out of being an artist (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 243). Thompson, Jones and Warhurst (2007) show how musicians often self-manage their creativity within a wider framework, for

example by uploading their music online. They “integrate intensive self-management and self-marketing as well as subordination of private life to work into their artistic work life” (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 243).

Bootstrapping and bricolage are both essential to a venture’s ability to respond to changes in the environment and, therefore, to its growth, too. Baker and Nelson argue that bootstrapping enables new entrepreneurs to obtain otherwise inaccessible resources, while bricolage results in new configurations of existing resources to solve problems and create new opportunities. The two are ultimately linked by learning routines since they each focus on exploring new ways of exploiting resources which are at hand, or attainable, and then using this insight to create new configurations (Jones et al., 2011, p. 13).

3.4.4 What’s Missing from Existing Process Studies?

Research into the entrepreneurial process is often lacking in some key respects. Gartner (1985, p. 697), for example, may have drawn attention to the complexity of the phenomenon of new venture creation, but he failed to provide a detailed account of the processes involved, or a framework describing how each element in the process impacts upon the others. Elsewhere, variables are often studied in isolation, or where there are multiple levels of analysis, a problem arises in that they are often:

“...described in terms of summary statistics that are easy to understand but leave the reader wanting more information about the context of the research. In addition readers have no sense of what the researchers have observed, felt or thought” (Zahra, 2007, p. 445).

Valuable insights are often left unexplored, and explanations ignored in favour of robust statistics and facts. As Zahra (*Ibid*) highlighted:

“...theories are applied to sterile and highly sanitized settings, leaving a major gap in our understanding. As in silent movies, there is action—but

readers have to watch carefully to infer what actors say and do. They need to read the actors' lips in order to decipher what is happening. Few entrepreneurship papers give us enough clues about the nature of their research settings and, instead, ask us to use our imagination to appreciate what has been done”.

A number of useful process models have been discussed in the literature, but the fragmented nature of current research into the entrepreneurial process and the lack of multi-level analyses mean that none of these models is able to identify the best way of conducting the entrepreneurial process or to realistically show how it is affected by agency and context.

Studying context may give us greater insight into where and how entrepreneurs in the music industry find their opportunities, and how they exploit these opportunities with limited resources (Haynie et al., 2010). While Chapter 2 began this process by surveying the key contextual factors affecting the emergence and development of the UK's creative economy, the present chapter focuses more specifically on how these factors impact upon the music industry and the entrepreneurs working inside it. The following sections of the chapter begins by considering the structural changes that have taken place in the music industry over the last few years, showing how these changes and advances in technology have opened up opportunities for a wide range of actors. The discussion then moves on to explore the nature of entrepreneurship in the music industry, looking at “how opportunities come into existence, why these particular opportunities are discovered, and what modes of action are used to exploit them” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2001, p. 16).

3.5 Context: Business: The Global Music Market

Music is a constantly evolving art form. From traditional, local musical forms to the great classical music movements of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Strauss, 2006), old structures and modes of composition have been repeatedly broken up and reinvented. In the 20th century, the emphasis gradually shifted from creating a

melody to creating a 'sound' (Frith, 1996), and the industry became global in scale. Transnational corporations moved in and began to promote music as an ever-expanding series of revenue streams (Garofalo, 1999). For more than half a century, a small number of these very large companies which have come to be known as the *Majors*, have dominated the industry (Frederiksen, 2002).

The Majors, or the Big Six – Time Warner Music (US), EMI (Britain), Vivendi Universal's Polygram (France), Sony's CBS Music (Japan), Bertelsmann's BMG (Germany) and Polygram (Netherlands) – deal in all genres and for most of their history have dominated the mainstream music industry through their ownership of technology patents and copyrights (Graham et al., 2004; Carroll, 2005). For many years, this control of the 'downstream' gave the Majors enormous bargaining power over the creative talent, situated 'upstream' in the value system (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004) as it enabled them to offer exclusive access to the media and exposure to the wider market (Burke, 1997). Composers and musicians seeking an audience for their music were obliged to put themselves in the hands of the Majors, who would promote certain songs or works to radio stations, often using monetary (or other) incentives (Mol, Wijnberg & Carroll, 2005, p. 261). So central was radio throughout the 20th century that "it was seen as the sole determinant of what could be heard and what was bought" (Wall, 2007, p. 33). At the same time, increasing economies of scale allowed the record companies to offer discounts to their consumers.

The Big Six established a near-total dominance because they controlled each stage of the recording process, ranging from the Artists and Repertoire (A&R) managers who recruited potential talent, and the publishing houses that signed it, to technologies and recording spaces, and the specialist sound engineers and production teams who worked in them (Draper, 2009, p. 6). However, even with this kind of potential backing, many artists still found it very difficult to gain exposure in the international marketplace (Throsby, 2002, p. 14).

Over time, more and more musicians became dissatisfied with these arrangements, and by the end of the 1970s artists and producers in popular music were challenging

the existing power relationships. Advances in recording technology and its increasing affordability enabled many musicians to be creative without incurring large costs. Increasingly, it was independent record producers and radio stations who were bringing new artists to the attention of the public (Wall, 2007). In many countries, small scale recording companies sprang up, serving local networks. The establishment of independent distribution companies gave the new independent labels an effective means of distribution that did not involve the Majors at any stage in the process (Throsby, 2002).

In October 1979, an 'independent' chart debuted in the pages of NME, "reflecting the purchasing habits of those who patronized the independent specialty shop rather than the chain establishment" (Fonarow, 2006, p. 32). Bennett and Peterson (2004) have discussed how music scenes developed around clusters of musicians, producers and fans who shared similar musical tastes; these networks formed around specialised gatekeepers, tastemakers and audiences (Currid, 2007). Artists and bands with no Major label representation began to identify themselves more and more with their independent sub-culture and to access resources via this route, while fans identifying themselves with the sub-culture expressed their affiliation through, for example, their clothing and/or their attitude towards others, dividing the world into the in-group (us) and the out-group (them).

In Scotland, the trend in the music scene towards independence prompted those within the industry to adopt a do-it-yourself approach. The decreasing costs of technology and studio time, and, consequently, of recording, publishing and pressing a record, made the process more accessible, and the 1980s saw the emergence of more small, independent record labels, often formed by bands themselves, or by local record shops (Bannister, 2006). Fonarow (2006, p. 33) recalls that many bands set up their own labels to record and release their own music; in this context, do it yourself meant doing it simply, quickly and cheaply.

The small indie labels represented the talent of their "respective principalities" (Fonarow, 2006, p. 33). Like independent record shops, independent distribution

companies and independent bands, independent record labels were the products of individual entrepreneurship (*Ibid*, p. 51). Harris (2003, p. 5) cautions against assuming that these labels were set up “out of some righteous left-wing frenzy”, but whatever their originators’ motivations, this grassroots transformation, helped by the growing popularity of dance music and the emergence of star DJs in the early 1990s (Mugan, 2012), had a dramatic impact on the music industry and on the night-time economy in regions all over the UK (Reynolds, 1999). Eventually, the ability of these independents to make a return, as well as to sign and nurture new talent, made them acquisition targets for the Majors (Fonarow, 2006).

By the late 1980s, in a general effort to shore up lagging sales, the Majors pursued a number of integration strategies and began developing independent labels of their own to break new acts via the indie chart. Recording Majors such as EMI, Sony and Vivendi-Universal began to purchase independent local labels (e.g. EMI’s purchase of Capitol Records, Sony’s takeover of Columbia Records and Vivendi-Universal’s acquisition of Mercury Records) and acquire subsidiaries active in different segments of the music industry value chain (Ambert, 2003). Other independent labels were variously bought by, incorporated into, or funded by major music corporations (Hellman, 1983). The corporations often signed up acts after the initial work had been done by the independents, offering the artists more money and greater levels of exposure.

Promoters capitalised on indie audiences’ interest in live music by increasing venue capacity, extending tours and setting up music festivals (Frith, 2007, p. 6). A number of cities responded strategically to this trend by relocating music venues from traditional ballrooms to arenas and stadiums (Chapple & Garofalo, 1977). In Birmingham, and then in Glasgow and Manchester, exhibition centres built in the 1970s and 1980s were converted into venues which would ensure that these cities were included on the tour itineraries of the world’s biggest bands (Frith, 2007, p. 5). Gradually, these venues became an essential part of the live ‘rock business’. As Wall (2007, p. 3) explains, a system was emerging whereby:

“...local gigs are where the new talent first becomes apparent; the local music managers and record companies are where they get their first big breaks; and the experience of the ‘old hands’ takes them through to the wider sales of national recognition and the major record company contract... the locality is where the big name stars sell their records, play a night of a national tour, or merely act as the sound track to a good night out. This isn’t a regional music economy, but one corner of a global one”.

Festivals appeared all over the UK, attracting high profile performers. The T in the Park festival was launched in Scotland in 1994 to showcase local talents including Primal Scream as well as Glasgow’s most high profile signing, Manchester band Oasis. The following year, the festival played host to Kylie Minogue. Ironically, these events, and the alliances their organisers forged with national, regional and local governments and the media, enabled the Majors to monitor the innovative behaviour of the independent record companies more closely and to devise more effective strategies for overtaking them (Hellman, 1983; Hesmondhalgh, 1999).

3.5.1 The Rise of Music Technology

By the mid-1990s, personal computers had become powerful enough to record music in a digital format. Increasingly, they mirrored many of the attributes offered in the recording studio (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004). The new and widely available technology enabled musicians to make their own high quality digital recordings (Fonarow, 2006) without the involvement of a record label. Simultaneously, consumers who had once purchased CDs instead began to burn them when they realised that doing so was cheaper (Easley, 2005). The invention of the MP3 in 1989 by the German Fraunhofer Institute (Leyshon, 2001) brought further change, reducing the requirements for data storage and transmission by compressing recordings to a fraction of their original size. This, and other digital formats, drove down the costs of reproduction and distribution (Sterne, 2006, p. 836), and in combination with the opportunities offered by the Internet, began to cause the increased turbulence that would be faced by the industry as a whole (Wall, 2007; Burke, 2011).

There are few better examples of this turbulence than the success of file sharing networks such as the one created by Shawn Fanning and Sean Parker in 1998. Napster offered simple ways for Internet users to share their music collections online via MP3; even though it was largely an illegal activity, it still had far-reaching implications for the industry's competitive environment (Alexander, 2002; Defillippi, Arthur & Lindsay, 2006; Burke, 2011). Consumers began engaging in illegal downloading via peer-to-peer networks, while composers sampled the work of others without permission (Mol, Wijnberg & Carroll, 2005). Artists and consumers alike could now perform the value-creating activities of reproduction and distribution themselves (Alexander, 2002); accordingly, the subjective use-value (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004) that consumers had once placed on music which had been reproduced and distributed by record companies was dramatically reduced (Gallaway & Kinnear, 2001).

The issue of copyright soon became a concern for the Majors, and the situation worsened when musicians and small studio owners began to act as agents (Wall, 2007). Typically, when an artist signs to a Major label, they sell a percentage of the rights to their music to the label and/or publisher (and most Major record labels have integrated publishing companies). However, with digitisation minimising the costs of copying music files, artists and consumers alike could effectively become publishers without investing any money (Alexander, 2002). Debate arose as to whether copyright laws should be tightened up or relaxed (Ku, 2002). In the event, copyright law was strengthened to protect the owners of the rights, meaning that it was in the interests not just of the Majors, but also of the artists themselves, to keep control of copyright (Wall, 2007). The International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) continues to coordinate all anti-piracy initiatives and to enforce copyright laws.

It is difficult to accurately quantify the impact of the Internet and related software developments on the industry and its revenues (Throsby, 2002), but by 1999, when the Big Six became five with the absorption of Polygram by Universal, music as a

product category was facing declining sales and increasing competition from other media. Perhaps paradoxically, the Internet has also helped the industry to meet these challenges; advances in networking and file sharing have changed the economics of both distribution and production, but, perhaps as importantly, its instant connectivity has enabled industry actors to develop and manage a flexible web of business relationships (Graham et al., 2004). It may initially have been seen by many as little more than a channel of distribution, but the Internet has, over time, allowed artists to communicate quickly and directly with their fans (Piercy, 2005).

The Internet's importance within the industry was underlined in October 2000 when entertainment giant Bertelsmann A.G. formed a strategic alliance with the online music provider Napster (Buskirk, 2010). As more of the Majors recognised the benefits of the new technology which had become available, the race began to snap up those online businesses which owned the most rights to independent artists, had the best technology infrastructure or could demonstrate the greatest number of users (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004, p. 48). Independent artists and music producers, from having comparatively little scope, saw the balance of power shift in their favour (Throsby, 2002).

3.6 From Music to Media

The Internet, then, created waves of reorganisation throughout the industry, not just in terms of its structure but in the opportunities it presented to industry actors in the market. The Internet has given artists the opportunity to showcase online; it offers a new gateway for small scale, local producers and firms to enter a market which had previously been dominated by a few key players. New business models have emerged as a result of changing consumer demand and, in turn, the Internet has facilitated new ways of doing things. As a result of these technologies, the patterns of production, distribution, marketing and consumption have all changed, putting the Majors in an extremely difficult position.

3.6.1 Adapting to Technology: How the Music Industry Has Changed

With the industry structure under threat from the Internet and new advances in technology, the main reaction of the major players was to look for alternate means to exploit their existing rights. They therefore began working with radio and television (Throsby, 2002), and talent shows became a renewed area of interest. *Pop Idol* (2001) changed the talent spotting platform in two ways: firstly, by drawing on the conventions developed by 1990s reality TV and following the artist's journey from obscurity to stardom; and secondly, by adopting the concept of audience participation and incorporating voting via telephone or text. The show acted as "informal artist development for the Majors, by building new independent acts to the point where they [were] ready to cross over" (Hartley, 2007, p. 47). Bilton (2007, p. 54) takes a less optimistic view, arguing that:

"Transition between the innovative 'grass roots' and mainstream success is accelerated, new talents are rushed onto the stage before they have had time to develop, receiving their fifteen minutes of fame then vanishing into obscurity".

In the UK, these shows have done more than just spark public interest in new talent; nearly all of them have been successful in terms of viewing figures, and the winners have often gone on to achieve high record sales. Global artists and record labels whose songs have been featured on the shows have also seen improved sales (Frith, 2007, p. 10). The success of artists from shows such as *Pop Idol*, *Fame Academy* and more recently *X Factor* has been the catalyst behind similar events and contests around the country. In Glasgow, following the success of *Fame Academy* winner David Sneddon, local radio stations held their own version of the talent show; unsigned artist Paolo Nutini was duly discovered and went on to achieve international success.

In the wider environment, global acts began working with brands and using their music or their image in advertisements. One example was EMI's deal with Robbie Williams, in which ownership of his brand image became as significant as ownership

of his recorded masters. Attracting the interest of commercial sponsors who were willing to pay for the opportunity to reach a particular live audience and/or to have their brand associated with a particular act has become increasingly important as a means to generate income. In 2005, for example, Carling invested £6 million in British live music: the Academy Music Group's eight venues are now known as Carling Academies (Balakrishnan, 2006).

By 2002, the cross-connections between the music and IT industries had developed to the point where a number of global IT companies had become serious about reaching the necessary levels of competency to compete in the music industry (Throsby, 2002). For example, when Apple observed the impact of MP3 technology, they designed the first generation iPod, and following the success of Napster, they created the first legal music service, iTunes, in April 2003 (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004, p. 48).

In 2004, the Sony-BMG merger led to a further reorganisation of the market, creating what Burkart called an "affiliated-unaffiliated oligopoly market structure for recorded music" (Burkart, 2005, p. 489). The affiliated members, Sony-BMG and UMG, integrated into media conglomerates, competing with EMI and Warner Music, the 'little' giants among the Big Four (Burnett, 1996; Negus, 1999; Garofalo, 1999; Hall, 2000; Tschmuck, 2002; Burkart, 2005). Though more loosely integrated than the rest of the entertainment industry, the Majors effectively operated as a cartel in this period, sharing market power (Burkart, 2005, p. 492). Artists created high quality music and the Major labels promoted them as global brands. Live performances became platforms from which to sell an ever-expanding range of merchandise from t-shirts to CDs, increasing revenues and giving fans the chance to buy a memento of their experience (Frith, 2007). The Majors continue to rely heavily on the sale of merchandise, though increasingly, it has been observed that "music releases have developed into components of larger media franchises, used for cross-promotion and branding across corporate divisions" (Garofalo, 1999, p. 319).

The new technology has resulted in a generation of consumers who are more affected by questions of access than of ownership. The changes in demand have not only had an impact on how music is consumed; they have also drawn attention to how consumption impacts upon production. At the same time, the advances in technology have created new ways for artists to reach their fans directly (Eckhardt & Shane, 2003). Ultimately, the Majors' attempts to control the music supply chain by investing significantly in mergers have proved fruitless, as the new modes of direct distribution have in any case left the publishing and sound recording industries playing a dramatically reduced role.

3.6.2 The Rise of the "E-DIY" Approach

The Internet has continued to bring new key players and business models into the music industry. With the proliferation of online communities such as MySpace, bands have realised that they can easily upload music directly to their profile, with the result that a flood of new music has appeared online (Wall & Dubber, 2009; 2010). By 2005, over a quarter of a million amateur bands and professional musicians had uploaded their music onto the site (Mjos, 2012), and by 2011 it was estimated that MySpace was home to over 8 million musicians and artists (Vincent, 2011). The success of MySpace has been attributed to its ability to house a range of music content in one place (a single website containing users' MySpace accounts), and a number of acts have been discovered on the site, including Scottish artist Sandi Thom, the Arctic Monkeys and Lily Allen. The high profile signing of these artists has encouraged others to self-market and once again, the DIY model has emerged, with other artists flocking to the site in the hope of being signed. Howe (2005, p. 1) highlights that "bands gave away their best two or three songs as downloads or streams and used social networking and email blasts to reach an audience hungry for new music". The trend has indeed attracted interest, not just from the Majors but also from other media outlets – as evidenced by News Corp's purchase of MySpace in 2005.

Since the arrival of sites like YouTube (in 2005) and Facebook (in 2006), artists have

been able to promote their music to a global audience and build a community around their brand (*Ibid*). The interactive nature of these sites has enabled artists to achieve a higher level of fan-to-artist and fan-to-fan engagement (Granovetter, 1985). It has also “represented an extension of fan culture” (Wall & Dubber, 2009, p. 36), in that fans list bands as favourites on their profile pages, mark them as friends on their own sites and Twitter pages, add songs to their playlists and communicate directly with the bands (Kaya, Steffens, Hearn, & Graham, 2010). This instant connectivity permits the development of a flexible web of personal and professional relationships which can be managed online, allowing the entire industry to operate in the virtual realm (Graham et al., 2004, p. 1098). By cancelling “the trade-off between richness and reach of information”, network technology has transformed the supply chain as a whole, leading to a “seismic shift in the way music is produced, distributed, and showcased” as well as how it is consumed (*Ibid*, p. 1088).

The modern music industry has been shaped by a convergence between the media and information industries; these advancements have meant that the industry has been forced to make the transition from being the manufacturer and distributor of a physical product to being a service provider organised around the management and exploitation of talent (Vaccaro & Cohn, 2004, p. 49). This transition is evident at all levels of activity, from the proliferation of new music entrepreneurs to the recent takeover of EMI (Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002). However, while Burkart (2005, p. 489) did once suggest that the Internet would “disintermediate the majors”, he does not believe that artists are ready yet to “throw off the yoke of the industry and join online in solidarity” (although Madonna’s move from Warner Music to form a partnership with concert promoter Live Nations in 2007 shows that the trend is far from over).

Each year, further advancements in technology mean a reduction in sales both of downloads and physical products; with the introduction of streaming capabilities and music genome software such as Pandora and iTunes genius, patterns of consumption have become just as fragmented as the industry itself. But, despite numerous predictions of their forthcoming demise, the Majors have in their favour many years’ experience of managing and adapting to successive waves of potentially destructive

technologies (Schumpeter, 1934). The BPI Yearbook for 2011 reported hardware partnerships between the Majors and mobile firms and telecom companies, as well as their further involvement in gaming and online gaming, which again suggests a move away from traditional models. For example, despite its unstable position, in 2010 EMI entered the gaming and streaming market, developing a game for the Gorillaz, an animated band fronted by Damon Albarn (BPI, 2011).

Artists have become brands, aligning themselves with other brands in campaigns, engaging in Twitter wars with other big name stars, and moving with the patterns of consumption. Lady Gaga is an example of an artist who has capitalised on the opportunities offered by the Internet and the media. Using viral marketing campaigns, performance imagery and Twitter to reach her 'Little Monsters', the Gaga brand has become aligned with other, larger entertainment brands. Independent acts such as Biffy Clyro and We Were Promised Jet Packs have also begun to work with large brands in hitherto separate sectors, such as Miller Draft. It appears that these new business models will have enduring implications not just for the music industry, but for the entertainment industry as a whole.

Traditionally, entrepreneurs in the music industry have classified themselves as musicians, managers or producers, to make it easier for others in the industry to recognise their particular skills and/or abilities, especially when they are seeking financial resources (Tajfel, 1978; Ashforth & Mael, 1989). However, the technological advancements, changing business models and entrepreneurial activities which characterise the modern music industry mean that entrepreneurs must now master multiple identities. These identities are all equally important, and some of them may actually conflict with each other (Burke, 2006). Today, even local music-entrepreneurs operate on a global scale. To do so, they must be confident in their abilities and possess multiple business skills. For some, this represents a major challenge (Adler & Adler, 1978). Moreover, as the pace of change accelerates, those involved at every level must find new ways of doing things; the industry's future at both global and local level depends heavily on its continued responsiveness to rapid and ongoing technological change (Dolfsma, 2000). It is not just imperative to avoid

making mistakes in the current industry set up; it is also a question of not missing opportunities.

3.7 The Role of Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry

The music industry is complex; it involves a huge number of actors at local and global levels and encompasses firms of all sizes, types and stages (Timmons & Spinelli, 2007). The literature explains that the industry has had to respond to the challenges posed by “technological and aesthetical innovations from both inside and outside the industry” (Peltz, 2011, p. 1). Physical products are now digital, enabling artists to bypass filters and produce, distribute and promote their music without any support from the Majors. Consequently, success is now understood in digital rather than physical terms (Hunter-Tilney, 2010). In an environment where partnerships are becoming increasingly common and new technologies are emerging all the time, the line between small local producers and global production and distribution networks is becoming ever more blurred. This is creating fresh opportunities for independent composers, musicians and businesses, often based in local clusters, to gain exposure to music markets and generate an income in the process.

It should be noted at this point that engagement in musical activity outside of the established structures of the music industry is not a new phenomenon. Unsigned and unrepresented musicians have always outnumbered professional and signed musicians, as evidenced by the large number of self-employed and freelance workers in the sector. Current research suggests that on average five times as many music-entrepreneurs as artists are signed by independently owned record labels (BPI, 2011). Furthermore, it has been suggested that over their professional lifetime, a music-entrepreneur or ‘culturepreneur’ (Lange, 2006) will produce and release on average the same amount of music as that released by a group of traditional artists through established structures. With online sales outstripping physical ones, these figures are unsurprising (BPI, 2011). Increasingly, therefore, research interest in the music industry is focusing on music-entrepreneurs. In practical terms, the interest lies in how entrepreneurs combine their resources with their practical capabilities to

produce social capital, and how they use new channels to discover new markets, new music, new inspiration and competitive advantage within a turbulent environment.

It is here that scholars disagree on how to proceed. Their disagreements reflect the fact that there is a lack of authoritative empirical evidence surrounding entrepreneurship and its role in the music industry (Florida & Jackson, 2010, p. 311). Nevertheless, researchers from a number of fields have already made useful contributions to the debate. For example, some entrepreneurship researchers have focused on how business ideas originate and the processes through which they become realised (Caves, 2000; De Bruin, 2005; Laaksonen et al., 2010; Burke, 2011; Peltz, 2011).

3.7.1 The Process of Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry

The entrepreneurship process originates with the fact that production of music for economic gain “can provide a relatively accessible avenue for individuals and groups to move into the cash economy” (Throsby, 2002, p. 14). Typically, individuals or groups begin with live performances in exchange for payment and, if successful and motivated, they then move into broadcasting or recording for the local market. These individuals must have the motivation, knowledge, and cognitive and learning abilities to spot opportunities, engage in the necessary activities and make things happen (Bolton & Thompson, 2000). Bygrave (2003, p. 12) adds that they must also have the *skills* to turn an opportunity into a viable business.

Traditionally, artists looking for exposure and higher sales sought to secure a deal with a record label, since record labels, particularly the Majors, have already achieved large economies of scale (Burke 2003). When contracted, artists have traditionally been placed under the guidance of producers and arrangers (Vaccaro and Cohn, 2004, p. 46), who have taken a percentage of royalties in payment for their input (Mol, Wijnberg and Carroll, 2005, p. 264). Today, it is no longer necessary to be signed by a label, as success can be achieved digitally, and outside this traditional business route (Hunter-Tilney, Financial Times.com, 2010). However, in contrast to

the early DIY movement, artist-entrepreneurship now operates on a much larger scale – the consequence of combining highly motivated artists and technological innovation (Ambert, 2005).

3.7.2 Opportunity Recognition

Most potential entrepreneurs' ideas arise out of their own prior experience, education or hobbies. Unable to persuade their employer to act on their idea, they may decide to do it themselves (Burns, 2001, p. 75). The music-entrepreneur draws on his or her inspiration and industry knowledge to develop the idea, and while it may have begun as a simple perception it usually becomes more elaborate as it is exposed to other actors who could potentially increase or shrink its commercial potential (Ardichvili, Cardozo & Ray, 2003); at this stage, the entrepreneur's social or professional network often acts as a sounding board (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991; Dimov, 2011). By now, the initial concept may be "changed, refined or even abandoned, as will the direction of the idea" (Venkataraman & Sarasvathy, 2000, p. 656).

Opportunities in the music industry vary according to the entrepreneur's role in the value chain. A musician, for example, will recognise or create a markedly different opportunity from a producer or manager. In the inherently unstable music industry, opportunities are usually short-lived, as tastes and fashions change, making their exploitation additionally challenging. Many entrepreneurs seek to minimise the risk they face by continuing to work in their official career, although this is also a useful way of gaining information about the wider environment and acquiring on-the-job experience (Cope, 2003; Draper, 2008; Mason et al., 2012). As they gain this experience, they should become better able to comprehend, extrapolate, interpret and apply new information. Moreover, as they become more adept at seeing and exploiting the potential of familiar information channels, such as friends, business associates, the patent office, trade publications and trade shows (Fiet, 2002), they are likely to become less reliant on the search for new channels (Fiet & Patel, 2008, p. 217). This process is one of continual evolution; in the words of Davidsson, the focus

is on the “development and evaluation of the idea rather than its attempted realization” (Davidsson, 2008, p. 6).

3.7.3 Resource Acquisition

Once the idea is realised, the music-entrepreneur will then take the necessary steps to legitimise their venture (Rumelt, 1984; Barney, 1997; Aldrich, 1999; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Davidsson, 2005; 2008). In doing so, both artistic and business skills and knowledge come into play as the entrepreneur takes over the roles in the value-creation chain which were previously occupied by other actors (e.g. the Majors) (Peltz, 2011). Most music-entrepreneurs generally begin with very little in the way of tangible or intangible resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005). According to Bitektine (2011, p. 162), accessing financial resources in the music industry can be a difficult process; this is at least partly because would-be entrepreneurs who are without reputation, status or legitimacy find it difficult to attract the right kind of investors, most of whom regard the music business as a risky prospect.

However, the literature suggests that first time entrepreneurs who lack a proven track record as entrepreneurs, but who have a reputation elsewhere in the industry, may be able to reduce the uncertainty typically associated with entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994). According to Baum and Oliver (1991), an organisation’s chances of success are significantly enhanced when it develops ties with more established organisations. This alignment is said to signal the venture’s adherence to “institutional prescriptions of appropriate conduct” and to provide access to “a variety of rewards that are predicted to contribute to its likelihood of survival”, ranging from greater legitimacy, and an enhanced reputation and status (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott & Meyer, 1983; Oliver, 1990), to easier access to resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Traditionally, new ventures in the music industry have aligned themselves with one of the Major labels in order to build links with others in the supply chain. These linkages become a form of legitimacy within the wider industry, and publicising

these relationships brings benefits such as increased radio airplay. The Majors and radio DJs have, in the past, played an important gatekeeping role, determining whether and when new artists can enter the market and when and how they are exposed to the public. In order to gain an audience with these gatekeepers, music-entrepreneurs have needed to signal their credibility, usually by having the right social connections to industry experts (Fonarrow, 2006), key supplier and distribution agreements in place, and investors who are willing to put capital into new firms. In establishing such connections and agreements, entrepreneurs are essentially building up their legitimacy and that of their business. Both the entrepreneur's pre-existing networks, and their ability to create new ones (Lee & Jones, 2008), are hugely important in this process.

However, the recent shifts in technology have meant that this state of affairs is rapidly changing, and most of the artists now flooding the market face the challenge of achieving legitimacy without being aligned to a Major label. The entrepreneur's personal work ethic and standards have become even more critical, as is their reputation as someone who is amiable, good to work with and talented (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). Reputation is crucial at a personal level (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley & Gilstrap, 2008, p. 942), but by extension, it can also create a favourable perception of a venture in the minds of its stakeholders (Nagy, Pollack, Rutherford & Lohrke, 2012, p. 954). In the music industry, past history is commonly used as a predictor of an organisation's or individual's professional behaviour. In practical terms, this means that an analysis of past actions plays a key role in the formation of a reputation judgment (Bitektine, 2011, p. 162), something which can obviously be problematic for an entrepreneur with no previous track record in the industry.

At the point of start-up, music-entrepreneurs may rely on their own funds plus those obtained from family and friends to get a venture up and running (Cassar, 2004). The latter groups may also provide essential knowledge, skills and emotional support, and they are often the entrepreneur's route into otherwise inaccessible or unaffordable resources (Ruef, Aldrich & Carter, 2003). Entrepreneurs may access and reconfigure resources using bootstrapping and bricolage techniques. Like Peltz's music-

entrepreneur, who takes on all the roles in the value chain, the ‘bricoleur’ must be adept at a range of activities. The means set cannot be defined as a constant or seen solely in terms of a project; rather, the various elements are collected and then utilised as and when they are required. Thus, the means set is the result of all “the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions” (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Maintaining links with these creative resources requires that the entrepreneur considers the balance between the imperative of artistic control and their commercial objectives.

3.7.4 Ability to Respond Effectively in Highly Dynamic Environments

There is a tendency among researchers to regard music industry companies/organisations as stable entities which follow a progression through discrete developmental steps (Dimov, 2007, p. 20). In this view, the individual begins with an idea, then proceeds through a process of hard work to secure the resources required to begin their venture. As the firm develops, the entrepreneur becomes a manager and is forced to undertake a number of tasks to ensure continued growth. Finally, as the business becomes more established, the entrepreneur may seek wealth and security (Dyer, 1994). However, while it is tempting to think of the entrepreneurial process as linear – first you discover and then you exploit – the evidence suggests that this is not the case (Shane, 2003; Eckhardt & Shane, 2003). In practice, entrepreneurship in the music industry reveals itself in a series of entrepreneurial acts (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003).

Taylor (1999, p. 1) confirms that while the small firm is said to be a key player in local economic growth, little attention has been paid to ‘real people’ running ‘real firms’ (Curran & Blackburn 1994). The unstable work patterns that have traditionally characterised the music industry have become even more fragmented, and long-term working experiences have now been replaced by careers spent working on a succession of projects that, when taken together, form a portfolio career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Jones (1996) suggests that these acts or projects in many ways

resemble the ‘habitual’ and ‘serial’ entrepreneurship discussed in the literature. These researchers reject the single-firm perspective (Scott & Rosa, 1996) in favour of temporary organising processes (Packendorff, 1995; Söderlund, 2000) involving personal and professional networks (Birley, 1985). Examples can be seen in the theatre (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006), film (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998), video-game (Cadin, Guerin & DeFillippi, 2006), music (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2005) and software sectors (Grabher, 2004), where businesses do not necessarily begin as start-ups but, instead, individuals “work by projects – in sequence, in parallel, or in both”. When the project ends and the team disperses, the final product lives on in the form of a musical recording, a video game or a film, etc. (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003).

Thus, it is actually more useful to see the development of companies in the music industry as a series of socially constructed acts – the changes unfold as individuals interact with each other (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003). For example Taylor (1999, p. 1) suggests in his research that small firms can be said to be;

“...from the outset informally networked with other businesses. They are, at the same time, by their very nature temporary. These new ventures cease to trade only as the opportunities fade and their venturers’ interests shift (which might be swiftly, slowly or not at all)”.

In essence, while the small firm, as a legal entity, plays an important role, Taylor (1999, p. 16) argues that the “temporary coalitions that operate within and beyond those legal entities may form, reform and dissolve in rapid succession or they may persist with great stability for long periods of time”. Thus, while the legal firm is part of the enterprise process in the music industry, entrepreneurship will occur in a much broader form.

Discussion of these kinds of temporary organisations revolves around the basic elements of time, task, team and transition. Time refers to the life-cycle of the project, while the task at hand is the main reason for creating the temporary organisation in the first place. The team refers to the actor-networks involved in the

project and finally, transition means that the project has come to a successful conclusion (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995, p. 450). The development and ultimate termination of temporary organisations may be conceptualised into four stages (Ibid). The first is action-based entrepreneurship, when the entrepreneur develops and tries to gain support for their idea; the second stage is fragmentation for commitment-building, where the idea is transformed into a practical project, with identifiable tasks and timelines. The third stage is known as planned isolation, where the project team becomes organised and begins working to deadlines and budget restrictions. The fourth and final stage is institutionalised termination, in which the organising process concludes and the network configuration breaks apart. While some of the individuals involved may return to their previous activities, many actors move on to other projects and to new actor networks elsewhere. However, it is not uncommon in the music industry to find the same individuals coming together repeatedly in order to work on another project with the same team (Birley, 1985).

In the music industry, entrepreneurs can and will perform a number of entrepreneurial acts during their professional career. Culture workers who are unable to support themselves purely through their creative endeavours and who must devote substantial time to other work to achieve financial security (Robinson & Montgomery, 2000) may be involved in other entrepreneurial acts “within organisations, in non-for-profit work, or in private life” alongside their new venture. As Gartner (1989) has suggested, organisation start-ups are just one form of creative response. In fact, engaging in a variety of activities can bring advantages; entrepreneurs can build their reputations and develop trust and relationships with a range of industry actors (Aldrich, 1999). In some cases, these non-entrepreneurial projects are a way for entrepreneurs to access financial resources. Thus, rather than focusing on individual entrepreneurs in relation to the journey of a single firm, research should instead focus on the entrepreneur’s acts and how these configurations come together and then, subsequently, break apart again.

Entrepreneurs in the music industry face considerable obstacles, from the uncertainty of the wider industry to the “rejection of ideas, refusal of funding requests, and lack

of legitimacy, which together may turn away potential customers as well as employees” (Cardon, Wincent, Singh & Drnovsek, 2009, p. 521). By working on a number of temporary projects and undertaking a range of activities, they are, in effect reducing the uncertainties they face, while creating new ways to reach their audience.

Few studies up until now have attempted to link the creative process with the entrepreneurial process, but this is the aim of the following sections of the present thesis. Effectuation theory is used to explain the non-linear nature of opportunity recognition and to show how entrepreneurs in uncertain situations base their decisions on what they can afford to lose rather than on expected returns. Given the large number of projects and transition phases which entrepreneurs go through, effectuation, with its cyclical nature, is perfectly framed to understand the process underlying the start-up. It might also go some way to describing how entrepreneurial acts are undertaken, and may even explain how certain projects are constructed and deconstructed, as well as who gets involved and why

3.8 Effectual Entrepreneurship in the Music Industry

Most start-ups or entrepreneurial acts in the music industry are likely to involve a combination of behaviours, reflecting a tension between the *planned, analytical and linear* on the one hand, and the *emergent, creative and iterative* on the other (Bhave, 1994). Sarasvathy poses the following question (2003, p. 206):

“Where do we find rationality when the environment does not independently influence outcomes or even rules of the game (Weick, 1979), the future is truly unpredictable (Knight, 1921), and the decision maker is unsure of his/her own preferences (March, 1982)?”

Most firms, especially entrepreneurial ones, need to have a very clear picture of what they want to achieve, and the answers to key questions in mind. What is the organisation all about? Why should people invest time or money in the business? Who will buy? Potential entrepreneurs must begin with what Sarasvathy calls

“means” (Sarasvathy, 2008). That is, entrepreneurs must know who they are, what they know and whom they know, and, given who they are, what they know and whom they know, they must ask themselves: “What can I do?” and “Which particular path should I take?” (*Ibid*). The individual’s personal traits, beliefs and abilities, along with their identity, accumulated knowledge and social networks, all impact upon the entrepreneurial process at various points throughout its course (Venkataraman, 1997; Aldrich, 1999; Shaw & Conway, 2000).

According to Bygrave, the individual will get an idea for a new venture through either “deliberate search or chance encounter” (Bygrave, 2003, p. 3), while for Sarasvathy (2008, p. 15), the individual enters the entrepreneurial process in one of two ways: through either *causation* or *effectuation*. Framed as a “general theory of decision-making in uncertain situations”, Sarasvathy’s logic of causation and effectuation highlights the role of human action, rather than reaction, in shaping the outcomes of entrepreneurial ventures (Sarasvathy, 2008, p. 227).

3.8.1 The Premise of Causal and Effectual Logic

The basic premise of causal logic is that “the extent to which we can predict the future, we can control it” (Sarasvathy, 2008, p. 16). The causation process begins with the identification of the desired effect. The entrepreneur then decides whether they will adopt what Sarasvathy (2001) calls the given means to achieve the desired effect, or, alternatively, create new means. The causal model is goal-oriented (Davidsson, 2008); the potential entrepreneur seeks the best, fastest and most economically efficient way to realise their aims (Bygrave, 1989). Causal strategies are useful when the future is predictable, goals are clear, and the environment is independent of our actions. The entrepreneur will look to achieve the best fit between the idea and their resources, or they will seek an alternate strategy in order to achieve their goal.

In the music industry, an individual may, for example, have an idea to start an online distribution company to cater to the increasing number of independent artists in the

market. They may have no prior experience in the selected industry, or they may have worked within it and identified at first hand a need that was not being fulfilled by the market. Having decided to go it alone, they begin by doing some market research, to find a niche market (for example, they may see a gap in the market in catering exclusively to unsigned independents). When they are satisfied that the idea and business concept are viable, the individual then makes the decision to act on the idea and begins looking at ways to exploit the potential opportunity which has been identified.

The entrepreneur and their team must undertake all the activities required to begin the venture (Davidsson, 2005). Contact is made with banks, solicitors, property agents, government offices and/or suppliers and distributors (Bygrave, 2003). The individual decides on their company name, legally creates their business, seeks finance if required and identifies a suitable venue in which to base their operations (Timmons & Spinelli, 2007) – although advances in communications technology have made this last requirement less of an issue for entrepreneurs. A detailed business plan must then be drafted or at least considered; firstly, to confirm that the idea is viable and secondly, to help secure financial backers by providing evidence of the value the venture will create. The required resources are then accessed and put in place, turning the potential idea into a viable opportunity (Barney, 1991).

The entrepreneur has now defined a purpose and direction for their business activities and will implement a range of strategies, from marketing to operational, to achieve the initial objectives of their venture. Dimov describes how entrepreneurs explain and defend their “fuzzy” initial premise, both to their immediate social network and to stakeholders who might help develop the idea (Dimov, 2007a, p. 563). In this way, the entrepreneur exploits the original opportunity, while creating a value proposition which, ideally, is difficult to resist. Things may not happen in precisely this order, but the entrepreneur will undertake most, if not all, of these activities at some point in the process, in an effort to legitimise their business.

Causation processes are *effect dependent* and are best suited to the exploitation phase of the process, while effectuation is *actor dependent* and is more suited to the exploitation of contingencies. In causation, the end product or service has already been determined by the initial idea. Decisions about how the opportunity is to be exploited, and about any subsequent adaptations of the original idea (for example, the location of the business or the choice of business name), are guided by the need to fit into the identified and chosen market. In the realm of effectuation, on the other hand, the end goal is still uncertain. Neither the opportunity nor the market have yet been developed; both are contingent on who gets involved and how their goals and actions shape the direction of the venture (Read & Sarasvathy, 2005)

Effectuation takes the set of means as a given and is thus the inverse of causation, as its logic is based on the premise that “the extent to which we can control the future, we do not need to predict it” (Sarasvathy, 2003, p. 16). This is the reverse of causation’s outlook. Effectual entrepreneurs, rather than planning around an uncertain future, work with “who they are, what they know, and whom they know” (*Ibid*). For Sarasvathy, the entrepreneur has three means with which to work – their identity, knowledge base and social network – each of which they may use to convert customers into partners. Perceiving the world around them as essentially human-made, these entrepreneurs look to expand their horizons from “localized possibilities to increasingly complex and enduring opportunities fabricated in a contingent fashion over time” (*Ibid*, p. 208). Because the world of the effectual entrepreneur is driven by human action, relationships become a matter of design rather than decision and are organic in nature.

The effectual entrepreneur asks: “What can I do with the means I have?” This question, and the need to extend the potentially available means as far as possible, is evident among local musicians who, finding it difficult to earn a living, may call upon friends, family, extended networks and prior business contacts for help. Sarasvathy calls this negotiating a series of pre-commitments (Read & Sarasvathy, 2005, p. 60). For example, if a music-entrepreneur know someone who owns a bar or who works in radio, they may be able to use this connection in order to find some

performing work. It should be noted that stakeholders self-select into such ventures; the key question for both entrepreneur and stakeholder is not what they stand to gain but rather what they are willing and can afford to lose.

Depending on who comes on board, the entrepreneur's available resources increase; more importantly, the commitments made by the self-selected stakeholders converge into specific goals over time (*Ibid*). In the above example, performing in the bar may become a regular engagement and might also lead to other live gigs, in other venues, while any airplay secured on the radio may lead to the formation of a band and the recording of a new album. As Sarasvathy (2001) explains, the specific strategies adopted by entrepreneurs "are characterized by specific courses of action rather than outcome variables" (Sarasvathy & Dew, 2009, p. 20). Therefore, in order to clarify effectual logic, Sarasvathy identifies five key principles of effectuation which, taken together, become the embodiment technique of what she terms "non-predictive control", or, in other words, reducing the use of prediction to control uncertainties and instead taking uncertainties as a given.

Sarasvathy calls these principles: *the bird-in-hand principle*, *the affordable loss principle*, *the crazy quilt principle*, *the lemonade principle* and *the pilot-in-the-plane principle*. Her central argument places causation and effectuation at opposite ends of a continuum, with these five principles positioned in a spectrum between the two. At each step of the entrepreneurial process, entrepreneurs use and adapt the principles as and when they are required (Sarasvathy, 2008, p. 21). Given the nature and complexity of the new business models which have arisen out of recent technological, cultural and social change, it is appropriate to look at the process of entrepreneurship through the lens of effectuation, and to examine the five key principles listed above in a greater level of detail.

3.8.2 *The Principles of Effectuation Applied to Music Entrepreneurship*

The first of Sarasvathy's principles, *the bird-in-hand principle*, refers to the creation of something using existing means (as opposed to discovering new ways and means

to achieve goals): the entrepreneur therefore asks, in this scenario: what do I have? Rather than asking 'What do I need?'. For Sarasvathy, the effectual entrepreneur begins with who they are, what they know and whom they know. In the music industry these represent their identity, their knowledge base and their social networks respectively. It is at this point that the first "stable configuration of product/stakeholder/environment comes into existence" (Sarasvathy, 2003, p. 215). Many in the music industry continue to work as performers alongside their business activities, not just to reduce the risk of an uncertain future (Mason et al., 2012), but also to gain exposure to and develop trust, their reputation and their relationships with other actors (Aldrich, 1999). As they gain experience and their social networks begin to grow, their knowledge corridors expand (Shane, 2000) and their identity becomes more pronounced, through reputational and legitimising effects (Dew & Saravathy, 2002). For Sarasvathy (2003), as the business develops, the initial configuration of product/stakeholder/environment begins to alter in a contingent and usually path-dependent manner, solidifying the position of the entrepreneur as well as the value and duration of the opportunities themselves.

The entrepreneur then decides, based on their current financial status and psychological willingness to invest, how much they are willing to sacrifice to undertake the process (rather than investing based on expected returns) (*Ibid*). This second principle – *affordable-loss* – is particularly relevant in the context of the music industry, where the uncertainty regarding potential future success and monetary rewards must be weighed against the opportunity to "learn, grow, share, and achieve at something that brings financial and great personal value and satisfaction" (Crookes, 2008, p. 7). In one sense, musicians who upload their music online are no different from any other investor in a start-up enterprise; their affordable-loss investment is the content which they have provided free of charge online (Costantoura, 2001). An online site like MySpace may have no liquid assets, but it may also attract interest from one of the Majors. According to Sarasvathy (2000), entrepreneurs who allow themselves to be guided by this principle are free to experiment with a new venture in an uncertain environment because they have a clear idea of the potential maximum loss they might incur if things don't work out.

Moreover, the portfolio careers, which many entrepreneurs maintain by necessity, can provide some measure of protection to fall back upon if an entrepreneurial venture fails or a project ends.

Building a network of self-selected stakeholders (rather than engaging in competitive analysis) is an important part of the process. This is Sarasvathy's third principle – *the crazy-quilt principle*. This refers to instances where a venture develops from an isolated phenomenon to become part of a socially embedded process, as the entrepreneur co-develops his or her business with others (Granovetter, 1985). As suggested in Chapter 2, knowledge exchange and collaboration are characteristic of the creative economy; this is especially apparent in Glasgow, where the focus has been on fostering learning and cooperation between entrepreneurs and institutions (Turok, 2003, p. 551).

This culture of collaboration has been evident in the ways in which private firms have worked alongside government agencies to support Glasgow's music industry and its business infrastructure. In 2009, when Glasgow first hosted the MOBO (Music of Black Origin) awards, freelance musicians, sound engineers, record producers, venue promoters, distributors, A&R representatives, designers and marketers all came together with public and private agencies to work towards ensuring the event's success. This led to a three year deal for the awards to return to Glasgow in 2011, 2013 and 2015 (Event Scotland, 2011). At the individual level, the MOBO project fostered trust and collaboration between different actors in the industry. As wider industry structures become more unstable (as has been outlined above in this chapter), local relationships built upon specific projects are having a significant impact on entrepreneurs and on the venture creation process. Entrepreneurs are able to develop a network of stakeholders through these connections, rather than among their industry rivals.

Faced with local and global instability, the wise entrepreneur acknowledges and appropriates contingencies by leveraging surprises rather than trying to avoid or adapt to them. In essence: when life throws you lemons, make lemonade. This is the

lemonade principle, and it is especially relevant in the music industry, given its increasingly global scope. Faced with rising production costs, for example, many have survived by distributing online instead. One example of this kind of inventive response was provided by Scottish band Idlewild, who came up with an innovative scheme to fund their new album after their record company, Sanctuary, closed in 2007. The group appealed for help of their fans to ensure they could continue to make music without the backing of a Major label. Fans were asked to donate £15 to fund studio time and production costs in return for an advance copy of the new CD with their names in the liner notes, exclusive artwork, early tickets to a series of special shows and members-only access to live back-catalogue tracks online. As with the *bird-in-hand principle*, this willingness to respond to the realities of the environment in innovative ways which appeal to the musician-entrepreneur's target market is an essential element of the entrepreneurship process. The example also highlights how music-entrepreneurs must be prepared to continually promote themselves in the face of increasing turbulence in the wider environment. They must adapt to survive, especially when their future depends on the wider sector's response to the rapid pace of technological change (Dolfsma, 2000).

However, the effectual belief here is that the future is neither found nor predicted, but is, instead, made (Sarasvathy, 2003). The final principle – *the pilot-in-the-plane principle* – urges entrepreneurs to focus on activities within their control; in Idlewild's case, the band exploited the technological advances that have brought such turbulence to the industry to their own advantage. In the same spirit, a number of independent artists have created iPhone Apps to take advantage of consumers' increasing interest in the Apple iPhone, while the Majors have begun securing partnership deals with telecoms providers in anticipation of growth in this new market. Such exploitation of technological changes and socioeconomic trends is one way in which entrepreneurs, at both local and global levels, “inform, refine and update their craft” (Draper, 2009, p. 8) and in doing so, keep on top of their industry and their market.

In the music industry, it is up to the individuals themselves to translate their ideas into something worth presenting to the wider public, and technology just happens to make it easier. The effectual music-entrepreneur then becomes “an imaginative actor who seizes contingent opportunities and exploits any and all of the means at hand to fulfil current and future aspirations, which are created through, and shaped by, the process of economic decision making, and not given to them *a priori*” (Laaksonen et al., 2010). Arguably, these five principles can be seen to underlie much of the decision making in uncertain industries, though authors have differed as to the precise nature of the continuum and in regard to how these principles should be applied. While empirically, it seems that the two approaches can go together, conceptually, it makes more sense to analyse causal and effectual approaches as a strict dichotomy (Sarasvathy, 2008). In several of her more recent publications, Sarasvathy systematically compares the causation and effectuation models in more depth, highlighting six further dimensions which repeatedly appear (Sarasvathy, 2008). These are: means-driven vs. ends-driven, control vs. prediction, affordable loss vs. expected returns, new vs. existing products and markets, cooperation vs. competition, and cyclical vs. linearity.

In the uncertain environment of the music industry, an individual entrepreneur’s use of, and preference for, particular modes is generally related to their level of expertise and to the stage the firm is at in its life cycle. According to Laaksonen et al.: “Expertise in the field is acquired through a process of causation, when the entrepreneurs are novices. It is when they become experts in their field, their ventures are more likely to use the effectuation process” (Laaksonen et al., 2010, p. 15). However, Sarasvathy (2000) points out that neither seems to be superior to the other in practice. Indeed, in certain circumstances, potential entrepreneurs in the music industry may be wise to deviate from both. Similarly, if their original idea does not immediately suggest any single strategic alternative, and if the given means can be used more effectively to pursue another opportunity or idea, then this is what the potential entrepreneur should do (Davidsson, 2005, p. 13).

Sarasvathy and other commentators have interpreted the logic which underlies the entrepreneurship process in a range of ways (Bhave, 1994; Davidsson, 2003), but the complex nature of the wider music industry and its influence at the local level mean that, whatever logic is at work, the process is unlikely to be linear. Ultimately, how an entrepreneur decides to pursue an idea will depend on a variety of factors that, in practice, have little to do with any theoretical viewpoint. The effectuation and causation processes, representing as they do two different sides of the philosophical coin, offer perspectives that seem particularly well suited to the study of the entrepreneurship process as they operate in the unstable environment of the music industry (Moroz & Hindle, pp.810-811). However, only a minority of studies fully address their practical application and, thus, the “*how* of the entrepreneurship process” (*Ibid*, p. 782). Few studies have, so far, put this theory to the test in terms of the outcomes which either approach produces, especially in the music industry, and those who have tried to do so have found the music industry to be such a complex sector that any evidence presented has been tentative and indirect to say the least (Laaksonen et al., 2010). We should, therefore, investigate what types of processes/ approaches are actually used, and whether one type of process is generally preferable to the other(s).

3.9 Conclusion

Much of the prior research has focused on the wider recording industry and has therefore failed to take into account the importance of the local environment. While a few theorists have discussed the role of entrepreneurship in the music industry at the local and global levels, relatively little academic attention has been paid to the entrepreneurial process as it is undertaken by individuals in reality. This suggests that researchers have had trouble in identifying the contribution which individual entrepreneurs make to the music industry; consequently, there is little understanding of the economic significance of this contribution (Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990).

It is evident that the current theoretical understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship within the music industry is inadequate. By breaking down the

phenomenon into the three stages of opportunity recognition, resource acquisition and managing change, and by looking at each of these stages through the process lens of effectuation, we may be able to establish a more evidential base for our understanding of entrepreneurship within the music industry. The dimensions identified in Table 4, below, indicate the impact which wider developments and technology shifts have had on Glasgow's music industry. This table shows how new opportunities have been created, how resource acquisition has been simplified for the artist and how managing uncertainty has become commonplace. At the wider level, technological shifts like the ones Schumpeter (1934) identified have allowed creators and performers to compete against global players, leading to massive reorganisation for the Majors and fostering cooperation between previously unrelated industry sectors such as gaming, media and communications technology. They have lowered the barriers between creators and consumers and now allow artists to manage their careers as free-agents online. The structural changes which have taken place have been followed by changes to the regulatory framework, so that power has shifted from the Major labels towards creators and performers. At the local level, the wider industry changes have reduced the amount of stable employment available, spurring entrepreneurial behaviour and fuelling a dynamic freelance labour market.

In Glasgow's case, there are plans for further cultural regeneration-led investment and for further modification of the city's hard infrastructure. However, the literature suggests that it is actually Glasgow's soft infrastructure that is more important; it largely determines how opportunities come into existence, how resources are acquired and how entrepreneurs manage uncertainty and change. The city's various support agencies provide access to funding, advice and support and may therefore become either stakeholders or shareholders in a firm's ongoing effectual process.

The following chapters will present the evidence gathered by this study, and provide examples of how the entrepreneurship process operates at local industry level, using Glasgow's music industry and its music-entrepreneurs as an exemplar. The analysis focuses on the process through which an individual becomes an entrepreneur in the music industry, exploring their personal nature, the kinds of opportunities that arise

and how individuals may react to these opportunities. The analysis also considers those factors that help entrepreneurs succeed, ranging from how they acquire their unique resources to how they manage their firm in an uncertain environment (Venkataraman & Sarasvathy, 2000, p. 654).

Table 4: How the Music Industry Context Impacts the Three Stages of the Entrepreneurial Process

The Entrepreneurial Process	Industry Environment: Music as a Global Industry			Local Environment: Music as a Creative Industry: Glasgow		
	The Internet & Recording Technologies	Structural Changes to the Music Industry	Rules & Regulations Governing the Industry	Lack of Major Representation in Commercial Sector	Hard Infrastructure of the City	Soft Infrastructure of the City
Opportunity Recognition/Creation	Changed the way music is created, produced, recorded, marketed, distributed & consumed.	Greater opportunities for unknown artists to become globally known.	Copyright regulations, competition laws and laws guaranteeing fair treatment for artists.	Lack of Major employers in the city's commercial sector drives increased levels of entrepreneurship.	The built environment: pubs, clubs and venues, transportation & communication links.	Interactions which spur the creative process, the city's places and spaces and the informal milieu that develops.
Resource Acquisition	Consumers have become creators and anyone anywhere can now record and distribute their music online.	Artists can access a number of resources online from crowd-funding to potential stakeholders.	This has opened up opportunities for performers and creatives to earn a living through their work.	The mix of formal and informal relationships between firms and government support initiatives to facilitate new firm creation.	The city's infrastructure has changed, with areas taking on pronounced identities. Appearance of support agencies providing access to information, advice and support.	Firms in the music industry compete but also cooperate. Proximity between related firms leads to the exchange of information and knowledge.
Managing Change	Entrepreneurs can manage their careers as virtual free-agents, connecting to fans via social and online networks.	Entrepreneurs are more flexible and manage their ventures as a series of projects. Thus a continuous process.	Artists now have more control. They create and distribute online and are paid a direct fee for composition and performance.	Entrepreneurs continually update their craft to keep up with industry and technology changes.	The Technology Strategy Board's (TSB) 'future cities demonstrator'. Home to the RCUK CREATE project. The city's creative sector is therefore likely to see further investment.	Creative individuals are attracted to the city because they want the stimulation that comes from being located among like-minded people. However, intensifying competition means artists are forced to find new ways of reaching their audience.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The chapter begins by reviewing the research question(s) and the research's overall aims and objectives before outlining the methodological considerations and philosophical framework upon which this thesis is based. The following sections begin with a discussion of the extant research philosophy in the field of entrepreneurship so that the broad context may be understood. This then leads to an outline of the key characteristics of the interpretive paradigm and to a discussion of the rationale for adhering to the interpretive approach when researching the entrepreneurial process within the music industry. The chapter will then go on to describe in detail the methods used in the investigation, the inductive theory building process, the advantages of using the methods of research which have been selected and their reliability and validity. Finally, the chapter will provide a comprehensive account of the data analysis process, including the theory underpinning the techniques deployed, the steps taken, the gathering of data and the identification of concepts. The evaluation criteria for validating qualitative research, as well as the limitations and ethical considerations associated with the research, will also be considered.

4.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The overarching aim of this thesis is to understand individual perceptions of what it is to become an entrepreneur, and of the process of setting up a music-related business. There are three main research objectives, which are as follows:

1. Explore the extent to which effectual logic explains the entrepreneurial process of the individual music-entrepreneur.

The investigation began by analysing how entrepreneurial opportunities come into existence, how these opportunities are discovered, and what modes of action are used to exploit them. This objective was fulfilled by interviewing those involved in the

industry in order to understand the role played by effectual logic in the entrepreneurial process, as they had experienced it. The interviews also helped in clarifying the role of prior knowledge and experience, and the importance of personal and professional networks in facilitating and supporting opportunities and in helping individuals realise their potential.

2. Explore the transition from musician to entrepreneur within the music industry.

The investigation began by analysing the paradoxical relationship between music and entrepreneurship in order to understand how individuals make the transition from musician to businessperson. This objective was fulfilled by interviewing those involved in the industry, from artists and managers to business owners, in an attempt to understand what had motivated them to enter the music industry and how they have gone from making music to making money. The interviews also helped in clarifying how the entrepreneurs were able to access resources from a number of different sources and to combine them in different ways in order to start up their venture (see 1.2.2).

3. Explore the ability of individual music-entrepreneurs to adapt to highly dynamic and uncertain environments.

The investigation began by analysing the way business is conducted by the music-entrepreneurs in the city, in order to determine the extent of the support received and its importance in helping them to overcome the uncertainties of a turbulent industry. Given the wide range of career paths which were identified among the participants, it was inferred that their life experiences and social networks must play a crucial role in shaping the plans they had made. The investigation began by establishing the role and importance of the personal and professional networks of individual music-entrepreneurs in supporting sustainability and growth. To do this it was important to look at those who had a hand in creating the soft and hard support infrastructure of the milieu, as well as those who derive benefit from it, in order to build a complete picture of the local industry. This objective was fulfilled by interviewing

representatives from the public and private bodies who are, or have been, involved in supporting the industry, and the artists, managers and business owners within it. The aim in this regard was to gain a greater insight into the role of formal and informal relationships in supporting individual entrepreneurs to overcome the vicissitudes of the industry.

4.3 The Research Approach

We all have our own distinct views and theories on how we think the world works, what the nature of humankind is and what it is and is not possible to know. It has been suggested that “Different kinds of research approaches produce different kinds of knowledge about the phenomena under study. Underlying these various research tools are more general philosophical questions about how we understand social reality” (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001, p. 59). Alternate views of reality can be said to lead to:

“Different propositions about what reality is (ontology); different ways of establishing what can be accepted as real (epistemology); different strategies for validating (axiology) our claims about reality; and different techniques for collecting information about that reality (methodology)” (Saunders, Thornhill & Lewis, 2007, p. 12).

However, questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm – the “basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation, not only in choice of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 105). The “indirectness and circular nature of philosophical questioning in itself” facilitates both a sound understanding of those being researched and the realisation by the researcher that their understanding is often based on the values, culture, training and experiences which they bring from their own life and experience (Crossan, 2003, p. 47). These can, and will, be very different from the respondent’s; the researcher must assume personal responsibility for the reliability

and authenticity of his or her information and must also be prepared to answer for it (Walliman, 2004; Malhotra & Birks, 2006).

Since entrepreneurship, especially in the creative industries, is a relatively under-researched field of academic interest, and the underlying concepts have not yet been adequately defined within it, the overall aim of this empirical study will be one of theory development (Eisenhardt, 1989) rather than theory testing (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This makes the qualitative paradigm appropriate, as it enables the researcher to generate new insights in what is an emerging field (O'Neil, 2010). Key critiques from within the entrepreneurship domain and from the broader management and social science fields have outlined the need for future research to contain stronger theoretical engagement (Bygrave, 2007). In more general terms, Guba and Lincoln (1994) have discussed the need for researchers to make explicit both their ontological and epistemological assumptions before embarking on any research project (Andrade, 2009). The literature highlights that “ontology is reality, and epistemology is the relationship between that reality and the researcher, methodology is concerned with the technique(s) employed to discover that reality” (Carson et al., 2001, p. 4).

The different possible assumptions which can be made regarding ontology and human nature “pose interesting problems of epistemology, as the varied views they reflect imply different bases for knowledge about the social world” (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 497). As we move along the subjective-objective continuum, the nature of what constitutes knowledge changes (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). “As small firm research involves the study of human action and behaviour, it is essentially concerned with “the nature of reality in the social world” (Shaw, 1999, p. 60). However, as Aldrich (1999, p. 13) states, to a large extent, entrepreneurship research remains a “monomethod field that is reliant on positivist examples”.

The positivist paradigm suggests that social science procedures should mirror, as closely as possible, those of the natural sciences. Objectivity and detachment are paramount, with the researcher attempting to capture reality through various explanations (Blaxter et al., 2001). The field of entrepreneurship has been dominated

by quantitative analysis, and it is argued that the dominance of quantitative methodologies has to some extent slowed down theory generation in the field (Fillis, 2007). Crossan (2003, p. 52) agrees, pointing out that “humans are not objects” and that “the exploration and examination of human behaviours are beyond the scope of positivism”. Interpretivist or practice-based researchers have always operated in competition with the “lure of numbers” (Swetnam, 2004), but recent studies have shown that qualitative approaches to research in the fields of enterprise and entrepreneurship can generate a detailed understanding of the phenomena. A number of commentaries have underlined the importance of these approaches (Gartner & Birley, 2002).

Current research approaches are unable to cope with the emergent nature and complexities of entrepreneurship in the creative industries, which are themselves dynamic in character. Shaw argues (1999, p. 61) that “researchers must adopt an approach that allows them to ‘get close’, penetrate internal logic and to interpret their ‘*subjective*’ understanding of reality”. Critics of the positivist paradigm argue that it yields useful but limited results which can at best provide a superficial picture of the phenomenon under investigation (Crossan, 2003). To understand the young and emergent nature of entrepreneurship in the music industry, and the unique characteristics of the individuals involved, an interpretivist approach that permits the researcher to get close to the participants – to penetrate their realities and interpret their perceptions – is not only appropriate, but is essential for meeting the aims of the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The interpretive researcher’s ontological assumption is that social reality is locally and specifically constructed (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) “by individuals through their actions and interactions” (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991, p. 14). The interpretive philosophy sits at the subjective end of the continuum and encompasses a range of philosophical positions and sociological ideas, including hermeneutics, relativism, humanism, phenomenology and naturalism (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It lies beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all the members of this family of paradigms in any depth; broadly speaking, the term *interpretivism* takes account of

the most important characteristics of the research paradigm on the opposite side of the continuum from positivism, and allows the focus to be fixed on *understanding* what is happening in a given context rather than just *measuring* it (Patton, 1990; Klein & Myers, 1999).

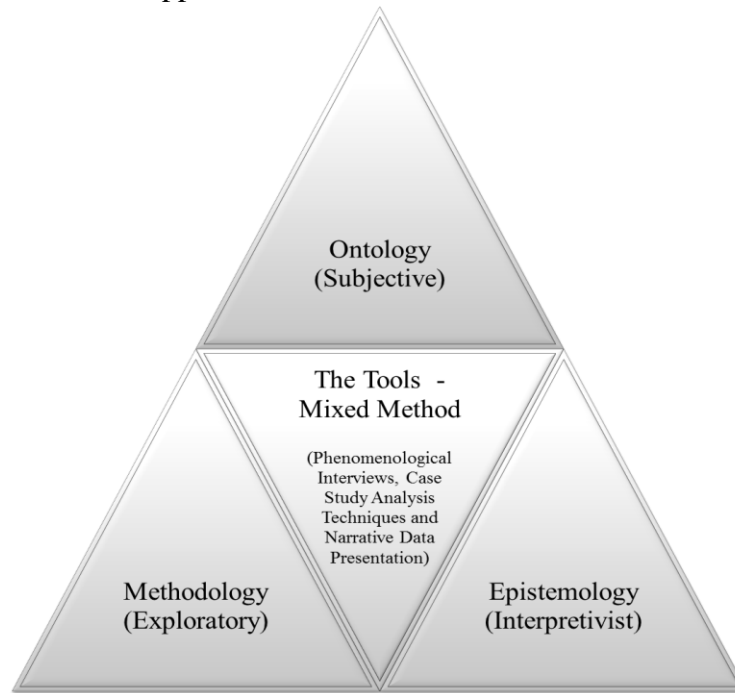
The interpretive approach takes into account the multiple realities which are inevitably revealed by the perspectives of different individual(s), the context of the phenomenon under investigation, the contextual understanding and interpretation of the collected data and the nature and depth of the researcher's involvement. Therefore, the extent to which the researchers are themselves clear about the theory at the beginning of a piece of research will influence the design of a research project (Saunders *et al.*, 2007, p. 124). Qualitative or interpretive research "privileges no single methodology over another" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 3); those undertaking such an approach draw from methods and techniques used in areas such as hermeneutics, deconstructionism, ethnography, cultural and social studies and psychoanalysis (*ibid*). The selection of an appropriate research methodology can be understood as an iterative process, whereby the decisions which are "made at an ontological level inform one's epistemological stance and create the context in which the research is actually conducted" (Cope, 2003, p. 3).

Research data can be qualitative or quantitative in nature (Zikmund, 2000), combining "semiotics, content, discourse, archives, and phonemic analysis, as well as statistics" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 3). However, the research questions in this thesis cannot be answered through quantitative methods; instead, the present study relies solely on qualitative data in terms of personal accounts in order to provide the impressions, views, perceptions and insights (O'Neil, 2010), which will explain how entrepreneurship occurs in the context of the music industry. The aim is to clarify any ambiguities which arise, and to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon by exploring the individual experiences gathered through personal interaction (in interviews, surveys and focus groups) and through case studies.

Blaxter et al. (2001, p. 80) suggest that if a researcher has sufficiently refined their research questions, this will determine the approach they adopt in answering them (though they caution that, in almost every case, there are alternative approaches which could be used either instead or additionally), and that the methods used will ultimately affect the answer that is obtained. For example, when researching any given area within the creative industries, a survey will produce dramatically different results compared to an in-depth interview. With this in mind, the research design employed in this study follows the interpretivist paradigm (Bygrave, 1989; Shaw, 1999; Walliman, 2004); the data was collected using exploratory collection methods, and inductive techniques were employed to develop an innovative method of analysis (see Figure 5, overleaf).

A set of in-depth, semi-structured interviews was designed to gather detailed information regarding the structure of the music industry, the infrastructure and provisions available to businesses, as well as the processes involved in running a sustainable business in the sector. These interviews were also designed to elicit information about hard-to-measure concepts, such as the transition from musician to entrepreneur and how this transition impacts the process of entrepreneurship. The interviews allowed the researcher to establish a rapport with the interviewees and to build a more realistic picture of the actual processes involved in entrepreneurship in the music industry (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). The key concepts and understandings were developed from the subjects' interpretations (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007). The advantages of such an approach are that evaluations are enriched and enlivened by reports of individual experiences, and that it allows for the discovery of new, unanticipated information. It was deemed to be the most appropriate approach for this study since it allowed the researcher the space to uncover the meanings which people give to their lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Figure 5: The Research Approach



Source: The Author

4.4 Sample Design

Sampling theory plays an important role in the methodology of interpretive research. The choice of sampling approach will depend on the purpose of the inquiry, the information which will be of the most use and relevance, and the information which will have the most credibility (Patton, 1990). It is important to emphasise a) the emergent and exploratory nature of this research topic (i.e. the entrepreneurial process in Glasgow's music industry) and b) that the researcher seeks to observe and interpret meanings in context, in order to maximise qualitative clarity (Luborsky & Rubinstein, 1995). This section explains how the sample was designed and assembled, acknowledges the theoretical assumptions and pragmatic constraints that influenced the sampling process, and discusses the importance of ensuring sensitivity to context (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The complexity of the subject and the absence of a standardised directory of music industry businesses in Glasgow initially made it difficult to locate a suitable sampling frame. Sample size, selection criteria, recruitment policy, data collection

procedures, analysis and measurement were all concerns in the early stages of preparation. The dominant sampling strategy in entrepreneurship research tends to be probability sampling, but this is dependent on the random selection of a sample from a larger population, and with no such population sample to begin with, the subsequent generalisation of the research findings to that same population would have been almost impossible (Davidsson, 2003). In contrast, non-probability sampling implies that some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others (Bryman & Bell, 2007). For Patton (1990, p. 169): “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth”. This allows researchers to explore the quality of the data itself rather than its quantity, and solves any eligibility problems (Isabella, 1990; Eckhardt & Shane, 2003; Davidsson, 2003).

Most of the interviewees for this study were selected using purposive sampling; in other words, the selection of a sample that would satisfy the requirements of the investigation was a matter of subjective judgement (Patton, 1990; Robson, 2002; Bryman & Bell, 2007). Snowball or chain sampling among the chosen population was also employed in order to identify additional, potentially information-rich interview subjects (Patton, 1990, p. 182). Thus, the first informational group – the support sector (local government agencies working to support the music industry and private bodies working to promote the industry in the city) – was selected via purposive sampling, in order to establish the importance of the music industry to the city and the role of its entrepreneurs. In addition, snowball sampling was then employed with this first group in order to gain access to industry experts (including the former Scottish Music Officer and government lobbyists) and to the entrepreneurs themselves (artists, bands, producers and distributors) via cultural gatekeepers. As Hartley (2004, p. 327) states:

“Using contacts in industry, academia and friendship can be helpful in first establishing who the population is under investigation as well as the organizations you might draw the data from, and then finally how to choose sample(s)”.

Both purposive and snowball sampling represent a commitment to observing and interviewing those who have had experience in, or work as part of, the industry under investigation – they imply a lighter emphasis on the generalisability of the findings. Given the relatively unstable nature of the field of study, the largely exploratory nature of the research area, and the difficulty of negotiating access to and investigating the music industry, this was the best way of ensuring that the sample would be suitable to answer the research questions.

4.4.1 Sample Selection

A complex range of factors needed to be taken into consideration when deciding on sample size. Kent (1999) has identified the need for samples to be purposeful in exploratory research. While some dimensions of variability were incorporated into the sample, it was recognised and accepted that its size would not be discovered until the fieldwork was underway. More than 80 individuals working in the music industry in Glasgow were contacted at this stage of the research, with 33 of those who responded making up the final sample. The sample, though relatively small, was diverse. It was made up of three informational groups – creative sector support, industry experts and entrepreneurs. The interviewees came from a variety of industry roles and backgrounds, with each participant bringing their own experiences to the table. The first group – creative sector support – represented the support agencies and government bodies involved in music promotion and commodification in Glasgow (a total of 11 respondents). There were seven participants in the second informational group – the industry experts. The final informational group – the entrepreneurs – represented several strands of the industry's value chain and was made up of 15 participants.

Each of the three sample groups was chosen according to its own set of criteria. The support agencies are organisations that are directly or indirectly involved with the music industry, including local government bodies and publicly and privately funded local agencies. The industry experts had to have been involved in the music industry

for over ten years and to have been recommended by a member of the creative sector informational group. The music-entrepreneurs had to have a business in Glasgow to be eligible, and they had to be involved in the music industry as an artist, producer, manager, label or studio, or in distribution. It is clear that a small sample size will not be fully representative of entrepreneurship in the music industry as a whole, but the findings of this research are not presented for the purpose of generalisation but, instead, are aimed at sparking the interest of other researchers. The selected sample covers an area which has seen little previous investigation, and the participants were chosen for their unique and interesting personal accounts. Finally, although requests for personal interviews can elicit a response rate as high as 90% in other professional fields, it is notoriously difficult to gain access to those working in the music industry due to time constraints and scheduling difficulties (Graham et al., 2004, p. 1089).

4.4.2 Recruitment of the Sample

The recruitment of the sample was a complex task from the outset. Since no exhaustive lists of Glasgow's music-entrepreneurs are available, it was important to establish a clearer picture of the activity within the industry before seeking out suitable entrepreneurs. Initially, contact was made with respondents who had been involved in a study conducted by the author in 2007 (McFarlane, 2007), the aim of the contact being to renew connections with those in the industry and to learn about their progress in the intervening years. However, of the 11 contacted, only three were able to help, and of those, only two subsequently became participants in informational group 3 – the music-entrepreneurs. However, these initial contacts did help the author to refine the research parameters. Recommendations were sought from the two prior contacts for other potential interview subjects in the industry, in the hope of securing a further set of entrepreneurs (n4)⁷ and industry experts (n1). While these contacts provided a way in, it was also necessary to tackle the gatekeeping that is a part of Glasgow's independent music industry. This term refers to the networked but cliquish nature of the industry, where prior acquaintance is required before access is allowed.

⁷ Number of respondents.

To overcome the gatekeeping barriers, an industry insider was asked to assist in the sample selection process by providing recommendations for potential participants (Tushman & Katz, 1980). Contact was then made with a number of representatives from public and private agencies which are responsible for providing information, advice and support to businesses within the music industry. This process was deemed to be appropriate in light of Fonarow's (2006) experiences during her investigation of the early 1990s UK independent music scene. Fonarow (2006) recalls that getting a job with a local record label gave her access to the community and enabled her to build up trust with those involved. As a result, she was able to find participants and gather observational data for her research. Eventually, however, she realised she was being given recommendations for the same few individuals; at this point of saturation, the process inevitably ended (Fonarow, 2006).

Initial contact was established via telephone and email to ask those recommended by the gatekeepers whether they would be willing to participate. Each of them were given a concise outline of the scope of the investigation and the nature of the questions which would be asked, in order to ensure a certain degree of preparation. Those who were willing to help were split into three informational groups: the support sector, industry experts and entrepreneurs.

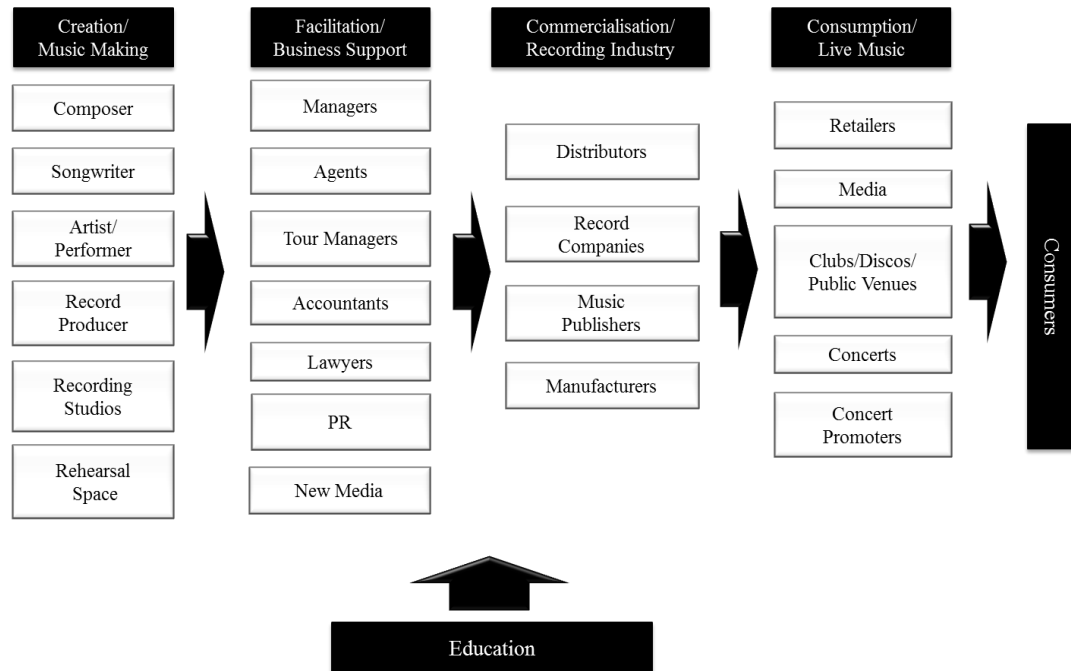
The initial respondents from the first informational group – the support sector – (Table 5) were asked in their interview to recommend further respondents who might be of value to the research. This ripple effect is known as snowball sampling. Several further respondents were recommended in this way and initial contact was made on the researcher's behalf. This process was repeated for each respondent in all three informational groups, although it was tailored to the individual and their specific role(s) in the industry. Among the interviewees, six support sector respondents were able to recommend industry experts (n7) and potential entrepreneurs (n3). The process was repeated with the industry experts, and of those, two recommended entrepreneurs (n4), thereby providing the researcher with fresh recommendations and access, and breaking down barriers. Malhotra and Birks (2006) suggest that this

sampling method is ideal for an investigation of this type as its main goal is the estimation of characteristics that are rare in the wider population. Throughout the interview period, interviewees continued to recommend further respondents; this continued until the point was reached where no new information or respondents were emerging. On more than one occasion, a crossover occurred. Many of the recommendations were entrepreneurs who had already been, or were already due to be interviewed, and the researcher noted the cyclical nature of the recommendations, as well as the importance which was attributed by their peers to some of those being interviewed.

In total, 66 potential targets were contacted, but while they all expressed interest in the study, only half were able to commit any time, so the remainder were excluded. It is important to note that while contact with these individuals did not lead to interviews, it did lead to some context building and again, on a few occasions, to further recommendations for potential targets (n2). A final total of 33 interviews were conducted; while this list was by no means exhaustive, it can be considered to represent an appropriate cross-section of the individuals who work inside, and in support of, the industry.

Eleven interviews were conducted with participants from the support agencies which provide information, funding and advice to the industry, from local government representatives to the Performing Rights Society. A further seven interviews were conducted with industry experts, from government lobbyists to those running businesses and social networking events to bring the industry together. The remaining 15 participants formed the final, informational group, which was also a key one: each owned their own business within one of the four key areas of the music industry supply chain. Between them, the group represented all four functions of creation, facilitation, commercialisation and consumption. Figure 6, overleaf, presents some of the activities which take place within each function.

Figure 6: Example of the Scottish Music Industry Supply Chain



Source: EKOS, 2005. *Scottish Music Industry Feasibility Study*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, p. 9.

The industry experts (Table 6) and the entrepreneurs (Table 7) were all individuals who had worked, or who were working, full time within the music industry in Glasgow. The selected entrepreneurs were those deemed to be most likely to enable theory building, having undergone the process under investigation personally (Eisenhardt, 1989). In other words, they themselves had already made the transition from making music to making money and so would have considerable experience to reflect upon and pass on. Some were bands, solo artists, label owners or producers, while others were an amalgam of some or indeed all of these roles. It was considered to be important to engage with individuals who were part of the ‘inner circle’ (this notion will be discussed in Chapter 7) in order to capture the participation and insight of those individuals with current or recent experience. The connections between community members were explored as a way to seek further respondents. Without the gatekeepers this would have proved difficult, as Fonarow (2006) had already experienced in her study. While numerous contacts were made in this way, in order to ensure maximum accuracy, only those with the time, experience and desire to participate were chosen, in order to provide an account of the industry.

Using findings from online resources, a database was created for each informational group, and a research diary was completed each day to record the steps taken and the contacts made. This mini-database of industry connections, based on a spider's web of relationships, was designed to facilitate the analysis. As many artists and musicians do not in fact enjoy being interviewed, continual communication was maintained throughout.

“Interviews torture artists; you ask what's happened in my life, why and how I did this and that. I think, and I tell, but it's never true story, because everything is so much more complicated, plus I can never remember how things happened” (Acocella, 2007, p. 266).

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

The most popular research methods in the study of creative entrepreneurship have been large-scale surveys and face-to-face interviews. However, like every research methodology, these methods have clearly documented shortcomings. Miles and Huberman (2002) argue the importance of “pre-structured research” for those qualitative researchers working in areas where there is, as yet, little established understanding and where further theory building is needed. Given the young and emergent nature of the creative industries, and the unique characteristics of the people involved in them, the researcher must get close enough to the data to interpret and understand the participants' perspectives of social reality (Shaw, 1999). While the technique outlined below may not be the perfect way of studying the process of entrepreneurship in the music industry, it can be argued to be “a powerful way of tackling any potential theoretical bias in entrepreneurship research” (Cope, 2005, p. 180).

For the study to be valid and reliable, its data needed to be collected at both the macro (creative sector informational group) and the micro level (industry experts and entrepreneurs – informational groups 2 and 3). Material was therefore gathered from

33 in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) involving people from groups representing both of these levels. The interviews were designed to collect detailed, holistic information and knowledge in an exploratory manner (Graham et al., 2004, p. 1089), and to allow the respondents to openly express their opinions and feelings about their experiences within the industry, their contacts within the industry, and the extent to which they felt that these contacts have facilitated the entrepreneurial process (Patton, 1990, p. 104).

The process of data collection began with the interviewing of prior contacts (n1) in the music industry who had participated in the author's Masters study in 2007 (McFarlane, 2007). This was important not only in terms of understanding the changes in the industry over the last few years, but also because it afforded an opportunity to test out the research questions. As the interviews progressed, certain themes emerged; these became the basis of the question guides for the three informational groups.

Each interview began with a standard introduction outlining the research and the participant's intended role (although only minimal detail was given, in order to allow room for new insights to emerge) (Kent, 1999). In time-sensitive cases, an interview schedule was created (see Appendices 6-8) in order to help guide the conversation and avoid less relevant digressions (*Ibid*). Each of the participants were informed of the confidential nature of the research and in turn gave their written or email consent for the resulting data to be used and for interviews to be recorded (Appendix 9). Participants were also guaranteed anonymity should they request it, and given the right to withdraw from the study at any point. They were also reminded that if they did not wish to answer any of the questions, they were under no obligation to do so.

The interviews were recorded using two separate digital recording devices and each interview lasted for between 20 minutes and 1 hour 50 minutes, depending on individual time constraints. The average length of an interview was 40 minutes for the support respondents and over 1 hour for the industry experts and entrepreneurs. Although many of the participants expressed a willingness to take part in face-to-face

open interviews (25), in the event, a number of time-poor participants requested that their interviews were conducted over the telephone (n6) or email (n1). Where telephone or email was used, a detailed brief was provided, covering the research aim and what was expected of participants (Wakkee, Englis & During, 2007).

The interviewees in the first informational group were chosen to reflect the range of actors involved in what Costa et al. (2009, p. 8) called “the sphere of creative city governance”, i.e. the various levels of the public sector, the private sector, and associative and non-profit organisations. In total, 11 exploratory interviews were completed between June 2010 and October 2011. Interviews were also conducted with consultants working in urban development, public policy and the creative industries, and with institutions who are directly involved in the production and organisation of cultural events and activities. Table 5 summarises the exploratory interviews covered by this analysis and the backgrounds of the participants who took part (Costa et al., 2009).

Table 5: Creative Industries Support Sector Participants

	Industry Role	Sector	Collection Methods Used
1. A.J.	Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the GCMB offices. Approx. 35 Mins.
2. A.A.	Scottish Music Industry Association (SMIA)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the Premier Inn, Argyle Street. Approx. 2 Hours, 10 Mins.
3. Jim Beattie	ICO ICO Creative (ICO ICO)	Private Sector	Face-to-face interview in the ICO ICO offices. Approx. 1 Hour.
4. C.L.	Glasgow City Council (GCC)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the GCC offices. Approx. 1 Hour.
5. F.G.	Scottish Enterprise (SE)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the SE offices. Approx. 1 Hour, 20 Mins.
6. M.G.	Scottish Music Centre (SMC)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the SMC. Approx. 1 Hour.
7. M.D.	PRS For Music	Private Sector	Face-to-face interview in the MCPS-PRS offices. Approx. 1 Hour, 10 Mins.
8. M.B.	EKOS	Private Sector	Face-to-face interview in the EKOS offices. Approx. 40 Mins.
9. M.L.	UNESCO Director (Former)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the UNESCO offices. Approx. 40 Mins.
10. O.L.	Cultural Enterprise Office (CEO)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the CEO offices. Approx. 55 Mins.
11. S.I.	Creative Scotland (Former Scottish Arts Council)	Public Sector	Face-to-face interview in the CCA Café. Approx. 1 Hour, 40 Mins.

Interviews with those in the first informational group – the support sector – were relatively formal (this was appropriate as many of these individuals hold executive positions in the government and in the music industry). The interviews were all face-to-face and conducted in a location convenient for the participants; this was always in Glasgow and was usually also their place of business. Each interview lasted between 20 and 50 minutes and was transcribed verbatim by the researcher alone, and anonymity was given to those in the sector who expressly requested it. To avoid any digressions where time was likely to be an issue, an interview guide was created focusing on their role in the industry, their views of the music industry and their prior experience of the sector (see Appendix 6). This was used to guide the conversation in some cases. These interviews provided context for the later interviews and yielded new information regarding the inner workings of the music industry in Glasgow, from its high profile events to the micro-businesses operating in and around the city. The interviews with the support sector gave important insights into current issues; these were explored further with the second informational group – the industry experts (n5). This second group of interviews (see Appendix 7) took place between June 2010 and February 2011.

Table 6: Industry Experts

	Industry Role	Length of Experience	Collection Methods Used
1. Tam Coyle.	Artist manager, former City Music Officer, DJ, promotions.	Over 25 Years.	Face-to-face interview. Approx. 1 Hour and 20 Mins.
2. G.R.	Fanzine journalist, artist management.	Over 35 Years.	Telephone interview. Approx. 2 Hours and 30 Mins.
3. Olaf Furniss	Industry networking event organiser in Edinburgh.	Over 20 Years.	Face-to-face interview in the CCA Café. Approx. 2 Hours.
4. Ally McCrae	BBC Radio 1 Introducing Scotland presenter.	Over 5 Years.	Telephone interview. Approx. 50 Mins.
5. Douglas MacIntrye	Owner of Creeping Bent label and lecturer at Stow College looking after Electric Honey label.	Over 20 Years.	Email interview.
6. Ricky MaGowan	Owner of Colours the Scottish dance event's organiser and promoter, Clyde One Radio DJ.	Over 20 Years.	Telephone interview.
7. Ken McKluskey	Former Bluebells band member and now lecturer at Stow College looking after Electric Honey label.	Over 50 Years.	Face-to-face and email interview.

In contrast to traditional interviews, where the interviewer must attempt to preserve their distance and remain impartial, when interviewing the industry experts it was more appropriate to try to engage in *real* conversation and to be empathetic (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The interviews were very informal in nature and also took place in locations which were convenient for the participants, with venues ranging from a café to an art gallery. Again, anonymity was given to those who requested it. The initial pre-interview conversations covered topics from traffic to the weather as well as comments about the location of the interview, how long the researcher had known the gatekeeper and how they knew their location. Many of the participants expressed interest in the research, so a brief was provided to satisfy their curiosity.

The interviews centred on the individuals and their prior experiences in the industry, their current role and their perceptions of Glasgow as a city of music; the participants responded favourably to the suggestion of providing a narrative (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003) of their role in the industry. As Gadamer (1994, p. 38) argues, when we fall into conversation, no one knows what will come out, so to ensure that the questioning did not digress, and to encourage them to elaborate on their narrative, the participants were asked some probe questions (Appendix 8). Each interview lasted for between 40 and 90 minutes. It became apparent with the second informational group that expressing an interest in the individuals and their experiences made it easier to develop a rapport, and that the more comfortable the participant and the researcher became in one another's company, the more the interview would turn into a genuine conversation. As a result, barriers could be lifted and truly honest responses emerged (Dutton & Dukerich, 2006), leading to additional recommendations and interviews with the final informational group – the micro-music-entrepreneurs (see Table 7).

Table 7: Music-Entrepreneurs

	<u>Industry Role</u>	<u>Sample Type</u>	<u>Interviews Undertaken</u>	<u>Other Docs Reviewed</u>
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions	Producer, songwriter, recording artist.	Purposive	2 face-to-face interviews in Blue Productions Studio, Approx. 2 Hours each.	Online social networking
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground	Solo artist, guitarist, producer, label and studio owner.	Snowball	Telephone interview. Approx. 2 Hours.	Online social networking News articles
3. Paul Tasker Doghouse Roses	Band member, label owner, guitar instructor, radio DJ.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in Blue Productions studio, Approx.1 Hour, 15 Mins.	Online social networking
4. Ally Gray Emubands	Digital distribution for independent artists, band manager.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in Argyle Court Café. Approx. 1 Hour, 20 Mins.	Online social networking
5. Keren McKean Greenflame Consultancy	Artist manager, events management, brand marketing.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview at Springfield Quay. Approx. 2 Hours, 20 Mins.	Online social networking News articles
6. Jamie Webster Instinctive Racoon	Artist manager, Booking Agent Oran Mor.	Purposive Gatekeeper	Face-to-face interview in Oran Mor. Approx.50 Mins.	Online social networking
7. Jamie Gilmour	Artist manager., BASCA, SMC	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in SMC office. Approx.1 Hour, 20 Mins.	Online social networking News articles
8. John Williamson Banchary Music	Artist manager, professor at University of Glasgow.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in Café Gandolfi. Approx. 1 Hour, 50 Mins.	Online social networking News articles Government reports
9. Joy Dunlop	Solo artist, Gaelic TV and radio, teacher, journalist, choir conductor., dancer	Snowball	Face-to-face interview at Glasgow Venue Oran Mor. Approx.2 Hours.	Online social networking
10. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn	Solo artist, band member, actress.	Snowball	Telephone interview. Approx. 2 Hours.	Online social networking News articles
11. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai	Musician, band member, artist manager, label owner,	Snowball	Face-to-face interview. Approx. 40 Mins. Café Mono.	Online social networking News articles
12. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	Band manager.	Purposive Gatekeeper	Telephone interview. Approx. 1 Hour, 30 Mins.	Online social networking News article
13. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music	Music designer, DJ, label owner.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in Argyle Court Café. Approx. 1 Hour, 20 Mins.	Online social networking PSYBT profile
14. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore	Accordion player, band member, label owner, festival organiser.	Snowball	Face-to-face interview in Argyle Court Café. Approx. 1 Hour, 20 Mins.	Online social networking PSYBT profile
15. Ailidh Lennon Sons & Daughters	Musician, band member	Purposive Gatekeeper	2 telephone interviews. Approx. 1 Hour, 20 Mins each.	Online social networking

This final group encompassed a wide range of industry occupations, giving a wider view of the entrepreneurial activities which take place within the city. The interviews were conducted between June 2010 and December 2010, and again took place in locations convenient for the entrepreneurs, ranging from their place of business to the local coffee shop. Again, anonymity was given to those who requested it. The interviews were based around three key areas that had emerged as being important in the previous interviews: the background and experience of the individual entrepreneurs (motivations, career, education, family); the process of start-up (how the opportunities emerged or were created, the relationship with the idea, funding, breakthrough and/or subsequent successes); and the relationships within the creative community which the participants felt had supported them through start-up and growth (such as the advantages and disadvantages of being located in the city, the role of personal and professional networks and the availability of resources and infrastructure). As with the previous group, the interviews which were conducted with the entrepreneurs were deliberately very informal; respondents began by sharing stories of their past and detailing their experiences in music and the music industry, and again the interviews developed into discussions. In those cases where digressions took place, an interview guide was used (Tremblay, 2000) to initiate, develop and maintain a collaborative conversation where shared meaning could emerge (Raz, 2005).

This type of questioning enables the interviewer to access what Becker (2009) calls the insider view; in its application, it also helped in developing trust and building relationships with the participants, making it easier to approach them again later. The interviews lasted between 20 and 120 minutes and were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Eisenhardt (1989) argues that an iterative and flexible research design is critical if the researcher is to respond as new questions are raised and new insights emerge. Such a design will also allow for vivid details and rich evidence to be extracted from experts in the field (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The researcher is intrinsically linked to the script that emerges from an interview (King, 2004), nor can they ignore the context from which the material is gathered (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Letting the interviewees' stories emerge naturally not only adds to the credibility and

depth of their account (Rubin & Rubin, 1995), but it also strengthens the emerging theory. Indeed, the exploratory, open-ended interviews with all three groups were a key tool in establishing the questions and concepts which were to be explored at subsequent stages of the research (O'Neil, 2010). The broad range of experience represented even within the informational groupings meant that each interview required a tailored approach in order to build up depth, detail and context (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

The non-linear nature of the music industry meant that considerable flexibility was needed in terms of the techniques employed, with some interviews requiring more direct questions to focus the discussion and more prompts to direct it forward, while others were much more fluid in nature (O'Neil, 2010). While the face-to-face and telephone interviews yielded valuable results in terms of content and context, the email questions allowed the respondents more time to think and recall factual detail and to make personal reflections: the essence of the semi-structured interview. A diary was created recording the events which took place in each interview and notes on each participant; it covered issues such as the circumstances of the meeting, the location, noise interruptions, general chat that was not recorded, or which took place prior to the recording, the interviewee's willingness to be involved further in the study and whether they wanted to read the final thesis or not. As stated above, each recording was transcribed verbatim by the principal researcher and facts were checked before the transcript of their interview was presented to each of the participants for their final approval. This process was repeated for each of the three informational groups.

The research design allowed for continual communication with the participants via email or social networking sites and, on a few occasions, via telephone. These communications regarding the transcripts allowed time for reflection; some participants added additional information, while others were able to give further insights into some pertinent issues (e.g. the role played by government support agencies in entrepreneurs' start-up activity). However, in order to fully understand and review the participants' comments it was deemed necessary to do some further

research. This involved reviewing previous interviews in news articles, press cuttings, websites, social networking sites, blogs, forums and any written documents pertaining to the entrepreneur and the business. This was necessary in order to clarify some areas that had not been covered in the interviews themselves. It also provided new insights and even some findings which appeared to contradict some of the answers given in the interviews. To gain further insights and to provide context, a number of informal discussions (n15) were also held with individuals from various government sectors and private organisations and with other industry actors. Appendix 5 provides a brief description of the individual entrepreneurs who participated in the study and information about their businesses. Although the entrepreneurs form the basis of the analysis, reference is made where appropriate to the findings from the support industry and industry expert interviews in order to provide contextual accuracy, a broader perspective and more richness of information. Table 8, which follows below, outlines the data collection schedule for the study.

Table 8: Data Collection Schedule

Data Collection	Date of Fieldwork	Interviewees
Pilot	May 2010-June 2010	2 interviews with industry contacts
Creative Sector Support	June 2010-October 2011	11 interviews with support sector representatives – public and private
Industry Experts	June 2010-February 2011	6 interviews with industry experts
Music Entrepreneurs	June 2010-December 2010	15 interviews with music-entrepreneurs
Follow Up	October 2010-July 2011	Contact was maintained with 21 participants

4.6 Data Analysis

According to Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (2003), those taking a more iterative approach to the analysis of interpretive or exploratory data seek to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them, learning from the findings and adapting their methods as the research evolves (Klein & Myers, 1999). The analysis of interpretive or exploratory data is a contentious issue, and two

contrasting approaches to it have emerged. On the one hand, it has been suggested that interpretive analysis should not follow a pre-established set of instructions; instead, decisions on which methods to deploy should be made in response to the data (Hycner, 1985; Sarasvathy, 2008). On the other hand, academics advise researchers to follow a number of tried and tested analytical techniques (Gephardt, 1993; Eisenhardt, 1989; Pratt, 2008a).

In the present study, the analysis of the data from the interviews took a variety of forms, depending on the conclusions reached in the discussions. Trends became apparent and relationships between variables were identified. This thesis has sought to balance the approaches of induction and deduction; deductive conceptualisations identified in the literature analysis were therefore evaluated empirically and inductively to allow new insights to emerge (Carson et al., 2001, p. 12). This combination of deduction and induction has been endorsed by Saunders et al. (2007, p. 21), while O'Neil (2010, p. 87) suggests that:

“It is the explicit acknowledgment of such established methods and the process by which they have been modified for the research purpose that allows others to understand and assess the research”.

This acknowledgement is one of the aims of the analysis chapters that follow. The analytical techniques employed in the study were flexible enough to permit new insights to emerge and for these to be explored in greater detail, as well as allowing for suitable adaptation of the original research aims. The analysis followed theorists like Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (2003), who have advocated a more iterative process, beginning with the interview process and ending with the analysis process, the researcher taking notes throughout the field work and creating a research diary of events before, during and after, to build an accurate account for the reader (Boje, 1995). The interviews served to clarify the research's aims, questions, themes, ideas and ideals, with the initial interviews with prior contacts serving as a testing ground for the subsequent interviews with all three informational groups.

4.6.1 *The Process of Analysis*

The data analysis process had four distinct phases: the first was the analysis which took place during the interview process itself; the second involved the transcription of the data from the three informational groups and the third focused on the confirmation of details and information which had been acquired in the interviews, familiarisation with the data and the gathering of additional data to create a clearer picture. In the final phase, the data was coded – this will be discussed in greater detail in the present chapter.

During the pilot (which was conducted in May and June, 2010), the chief concern was to ensure that the right questions were being asked. Any changes were documented in detailed notes which were then added to the research diary (Charmaz, 2006). Throughout the transcription process, analysis was ongoing, with side notes and footnotes being added to enhance the discussion and clarify the direction of the conversations, for example to provide a context. The subsequent confirmation of the transcripts allowed for a further review of themes and conversations and also helped the researcher to match the data to the theory. Data and facts in the transcripts were checked and, as new questions emerged, these were put to some of the participants via email or by telephone. These email/phone conversations were also used to gather further information about areas that had been highlighted as important in the original interviews. This allowed questions to be rephrased, redirected or explained in more detail. At the same time, building an increased familiarity with the transcripts allowed the researcher to develop a narrative timeline of events (Boje, 1995) which then helped to determine many of the codes and themes which are discussed in the following chapters.

The formal analysis began with the examination of each transcript. A table was then created in Excel for categorisation of the data. The participants' comments were initially grouped into four key themes: *the industry environment*, *the community*, *the micro-businesses* and *the individuals*. However, as the analysis progressed, it became apparent that the responses given by the three informational groups did not fall

cleanly into these specific themes, so the focus was shifted instead to identifying the themes that were emerging in each group. For the support group (i.e. informational group 1) these were: their role in the industry, the support they provided, their views about this provision and their perceptions of the city and its music industry. For the industry experts (i.e. informational group 2), their role in the industry was of interest, as were their experiences and their views on the industry as a whole (opinions on the industry ranged from the people who were involved to the provisions on offer), and then finally to their perceptions of the city as a musical milieu. Finally, the entrepreneurs (i.e. informational group 3) were asked a combination of questions relating to the themes that had emerged from the previous interviews. These addressed the role of the individual and their motivations, their businesses and how they had started them, as well as the role of the city in fostering the growth of their businesses.

The next stage in the process was to analyse each individual transcript line by line (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) removing any extraneous text (repetition, digressions and unwanted discussion or irrelevant information); that is, to make a first attempt at distinguishing between essential and non-essential information (Kvale, 1996). The process then began of consolidating the concepts around the variables identified from the literature and the evidence, and the data was then uploaded onto qualitative data analysis software NVivo and profiles of the participants who took part in all three informational groups were created. The data was condensed even further and the researcher was removed from the process entirely (QSR International, 2002). Leximancer data-mining software was employed as a relational content analytical tool to confirm and extend the manually coded concepts (Carson & Hines, 2007) and to provide a conceptual structure for the data (Eisenhardt, 1989). The raw data for each participant was inputted into Leximancer, and the automatic conceptual mapping, word frequency and contextual placement functions within the software were used to compare all three datasets and confirm the importance of several key concepts (Martin & Rice, 2007). For example, in the initial research stages, many respondents focused on the lack of financial aid in the music industry; when the study of secondary data (such as web-based material) produced conflicting results,

the respondents were then probed further on this issue. The results indicated that while the entrepreneurs had stated they had not received any support, in actual fact, a number of them had received both government advice and subsidies.

Concepts such as *community and mutual aid* emerged from the data as being important in the entrepreneurship process, while themes which had originally been deemed important in the initial NVivo analysis, such as *Glasgow as a city of music*, although they were frequently discussed, were revealed as being of little relevance to the process as a whole. The same procedure was followed for each informational group in order to identify the most relevant concepts and issues, and even the variances in participants' accounts emerged as being of importance to the overall process. After this refining process had been completed, the key themes to emerge from the Leximancer software were analysed in more detail using NVivo. Queries were run and information trees were reviewed to determine their relevance, and appropriate quotes were selected (see Appendices 10 and 11) to illustrate the discussion in the following chapters. Finally, the second-order themes became clustered themes, forming the basis for the analysis chapter's headings.

4.6.2 *Extracting Themes*

Both Leximancer and NVivo are able to present data in simple visual format. Using them in combination with manual analysis techniques and concept map software (e.g. MindManager) meant that the data could be categorised and presented in an iterative way (O'Reilly, 2011). Following the tentative initial analysis of the transcripts and information described above, the data was then classified across cases into first-order, second order and clustered themes. By systematically reading each transcript line by line, organising the data, generating categories and building the concepts or themes (Marshall & Rossman, 1989), and then uploading these to NVivo and Leximancer, appropriate sub-categories were created. As these were derived directly from participants' accounts, they can be regarded as first-order themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). However, since the music industry at the local level is dynamic and complex, it was almost impossible to ascertain real meaning from many

of the comments, and some codes therefore had to be inferred from the subtext of the transcripts (Eisenhardt, 1989).

In the end, a final list of 42 first-order themes (see Table 9, below) was extracted (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). To maintain an exploratory approach and to ensure sufficient depth of analysis, emergent theoretical propositions were written up *from the data*; in this way, the data was allowed to speak for itself (O'Neil, 2010). The next step was what Eisenhardt (1989, p. 544) calls the “comparison of emergent concepts, theory, or hypotheses with the extant literature. This involves asking what is this similar to, what does it contradict, and why”. Where respondents expressed contrasting opinions, these were explored further and added to the original comments in Excel and NVivo in order to highlight the varying aspects of the themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2000).

Table 9: First-Order Themes

<u>First-Order Themes</u>		
<u>The Individual</u>	<u>The Firm</u>	<u>The Environment</u>
Prior experience	Business start-up	The business location
Industry experience	Finances	Glasgow: a city of music
Education	Funding	Advantage of location
Family background	Role of professional networks	Disadvantage of location
Friends	Role of personal networks	Provisions on offer in the city
Motivations	Support provisions used	Space and place to network
Inspiration	Supply chain	Milieu or creative community?
Role models	Difficulties faced	Borrowing nature
Musical training	Wider environment: industry changes via ICT	Sustaining growth in industry uncertainty
Why music?	Marketing	Barriers to entry
Genre of music	It's not what you know but whom you know	Overcoming uncertainty
Born or made	Increased competition	Network saturation
Support received	Resource acquisition	No Majors
Difficulties faced	Differentiating themselves	Cliques

As the analysis progressed, it became essential to reduce the volume of data into manageable categories or codes, and to label the emerging themes in relation to the conceptual framework, research objectives, research area and understanding of the

phenomenon (O'Neil, 2010). In doing so, it was then possible to begin a more systematic interpretation of the first-order themes and, following the iterative process identified by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Miles and Huberman (1994), the researcher travelled back and forth in a cyclical manner between the data and the emerging structure of the theoretical arguments. As themes such as the drivers of entrepreneurship began to emerge, these were used to organise the data in an iterative fashion (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and the concepts could then be organised into second-order themes (Table 10) (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The labels were adjusted as sub-categories were combined; for example, *barriers to entry* and *building and maintaining relationships: it's not what you know but whom you know* became, together, *barriers and gatekeepers*, as this label was felt to more accurately capture the essence of the second-order theme (O'Neil, 2010). A total of 27 second-order themes were identified in this way, and these are listed in Table 10, below.

Table 10: Second-Order Themes

Second-Order Themes		
The Entrepreneur	The Micro-Business	The Music Community: Local and Global
Becoming an entrepreneur: ideologies and the paradox of the music 'business'	Intentions and motivations	The changing production of music
The music-entrepreneur: an oxymoron?	Opportunity recognition or creation	Death by digitisation: retailers and distribution channels
Becoming a business	The importance of serendipity	Changes in consumption patterns: the relationship between artist and audience
Adapting to survive: from music to business	Effectuation	Adapting to survive: the local industry
Music and marketing	Causation logic	The real City of Music: describing the musical community
A sustainable bottom line	Acquiring resources	A creative micro-community: Argyle Court
Making music to making money	Lack of finances	Reciprocity within community
You're the brand	No support	Borrowing nature
Sense of Self	Growth opportunities limited	The disadvantages of community: boundaries and gatekeepers

This kind of reiteration is characteristic of interpretive exploratory research. In terms of the analysis, it led to a greater degree of familiarity with the participants' accounts, as well as highlighting a number of unrelated factors which they felt had

influenced their experiences (e.g. Ailidh Lennon’s year-long sabbatical from Sons & Daughters following the birth of her child in 2007). Once the codes were finalised, the transcripts were revisited once again, to ensure that the categorisation was accurate in reflecting the context within which comments had been made, and that the meaning of the quotes had been accurately interpreted (O’Neil, 2010). This led to the omission of some statements and the re-categorisation of others until the final clustered themes emerged (see Table 11). These became the aggregate theoretical dimensions which are explored in the following chapters. Two further tables are included in the appendices (see Appendices 10 and 11), summarising some of the key comments which appear in the following chapters. These elaborate upon the exemplar quotes and demonstrate the pervasiveness of the codes across all three informational groups. During the coding process, additional materials (e.g. archives, news articles, websites, blogs) were used for the purpose of building up a more complete picture of industry entrepreneurs (see Appendix 5). The gathered documents were coded after the initial first-order themes had emerged and were used only to build context, clarify discussions and enhance validity.

Table 11: Clustered Themes

<u>Clustered Themes</u>		
The process of entrepreneurship – Chapter 5	On becoming an entrepreneur – Chapter 6	Overcoming uncertainty: the role of community – Chapter 7

Kvale (1996) suggests that interpretive analysis often relies on a combination of approaches. The researcher continually examines the data and generates meaning over time by writing notes, drawing diagrams and discussing the process with others (O’Neil, 2010). Once the data has been analysed, the literature becomes critical once again; it may yield further insights and enable the researcher to make tentative connections between the data and the theory or between the theory and practice (Van Maanen, Rensen & Mitchell, 2007). Equal attention was paid to the evidence and the theory, with the relationship between the two only becoming apparent as the analysis progressed. This cyclical approach (Cunliffe, 2004) is in line with the inductive

nature of the enquiry and is conducive to theory building, as has been argued by Yin (1984), Eisenhardt (1989) and Van Maanen et al. (2007). It is also consistent with the notion that the design of exploratory research should be open to continuous modification throughout the research process, including after the research has got underway (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

4.7 Reliability

According to Crossan (2003, p. 47), it is the very “indirectness and circular nature of philosophical questioning” that is helpful, as these qualities encourage in-depth and critical thinking throughout the entire research process. While interpretive data can provide detailed, vivid and meaningful accounts, as with all data, judgements must be made about its “authenticity, reliability and validity” (Swetnam, 2004, p. 24); indeed, whenever the study of humans takes place, it is easy to produce convincing research that is, nevertheless, invalid. Ultimately, this means developing a sound understanding of those subjects who are being researched and at the same time realising that the researcher’s own understandings are often based on the values, culture, training and experiences which they bring from their own life. These can and usually will be very different from those of the respondents (Malhotra & Birks, 2006). A researcher must assume personal responsibility for the reliability and authenticity of their information and must be “prepared to answer for it” (Walliman, 2004, p. 135).

However, as there are no formulas or instructions to advise on the correct or single best way of analysing interpretive data (Yin, 2003), few guidelines exist to ensure the rigour of this kind of research (Bygrave, 2007; Pratt, 2009). In the present study, preserving authenticity was an ongoing concern, from the interviews through to the final presentation of data (Eisenhardt, 1989). As has been outlined earlier in this chapter, all participants were given a brief introduction to the research area and were made fully aware of the purpose of the research, the methods by which they would be interviewed and how their information would be used. All participants were informed about the confidential nature of the research and gave written or email

consent to the use of recording equipment and the use of the final data (see Appendix 9). Participants interviewed via telephone (n6) or email (n1) were also given a detailed brief outlining the research aim and what was expected of them as interviewees. In addition, all of the participants were given the right to withdraw from the study at any point. They were guaranteed anonymity; those respondents whose identities are disclosed have expressed their verbal permission for the data to be used within the context of this study. For confidentiality's sake, the transcripts were completed by the researcher alone.

The interviews were recorded using two separate digital recording devices, with each interview lasting between 20 minutes and 1 hour 50 minutes, depending on individual time constraints. All interviews were transcribed by the researcher and, once transcribed, the original audio files were transferred from the recorder and secured on three encrypted hard drives under pseudonyms in accordance with the University's Ethics Committee Guidelines. They were also deleted from the recorder at this time. Each respondent received a copy of their transcript for review and approval; aside from one government respondent who had previously been very candid and subsequently made remedial changes, the transcripts were left untouched except for fact and participant validation. The chain of evidence was also preserved throughout the entire research process; according to Yin (1984) and Eisenhardt (1989), this practice increases the reliability of the results and allows for the verification of validity. As memories fade and details are lost, "distortions of interpretations occur, data are elusive, and what may be a true representation of a situation in one place, at a particular time, the next day all might be different" (Walliman, 2004, p. 135). For this reason, a detailed research diary was kept, in order to record meeting times and additional notes about participants, and a database was developed using interviews and archives to build up a more detailed picture of the individuals, their businesses and their role in the environment. Finally, the process was monitored by means of spotchecks of information (Carson et al., 2001).

Researchers in management and entrepreneurship have tended to focus on positivist traditions and quantitative methods of objectivist research and to employ deductive

scientific techniques, in the belief that these enhance the validity of their findings. In contrast, this study's different approach mean that its authenticity and validity are enhanced by its transparency regarding the subjectivity of both the researcher and the invited participants (Leitch, Hill & Neergaard, 2010; O'Neil, 2010). Two of the most critical issues in the evaluation of qualitative research are the lack of consensus regarding frameworks and methodologies and the diversity and creativity of the possible techniques which can be employed (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 2002). No single research project can realistically aspire to do more than develop our understanding in some way. As Blaxter et al. (2001) argue, if the data has been collected within an interactive context, it must be analysed and presented with this in mind.

4.8 Limitations of the Research

While this thesis seeks to make several useful contributions to the study of the entrepreneurial process, like any other piece of empirical research, it also has its limitations. Firstly, the size of the sample means that it cannot be regarded as representative of entrepreneurship in the music industry as a whole. A wider sample might have enabled a deeper understanding of the various ways in which entrepreneurs in Glasgow's music industry set up their businesses, the activities they undertake and the sequences in which these occur. In addition, the study looks at businesses from the various different parts of the music industry value chain (creation/music making, facilitation/business support, commercialisation/recording industry and consumption/live music). If it had chosen to focus solely on one of these areas, it might have been able to provide more conclusive results on how the process operates in that area, and arrived at a deeper understanding of the actual behaviours and activities of individuals, and of how context and agency influence specific groups (such as musicians or producers). Finally, because it concentrates solely on the music sector, the study is unable to provide a view of how entrepreneurship occurs in other creative industries, which may share some similarities with the music industry. However, it is hoped that these limitations have had no bearing on the richness of the present findings.

4.9 Conclusion

It has not been the intention of this chapter to engage in an in-depth analysis of the different paradigmatic approaches to research, or to defend the legitimacy of the interpretive paradigm in entrepreneurship research, as many excellent theories already exist in this area (e.g. Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gartner & Birley, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Instead, it has aimed to provide a philosophically coherent and integrated discussion of, and justification for, the interpretive, exploratory research design employed in the present study (Cope, 2005).

The young and emergent nature of the creative industries, when combined in consideration of the unique characteristics of the individual participants involved, suggested that this study should take an inductive approach to data collection and analysis in its attempts to understand the complex, socially constructed process of entrepreneurship in Glasgow's music industry. Given the lack of comprehensive entrepreneurship theory in the music industry, it was decided that genuine proximity to the phenomenon of interest would be more productive than the use of deductive reasoning in order to formulate a hypothesis (Venkataraman, 1997; Zahra, 2007; O'Neil, 2010). The explicit intention was to develop insights from individuals' lived experiences. Indeed, the importance of *community* to the process of entrepreneurship and its sustainability in the music industry emerged inductively through the data collection and analysis process (O'Neil, 2010), confirming the appropriateness of qualitative research as a way of casting light on important issues which have rarely been addressed in prior studies of entrepreneurship (Gartner & Birley, 2002).

The positivist and interpretivist philosophies are suited to different things; the evaluation of which of the two is more suitable depends on the research question under investigation (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 18). The study of Glasgow's music community is unsuited to the positivist approach, since this requires the researcher to examine the phenomenon from the outside (Gill & Johnson, 2002; Fillis, 2007). In this case, the researcher must get close to the actors, "penetrate [their] internal logic

and interpret their subjective understanding of reality” (Shaw, 1999, p. 61). The visible tip of the music industry iceberg is a mass of formal creative activity, but much of the business in Glasgow’s music industry takes place through informal contacts and chance encounters rather than in boardrooms and offices (Wilson & Murphy, 2004, p. 126). Since no obvious research method suggests itself, in the words of Sarasvathy (2008), “you start with who you are, what you know, and who you know”, and, by extension, you must use what you have at hand to understand and interpret the data.

As the aim of this research is to generate a substantive understanding rather than to test the validity and reliability of a hypothesis deduced from previous research (O’Neil, 2010), the findings cannot be generalised to the wider population of the creative industries (Shaw, 1999). The demands of interpretive rigour require that the researcher clearly demonstrates how the data has been interpreted and analysed, and that they illustrate their findings and support their arguments with suitable quotations (Rice & Ezzy, 1999). For the analysis to have meaning, the reader should be informed of how the conclusions were reached, the range of events which were observed, who was interviewed, and the groups that were used (O’Neil, 2010). The fact that the participants’ reflections are conveyed in their own words helps to strengthen the face validity and credibility of the research (Patton, 2002).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PROCESS OF CREATIVE-ENTREPRENEURSHIP

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first research question set out in Chapter 1: how the process of entrepreneurship occurs in the music industry. No matter which industry is in question, according to entrepreneurship literature the entrepreneurial process begins with an idea or an opportunity and ends with its eventual exploitation. However, for many in the music industry, the process is in reality neither as simple nor as linear as this summary would suggest. There are those entrepreneurs who set out to work in the creative industries, planning their entire journey, while others are led to become entrepreneurs through personal factors and experiences such as unemployment, dissatisfaction or failed ventures or projects. Some embark upon the process after initially setting out on another path, while others happen to spot a gap and are able to exploit it. In an industry filled with micro-enterprises, freelance specialists and project work, it is particularly important to find out about and fully grasp the journeys taken by these music-entrepreneurs. It is essential to know what motivates them, how they found their opportunities and how they formalised and exploited the gaps they had identified, if we are to develop a clearer understanding of how the process of music-entrepreneurship unfolds.

5.2 Intentions and Motivations

This chapter focuses on answering the *who* and *why* research questions set out in Chapter 1, using the effectuation process to understand how opportunities arose for the respondents and how they were able to identify and exploit them. Chapter 2 outlined the significance of the omnibus context (Johns, 2006) and its impact on entrepreneurship, while Chapter 3 discussed some of the factors which might influence individuals to become entrepreneurs in the music industry; from changes brought about by the Internet and related technologies, to “market inefficiencies resulting from political, regulatory or demographic change” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 220). However, it should be noted that a number of other

factors may also affect the choices made by an individual when they decide to take on the risks associated with becoming a business.

From the outset, enculturation, experience and education (Morrison, Demorest, & Stambaugh, 2008), and the support of family, friends and others will all help to determine an individual's propensity to enter the entrepreneurial process (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Beyond this, entrepreneurial motivation may be intrinsic or extrinsic; the entrepreneur may be pushed by an internal stimulus, or pulled by the incentive of achieving their end goal(s) (Alstete, 2002, p. 233). Smith (1967) distinguishes between the craftsman who is motivated by a need for autonomy and independence, and the opportunist who focuses on the functional activities associated with management and who is motivated by the prospect of growth. Timmons and Spinelli (2008) make a distinction between "life style" and "high-growth" driven entrepreneurs; the former focuses on maintaining a comfortable standard of living, while the latter is driven by the prospect of achieving financial success.

Entrepreneurs in the creative sector are often said to be driven by additional motivations which are unique to the business (Abecassis-Moedas, Mahmoud-Jouini & Manceau, 2012, p. 8). While much entrepreneurship research suggests that, in general, entrepreneurs are motivated by the prospect of financial reward, studies of entrepreneurship within the creative economy indicate that more of these entrepreneurs are driven by a love of their craft. In other words, many of those working in the creative industries are motivated by intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards (Amabile, 1983; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). The fact that so many musicians are willing to adapt to shifts in technology is proof of this commitment and of their intrinsic motivation to embark upon the entrepreneurial process. They are evidence that "motivations may be the spark that transforms a latent intention into real action and therefore, the missing link between intentions and action" (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011, p. 12).

5.2.1 A Love of Music

In the course of the interviews it became apparent that the entrepreneurs all had a profound love of their industry, and that their love of music was one of the main factors driving them. According to the former lead singer of Primal Scream, Jim Beattie (ICO ICO Creative):

...my experience is that you've got to be utterly, utterly dedicated to do it and it's utterly hard work. People think, oh glam life, it's not a glamorous life if you're actually good at doing it. Maybe if you keep going then the rewards will come to you and you become Led Zeppelin and you get your private jet and stuff like that, but you know, most groups will never get to that size anymore. So it's not that glamorous and it's just, if you love your songs, just keep doing it, and that's my experience and it's for just songs, not for money.
(Jim Beattie – ICO ICO Creative)

Many of the respondents reported having grown up as fans, in awe of their favourite bands, going to gigs, reading fanzines or the *NME*, buying records and listening to the Top 40. They also recalled sneaking out of the house to go and see their favourite bands as youngsters. Tam Coyle⁸ was prompted to enter the industry as much by a love of music as by his redundancy, while Ailidh Lennon's love of sixties music led her to form the band Sons and Daughters. This passion is one way of explaining the drive, ambition and energy which the entrepreneurs bring to their careers.

5.2.2 A Love of Family

Their love of music was closely linked with memories of their family and upbringing for many of the participants. The majority of the respondents acquired their love of music while growing up in a musical home. Stuart Braithwaite, founding member of Mogwai and owner of Rock Action Records, spoke of his love of the band Joy Division, to whom he was introduced by his sister. Others mentioned the importance of their parents' support and how this had motivated them to succeed, while Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) was inspired to follow the example of her father,

⁸ Former City Music Officer for Glasgow, as well as promoter, DJ and band manager.

himself a musician and entrepreneur. The desire to honour the memory of lost loved ones was also a factor for some of the interviewees. Alan Scobie, owner of the production company Blue Productions, described how his interest in music was sparked by his father's and grandfather's love of the piano. After the death of his father in a car accident, he expressed that he felt a need to achieve in memory of his father and that this need was a crucial factor in his musical career.

My dad was killed in a car crash when I was really young and my mum always had the thing like he would have wanted you to try, so that's why I try. They wanted me to try this rather than end up working in a factory or whatever, it's like they would have wanted me to at least have a go and fail rather than not have a go at all, so that's the reason I'm still here doing it.
(Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

Having started as a session musician, Alan decided to change direction and enrol in a music engineering course. Soon after that, he opened his first recording studio, Blue Productions.

My motivation for doing it almost seems to have drifted away from the original thing. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

Alan's knowledge of the industry, gained through experience, may have led him to change direction, but his original interest in music was inspired by his family.

Another respondent also highlighted the importance of family as a motivator, especially for those going into creative occupations. Keren McKean, owner of Greenflame Consultancy, acknowledged the importance of her brother's musical aptitude, industry knowledge and support in the early stages of her career. She also recalled that the loss of her father to leukaemia when she was 17 was one of the things which had inspired her to embark upon a career in the music industry. After his passing, she set about organising her first charity event, to raise money for leukaemia research, even though she had no experience in the industry and only the

promise of an appearance from musician friends, the band Teenage Fan Club. With no contacts in, or understanding of, the industry, she met with resistance from both venues and agents:

I really wanted to do that and I was excited, but I was by now 18 and had no clue of what I was doing in the music industry. I was a wee upstart and I know I was a pain in the neck, and I went to Geoff Ellis who was then the booker of King Tut's who now runs T in the Park and everything, but at that point this was obviously a long time ago, 19 years ago, he was the booker at King Tut's. So I went to him and said, "Right, I want to book Teenage Fan Club", and it was in the papers that Teenage Fan Club were doing this charity gig. I got a phone call from the Barrowlands and they said, "We'll give you the Barrow's for free", and I said, "Oh my God, I'm 18, how do you put a gig on at the Barrow's?" No idea. So I went to King Tut's and I said, "I want to do two nights at King Tut's", and Geoff Ellis said, "No, you can't just hire King Tut's for Teenage Fan Club, you need... Teenage Fan Club have got an agent." And I was going, "Ah right, what's an agent?" "Oh, Teenage Fan Club's agent is the one that books their shows and so I need to go and speak to them about that, and really you should be booking this through the agent, you can't just hire the venue." And I was going, "OK, right", and I knew that Geoff Ellis, it turns out that Teenage Fan Club's agent was a guy called Geoff Craft. So Geoff Ellis went and spoke to Geoff Craft and Geoff Craft said, "Oh, Teenage Fan Club say yes to so many charity gigs, they're not doing it." I went back to Teenage Fan Club and went, "Your agent says no", and they got straight on the phone and told Geoff Craft off and Geoff Craft phoned Geoff Ellis and they were doing it. (Keren McKean, Greenflame Consultancy)

Eventually, as is outlined above in her narrative, Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) was able to host a two night sell-out event that raised over £4000 for the charity, largely through perseverance and determination. After a brief spell at university, she returned to the industry, working with DF concerts and brands such as

Miller Draft and managing several bands, including Biffy Clyro and Snow Patrol. She credits her interest in management to the fact that she is the eldest of five children;

I think that's actually where my interest in band management came from is being the eldest of five children, you're managing the family. (Keren McKean, Greenflame Consultancy)

Although they have undertaken very different entrepreneurial journeys, Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) and Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) have both found success. For both, their family background has been a key factor: it has encouraged Alan to be willing always to take a risk, while it has inspired Keren never to take *no* for an answer.

Keren and Alan's situations are not uncommon; a number of studies have identified the role which is often played by families in triggering and supporting the entrepreneurial process (Bygrave, 1989, 1993; Aldrich, 1999; Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Bygrave, 2008; Dew, 2009). Bygrave (1989) was one of the first to produce a model of entrepreneurship that included "entrepreneurial trigger events", i.e. events stemming from "sociological, personal, and environmental factors" (Bygrave, 2003, p. 3). Alternatively, life-course dynamics theory focuses on the movements of individuals "into and out of roles and relationships" within their social context "such as moving from school into employment" or from marriage to divorce (Aldrich, 2003, p. 579). In this theory, an individual's life-course is conceptualised as a stable path that is interrupted by significant life events over the course of their career. Oakland, MacDonald & Flowers (2012) discuss redundancy and its influence on the transition processes of musicians, while others focus on family, health or the loss of a loved one (Moen, 1998, p. 16). As individuals experience such disruptions, their perceptions of the world around them will often change; according to life-course dynamics theorists, these major life transitions "might both (i) inspire an individual to considering engaging in entrepreneurship; and (ii) lead to an upheaval in the social fabric that triggers an individual already considering entrepreneurship to 'take the

plunge” (Wennberg, 2010, p. 11). Thus, the entrepreneurial process is heavily influenced by the life events which are experienced by entrepreneurs at different stages of their life and career (Carroll & Mosakowski, 1987; Hutchison, 2011).

5.2.3 *A Love of Community*

While family has been an important influence for many of the entrepreneurs, others are more a product of their environment. Solo artist Joy Dunlop grew up in the small village of Connel in Argyll, where she became fascinated by Scottish traditional music and the Gaelic language at an early age. She began performing at local ceilidhs, and by the time she was awarded her degree from Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (The National Centre for Gaelic Language and Culture), she was well known in the Gaelic community in the Highlands and Islands as a performer, journalist, Gaelic tutor, choir conductor and radio presenter. More recently, she has written a column on Gaelic television for *The Scotsman*. Joy’s relationship with the Gaelic community has enabled her to make her living as a musician and freelance creative-entrepreneur, by moving from project to project. Although she moved to Glasgow in 2010 to pursue her solo career, Joy has maintained her links with the Gaelic community and remained true to her highland roots. She has developed close links with a number of local development agencies, universities and organisations who are seeking to develop a broader understanding of Gaelic music. She was nominated as Gaelic Singer of the Year in 2010 & 2011 and won the Scots New Music Awards Roots Recording of the Year award in 2011.

In a similar vein, Daniel Gillespie, founding member of the band Skerryvore, has also found support and inspiration throughout his musical career within the small, close-knit community in his home town on the Island of Tiree, in the Inner Hebrides off the west coast of Scotland.

Growing up in the island of Tiree, very much you get given the opportunity to learn traditional music, lots and lots of opportunities up there and we’re very

fortunate that it's free and that there's people up there that want to pass on knowledge. (Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore)

Daniel and his brother Martin received their first musical training on the island and were given their first opportunity to play live music there at the age of 16. They also met their friend and drummer Fraser West on the island. Together with lead singer Alec Dalglish, fiddler Craig Espie and bass guitarist Barry Caulfield, they formed a band and began touring with a local band, Skippinish. Following their success, and with help from another local business, members of the island community and from industry members in Glasgow, the band went on to win the Prince's Scottish Youth Business Trust Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award in 2010. The band launched its album *Skerryvore* along with a range of co-ordinating merchandise and also opened its own label, Tyree Records, before creating the Tiree Music Festival, a non-profit festival designed to give back to the community. In Daniel's view, the music community, both on and off the island has not only helped Skerryvore to grow as a band but has also shown them how to run the band like a business. Skerryvore's experience supports Hindle's (2010b) finding that within neighbourhoods and communities, institutional, business, social and spatial spheres are closely intertwined, and that these close connections can foster the development of any entrepreneurial initiative.

5.2.4 A Love of Money

Brendan Moon, owner of Morsecode Management, was clear that his motivation has always been the money. As a teenager, Brendan studied quantity surveying by day and promoted events by night. His band was signed by a record company, but despite moving from record contract to record contract, it failed to make any money. When he was asked to manage a friend's band, he resolved to do whatever was necessary to ensure that the bands he managed were a success.

I never really made any money, and one of the things I swore that I would do is, with the artists that I represented, I would make sure they had a career

and actually got paid to do this job. (Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management)

Brendan was not motivated by family, musical passion or his community, but rather, as he clearly expressed in his interview, he was motivated by the desire to make enough money to ensure his bands got paid. While the majority of respondents did not view money as their main concern, Brendan (Morsecode Management) was only interested in making sure that his artists got paid. However, despite being motivated by *extrinsic* pecuniary rewards rather than by *intrinsic* rewards, Brendan's concern for his artists' welfare – wanting to spare them what he went through – is suggestive of a degree of *intrinsic* motivation.

Thus, the motivations and inspirations of the 15 interviewees were highly individual: some were inspired by music itself, while others were driven by the need to earn a living. For many, the support and influence of friends and family were key factors. A lucky few grew up in musically rich communities, while others were inspired by their experiences. Table 12, below, lists the 15 interviewees' motivational dimensions.

Table 12: Entrepreneurial Motivations

The Entrepreneurs Motivations for Entering Entrepreneurship							
	Money/ Need to Earn a Living	Family/ History of Music or Business	Love of Music/ Passion for Craft	Education/ Musical Training	Role Models/ Musical Influences	Prior Experience in Industry	Friends/ Networks in the Industry
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions		✓	✓	✓	✓		
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
3. Paul Tasker Doghouse Roses	✓		✓		✓		
4. Ally Gray Emubands			✓	✓			✓
5. Keren McKean Greenflame Consultancy		✓	✓		✓		✓
6. Jamie Webster Instinctive Raccoon			✓		✓	✓	✓
7. Jamie Gilmour (WWPJP Manager)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
8. John Williamson Banchary Music			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9. Joy Dunlop (Solo Artist)			✓	✓	✓	✓	
10. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn		✓	✓	✓			✓
11. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai			✓	✓			✓
12. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	✓					✓	✓
13. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
14. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
15. Ailidh Lennon Sons & Daughters			✓		✓	✓	✓

The table above shows that the majority were motivated by a love of music. Often, this was closely linked to memories of their family and upbringing, with many having grown up in a musical home. Others were impelled into action by a major life event such as the loss of a loved one. A minority of respondents were primarily motivated by money and the desire to earn a reasonable living, while others were profoundly influenced by their friends, role models and musical influences. No two interviewees cited the same combination of motivations.

Although some of the respondents felt destined to work in music, others said that they had not intended to enter the industry at all. This suggests that, while it is

important to understand the various motivations of the entrepreneurs in the study, it is also important to look at the nature of the entrepreneurial process itself: how individuals are spurred into action, how the process unfolds and how entrepreneurs respond. As Bygrave (2003, p. 12) points out, this is not just a question of being motivated but also of recognising a good opportunity and having the skills to convert that opportunity into a thriving business. Accordingly, the following sections of the analysis will focus on *how* individuals entered the process.

5.3 Entering the Entrepreneurial Process

For Sarasvathy (2008, p. 15), the individual enters the entrepreneurial process in one of two ways: through either *causation* or *effectuation*. The former is goal-oriented (Davidsson, 2008), with the potential entrepreneur seeking the best, fastest and most economically efficient way to realise their aims (Bygrave, 1989), while in the latter case, the end goal is uncertain. Neither the opportunity nor the market are developed in advance; both are contingent on who gets involved and how their goals and actions shape the direction of the venture (Read & Sarasvathy, 2005).

5.3.1 The Use of Causal Logic

Many of the entrepreneurs in this study were originally inspired by something or someone. Many said that they had only ever wanted a career in music. Some started by going to gigs and cultivating a circle of relationships in the hope that these would facilitate their introduction into the industry, while others without experience or contacts were forced to go it alone and earn their living as freelancers. Some respondents planned their approach from the start, going to university to study their sector and moving from role to role in order to gain experience, until they were eventually ready to set up by themselves (Dew, 2009). Stuart Braithwaite, founding member of Mogwai and owner of Rock Action Records, for example, described his career as a planned progression from band to college to business. For these entrepreneurs, their knowledge and experience played a key part in the discovery and exploitation of opportunities.

Ally Gray, owner of Emubands, moved into the music industry after completing his undergraduate and postgraduate degrees:

I started out when I was studying the music business in Liverpool, obviously my thesis was about the Scottish music industry and developing it, so I moved home from Liverpool and started up a business as a record company and a concert promoter just to try and make the best of the great music that's available that doesn't always get discovered. So that's how I got into it. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

Ally initially managed his bands as well as recording and promoting them, but with only two bands to manage, he was forced to begin working for Scotland's only digital distributor. He quickly realised that his employers would only deal with established labels, but with the rise of the independents and digitisation, Ally saw an opportunity for distributors who were willing to work directly with bands. Bhave (1994, p. 230) observes that businesses which are not built as a result of alertness or a systematic search often emerge when "the prospective entrepreneurs experienced, or were introduced to, needs that could not be fulfilled by others" (Davidsson, 2006, p. 10). Ally and his partner set up their own business next door to his former employer and, six years later, Emubands is the only digital distributor in Glasgow. Like many of the interviewed entrepreneurs, Ally set about educating himself at college once he had decided to pursue a career in the music industry. Stuart Braithwaite (Mogwai) also spoke of support he received on his modern musicianship course, while Daniel Gillespie described how a BA in applied music helped his band members understand how their band could become a brand. In the same way that family and friends are important sources of support, teachers, tutors and lecturers may also serve as role models for musicians, providing them with technical skills and musical knowledge (Gembris & Davidson, 2002, Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde & Whalen, 1993).

Brian Harvey, owner of Open Ear Music, a Glasgow-based music design and promotions company, followed a similar path. Brian studied the guitar at an early age, then began DJing as a hobby and, while studying the psychological impacts of music in marketing at university in Edinburgh, he started his first events business. His experience supports the finding from the literature that it is not uncommon for prospective entrepreneurs to base their ideas on their prior experience or hobbies (Burns, 2001, p. 75). After completing a Masters degree in sound design, Brian developed his Open Ear business concept while on the NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) Creative Entrepreneur programme. Unable to find funding, he approached the PSYBT (Prince's Scottish Youth Business Trust) and was awarded a start-up loan; the following year, he was awarded another loan, from Glasgow City Council. Four years later, Open Ear Music now offers bespoke musical environments created by music industry experts, music event promoters, music psychologists and radio producers to commercial and public spaces all over the UK. Brian's original route may have been planned, but even with a full diary of projects, it remains unpredictable.

John Williamson has followed a more circuitous path, and has worked in music journalism, the music industry and academia (often simultaneously) for over 25 years. John studied English literature and politics at university, but throughout his studies he worked as a journalist for the Glasgow *Evening Times* and *The List* magazine. This allowed him to forge a number of contacts within the music industry and he subsequently dipped into and out of it, hosting events in various capacities in partnership with the media, the government, and public and private funding bodies. After he had organised the first Ten Day Weekend festival in 1995, he was asked whether he wanted to start managing bands, and as a result he managed the internationally successful BIS, for five years. However, in 2000, John decided to retire from the industry and focus on his academic studies, undertaking further research and teaching until he had completed his doctoral thesis on Intellectual property and the music industries. During this period, he worked at the University of the West of Scotland (then Paisley University) before returning to the music industry to manage another Glasgow based band, Belle and Sebastian, for six years. During

this time, he continued to teach at the University of Glasgow, and he took up a full-time research position there in 2012.

These four respondents trained in their respective fields with the ultimate aim of creating opportunities and a career in their chosen industry sector. Table 13 shows how the causal dimensions identified and categorised by Sarasvathy (2001) had influenced how these respondents exploited their original idea.

Table 13: Examples of Respondents' Causal Logic

<u>The Dimensions of Causal Logic</u>					
	Market Definition	Market Segmentation	Targeting based on Expected Returns	Positioning Through Market Strategies	The Customer
1. Ally Gray Emubands	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai		✓			✓
3. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. John Williamson Banchory Music	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Other respondents said that they originally had a plan but subsequently deviated from it. Louise Quinn's original orientation towards drama almost ruined her chances of joining a band. She recalled her brother's account of a conversation he had with his friend and band mate, Bis:

“She’s at drama school she’s going to be a total nightmare, she’s going to be like ‘Oh God’...What, Bonnie Langford that’s what she’s going to be like.” But then we hooked up and we just started playing together and after ten gigs we got signed to Sony. (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

Whether they stumbled into the industry almost by accident, or planned their route using a knowledge of the industry gleaned through work experience or prior education, most of the respondents in the study seem to have found the entrepreneurial process to be a natural and instinctive one. However, the cases of Louise and John suggest that causal logic alone may be insufficient in explaining the

path taken by some entrepreneurs; after all, an individual searching for one opportunity may find themselves stumbling upon another. The following sections highlight the importance of personal experience – whether gained through careful career planning or as the result of a happy accident – in determining the entrepreneur’s ability to spot an opportunity and exploit it.

5.3.2 *The Importance of Serendipity*

Serendipity is the gift of making discoveries “by accident and sagacity” (Dew, 2009, p.753), when an individual connects with their surrounding environment (Martello, 1994, p. 243). Entrepreneurship literature is full of stories of entrepreneurs searching for one thing and finding another. As Dew (2009) explains, “entrepreneurship is a series of random collisions”, and while entrepreneurs may start with a systematic plan of action in one area, by luck, accident or chance they may be just as likely to end up in another.

However, Shane and Venkataraman (2000) argue that to attribute serendipitous discoveries to mere luck or chance (Jung, 1950) is to “overlook the importance of the synchronous convergence of preparation (resulting from education, analysis and persistence) with opportunity” (Martello, 1994, p. 241). For them, the key to recognising an opportunity lies in the knowledge and experience of the individual and “they must therefore be aware of this and have the desire to understand and make use of it” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 217). Current thinking suggests that there are three dimensions to the concept of serendipity: activity, recognition and insight. The “action sets the stage for the possible revelation of serendipitous knowledge; recognition allows one to see, and not overlook, the moment; and insight is the 'light bulb' over the head, the flash of understanding where knowledge meets application” (Martello, 1994, p. 242). As Louis Pasteur once observed, “chance only favours the prepared mind” (Pasteur, 1854). When chance and preparation meet, “the subsequent process of discovery employs the skills already developed and utilized through formal and informal training” (Martello, 1994, p. 246).

The most striking example of a serendipitous event given in the data collection for this study was described by Emma Pollock, owner of the Chemikal Underground label and former member of The Delgados. After completing her physics degree, Emma decided against pursuing a career in science; instead, she was drawn to Glasgow's musical culture, which she described as:

...a hotbed of small kind of clubs and loads and loads of bands that are just having a go, and it was always like that from the moment that I got there
(Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground).

Chapter 2 highlighted the importance of the milieu which Glasgow offers the music industry and how it fosters creative talent (Frith, 2007). Inspired by this milieu, Emma and her partner Paul formed The Delgados, and Emma also decided to pursue a career in sound engineering. However, on a trip to find voluntary work at Park Lane Studio, she got off the bus at the wrong stop and went to the wrong part of Park Lane. She ended up at GR Management, which was owned by Rab Andrew (manager of Texas). She feels that her entry into the profession was, therefore:

...all down to choosing the wrong door to knock on! So that was really interesting, it was a job that introduced me to the mechanics of the industry and at the same time Delgados were going on in the background and we were getting more and more recognition. So I was there for two years and then eventually I left and we got a publishing deal with Delgados and it went on from there. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Shortly afterwards, the band set up their own label, Chemikal Underground, in order to release their first album. Although the band split up in 2005, Chemikal Underground continues to be one of Scotland's most successful independent labels.

The interviews yielded many examples of chance encounters which led to significant consequences, including the discovery of Paolo Nutini by respondent Brendan Moon.

I was running the campaign for Fame Academy, and it was my job to assist the artists to have their kind of moment of glory and part of it was to do with when David Sneddon won. Paisley had a civic reception for him in Paisley Town Hall but he was late, so there was Radio Clyde who were hosting it and they had Gavin Simpson, the DJ. He just said, "Well, let's have our own Fame Academy contest", and we just got kids out of the audience to sing and I was like, "Whatever you like, just carry on." And so they had a kind of pop quiz, Paolo stuck up his hand and they said, "What are you going to sing son?" And he answered the question right and he goes, "Ah, I've got some songs of my own." They just went, "What the hell, carry on", gave him the microphone and he was amazing, amazing. (Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management)

Like Emma Pollock, Brendan Moon (Morsecode Management) was in the right place at the right time. Because of his experience of working with artists, labels and promotion companies, he was able to exploit the opportunity which Paolo presented and turn him into an international brand. This story illustrates the point made in the literature that when chance and recognition interact, the entrepreneur will employ their existing skills to effect the discovery process (Martello, p. 246). Brendan, like Emma, has worked his way up through the industry, acquiring the experience and resources necessary to turn his opportunities into successes, but both he and Emma began their entrepreneurial process with accidental meetings. This kind of serendipity occurs continually within the music industry, especially in Glasgow, as highlighted by former Glasgow City Music Officer Tam Coyle. Tam, who has worked with bands such as Primal Scream and Texas, as well as promoting and DJing at venues across Scotland, recalled his involvement on the night Oasis were discovered:

I'd finished work and there was a three band bill and according to McGee, and to my shame I can't remember if this is true, but McGee claimed I came downstairs, "You've got to come up and look at this band, the singer's got something, he's a ballsy pain in the arse but he's got something", and McGee

came up to see this wee band called Oasis. Alan mentions me as the creator of that, I actually don't remember telling him to go upstairs, but he remembers it better than me. (Tam Coyle – Former City Music Officer)

Tam's recommendation may have been a matter of chance, but Alan McGee chose to act upon it and was able to use his prior knowledge, judgment, and industry contacts to sign the band to his label (Shane, 2003).

Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) highlighted how such chance encounters can happen almost anywhere. He recalled meeting fellow band member Frazer for the first time while he was on holiday with his family on his home island of Tiree, and how this meeting then led on to Daniel and his brother Martin meeting the remaining band members. Later, another chance encounter with a local businessman led to the initial investment by the PSYBT and thereby enabled them to learn how to run the band like a business.

Record producer Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) said that a chance meeting at a music workshop had enabled him to secure the initial funding for his first studio, while another gave him the opportunity to work with his musical idol:

Kim Beacon was a very big influence on me as he had already had all the success I had dreamed of. The skills he taught me are still skills I use today and most of the milestones in any musician's career were achieved for me via Kim. This led me to meet, perform and eventually establish a song writing partnership with David Edgar, the original drummer with Texas, and many of the musicians I met during that time are still part of my 'inner circle' of people I feel continue to influence me. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

Louise Quinn (the lead singer in A Band Called Quinn (ABCQ)) was discovered busking on Buchanan Street by a friend of her brother and was then asked to join his band, Hardbody. The band was quickly picked up by GR Management and signed to

Sony Records, but after a couple of unsuccessful releases, divisions began to appear. Louise reflected that:

It was all sort of engineered to sort of get me away from the band, you know. It was a total democracy to begin with and then it was all about me and that caused so much resentment, you know. (Louise Quinn, ABCQ)

Because she was still contracted to Sony, Louise was obliged to work with other bands, session musicians and producers. She recalled that her lowest point was supporting James at the Manchester Apollo, wearing a “*Nightie from M&S*”.

Soon after, Louise left Sony and was offered a publishing deal with Chrysalis. The funds from the publishing deal helped her and her former band mate Ally to set up their own band, Quinn, their label, Lunar Discs, and a recording studio, Lunar Studios. When the deal with Chrysalis ended, Louise and Ally decided to use their knowledge and experience to form A Band Called Quinn (ABCQ) and launch Tromolo records. Louise’s chance encounter with her brother’s friend may have given her the starting point in her career as a professional musician, but it was her knowledge of the industry and her experience as a recording artist which ultimately equipped her for success with her band and business. Her narrative illustrates the point made in the literature that chance favours the prepared mind.

Chance encounters and serendipity seem to have played a central role in the entrepreneurial process for nearly all of the interviewees. However, although the majority of the respondents acknowledged and discussed these chance encounters, others barely recognised them: Alan Scobie, for example, failed to recall an earlier discussion in which he had recounted meeting a future investor’s son at a sound engineering course.

The literature suggests that without “the wilful preparation of the individual through action, recognition and insight, the serendipitous discovery passes by without notice”. Table 14, overleaf shows how the five entrepreneurs discussed in this

section displayed these dimensions of action, recognition and insight in the course of their serendipitous discovery in their interview responses (Martello, 1994).

Table 14: The Dimensions of Serendipity

The Dimensions of Serendipity			
	<u>Action</u>	<u>Recognition</u>	<u>Insight</u>
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions	Alan was taking part in a Government funded music course	Alan met the father of one of his friends who was a former musician turned investor	Alan quickly realised that there was an opportunity to put his training into practice and received his first private investment
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground	Emma was on her way to a Job interview with a sound engineering company	Emma proceeded to get off at the wrong stop and instead of the door she was looking for knocked on the wrong door of a music management company instead	Emma realised that she had an opportunity to learn more about the music industry in the hope of developing her band
3. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn	Louise was busking on Argyle Street in Glasgow	A friend of her brothers who was in a band saw her perform and commented on Louise's vocal abilities	The two decided to set up a band together and were soon after signed to Sony
4. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	Brendan was hosting an event in Glasgow for the winner of TV show Fame Academy, David Sneddon	However the main act was running late so the organisers picked someone from the crowd to perform, and by chance that artist was Paolo Nutini	Brendan subsequently saw his talent and with his own industry experience with labels and events became Paolo's manager
5. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore	Daniel was performing at a local hotel on his home Island of Tiree	There Daniel met Frazer, who was on holiday. The starter talking and it turned out that Frazer also had an interest in music as well as training	From their the boys began playing on Tiree and after moving to Glasgow met the other three band members while at university

Sarasvathy (2008) suggests that entrepreneurs who have experience in their industry will be highly likely to have rich social networks, through which they are exposed to information. This exposure increases the likelihood of what seem to be contingencies (serendipities) occurring (Shane, 2003). In essence, the literature suggests that the more contacts the entrepreneurs, have the less serendipitous such encounters are. These entrepreneurs may also deliberately engage in activities outside their area of expertise in the hope of serendipitous opportunities emerging. According to Sarasvathy, entrepreneurs who are following effectuation logic seek to leverage contingencies instead of avoiding them. The effectual entrepreneur takes the set of

means as a given and is guided by the premise that “the extent to which we can control the future, we do not need to predict it” (Sarasvathy, 2003, p. 16). Effectual entrepreneurs, rather than planning around an uncertain future, work with “who they are, what they know, and whom they know”, and, in so doing, are able to spot and exploit serendipitous contingencies as and when they occur (*Ibid*).

5.3.3 *The Use of Effectual Logic*

Sarasvathy’s (2001) model of effectuation is a process dynamic model whose focus is on the inputs and outputs of the entrepreneurial process (see Chapter 3). In this model, the individual alone is responsible for initiating the process. Section 5.3 has illustrated that many respondents were motivated by a love of music, while others sought only to make a reasonable living. Indeed, Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) commented that it wasn’t until he’d received a substantial fee for playing a gig that he realised the band’s money making potential:

I then got £150 a gig, or something like that. So we knew that there was the capability of making money through our music. (Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore)

In contrast with many of the other participants, Paul Tasker, a member of the group Doghouse Roses and owner of the Yellowroom Music label, was not inspired by a childhood love of music, or by those in the industry, or even by personal experience. He did not learn to play the guitar or become heavily involved in music until after he had completed his doctorate in biomedical sciences. Paul taught himself music and became a guitarist and singer with the Aberdeen-based band Sal, with whom he won a Danny Kyle Award at the Celtic Connections festival in 2004. He then moved back to Glasgow and formed Doghouse Roses in 2006 with his partner, Iona Macdonald. He notes that, in the beginning,

I didn’t see it as a viable career choice, or career choice is the wrong word, I didn’t see it as a viable way to pay the bills, and I still don’t, like just on that

purely performing side, but you know, there wasn't a motivation per se. (Paul Tasker – Doghouse Roses)

This is despite the fact that Doghouse Roses have received awards and performed throughout the UK and Europe.

All of the respondents – both the group of those who had no prior intention of working in the music industry, like Paul and Emma, and also those who never wanted to do anything else – began the entrepreneurial process by looking at who they were, what they knew and whom they knew (Sarasvathy, 2008). This is the first of Sarasvathy's principles, *the bird-in-hand principle*: the entrepreneur seeks to create something using their existing means rather than to discover new ways to achieve goals (i.e. what do I have? versus what do I need?) In the music industry, the existing means may be made up of the entrepreneur's identity, their knowledge base and their social networks. This was Keren McKean's approach when, faced with the challenge of organising a charity event in memory of her father, she asked her brother's friends and former employer for help. According to Sarasvathy (2003, p. 215), it is at this point that the first "stable configuration of product/stakeholder/environment comes into existence". Many musicians continue to perform alongside working on their business activities (Mason et al., 2012), not just to reduce the risk of an uncertain future but also to maintain this "configuration": to gain exposure to, and develop trust, reputation and relationships with, other actors (Aldrich, 1999).

For example, Emma Pollock, who owns Chemikal Underground, pursued a solo career, while Jamie Gilmore, manager of We Were Promised Jetpacks, continues to work with the Scottish Music Centre (SMC) and BASCA in order to maintain his links with the private sector. These links have been essential in the past, in securing funding for his band to visit the SXSW festival in 2010, where Ailidh Lennon's band, Sons and Daughters, got their big break. Jamie Webster, who manages the Instinctive Racoon label, still works as a promoter and booker for the Oran Mor venue. This not only presumably ensures that his bands get first pick of the rota but

the position and work also give him opportunities to network with other bands, labels and brands in the hope of furthering his own bands' careers.

By maintaining relationships with former employers and industry contacts and freelancing on specific projects, Keren McKean has been able to build up experience and create a robust portfolio career. Although she no longer manages either Snow Patrol or Biffy Clyro, her continuing relationships with both bands meant that she was able to arrange a meeting between the two in Ireland. This meeting led to Biffy Clyro joining Snow Patrol on a US tour (though neither band's website confirms that the meeting took place).

Biffy need to break America, I've obviously got a loyalty to Biffy, I really like them, Snow Patrol broke in America, whoever Snow Patrol take with them, will have a chance of breaking America. Snow Patrol are about to embark on a tour, year-long world tour, so it's like when they come out of the studio...there'll probably be a chance to do both, but, so Biffy was the one I had in my head and I just knew that the easiest way to get this happening is to just have the two bands hanging out together, and that was exactly what I did. Snow Patrol suggested a pub close by, they came out, hung out together, got on brilliantly, they've now got the tour with Snow Patrol, that's happening. (Keren McKean, Green Flame Consultancy)

The literature suggests that, as they gain experience, entrepreneurs' social networks begin to grow, their knowledge corridors expand (Shane, 2000) and their identity becomes more pronounced through reputational and legitimisation effects (Dew & Saravathy, 2002). Alan Scobie, owner of Blue Productions, recalled how his move to Argyle Court made him reassess his own potential, and that of his business. Becoming part of a dedicated network of industry actors, all competing and cooperating in mutually beneficial relationships, inspired Alan to extend his skills, and in 2010 he began producing albums for UK and international artists.

According to Sarasvathy (2003), as a business develops, the initial configuration of product/stakeholder/environment begins to alter in a contingent and usually path-dependent manner, solidifying not only the position of the entrepreneur but also the value and duration of the opportunities they are faced with. John Williamson (Banchory Music) has a national reputation within the industry, while his experience as an academic allows him access to key government and industry figures. His work in music management has provided him with the skills to run his own band and label but it also means that he is able to give his students practical insight into the industry. As an academic, manager and event planner, his product/stakeholder/environment configuration has altered dramatically over the last two decades, but he continues to prefer working with individuals with whom he has formed relationships and built up a level of trust.

Sarasvathy's (2001) second principle, *the affordable-loss principle*, is especially pertinent to music entrepreneurs, as they must often weigh success and monetary rewards against the opportunity to "learn, grow, share, and achieve at something that brings ... great personal value and satisfaction" (Crookes, 2008, p. 7). Louise Quinn's departure from her label, because she was dissatisfied with the way her career was progressing, highlights the lengths to which many entrepreneurs are willing to go to protect their artistic integrity (another good example is the refusal of Ailidh Lennon and her band, Sons and Daughters, to participate in an advertising campaign for Motorola). Soon after signing her first record deal with Major label Sony (with the band Hardbody), Louise began to realise that artistic compromise was, in fact, the industry norm:

In that first band I was in, it was a total democracy to begin with and then it was all about me and that caused so much resentment, you know? I always remember standing at the Manchester Apollo in front of 3000 people. We were supporting James, and I was in a nightie that the stylist had bought me from Marks & Spencer's with a mental haircut. I mean it actually looks really good now, but it was none of my choosing really, a mental haircut and mental make-up and I think like the make-up artist had wanted to like shave my

eyebrows off or something like that I recall, but I just declined... I remember just standing there in front of 3000 people with a band that hated me [laughs] and just thinking, this is awful. (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

The band's dissatisfaction came to a head at the 1997 T in the Park festival when their manager failed to turn up with their equipment, resulting in them losing their spot on the Radio 1 stage. The band therefore decided to break up (Williamson, 1999). Louise was still signed to Epic Records, however, and she was put to work with a producer in the studio:

I was left... I think what people saw me as being like a total traitor because the band had been dropped. I was tied into a contract with Sony, and they put me into this studio with this guy, I can't even remember what his name was, Andy somebody, who produced Natalie Imbruglia, and I didn't want to go in with him, I wanted to go in with another producer, I think it was this guy that produced Wham, I can't remember what his name was... Or there was Matthew Vaughn who produced Madonna, he wanted to work with me, the guy that produced The Pet Shop Boys, and the guy that went on to produce The Cardigans and Franz Ferdinand, and I wanted to work with any of these people apart from the guy they put me in with who produced like Simply Red and Natalie Imbruglia, and he was awful. I waited, they kept me hanging around saying I'll have to work with this guy and then he was terrible, he was just like going home to do lines of coke and [sighs].... (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

Eventually, Louise left the label and joined up with former Hardbody band member Alastair Cooke to begin composing their own music. A publishing deal with Chrysalis allowed them to launch their own label. They then joined with Franz Ferdinand singer Alex Kapranos to play T in the Park 1999 under the name Quinn, rebranding in 2001 to become A Band Called Quinn (ABCQ). This band has since maintained a successful career, working with artists and producers including Kid Loco, Jarvis Cocker, The Pastels and Bill Well, and collaborating and touring with

Scottish theatre company Vanishing Point, as well as producing albums (a number of which have been featured on film and TV soundtracks) and making videos.

Louise (A Band Called Quinn) described how difficult it was to go from working with a label and having money but no decision making power to having to find money, resources and support. Her account illustrates how vital it is for entrepreneurs to do what they can and try to adapt to new and changing circumstances; indeed, many of the entrepreneurs in the study have found this to be the only way to sustain their businesses. Ailidh Lennon and her band, for example, initially rejected Motorola's offer but later accepted a bid from Timberland because they had come to recognise that if they were to continue to make music their way, as they wished above all to do, then some form of compromise had to be made.

Motorola wanted to use Johnny Cash in an advert and I think we turned it down. We were like, "Well, we're just starting out, we don't want to be like fuckin' Babylon Zoo." Do you know what I mean?....Like something like that, and obviously we had a lot more, you know, younger, a bit more life, more sort of like integrity or whatever, you know, a bit more idealistic, a bit more... But then last year or a few months ago, whatever, however long it was, we got offered... Timberland wanted to use one of our songs from the last record in an advert and we were just like... "How much?" Do you know what I mean? It's just like if you want to actually keep going as a band you have to take any income you can get. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

This problem is exacerbated by the lack of defined career paths in the music industry; many musicians are unable to support themselves from their performance activities alone (Mason et al., 2012) and have to devote substantial time to other things in an effort to build a portfolio career (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003). Jamie Gilmour, manager of We Were Promised Jetpacks, for example, has a number of other occupations in addition to his job as a band manager. The experiences described by many of the interviewees bears out Bennett's assertion (2007, p. 185)

that entrepreneurs in the music industry need to be “conversant in multiple musical genres and unique business skills”.

The third principle, *the crazy-quilt principle*, was evident in many of the stories told by the entrepreneurs in the study. When Louise Quinn realised that her career with a major label was over, she set about building up her own network of stakeholders, working with former band members and friends in order to re-establish herself as a serious independent artist. Even John Williamson (Banchory Music) commented that, rather than focusing on market characteristics, he prefers to work on projects with the contacts and friends he has gathered and retained throughout his career, as those who join you will determine your mutual goals, rather than the other way round:

All that happens is you set up a business with your friends, they're the people that you know, you're always working on the path of least resistance, so the first people you ask to play a gig will be your friends. You know them, you know.....but the other thing is, if you look at any of these things, whether it's a venue or whether it's a festival that I have organised or whatever, it's like, to actually survive you've got to renew all the time and you've got to be open to new people coming in. In the same way, the only way that a group can survive for 15 or 20 years is to continually be renewing the people that they're working with and the people that are in their audience, so it's kind of like, you cannot be a clique and survive successfully, and I don't care whether that's... if all you do is keep playing to the same people then you'll disappear. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

The analysis identified various types of network within the entrepreneurial process, the most common form of network being that based on friendship. These friendships often develop into mechanisms for mutual aid; for example, by facilitating exchanges of equipment or players. Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) described “*borrowing people from here and there...*” while according to A.A. (SMIA), “*if you don't have a drummer, you know, you can borrow a drummer from a mate, and it's just all*

interchangeable”. Alan Scobie and Keren McKean’s earlier stories show how networks can offer a path to a relatively stable income in an uncertain industry. Even the interviewee selection process in the early stages of the study illustrated and emphasised the significance of network links in the industry, with respondent recommendations being passed on (and then becoming saturated).

Many of the entrepreneurs discussed the way in which established city venues, such as King Tut’s Wah Wah Hut, the Barrowlands, the Captain’s Rest, the 13th Note, Nice ‘n’ Sleazy, the Carling Academy and the O2 are the key meeting places in which interactions take place and are where business is often conducted. The crazy-quilt principle is particularly evident in the Argyle Court micro-cluster (see Chapter 7), where producers, photographers, managers, labels, distributors, marketers and designers are all located in one place. Argyle Court highlights the value of having a network of committed stake-holders in close proximity to one another. The synergies in Argyle Court may not always be apparent, with some businesses failing to recognise the potential of the contacts located right next door to them, but initiatives such as the newly instituted Hidden Lane Festival may help these businesses to better appreciate and exploit the networking potential of their environment. As De Propriis et al. (2009) have explained:

“These micro-creative clusters often stimulate the auxiliary activity (cafés, retail etc), and while remaining relatively small in scale provide that key ingredient, the creative milieu that is needed for micro-business to grow” [SIC].

Chapter 3 showed that the music industry, and the business models within it, have undergone some dramatic changes. As Sarasvathy (2001) suggests, entrepreneurs must now leverage surprises instead of avoiding them. The *lemonade principle* is especially relevant in the music industry, given its increasingly global scope, as the principle is one which encourages entrepreneurs to take advantage of uncertainty rather than work around it. The example described in Chapter 3, of Ailidh Lennon’s husband’s band, Idlewild, asking fans to donate £15 to fund studio time, shows the

band's willingness to respond to the realities of the environment. In a similar spirit, Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) talked about plans to create some competition for DF Concerts by offering music lovers an alternative to the traditional festival season through launching a Mediterranean festival cruise, along the same lines as the Weezer festival in the USA.

If anyone can start some competition for T in the Park and get the same amount of money at attendance it will be me, watch me! [laughs]. I've got a genius idea; I'm so excited about this... I want to put an event on a cruise ship. You'd have 3000 people on it and you'd have like about 30 bands playing in it...And you get a week in the MED at the same time as well, and the average spend at T in the Park is £600 per head. If I can do this cruise for £1,500 for the week for 3000 people, and that's including your flight from anywhere in the UK to Southampton... I'm so close to it! (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

Within a year of the interview, Keren had concluded the deal. An announcement was made in September 2012 that the Offshore festival will set sail in 2013.

The analysis also shows that music-entrepreneurs must be prepared to continually promote themselves in the face of increasing turbulence in the wider environment. They must continually self-manage and self-market, as the literature suggests. Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) commented in *the Herald* that: “The only way to ensure we make the most out of every situation is to run the band like a business” (Adams, 2010, p. 1). Having created a lasting brand identity for themselves, Skerryvore are now expanding their range of marketing channels to include an iPhone App – the first among the respondents to do so. Rather than waiting until they are forced to react to change, they are adapting, and even anticipating it.

The turbulence brought into the wider music industry by technological advances has created challenges which have in turn turned Sarasvathy's (2001) final principle, *the pilot-in-the-plane principle*, into an urgent reality. This principle is a reference to the

fact that most plane crashes occur through human rather than technical error, and that they can be averted by human action rather than technical or environmental inaction. Entrepreneurs are in control of their own destiny, and while a course of action may be perceived as risky, they can reduce the level of risk they face by taking pre-emptive action. The examples identified above show how, by working within their given set of means, aligning with committed stakeholders and working out what they can afford to lose rather than what they might gain, entrepreneurs can, to a greater extent, control their environment. On the other hand, Keren's story illustrates that entrepreneurs must also be able to adapt in the face of uncertain situations and industry changes.

As Chapter 3 discussed, entrepreneurs must be conversant with multiple business skills, while also continually honing their craft (Draper, 2009, p. 8). Many of the interviewees reported attending events and industry showcases in order to keep up to date with industry developments and to maintain links with the musical community. Some described having to call club bookers regularly to search for gigs. All of them said they stayed connected to their fans via online social networking sites such as MySpace, Facebook and Twitter (Fischer & Reuber, 2011). While many of the entrepreneurs had followed a long-term plan, studying music and working in the industry until it was time for them to launch their own business, a minority are now on a path that is a long way from where they started or intended to go. For both groups, their extensive knowledge of the industry, gained from years of working in it, has equipped them to spot new opportunities. Table 15, overleaf, identifies the specific dimensions of effectuation logic which have guided these interviewees, including those whose original plans have been altered by events in their lives.

Table 15: Examples of Respondents' Effectual Logic

The Dimensions of Effectual Logic					
	The Bird-in-hand principle	The affordable loss principle	The crazy quilt principle	The lemonade principle	The pilot-in-the-plane principle
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions	✓		✓	✓	
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3. Paul Tasker Doghouse Roses	✓				✓
4. Ally Gray Emubands			✓	✓	
5. Keren McKean Greenflame Consultancy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. Jamie Webster Instinctive Racocon	✓	✓			
7. Jamie Gilmour (WWPJP Manager)	✓	✓			
8. John Williamson Banchary Music	✓	✓	✓		✓
9. Joy Dunlop (Solo Artist)	✓	✓			
10. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn	✓	✓	✓		
11. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai	✓				✓
12. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	✓		✓		
13. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music	✓		✓		
14. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15. Ailidh Lennon Sons & Daughters	✓	✓	✓		

This analysis suggests that individuals embarking upon a career in the music industry are motivated by a range of individual and contextual factors, and that the processes they use are contingent on the nature of the opportunities which arise. Scholars have argued that although entrepreneurial opportunities can spontaneously appear, they are more likely to be discovered through a systematic search (Fiet 2002; Shane 2000). However, this may not be true of the music industry, given the non-standard nature of the sector and those who work within it. Serendipity, which lies between the planned and unplanned approach, or between *causation* and *effectuation*, has been seen as the bridge between both theoretical viewpoints (Dew, 2009, p.736). In this view, causation inspires the initial search, and then the recognition of new information by various means inspires the fit between the individual and an idea,

while effectuation logic inspires the entrepreneur to work within their given set of means. Dew's (2009, p. 749) perspective provides "a coherent rationale that unifies these otherwise conflicting perspectives". Table 16, overleaf, shows how these three perspectives – causal logic, effectual logic and serendipity – are evident in the entrepreneurial process as it has been pursued by the music entrepreneurs in this study.

Table 16: The Process of Music Entrepreneurship

The Process of Music Entrepreneurship									
	The Dimensions of Causal Logic			The Dimensions of Serendipity			The Dimensions of Effectual Logic		
	Opportunity Recognition	Market Activities	Resource Acquisition	Right Place Right Time	Chance Encounters	New Information	Who am I?	What do I Know?	Who do I Know?
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓
3. Paul Tasker Doghouse Roses	✓							✓	
4. Ally Gray Emubands	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Keren McKean Greenflame Consultancy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. Jamie Webster Instinctive Racoon	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
7. Jamie Gilmour (WWPJP Manager)		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
8. John Williamson Banchary Music	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9. Joy Dunlop (Solo Artist)			✓		✓		✓	✓	
10. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
11. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
12. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
13. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
14. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15. Ailidh Lennon Sons & Daughters		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

It is evident from the table that all of the entrepreneurs in the study have employed the three perspectives in combination, and that the combination of the dimensions employed in reality varied between individuals. No one followed a single, systematic approach and almost everyone reported having made a fortuitous discovery of some kind. The table is therefore evidence of Dew's (2009) assertion that serendipity is the link that binds the planned and the unplanned together.

5.4 Acquiring Resources

Having addressed *why* these music entrepreneurs were motivated to take on the risks of becoming self-employed and *how* they recognised or discovered opportunities, the next step is to consider *what* modes of action were used to exploit these opportunities. Individuals starting out in the music industry must create something of value for themselves and to the consumer and then be able to “pitch it, perform it, sell it and promote it” (Hambrett, 2008, p. 6). They are faced with the challenge of turning their creativity into something which is worth investing in. Hambrett poses the questions: to whom do musicians turn in the absence of Major label representation, and how do they attract potential investors?

As the literature in Chapter 3 suggested, start-ups in most industries generally have access to few tangible or intangible resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005), and this is particularly true in the creative sector. Accessing financial resources can be a particularly difficult process for a music-based business, as investors see the field as an area of high risk; the likely return on investment is often deemed to be too low or uncertain. In 2011, BIS issued an independent study into the funding issues faced by creative industry businesses. The report discussed the limited finance options available to many in the music sector (Fraser, 2011). It suggested that finance providers will consider investing in music businesses in instances where the owner has prior credentials or experience in the industry, such as a back catalogue of released albums (*Ibid*, p. 16), because lenders view these assets as tangible and as evidence of credibility. However, would-be music-entrepreneurs who are at the

beginning of their journey may lack the funds to produce a first album, or asset, and may therefore find themselves in a Catch 22 situation.

5.4.1 Legitimacy, Reputation and Status

A venture's lack of reputation, status and legitimacy will also affect the types of funders who are willing to invest (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 329). The current theory offers little explanation of how entrepreneurs access and configure resources in situations where these are scarce (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 329), even in industries where this kind of uncertainty is the norm (Bitektine, 2011). According to Baum and Oliver (1991), an organisation's chances of success are significantly improved when it develops ties with more established organisations – in the music industry, this has traditionally meant with one of the Major labels. In this way, the smaller organisation is able to build links with others in the supply chain and to establish its own legitimacy within the wider industry (Baum & Oliver, 1991). However, the recent shifts in technology have overturned this traditional model, and the challenge for many of the artists now flooding the market is to gain legitimacy without the help of a Major label.

Although the entrepreneurs in the study saw the advantages of establishing an alliance with one of the Majors, most regarded it as an almost impossible task. On the other hand, links to socially endorsed institutions such as government-run agencies were seen as a viable way to reduce the liability of 'newness' (Baum & Oliver, 1991). Many of the respondents reported experience of having contacted government agencies for funding, information, advice and support. In other words, as Singh, Tucker and House (1986) have observed, there is more than one way to create legitimacy and access resources.

5.4.2 Linking with Socially Endorsed Institutions

The journey to find finance can happen in as many different ways as the journey of opportunity recognition. Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) recalled that, having

just written their first album and self-funded their demo, the band “*couldn’t get arrested in this country*”. This was despite the fact that:

We weren’t really starting off from scratch. We knew a lot of people in lots of areas, different jobs, within the industry, all sort of round the country whatever, and a lot in London and I’d been working for Regular⁹, so I knew lots of agents and stuff like that, so I was like keen to get with an agent, you know? So we would send demos to them and Adele was sending them to labels and the people she knew, like indie labels, you know? Just trying to create a bit of a buzz. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

There was no immediate interest, but a chance encounter between band member Adele and the former press officer at Matador Records led to a deal being struck with his small label in New York. However, Ailidh also recalled that:

It was a kind of tiny label and it was like, you know, you delivered the record to him and he manufactures it and puts it out, but there’s no advance or anything like that. It was 50 – 50, but you know, that leaves you with the question of, right, how are you going to afford to record the record to deliver to him? (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

The band began to research funding and investment opportunities, turning to the Prince’s Trust and the former Scottish Arts Council for help. Finally, after several applications and with some inside help (as outlined in the quote below), the band secured a £5000 grant from the Scottish Arts Council as well as a further £1000 from Ailidh’s former boss at Regular Music.

It was a bit of an inside job to be honest, because a guy that was helping us out at the time, kind of managing us, he was on the panel...so it was a wee bit of an inside job, but we got the... We did create a good application to be honest and we were like pulling all the sort of, oh yeah, Arab Strap [an

⁹ Regular Music is an events company located in Glasgow.

established band and friends of Ailidh and the band], *and all that kind of like shit, and then we got it, so we recorded it.* (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

Thus, by aligning themselves with established bands such as Arab Strap and Mogwai, and by having a pre-existing connection with someone inside the funding process, Sons and Daughters were able to find enough funding to produce and release their debut album in the US. This international release and their appearance on the cover of French *Vogue* then led to them being invited to play at the South by South West festival in Texas, after which they were signed by Domino Records. According to Ailidh:

I can't say for sure whether or not if we didn't get that [Arts Council Grant] it wouldn't have, or if it would have just happened in a different way, but you know, you can never tell these things, but certainly the financial support and the sort of good will support from various people was really... sort of gave us a leg up. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

Many of the other respondents also received help from bodies like the Prince's Trust and the former Scottish Arts Council. When Stuart Braithwaite formed Mogwai and founded the record label Rock Action Records, their manager at the time secured a £1000 grant from the Prince's Trust. More recently, the label received an additional £1000 from the Music Futures Fund, in preparation for the launch of the debut album of one of its artists. This made a huge difference to the band concerned and to the business, as Braithwaite confirmed:

It [the grant] actually made a really big difference to the release of the first Errors album, it's a band on our label. (Stuart Braithwaite – Mogwai)

Similarly, Daniel Gillespie recalled being encouraged by west-coast company, MacLeod Homes, to apply to the PSYBT for funding. Having already succeeded once, the band tried again:

...applied for the growth fund to set up the record company which we got as well. We got Entrepreneurs of the Year last year from PSYBT, which was nice, 'cause I don't think a band had ever won something like that, you know? (Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore)

The start-up investment grant, along with some additional private investment secured through contacts in Tiree, was used to buy a PA system and a tour bus. A manager was recruited, and the band's merchandising was restructured. In 2010, they released their self-titled album and performed at T in the Park. The band continues to develop; their recently released fourth album, *World of Chances*, has been called their most "radio-ready album to date" (*Fife Today*, 2012).

Interestingly, rather than using these demonstrations of external support as a badge of legitimacy, the participants in this study were reluctant to discuss them unless they were specifically prompted to do so. Some even saw institutional linkages as a hindrance or embarrassment, especially in terms of their relationship with the music community in Glasgow. Entrepreneur Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) stated that:

There's very few cases round the world where you can see, you know, download the top twenty, selling albums or the top twenty, downloading albums around the world in every country and say how many of these people have been helped by government initiatives and the percentage. This will be a tiny amount, because it's not the way through the industry. And from the same token, within the industry an industry the [operational] side of the record labels, there's pluggers, promoters, radio stationers, you know? If you approach them and say, this is how you managed to achieve what you've achieved so far and it's through government funding and all these kind of things, you know, that is also looked at with some kind of stigma and snobbery, as though that's not the way through the system. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

Nevertheless, it is true that over half of the respondents had sought funding in one way or another, either to start their business or to facilitate a specific project or growth plan (according to Ailidh Lennon, without funding from the Scottish Arts Council her band would not have been viable).

Many of the respondents were also forced to leverage their existing knowledge and industry experience to identify the “valuable, rare, imperfectly inimitable and non-substitutable (VRIN) resources” (Barney, 1991, p. 117) which were accessible to them. Indeed, many of the respondents were more interested in discussing the importance of these non-financial resources, specifically in the form of the support and advice they had gleaned from industry contacts and others in the community. A second funding award helped Daniel Gillespie to set up Tyree Records, but the band also needed to utilise their other resources, contacts and networks to enhance their brand identity and grow their business. Similarly, when Brian Harvey, owner of Open Ear Music, was starting up his business (supported by loans from the PSYBT and Glasgow City Council), he turned to Dougal Perman, owner of Radio Magnetic, for advice:

I mean he's amazing. Basically, when I got finished with the NESTA thing I got in touch with him. I'd never met him but I was totally aware of what they did and I was like, right, "Can you help me out?" and they basically like totally sorted me out, and they helped me set up the company, gave me loads of advice and support, and like I paid them a wee bit, it was a cut rate sort of thing and they sorted me out with office space as well... (Brian Harvey – Open Ear Music)

Brian's relationship with Radio Magnetic became a partnership, and in 2009 the two collaborated on a project for Scottish Enterprise, along with Soma Skool and New Media Corp, creating the Music Now event to celebrate the MOBO awards coming to Glasgow. Since then, his business has continued to prosper; in 2010, Brian received an award from the Business Growth Fund to further develop the company's website.

But, in common with many of the respondents, Brian has found his interactions with these support institutions to be frustrating at times; a number of interviewees spoke about being made to ‘jump through the bureaucratic hoops’:

I mean to get that kind of funding they don't just give it to you, you have to jump through these bloody hoops which is a pain...and there's a lot of council kind of bureaucracy that is, it's completely needless, but I got it in the end so that's it! [laughs] (Brian Harvey – Open Ear Music)

Although John Williamson, manager of Belle and Sebastian, has never had any problems in securing grants from bodies such as the (former) Scottish Arts Council, he agreed that configuring the resources for a project can sometimes be challenging:

It's my job as a manager to go out and try and make it happen, and that involves them being resourceful in the kind of conceptualising, me being resourceful in the financing, and how you do that will be different for every single project. Sometimes it will be easy, sometimes it will be difficult, sometimes it won't happen because there's no way of subsidising it or you're always kind of robbing one pot of funds to pay for another. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

The entrepreneur's ability to combine and integrate their knowledge with external sources can greatly enhance the dynamic capabilities of their firm and create a competitive advantage (Jones et al., 2011, p. 9). Bootstrapping and bricolage theories (as outlined in Chapter 3) are one way of explaining how entrepreneurs are able to access resources and to configure them in useful ways. John's comment suggests that, like Peltz's music-entrepreneur taking on all the roles in the value chain, he must be adept at a range of activities. The means set cannot be defined as a constant or in terms of a project; rather, the various elements are collected and utilised as and when they are required (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

When Ally Gray, owner of Emubands, set up his first record company after leaving university, he applied to a number of support agencies and banks for funding. He managed to secure a bank loan:

When I set up the very first... the record company, I actually managed to get bank funding which was quite rare. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

Most banks will refuse on the grounds that they cannot assess such an investment, so this was an exception to the norm. When he subsequently spotted an opportunity to compete with his former employers, he realised that he had to change his plan and applied for a £1000 grant from Business Gateway. The start-up entered a *Dragons Den*-like contest hosted by Aberdeen University, which Ally and his partner won. The partnership with Aberdeen University has enabled Emubands to become Scotland's only digital distributor and the support has helped the business foster innovation and growth (Harrison, 2002), but it also has implications for the company's future investment prospects, as Ally explained:

Actually, because of that we've got quite complicated shareholder agreements, that sometimes it's not worth looking into equity funding for us..... So, if we were to start looking for equity funding it gets really complicated, so while we don't need it we're not going to seek it out. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

However, recent research conducted by BIS (2011) on behalf of the Institute of Directors and Universities UK has suggested that successful stakeholder agreements do exist and that “almost three-quarters (74%) of SMEs in the UK have worked with a university or higher education institution (HEI) in the past year” (Imperial Consultants, 2011). This implies that the complexities involved in sourcing funding through universities are a less significant factor in the success of such partnerships than are the attitudes of the stakeholders.

While Ally sought bank funding, many of the other respondents looked for other sources of investment. When Keren McKean was unable to secure the types of funding which Brian Harvey and John Williamson had received, she got around the problem by working with Miller Draft:

I had to get into marketing to learn what brands did, because I knew that there was no money for record labels anymore. (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

Keren began allying brands such as Miller Draft, Guinness and Red Bull with bands such as Biffy Clyro and Snow Patrol, in order to fund events and create future relationships. These partnerships with global brands have enabled Keren to build business stability and increase her bands' public visibility. Through them, she has established her own legitimacy, reputation, status and authenticity within the music industry. The "stories that are told by or about" (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001, p. 564) Keren in the media have confirmed her reputation and status as a music-entrepreneur as well as helping her to overcome the "liability of newness" (Hargreaves, 2003). This is crucial in an industry where a firm's professional reputation is judged on the basis of its previous actions (Bitektine, 2011, p. 162).

However, Keren has not stopped at building relationships between investors and bands; she has also brought bands together in the hope of getting them to tour together. Like John, Brian and Daniel, Keren has been able to utilise her personal and professional resources to her advantage in order to bring projects to fruition. As John Williamson (Banchory Music) noted, finding allies in the industry is crucial; whether you are working with funding agencies or brands, the resources which really matter are the friendships which you have formed.

5.4.3 Using Social Ties

Social ties are particularly important for overcoming the liabilities associated with being a new business, and for generating opportunities and resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005). In fact, research suggests that many would-be entrepreneurs "forgo

alertness” (Davidsson, 2008), preferring instead to utilise their contacts to help them spot gaps in the market (Burns 2001, p. 75). Networks are the “means at hand” (Sarasvathy, 2000) through which entrepreneurs can access a variety of resources (Jones et al., 2011, p. 11) including financial capital, information and access to clients, but the emotional encouragement and support they offer are arguably just as important, especially for those entrepreneurs who are operating in turbulent environments (Smallbone & Welter, 2001). In the context of the creative industries, and particularly in the music industry, pre-existing networks and the entrepreneur’s ability to create new networks (Lee & Jones, 2008), are hugely important in the venture creation process. They are highly likely to influence initial motivations, assist opportunity identification, and play a key role in the identification and acquisition of tangible and intangible resources.

How these resources are then combined is also of crucial importance. According to Emma Pollock, the industry networks which she had built up during her time in the Delgados were a vital source of support when she was setting up the Chemikal Underground label, not only in terms of finance, but also in the radio airplay she was able to secure. Both Douglas MacIntyre (owner of the Creeping Bent label) and Louise Quinn acknowledged the importance of John Williamson’s help and advice. Douglas and John met in 1994 at a Glasgow City Council run initiative, *Glasgow Sound City*. As they became friends, John gave Douglas advice and allowed him to run his label from John’s office in Argyle Court.

Although I had been involved in the music industry in various capacities, my knowledge of running a label was very limited. We received start-up advice through Glasgow Sound City 1994, which was a Glasgow City Council supported initiative. The person who helped Creeping Bent through Sound City was John Williamson, who currently manages Belle & Sebastian. I was very fortunate in that I built up a good working relationship with John Williamson. Shortly afterwards, I started operating Creeping Bent from John’s office, which was a massive step forward. (Douglas MacIntyre – Creeping Bent)

The support given by John Williamson to Douglas and Louise is a clear example of help which comes not just in the form of start-up capital but also in the form of knowledge, skills, encouragement, emotional support, the offer of a sounding board for an original idea, and access to other inaccessible or unaffordable resources (Ruef, Aldrich & Carter, 2003). According to Louise:

I think we would never have been funded at all by the Scottish Arts Council if it hadn't been for John Williamson, he just did the application for our first... for Luss and, you know, and then just sort of that showed me how to fill out the form and... Exactly, what they were looking for. But I mean I have, like everybody, submitted numerous applications and not all of them have been successful and I didn't think it was like very good how they started writing quite personal things to a lot of bands, you know? Towards the end there I heard that a lot of bands were sort of getting notes on material that they'd sent in, so not only were they not having the project funded, but being told that their album, the demo sounded too punk rock and stuff. (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

While such support and advice is of immeasurable value, social networks can also be a crucial source of funding. Douglas, for example, recalled borrowing money from friends in order to get his venture off the ground:

The age-old conundrum of art vs. finance. I borrowed money from a friend to start the label. Fortunately, we were financially successful within a couple of releases. However, we managed to get a manufacturing and distribution deal with Rough Trade distribution which made life considerably easier. (Douglas MacIntyre – Creeping Bent)

This kind of support is not uncommon; bootstrapping of this nature (Jones et al., 2011) can be seen at all levels of the music industry as it allows the entrepreneur to supplement their existing resources quickly and cheaply and to respond effectively to

new opportunities (Jones et al., 2011, p. 11). Entrepreneurs who are mostly relying on their own funds will also often depend on core or additional funding obtained from family and friends to get their venture off the ground (Cassar, 2004).

For some of the respondents, it has become the norm to rely on personal networks and close associations within the city's musical community to create opportunities. These networks allow music-entrepreneurs to make social connections with industry experts, suppliers, distributors and investors and, thereby, to establish their own legitimacy and that of their business. But, even though these connections enhance the entrepreneur's social capital and are a potential source of competitive advantage to them (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001, p. 554), many still have problems in accessing funding and resources. The ability to access resources through networks or other means plays an obvious and crucial role in the initial phase of the entrepreneurial process, but it is also evident that it can have a major impact upon the subsequent direction of the firm (Jones et al., 2011, p. 7). Table 17, overleaf, provides a summary of how the 15 respondents in the study acquired the resources they needed to launch their business.

Table 17: How the Music Entrepreneurs Accessed their Resources

How Entrepreneurs Bootstrap to Acquire Resources							
	Own Money	Family/Friends	Banks	Public Agencies	Private Investors	Industry Networks	Former Employers
1. Alan Scobie Blue Productions	✓				✓		
2. Emma Pollock Chemikal Underground	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Paul Tasker Doghouse Roses	✓		✓			✓	
4. Ally Gray Emubands			✓	✓			✓
5. Keren McKean Greenflame Consultancy	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
6. Jamie Webster Instinctive Raccoon						✓	
7. Jamie Gilmour (WWPJP Manager)	✓			✓		✓	
8. John Williamson Banchary Music				✓	✓	✓	
9. Joy Dunlop (Solo Artist)	✓			✓			
10. Louise Quinn A Band Called Quinn		✓		✓	✓	✓	
11. Stuart Braithwaite Mogwai	✓		✓	✓		✓	
12. Brendan Moon Morsecode Management	✓			✓	✓	✓	
13. Brian Harvey Open Ear Music			✓	✓		✓	
14. Daniel Gillespie Skerryvore		✓		✓	✓	✓	
15. Ailidh Lennon Sons & Daughters	✓			✓		✓	✓

It is clear from the discussion that funding was a critical consideration for the respondents. This reflects the situation not just in the music industry but across the creative sector as a whole. However, while finding funding has usually been the entrepreneurs' main concern, they have also relied on a range of tangible and intangible resources, from human capital to advice and support. Table 17 confirms that the 15 entrepreneurs in the study used a combination of techniques to access a variety of resources from a wide range of sources. Prior scholarship regarding the resources which music-entrepreneurs need when they embark upon entrepreneurial paths is scarce, but the discussion in this section goes some way towards addressing this gap. It sheds light on which resources are most important to entrepreneurs, how these resources are accessed in what are often imaginative ways (for example by working with government or private brands), and what techniques are employed to bypass barriers (such as soliciting support and help from friends and networks).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to shed some light on the actual process of entrepreneurship within the music industry, from locating opportunities through to the exploitation of the final concept. These findings suggest that, in contrast with traditional business models, entrepreneurs in the music industry take unique and individual journeys, and the ways in which they utilise their resources change constantly. In an industry filled with micro-enterprises, freelance specialists and project work, finding out about these entrepreneurs' journeys is a complex process.

The key findings of this chapter suggest that, in fact, the entrepreneurial process is not linear, not does it occur in three stages as the literature suggests. The process in the music industry is fluid, and it is as unique to each individual as are their motivations for undertaking it. Some of the respondents set out to work in the industry, planning their entire journey; others were impelled to become entrepreneurs because they were dissatisfied with the status quo; while a number of the participants spotted a gap others had missed, and capitalised upon it. Some were simply in the right place at the right time. Indeed, chance encounters and serendipitous discoveries seem to have played a central role for many – not just in the discovery of opportunities but throughout the entrepreneurial process and at different stages of the personal stories which were recounted. These findings support Dew's (2009) assertion that serendipity is the link that binds the causation and effectuation processes together, with *causation* inspiring the initial search, *recognition* of new information inspiring the fit between the individual and the idea and *effectuation* becoming the underlying logic of exploitation. However, this is not to suggest that entrepreneurs followed one or other (or both) of these approaches systematically.

An opportunity can only be of use if it is properly recognised and acted upon. The entrepreneurs in this study each asked themselves who they were, what they knew, and whom they knew. They built upon the answers to these questions in order to assemble the necessary financial and human resources for their intended ventures, from sourcing funding and grants to hiring sound engineers and managers. The small

size of the industry in Glasgow and its scarcity of resources mean that reciprocity within the community is crucial, as is insider knowledge. Ailidh Lennon's (Sons and Daughters) experience when setting up her band, and the funding advice given to Brian Harvey (Open Ear Music) by members of the musical community, show that it can be a simple matter of knowing where to look and whom to ask.

The key concern to emerge from the analysis was access to resources, specifically finance. This was an issue for the majority of the entrepreneurs in the study. As small or micro-businesses, they might be helped by project funding, yet from the interviews it is clear that many believed that access to such funding was generally out of their reach. The BIS report confirmed this when it addressed the funding issues faced by creative industry businesses and the limited finance options available to many in the music sector (Fraser, 2011). The report suggested that efforts must be made to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the creative sector so that policy objectives regarding support can meet the diverse needs of the businesses within it.

The existing research to date has largely failed to account for the other methods of securing finance that are often adopted by creative sector businesses in reality, but the above discussion suggests that bootstrapping is widely utilised to access funding from friends, family and networks within the community. In fact, these sources provide not only funding but also support, advice and a route to otherwise inaccessible resources, all of which are valuable to an entrepreneur who is setting up a business and attempting to overcome the liability of newness. Creative Scotland's recent changes to its funding policy, discussed in Chapter 3, may well make accessing funds an even more complex operation; it remains to be seen whether government attempts to improve relations, between funding bodies and applicants, or build trust by encouraging greater transparency and reducing jargon will have the desired effect. In the meantime, businesses in the creative industries, like the entrepreneurs who have featured here, may need to find alternate methods of accessing resources. More importantly, they need to be aware "of the practicality behind sustaining their creativity and making it profitable" (Hambrett, 2008).

CHAPTER SIX: BECOMING A MUSIC-ENTREPRENEUR

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the second research question set out in Chapter 1: how entrepreneurs go from making music to making money. The chapter focuses on the realities of becoming a business in the music industry and how an individual's role and identity within the industry change over time. It provides evidence of the changing career patterns in the industry, showing that long-term work commitments have now been replaced in many or indeed most cases by flexible, project-based careers that allow music-entrepreneurs to earn a living in an uncertain environment.

As has been highlighted in the previous chapter, entrepreneurs in the music industry, particularly those without the backing of a Major label, often rely on themselves. In the 1950s, the president of Columbia Records, Goddard Lieberson, stated that "musicians make the best business men" (*Time Magazine*, 1959). In today's industry, which can be characterised by a preponderance of small and micro-enterprises, it is especially important for musicians to be business people, but many find the notion of 'becoming a business' to be a daunting prospect, and many struggle to make the transition from musician to entrepreneur (Burland, 2005). The music-entrepreneurs who have been interviewed for the present study have all had to face this challenge. They have had to integrate two identities: their identity as a musician, which gives them the passion and motivation to pursue their goals, and their identity as an entrepreneur or new venture, which enables them to make a living out of being an artist (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 243).

While there has been a great deal of discussion of the role of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial process within the creative economy and the music industry, scholars have only recently begun to look at how music-entrepreneurs make the transition from musician to entrepreneur, with a number of studies presenting findings that they often struggle to disengage from their old role to develop a viable new identity (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010, p. 7). The present study makes a valuable contribution to entrepreneurship research by clarifying our overall understanding of

the interaction between what entrepreneurs *do* and who entrepreneurs *are* (Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann, 2006). The respondents' narratives are shaped by their perceptions – of their own identity, of the group to which they belong and of how they have dealt with the process of transition from musician to businessman. These results cannot be separated from their context and are therefore not generalisable, but they do enrich our understanding of how individuals make the transition from making music to making money.

6.2 The Career Transition: From Musician to Entrepreneur

Building a career in the music industry has in the past required a long-term association with a large organisation, but career patterns in the industry are now changing, and this kind of long-term commitment has largely disappeared. Instead, individuals engage in a succession of projects (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), often recreating their identity at will (Baker & Aldrich, 1996; Greenhaus, Callanan & Godshalk, 2000, p. 9). In other words, a career in the music industry may be seen in the modern industry as a series of acts or choices by the individual concerned (Hall & Mirvis, 1995, p. 271). Accordingly, identity has become a central concern in the field of entrepreneurship, with a number of studies addressing career transitions, founder identity and the conflicts which may arise from having multiple identities (Adler & Adler, 1978; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). This chapter looks at the challenges individuals face when leaving one professional identity for another (Carroll & Mosakowski, 1987).

Identity theory is a suitable way of examining the complexities of the music industry, with its technological advancements, changing business models, and shifts in occupations and in types and levels of entrepreneurial activity. Studies have highlighted that a change in career can also prompt an enduring change in identity (Hill, 1990) as the individual assimilates new roles and skills (Ibarra, 1999). Hall and Mirvis (1995, p. 272) have argued that the shifting environment occupied by musicians “places developmental demands on the individual for two key competencies (‘meta-skills’, since they are the skills of learning how to learn):

identity growth (more complexity, more self-reflection, and selflearning), and increased adaptability”. They suggest that musicians, who have traditionally spent their time developing a single specific set of skills, may find the idea of changing their identity and acquiring new skills especially challenging.

The previous chapter showed the findings which were presented that few of the respondents in this study had any intention of becoming an entrepreneur, and that most were initially motivated by a desire to make music and have fun rather than to run a business. However, most have had to become more business-like in order to earn a living and to further their musical careers. Few have found this transition easy, as becoming a business meant they had to take responsibility for more than just themselves. Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground), for example, described her excitement at starting her own label in order to release her band’s first record, followed by the unnerving realisation that she held other bands’ careers in her hands.

As the cost of producing, promoting and distributing products and brands has increased, this has put additional pressure on entrepreneurs like Louise Quinn (ABCQ) and Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore), who have had to source funding through public agencies and work in other industries in order to survive. Finances and raising funds must become an important part of the musician’s concerns, which can come as a shock to anyone motivated purely by the love of music. To sustain operations in such an uncertain environment, they must plan for every eventuality and constantly look for new ways to generate income. As Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) explains:

...most bands see themselves as a group of people who are wanting to make music and that’s it, but they forget that there’s a financial aspect to it and an organisational element to it, and as soon as you forget these things, things tend to fall apart. So the band that’s successful is the band that’s organised and probably has an element of accountants or accountancy somewhere in there, so somebody’s looking after the pennies to make things possible, someone else is looking after organisation to make sure that things happen,

and someone else is looking after the creativity to make sure that the thing that they make happen is good. So it's really important that they do at some point recognise that it is a responsibility like a business is. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

As suggested above, many in the music industry find it difficult to come to terms with the idea of being an entrepreneur. Yet, from the analysis, even those who begin as musicians appreciate that there is more to the music business than just creating music.

There's a lot of commonality between every single business all over the world and that is that there's money involved. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Those music businesses who fail to understand this do not survive. While the majority of those working in the industry see themselves as primarily music makers, the respondents in this study highlighted the dangers of ignoring business realities:

I mean it's all very well and good to know the thing that you're selling very, very well, but there's also the law involved and you need to keep an eye on that, so, you know, there's these things that if you get them wrong in the background they will creep up on you and they can absolutely pull the rug from under your feet... There's a lot of really fundamental ideas that can trip people up if they're not keeping their eye on every single aspect. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

It is well known that becoming established in the music industry, either as a performer or manager, is a notoriously difficult thing to do, but the comments above suggest that one factor which may compound the difficulty for many is a lack of preparedness for life as a business owner. There is a clear need to investigate how an individual's "motivations, personality, external support, and identity characteristics" prepare them for an entrepreneurial career (Burland, 2005, p. 57).

Some musicians experience a crippling fear of being involved in business. For Joy Dunlop, for example, moving to Glasgow and starting out as a solo artist was a challenge. Having come from the highlands and islands market and with a mainly Gaelic following, her move has also been a culture shock. Joy's dream is to work independently in the industry as a solo artist, but with no financial backing, label or network, she is struggling to come to terms with the reality that she must understand all aspects of the business, as well as the music.

Well we toured recently and it was all self-organised, I did it all myself, and it was crazy because OK, it was smaller venues, because it was just wherever I could get maybe like village halls, all that kind of thing. You know, it's like OK, it's good practice, but at the end of it... because there's three of us [freelance session musicians] and I do a three way split, because I feel like they work as hard as I do. But at the end of it I was like, well, I did all the marketing, I did all the PR, I did all the organising, I did all these things....they showed up, did what they did, the ones that maybe weren't so... we didn't make so much money, just for different reasons, I subsidised it then. I thought, what am I doing? Because I'm so grateful for the fact that they're playing, I'm making nothing for this, it was like, well I maybe need to look at this in a different way. (Joy Dunlop – Solo Artist)

With no physical products to sell, her income has been reliant until now on live gigs and remuneration from PRS for Music, the copyright collection society. While live gigs provide some exposure, Joy's lack of any extensive network connections means that she is forced to teach and undertake a number of freelance activities in order to keep going.

Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) also described how the artist is usually the last to get paid:

... I mean for example... you would take a gig, a single gig and you'd say right, OK, so what's the fee for the gig, that would be the guaranteed fee, and you would know that regardless of how many people came to the show, you would get that fee. Then out of the fee you'd pay for all of the session musicians, I don't mean the four of us because we were the band, I mean the session musicians, so the extra string players, the extra keyboard player, the people who were not part of the band, they will have to get paid. The sound engineer gets paid, the driver gets paid, the van hire gets paid for, so... accommodation gets paid for. So you take all that off the fee and you're left with maybe 100 quid. Now that £100 would be going to the band, so if you wish to be technical about it and straight down the line, each of the band members goes away with £25. Now they are probably the least well paid people out of the entire experience... that's what happens. If you are a business owner and... if you're the band, you're still a business owner, you have to take whatever comes your way, because there's no guarantee. Whereas if you're a session musician and you offer your services to people, you'll be guaranteed a fee but it will never be terribly big. Yeah, so that's really the difference between you choose to be a session player and you go out there and be employed by people, or you choose to do it on your own and you go out there and just take what comes. So it is quite risky, because that band or that solo artist, you have to share in the loss or they have to share in the profit, but what they have to do at all times is pay everyone else before themselves. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

For many of the entrepreneurs who participated in this study, who are struggling to run a business in a technologically advanced age (and in a male-dominated environment), the need to earn a sustainable living is the driving factor. They are preoccupied with building new social relationships and exploring new opportunities, rather than weighing the pros and cons of their decision to become music-entrepreneurs (Hoang & Gimeno, 2007, p. 9). Whether their transition from musician to entrepreneur was a gradual or sudden one, they have had to continually develop their skills in order to meet each new challenge they have faced.

6.3 The Music-Entrepreneur: An Oxymoron?

A number of assumptions are made about those who work in the music industry; while the media offers stories about independent artists creating individual brand identities (Sköld & Rehn, 2007), the literature often suggests that it is only creative geniuses who have an impact (Schumpeter, 1934). As yet, no one has examined how those in the industry reconcile the paradox between the worlds of commerce and art. The research field is filled with ideologies which sustain not only prevailing academic and societal biases, but also, quite possibly, false assumptions about the nature of entrepreneurship as a whole (Ogbor, 2000). For example, entrepreneurship literature characterises the entrepreneur as the heroic individualist, responsible for the innovations which shake the foundations of economies (Schumpeter, 1934). The reality is far less dramatic, with very few ventures having the potential to inspire economic growth (Storey, 1994). In the music industry, the mismatch between ideal and reality is evident in the way in which musicians and industry actors all seek fame, fortune and discovery when the reality is that they must work hard to get noticed at all. In creative terms, this idealised view finds expression in rap lyrics featuring the dominant “male model who has the strength and the courage to challenge the accepted ways of doing things and to sweep aside the forces of tradition” (Sköld & Rehn, 2007, p. 610). It can be argued that recent advances in technology and social networking have only served to make the concern with status, symbology and ideology even more pervasive. In essence, now that there is an even greater range of music available online, it becomes harder for musicians to become known and get their music listened to.

Studies have presented the music-entrepreneur as possessing a bundle of traits or heuristics, but in reality, few musicians see themselves as entrepreneurs until that epithet is placed upon them by the industry or the market. The entrepreneurs in this study, for example, although they are viewed by others in the industry as entrepreneurs, prefer to see themselves as musicians, producers, managers, songwriters or some or all of the above (see Table 18, overleaf). Adler and Adler

(1978) highlighted the challenge of balancing such a range of roles; they showed how college basketball players seek to resolve the conflict between their dual identities as athletes and academics, by “defining themselves as athletes first and students second”.

Table 18: How the Music Entrepreneurs Defined Themselves

The Entrepreneurs	Industry Role
1. Alan Scobie - Blue Productions	Producer, songwriter, recording artist.
2. Emma Pollock - Chemikal Underground	Singer, songwriter, guitarist, producer, label and studio owner.
3. Paul Tasker - Doghouse Roses	Band member, label owner, guitar instructor, radio DJ.
4. Ally Gray - Emubands	Digital distribution for independent artists, band manager.
5. Keren McKean - Greenflame Consultancy	Artist manager, events management, brand marketing.
6. Jamie Webster - Instinctive Raccoon	Artist manager, booking agent for Oran Mor.
7. Jamie Gilmour – Manager WWPJP	Artist manager, BASCA, SMC.
8. John Williamson - Banchary Music	Artist manager, professor at University of Glasgow.
9. Joy Dunlop	Solo artist, Gaelic TV, teacher, choir conductor.
10. Louise Quinn - A Band Called Quinn	Solo artist, band member, actress.
11. Stuart Braithwaite - Mogwai	Artist manager, label owner,
12. Brendan Moon - Morsecode Management	Music designer, promoter, DJ, label owner.
13. Brian Harvey - Open Ear Music	Musician, DJ, band manager.
14. Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore	Accordion player, band member, label owner, festival organiser.
15. Ailidh Lennon - Sons & Daughters	Musician, band member

The research suggests that this tendency to prioritise roles is not uncommon in the music industry. With regard to the participants in this study, for example, Stuart Braithwaite plays the guitar and Alan Scobie is a pianist, but neither listed these among their career roles. Bennet (2007) even found that most performance-based musicians identify themselves according to their instrumental specialty; for example, as a violinist, rather than as a musician (Bennett, 2007). Down (2006), on the other hand, suggests, given the complexities of human nature, an individual’s self-identity and social identity are likely to consist of an amalgam of identities which change with the contextual circumstances surrounding the individual and the firm (Mead, 1934; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006; Down, 2006; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). Therefore, although some of the respondents defined themselves as solo artists or performers, this does not necessarily reflect the full range of their activities; many

also work as producers, managers or teachers, as Joy Dunlop's (Solo Artist) example illustrates.

It has been suggested that an individual working independently can find it difficult to define themselves (Mirvis, 1995). In this study, this difficulty did seem to exist, and manifested itself in some respondents' apparent reluctance to see themselves as an entrepreneur. Although entrepreneurship is arguably at its truest in small and micro-enterprises, some of the respondents regarded the term music-entrepreneur as inherently being an oxymoron, on the grounds that entrepreneurship is about running a business, and not about making music.

Others have argued that the two functions should be fulfilled by different people: a musician should be a musician and an entrepreneur should be an entrepreneur and nothing else. Brendan Moon (Morsecode Management), who is manager of the solo artist Paolo Nutini, believes that the artist's role is to focus on nothing but writing and honing his craft. He found the idea that his artists would be interested in anything else to be ludicrous. Paolo Nutini has enjoyed growing success as a writer and performer in recent years, culminating in his best International Album Award at the Meteor Awards in 2010. Yet for Brendan, this is simply Paolo's job. In order to do it effectively, he must focus on the music, while his managers and those involved in the creation and dissemination of the products which he creates should focus on the business side of things.

A musical entrepreneur? I didn't think they actually live in the same sentence. If you want to be a musician, you know, I would say just completely, 100% focus on being a musician, you know? And if you want to be a song writer just completely focus on being that. (Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management)

However, not even Brendan sees what he does as entrepreneurial; rather, he sees himself simply as someone who is using his resources and industry experience to take an unknown artist, turn him into a household name and presumably maximise

the returns from his work. The literature suggests that Brendan's reaction is not uncommon: "music entrepreneurs when reflecting on their decision to become an entrepreneur grappled with the meaning of being an entrepreneur and the implications of other roles" (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010, p. 7). With a team of more than twenty staff and affiliations in the UK and US (with Atlantic Records), in addition to his own industry experience, Brendan can afford to allow his artist to focus solely on the music, but for many of the respondents who run micro-enterprises, concentrating on the music alone will not lead to a sustainable career.

True business acumen is, perhaps, exemplified by Daniel Gillespie, who has built up Skerryvore from a four piece Ceilidh band who have played gigs throughout the highlands into a six man band/brand which now performs at international festivals such as Celtic Connections and the MagiaCeltica festival in Italy – all without the support of a label. Using a start-up investment grant from the PSYBT to get off the ground, the band produced two successful albums before setting up their own record company. A further £2000 from the PSYBT (from whom they also received a Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award) has enabled them to continue both performing and releasing records internationally. They are also now embracing the new opportunities offered by digitisation, developing iPhone apps, iTunes and digital lyrics, albums and booklets. In Daniel's view, the band's best decision was to hire a manager and start looking at itself as a brand; he insists that: "The only way to ensure we make the most out of every situation is to run the band like a business" (Adams, 2010, p. 1). Skerryvore have not suffered from their lack of Major representation; instead, they have made the most of the advice and support available and Daniel has learned to combine the roles of musician and entrepreneur.

The fragmented nature of the industry means that many bands and brands are forced to find their own investment and to seek out untapped resources in order to succeed (Baker & Nelson, 2005). According to M.D. (PRS For Music):

A manager has to be 10% a musician and an artist has to be 10% a manager.
(M.D. – PRS For Music)

Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) agreed with this, observing that:

The music industry is changing so much; you can't be an old school manager. (M.D. – PRS For Music)

This changing market means that music-entrepreneurs are increasingly being forced to understand, and be able to operate in, all areas of the industry, from production to distribution. As Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) explained:

...you know, there's not just the thing you're trying to sell or make, there's also the back room stuff... you know, there's what you want to sell and why you want to sell it and how do you want to sell it and how do you want to market it...? And it's all quite, it's all quite exciting really because you don't know what you're going to get... I love the unpredictability of running your own business because... you can have really, really terrible times, there's no doubt about it, but you've always got the power to try something different. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

While many of the respondents became entrepreneurs in an effort to retain their artistic integrity, rather than to focus on business, the difficult nature of the environment has meant they have had to adapt and diversify their skills in order to survive. The successful commercialisation of creative ideas in the music industry requires entrepreneurs to face the realities of running a company, such as the “costs of running a business, need of organizing work and actively exploring opportunities for improving their work” (Olesiewicz, 2011, p. 8). They must have multiple business skills and must, through these, be able to play a broad spectrum of industry roles (Oakland, MacDonald & Flowers, 2012, p. 3). Even so, some of the respondents still do not see themselves as being in business as such, while others continue to see the two functions as contradictory, thus confirming Adler's (1978) assertion that where an entrepreneur possesses multiple identities, these may come into conflict.

6.4 Overcoming the Transition: Becoming a Business

The realisation that they must become business-oriented came as a shock to many of the entrepreneurs. Some, such as Brendan Moon (Morsecode Management), who had not intended to set up a business, were presented with an opportunity at the right time and took advantage of this. For others, e.g. Stuart Braithwaite (Magowai) and Ally Gray (Emubands), who had always wanted to work in the industry and to run their own business or band, it was a natural progression to go from university or school into self-employment. Taken as a whole, the respondents expressed widely differing views: for Paul Tasker (Doghouse Roses), working in the music industry was never a viable business option, while Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) was always motivated by the idea of ownership.

I've always liked that idea of ownership, of an idea and of kind of having the freedom to have an idea and being able to pursue it in your own way. And even though there were the four of us and we're all completely equal, there's no leaders as such, the four of us decided to go and do this thing which was set the band up, set up a company. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Several of the respondents embraced entrepreneurship and immediately started working for themselves having left university or college. Stuart Braithwaite (Mogwai), like Emma, started a band and launched a label, while Ally Gray (Emubands) set up an online distribution company for artists and labels. Each of these entrepreneurs utilised their skills in a variety of ways, and aimed to provide something that was new, different and better. Many of the other respondents shared similar experiences, though they varied in terms of the journey they took. One moved from journalism and academia into management, while another actually spotted the opportunity that subsequently became his business while still at university.

The literature pertaining to career trajectories among professional musicians suggests that musicians generally make a number of transitions throughout their life, firstly from high school to college, and then as they embark upon and develop their musical

career (Weller, 2004, p. 251). The shift from adolescence to adulthood is considered to be the most significant transition (Gecas & Mortimer, 1987), with the young person having to make “a number of different choices concerning careers, social-life, leisure activities, and personal relationships” (Burland, 2005, p. 45). More recently, studies have begun to consider the experiences of musicians as they leave education and enter the professional world (e.g. Mason et al., 2012).

Many of the entrepreneurs featured here had had to think long and hard about making the transition from musician to businessman. For Alan Scobie (Blue Productions), the first step was to overcome the ideology of being in business. In particular, he felt that the view he had of himself as only being the owner of a recording studio was holding him back:

I thought I was just the guy that worked in the studio, you know? (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

Once he had moved into the community at Argyle Court, however, Alan began to reassess both his own, and his business’s potential. Now that he was surrounded by others who could make his product better, he became confident enough to start producing albums for domestic and international artists. Advancements in technology now mean that he is able to work from Glasgow, surrounded by a local network of creative businesses. Like many of the businesses that feature in the study, his business has become entwined with a number of others, competing and cooperating in mutually beneficial relationships. These businesses demonstrate the truth of the assertion in the literature that entrepreneurial acts arise out of the interaction between industry actors (Bennett, 2009).

While this sounds harmonious, in reality, the situation is much more complex. Many of the entrepreneurs in the study were inspired to become self-employed at least in part because of their dissatisfaction with the status quo or with their employers. For example, Ally Gray (Emubands) began his business due to his dissatisfaction with the industry structure and the lack of distribution options for independent artists and

labels. Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy), having been denied the opportunity to gain US managerial experience by her then employer, realised that the only way to develop her career was to set up on her own. She began working with Miller Draft, organising events all around the city, and began to realise that while the labels had no money to speak of, non-music brands did. While managing bands such as Ariel's Up and the Reindeer Section, Keren was building stable relationships with brands including Guinness and Red Bull, and organising events such as the Snow Patrol homecoming concert at Ward Park in Bangor (June 5th 2010, in partnership with Guinness). For Keren, her work in Greenflame Consultancy has shown that partnering her bands with brands has meant more opportunities. Her next step is to promote her acts internationally, although she is reluctant to explain precisely how this will happen.

6.5 Adapting to Survive: From Music to Business

The music industry is as changeable as any other. Many of the respondents noted that these changes tend not to be sudden, but are gradual. Whatever the trend, whether in terms of business models or technological development, “eventually, something else will replace it” (Morley, 2010). Failing to adapt to the environment, like the failure to focus on the business side of things, is a mistake. As Louise Quinn (ABCQ) noted:

If you get one new fan a day then that is, you know, you find that as a big massive break through. (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

Although chance may initially favour the prepared mind, long-term success demands an adaptable outlook. As Timmons suggests (1989, p. 49):

“Art is a human, creative act that builds something of value from practically nothing. It is the pursuit of opportunity regardless of the resources, or lack of resources, at hand. It requires vision and the passion to lead others in the pursuit of that vision. It also requires a willingness to take a calculated risk.”

For some of the respondents, starting a business in the music industry was an act of adaptation in itself, while for others, the requirement to constantly learn to do things in new ways has been the biggest challenge and involved the most change. Many have become technologically skilled and learned to utilise the digital environment to their advantage, while others have exploited their networks to open doors into new industries. Adaptation, much like the business of entrepreneurship itself, is not a discrete event but a process that unfolds over time; as the process evolves, so too does the entrepreneur, who learns by doing (Cope, 2003) and who becomes more adaptable by covering every angle (Draper, 2009, p. 8)

This is evident in Louise Quinn's (ABCQ) story (see Chapter 5). From her time with Hardbody to her solo work for the Sony record label, her writing/performing partnership with Alastair Cooke, the launch of their own record label, the emergence of A Band Called Quinn and her subsequent live performances and collaborations, Louise's career is a good illustration of the ongoing process of adaptation and evolution. Her experiences have left her with no illusions about the difficulties of working in the industry; when she is asked for advice by students, she commented that:

I tell them that one day I might be dressed up as a hotdog in Tollcross Park getting booted up the arse by some ned [local slang for troubled youths], and then the next day I'll be flying to Paris to sing on Kid Loco's album, it's as random as that, there's no definites, there's no... pension. (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

Louise's account shows how vital it is for entrepreneurs to take advantage of all their skills and to adapt; indeed, many of the entrepreneurs in the study have found this to be the only way to sustain their business.

Lindgren and Packendorf (2003) identified the fact that entrepreneurs may be simultaneously engaged in a range of entrepreneurial acts. They suggest that behind a visible venture, there might “also be other entrepreneurial acts within organisations,

in non-for-profit work, or in private life” (*Ibid*, p. 94). Among the interviewees, there were several examples of business start-ups being run alongside project-based ventures. For example, in addition to being the driving force behind Skerryvore, Daniel Gillespie also established the band’s record label and the Tíree music festival, while Emma Pollock is simultaneously the owner of the Chemikal Underground record label and the Chem19 recording studio, as well as being a solo artist, a freelance writer and active with Mental Health Scotland.

Others continue to work in their official career or as salaried employees while pursuing a number of other business activities. This not only helps to reduce risk; it is also a way of gaining information about the wider environment and acquiring on-the-job experience (Cope, 2003; Bennet, 2007; Draper, 2008; Mason *et al.*, 2012). John Williamson (manager of Belle and Sebastian), for example, also holds a full time position at the University of Glasgow, while Douglas MacIntyre, owner of the Creeping Bent record label, is a lecturer at Glasgow’s Stow College. Jamie Webster (Instinctive Racoons) runs his management company and also works as an events booker for the Oran Mor venue, building both his network and his reputation, while Jamie Gilmour, manager of We Were Promised Jetpacks (WWPJP), sees his employment at the Scottish Music Centre and the British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Authors (BASCA) as ways to foster links with funding agencies.

As has been discussed above, a key to the survival of music-entrepreneurs is their ability to adapt to the technological advances that have always driven the arts industry – from the technology of live performance to reproduction and distribution technology. In recent years, there has been a huge shift in the way in which music is produced, distributed and showcased. The physical product has been replaced by a digital product, and the Internet has allowed artists to communicate directly with their audiences and to challenge the dominance of the major labels. These changes in the wider environment have had a dramatic impact for Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) both as an artist and a label owner. Emma recalled the buzz that surrounded the label and its bands in the early days:

Chemikal Underground came out very quickly and we had a hell of a start, and I say that in a positive way, we really did. I mean we had Bis on Top of the Pops and we had Arab Strap and Mogwai and Delgados, you know? We made an impact like probably, like no other label in the first five years, it was absolutely incredible. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Though initially exciting, running the label has since become more of a challenge, and Emma confessed to feeling under constant pressure to remain ahead of the game:

People are always excited about a fresh idea presented by fresh individuals in something that, something new to talk about, and then you just kind of slip into the background, and you've got to keep trying to justify people being interested. And obviously this comes from trying to sell yourself in a slightly different way, trying to sign artists that are new and fresh and exciting. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Traditional ways of producing music have become more costly, access to music via online sources, legal or otherwise, has become the norm, and consumption has changed from being fan based to cost based. While artists are still expected to spend large sums on recording studio albums, the rewards from this can often be minimal. For Emma, changes to the industry have meant increased costs, a lack of money for advances, declining physical production and sales and a greater reliance on live gigs and merchandise (Garofalo, 1999; Frith, 2007) for income. She has been forced to look for new ways to make money, but while most would find this daunting, she claimed that she felt differently:

I've always enjoyed the excitement of having to go into something not quite knowing what it's going to get you, and I love to... I love working out... I love problem solving.....maybe something that I've probably taken out from the whole maths and science background.....I actually really, really, really enjoy that. I find that all quite interesting because running a business, it is like spinning many plates. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Although she has no definitive answers as to how she will continue to adapt the business, aside from working with her current bands to enhance their digital and physical profiles, Emma's responses suggest that she is ready to embrace the unknown in the form of whatever changes happen within the industry in the future.

Many of the respondents saw the digital era as presenting challenges, but for others it has opened up new opportunities. Ally Gray (Emubands) was working with a digital distribution company which dealt exclusively with the Major labels when he realised that increased digitisation would soon create a need for someone to represent the artists themselves. This inspired him to open Emubands. The idea behind the business was to directly represent artists who wanted to release their music online to sites such as Amazon and iTunes, in return for the full profit. Emubands is the only digital distribution company in Scotland dealing with unsigned acts and independent labels. The road has not, however, been straightforward, and while the business is growing at a steady rate, any prospect of further growth is often stifled by complex investor agreements as well as poor infrastructure in terms of bandwidth and upload speeds. Ally believes that these challenges can only be overcome through an injection of capital and by changes among Internet suppliers.

For respondents like Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters), the key to remaining in business has been to learn from experience and adapt accordingly. When Ailidh saw the lack of money on offer in the industry, she decided that it was time to look at new ways of making a living. Having seen Idlewild's campaign to raise the funds to produce their latest album by appealing directly to their fans, Ailidh began rethinking many of her own band's early decisions. In their early days, Sons and Daughters had turned down an offer from Motorola to use one of their songs in an ad campaign "*due to youthful integrity*". When they were later approached by the Timberland brand, they decided that this time, they couldn't refuse:

If you want to actually keep going as a band you have to take any income you can get. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

For Ailidh and the rest of the band, the use of their song in an advert was not ideal in terms of principles, but it made them the money to fund their next album. Unfortunately, the band was forced to take a very low fee – the oversaturation of the market and the demand for the slot meant there was no room for negotiation (several of the other respondents recounted similar experiences). Ailidh had to learn to adapt and compromise in order to earn a living and to find new ways to reach her audience. Similarly, Keren McKean's (Greenflame Consultancy) Mediterranean festival cruise is another example of an entrepreneur who is finding new ways to reach an audience. What Keren, Ailidh and Emma have in common is that they have each found innovative ways to adapt to their situation and bring their music to the market.

6.6 Reputation as a Resource: Music and Marketing

Music-entrepreneurs in Glasgow have sought to overcome the dual problems of market saturation and the lack of Major representation by marketing themselves, creating advertising campaigns and a brand identity, and performing live in Glasgow and elsewhere. Some, like Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy), have aligned themselves and their artists with larger brands, creating lasting partnerships that are both a source of investment and a way of establishing their legitimacy in the context of the wider music industry environment. The rest rely on personal networks and close associations within the city's musical community to generate opportunities. However they choose to reach it, everyone acknowledges the importance of the market, but many of the entrepreneurs have found it virtually impossible to get noticed in such an uncertain environment. The business models have changed, and to attract attention, bands now have to create an identity for themselves that is recognisable to the industry and their fans.

Research suggests that musicians often integrate intensive self-management with self-marketing in order to market themselves and their brand (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 243). Daniel Gillespie's account of the evolution of Skerryvore illustrates this process. Since changing their name from Brois to Skerryvore, the band have

developed and consolidated their brand through regular live performances, acclaimed albums, the PSYBT Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award and, more recently, a range of merchandise and digital media products. Their brand identity and logo have become increasingly well known, but they continue to look for new marketing channels, and they have now launched their own iPhone App. Although for many, running a band like a business and seeing it as a brand is a difficult and perhaps unpalatable prospect, according to Daniel, it is the only way to operate in today's music industry.

Chapter 3 identified how using viral marketing campaigns, performance imagery and Twitter have allowed big name artists to reach their fans, and the entrepreneurs in the present study have got in on the action too, with Keren McKeans's (Greenflame Consultancy) former band Biffy Clyro and Jamie Gilmour's (WWPJ) band, We Were Promised Jet Packs working with large brands such as Miller Draft. Others, like Joy Dunlop, hope that if they perform enough, they will be noticed. These musicians while undertaking different activities, all make their living from merchandise sales and returns from PRS For Music. Like Skerryvore, the majority of respondents saw the necessity of promoting themselves in any possible way, performing live and collaborating with others to expand their portfolio. All the artists reported having performed all over the country, but while some had become internationally known in a matter of months, others had found it very difficult to attract any attention at all.

Having struggled for months to get noticed, Ailidh Lennon's band (Sons and Daughters) reluctantly accepted an offer to record an album from an industry friend and contact:

It was a kind of tiny label and it was like, you know... you delivered the record to him and he manufactures it and puts it out, but there's no advance or anything like that... it was an old school sort of costs... split... 50 – 50, but you know, that leaves you with the question of, right, how are you going to

afford to record the record to deliver to him? (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

The band began researching ways to get funding for the album. Originally Ailidh and the band approached the Princess Trust, however they were rejected due to lack of track record, so they then sought help through the former Scottish Arts Council. Ailidh describes how the band exploited their social networks to effectively bypass the regulatory system in order to secure the funding for the album.

the Arts Council... it was a bit of an inside job to be honest, because a guy that was helping us out at the time, kind of managing us, he was on the panel... We did create a good application to be honest and we were like pulling all the sort of, oh yeah, Arab Strap [another successful Glasgow band they had worked with at the time], and all that kind of like shit, and then we got it, so we recorded it. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

Their debut album, *Love the Cup*, was launched in the USA by Ba Da Bing Records in 2003. It attracted the attention of the organisers of the 2004 South by South West (SXSW) festival in Austin, Texas, and the editors of French Vogue (Lipsky-Karasz, 2008), who featured the band in a two page spread. As previously discussed the magazine coverage and their performance at the SXSW festival resulted in their signing to Domino in 2004.

In hindsight, Ailidh Lennon felt that the band had been wise to launch their album in the USA, since doing so had created a mystique around both the group and their record, as the UK media speculated on why they hadn't launched at home rather than abroad.

We got signed basically in South by South West because people were kind of picking up on us – how come their record's coming out in America but it doesn't come out here...it was a bit of a kind of angle I suppose... it kind of made us a wee bit of a buzz band. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

The exposure created a platform for the band in the UK, and in 2006, they were invited to tour with Morrissey. According to Ailidh, Sons and Daughters' success at the 2004 SXSW festival, alongside the success of Franz Ferdinand the next year, led to a number of bands going to Texas over the following few years in the hope of being noticed. A number of respondents, including Jamie Gilmour, manager of We Were Promised Jetpacks, noted the value of festivals like South by South West as places to receive media attention and to make contacts, although no one else had experienced the kind of exposure that was given to Ailidh Lennon and her band. It might be argued that Ailidh's work ethic and industry experience was the main thing which attracted Ba Da Bing Records. If so, this is another example of an organisation using an individual's past actions as a predictor of their future professional behaviour (Bitektine, 2011, p. 162).

There are those who argue that increasing interest from outside the industry has made festivals such as the SXSW less like industry platforms and more like holiday destinations. Many of the respondents talked about taking their bands to Texas, but the few who had done so, such as Jamie Gilmour, said that although they had made some lasting friendships, only a few of these were of any real use in the industry. Brendan Moon (Morsecode Management) also took Paolo Nutini to Texas, but with no representation in America, and no experience to speak of, it took several years of impromptu gigs outside the festival before anyone took much notice:

We were doing gigs in car parks, you know, we did them, we did, over about a five day period we did about twenty shows....and we only stopped when Paolo's voice stopped! (Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management)

It was not until he was supporting the Zutons in New York that Paolo Nutini finally met executives from Atlantic Records, and since then he has had what Brendan called "a good run in America". Brendan pointed out that he now does things differently. To ensure that his artists are a success, he takes care to align them with the right people and send them to work with the best producers in the world; even

when the product is of a high enough standard, he holds off until the market is ready for its release. Instead of pushing his artists to perform until their voice breaks, he now hosts intimate acoustic sets for the press and the media at the convenience of the artist.

As has been mentioned, another method which some of the respondents have employed to make themselves or their artists stand out in an increasingly saturated market is to work with global brands. Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) argued that working with brands like Miller and Guinness is one valid way of finding the money to develop bands. Compromises are necessary, but this money is not generally forthcoming from within the music industry. The danger, as Ailidh Lennon discovered, is that the intense competition among bands to be associated with large brand advertising campaigns means that their involvement is often not as financially lucrative as it should be, or perhaps would have been in the past.

Getting noticed is as important for a band or a business as being able to adapt to the changing environment. People can compose music at home, but if nobody else hears the results, it does not circulate widely. Filling a theatre with people may help, but if they are not the *right* people, i.e. those who are influential and who have large networks the whole exercise may be fruitless except for the money it might generate as a one off.

6.7 Sustaining the Enterprise

The ultimate ambition of all the entrepreneurs in the study is to make a sustainable living from the music industry. Although many of the respondents described the transition from musician to entrepreneur simply as having been a matter of survival, it was apparent that, regardless of the path they had followed or their industry role, they were, and are, seeking sustainability in an uncertain environment. Some have adapted and taken advantage of new technologies to gain exposure, while others have put their faith in traditional marketing methods. The latter group rely most heavily on the close associations and affiliations which characterise the industry (see Chapter 7),

and these have also been of great value to the researcher for the purposes of the present study. Ultimately, the desire to maintain exposure is the chief motivation behind the decisions of the majority of respondents in this study.

In Emma Pollock's case (Chemikal Underground), there was initially a high level of interest in her label and band, but she has since found it difficult to sustain that momentum:

It's been more challenging since then, funnily enough, you know, the decades since. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

When her band split up and the industry shifted from physical to digital media, both she and the label she had set up had to adapt to survive. Forced to look at new ways to make money so that they could continue releasing records, the company began selling online, even redesigning the artwork on the website to make it stand out more. Even so, as the market continued to evolve, it became evident that further change was needed.

It's almost as if everybody's got a particularly short attention span. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

The advent of digital media and mobile technologies has changed the way music is consumed and this has, in turn, had an impact on how it is produced. Music has become disposable, fans buy singles online instead of purchasing the hard copy, and album sales have decreased while online singles sales have rocketed. The industry still expects bands to produce credible albums, while accepting that some fans may only buy a handful of their songs at a time. Mobile technologies and the increasingly transitory nature of music files and downloading mean that sound quality has been devalued for many listeners, yet at the same time, the costs involved in production have gone up. As costs have climbed and sales have at the same time declined, it is no longer sustainable for Emma's label to pay advances. Moreover, she has had to find new ways of ensuring that her artists stand out from the competition.

Sustaining their business is the most difficult thing to achieve for those working in the musical community in Glasgow, and there are many examples of entrepreneurs who have had to adapt in order to keep going. Stuart Braithwaite (Mogwai) began his career when he was still at college. Motivated by a love of music, he ended up in a band and then set up a record label. Like Sons and Daughters, the band was ideologically motivated, releasing singles that were over ten minutes in length to follow their own musical path, avoiding becoming ‘mainstream’ and avoiding the singles charts. But according to some in the industry, Mogwai’s progressive style limited their success:

The indie thing is... 100% bankrupt... as far as I’m concerned, [i.e. not a viable business opportunity in terms of financial return], because... it just never sustains itself, it never turns into any kind of real business model, like Mogwai are a great group, there’s no doubt about it, but it’s like what happens to a lot of these bands is they get to the point where, you know, like me, you know, it just doesn’t add up any longer, they’ve got to move on.
(Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management)

Mogwai did indeed eventually decide that if they were to make money they had to make some artistic compromises, and in 2006, they began composing songs for films and launched their own label, to the dismay of some of their own fans. Other respondents, such as Ailidh Lennon, told similar stories of having to compromise their initial idealism in order to make a living. Similarly, Keren McKean has found that working with brands also has its drawbacks:

When I did all the stuff for the Mill, because it’s a brand, we had to check all the lyrics and all the content, that was pretty hard. Frightened Rabbit had an absolute nightmare with it, because you had to say to them, “You’re not allowed to talk about smoking, drinking, taking drugs or sex”. (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

All of the entrepreneurs in the study are not only seeking financial sustainability but are also aiming to sustain their position in the industry. To do this, they must be adaptable and constantly on the hunt for new ways to promote themselves or their artists and to increase sales in the technological age. Bands have learned to create online profiles and cultivate their reputation as live performers, while promotions, showcases and merchandising are now a larger part of the entrepreneur's remit. For some of the respondents this is still an ideological challenge, but most of them realise that merchandising is necessary to their business survival (e.g. the example of Daniel Gillespie). The money that has traditionally been used to entice bands to sign with labels is no longer available, and a new generation of web-savvy entrepreneurs are instead now taking a DIY approach and utilising the resources they do have to look for their own opportunities.

As the literature review in Chapter 3 highlights, the entrepreneurial process is ongoing. The need to constantly readjust and adapt to new situations and environments is difficult for some people, but others, like Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground), thrive on the challenge of dealing with the unknown. The industry faces ongoing challenges in terms of both its local and wider environments (see Chapter 7), and these are set to increase as more digital products become available. For the entrepreneurs in this study, the challenge of remaining sustainable is unlikely to get any easier.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to show how the music-entrepreneurs in the study have navigated the transition from making music to making money. The findings suggest that many of the respondents in the study have found becoming an entrepreneur a challenging process – not all of them fully understood or welcomed the transition from musician to businessman. The media understandably focus on success stories, but the reality is that most people in the industry must work tirelessly to get their artists or business noticed at all. Continual personal and professional self-promotion is required, as is collaboration with others in the industry. The cases discussed here

demonstrate that artists and distributors alike face challenges, and that advances in technology mean that all these businesses must constantly adapt to survive. But they also reveal that all of the respondents are driven by the twin forces of a love of music and a desire to build a long-term career in the industry.

Many of the respondents who were interviewed for this study have worked with brands in order to take their business to the next level, while others have licensed themselves and their music in the hope of securing a successful advertising campaign. For some, creating a brand identity has been the best way to achieve recognition, while others have responded to changes in the market by interacting directly with fans. Many have sought out media coverage for their artists by showcasing them at live events around the country, while others have relied upon word of mouth and a heavy concert schedule to get noticed. Those with prior contacts and industry experience have been able to use these resources to generate interest around their artists, thereby optimising their chances of success in the market. For many, long-term sustainability has also entailed a level of artistic compromise in order to make a living.

CHAPTER SEVEN: OVERCOMING UNCERTAINTY: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the third research question set out in Chapter 1: how entrepreneurs overcome the uncertainties associated with working in the music industry. The chapter focuses on the impact which the wider business context has on how entrepreneurs conduct their business, and how they adapt to survive. The chapter then provides evidence of how reciprocity within the local community has helped music-entrepreneurs to overcome the challenges they face. Finally, the chapter shows how public policies aimed at fostering Glasgow's music industry (see Chapter 2), while doing much for the urban landscape, seem to have left many of the entrepreneurs untouched. Instead, much of the entrepreneurship in Glasgow's music industry operates 'under the radar'. Argyle Court, for example, has become an invaluable environment for music firms, but it was developed privately and not specifically for music ventures.

As the study has discussed in previous chapters, the last two decades have seen a dramatic shift in the music industry. Recent advancements in technology and the rise of the Internet and digital music have created shockwaves in an already struggling industry which has been dominated by multinational players and defined by mergers and acquisitions. The Internet has allowed artists to communicate directly with their audiences and challenge the dominance of the major labels. The global industry today is therefore trying to reshape and restructure in order to survive. The ways in which music is produced, distributed and showcased have changed; the physical product has been replaced by a digital product, and rather than purchasing music, consumers choose to share it, thus reducing the sales and profits of record companies and artists alike (Graham et al., 2004, p. 1090). Increasingly, business is being carried out electronically, now even via mobile technology. It has been suggested that "there is a tendency to talk of 'bricks and clicks' when discussing the impact of the Internet on the industry as a whole" (*Ibid*, p. 1101). It appears at the moment that

in terms of music production, distribution and consumption, clicks rather than bricks may dominate in the future.

Although the major industry players have been adversely affected by the Internet and economic recession, local music, including that which is made in Scotland, is thriving (McCracken, 2009). The Internet and advanced technologies enable small music businesses to make money; those who “formerly just ‘got by’ can make significant reductions in their costs, and some increases in their revenue, improving their stability and sustainability” (Wall, 2007, p. 29). The physical product may have changed, but the premise of the industry has remained relatively stable, in that artists continue to create music, record labels, independent or otherwise, promote and distribute it, and fans still consume it. As traditional models have become obsolete, musicians have turned to the community for support, while the online market has given them a platform where they can showcase their talents and enhance their profile. As suggested in the previous chapter, “most small music enterprises have neither the time nor the resources to step back” (Wall, 2007, p. 28) in order to analyse the changes to the music market; rather, they are learning by doing and adapting to survive (Ibarra, 2003).

7.2 The Changing Product

The arrival of digitisation created shocks across the music industry as the realisation gradually set in that the traditional ways of doing things would no longer work in the future. The Internet drove prices down and costs of production up, affecting the economies of scale upon which the industry relied to make a profit. As downloading and peer-to-peer file sharing reduced the average number of units being sold, these units became more expensive to produce and labels were therefore obliged to maintain or increase the price of their albums and products to compensate (BPI, 2011). As one respondent commented:

What in actual fact happened to physical products is that the packaging has become more and more elaborate.....as a response to the Internet. (Emma

The number of pressing plants in the UK was dramatically reduced, and as more and more bands adopted a DIY approach, creating and producing their own albums, it became increasingly difficult to find somewhere to press at a competitive price. The Majors, who had been preoccupied with their own mergers and acquisitions (Williamson & Cloonan, 2007), were slow to react. They responded to the digital threat by shifting their emphasis to live music, promoting large, high profile events with artists such as Take That and Beyoncé in huge arenas such as the O2 and Wembley. But as the venues and the bills became more ambitious, ticket prices rose and eventually, many consumers stopped buying tickets (BPI, 2011).

In Scotland, this trend eventually led to the cancellation of several festivals¹⁰. The *Herald* reported in 2009 (McCracken, 2009) that Connect, Homecoming, Live at Loch Lomond and The Outsider had all been cancelled because organisers were wary of spending large amounts on big bands and big experiences, although according to a frank assessment by Ricky McGowan, Live at Loch Lomond's organiser¹¹:

It was more to do with the rain than the economy, and as for Homecoming they couldn't sell enough tickets and the line-up was shite! (Ricky MacGowan – Colours)

In Glasgow, the shift in emphasis had the effect of enhancing the city's live music scene and its role as a driver of the night-time economy. In a 2009 interview with the *Herald*, Radio One presenter Vic Galloway commented that:

“The scene as a whole has never been healthier... The quality and the quantity has gone up. There are more gigs, more nights and more promoters than ever before” (McCracken, 2009).

This supports the findings of both the 2008 UNESCO Bid Document and John

¹⁰ Apart from high profile events such as T in the Park.

¹¹ www.colours.co.uk

Myerscough's 2011 report that while fans may no longer be prepared to pay upwards of thirty pounds to see a big band play live, in Glasgow they were happy to pay ten to see "three in one night" (Ally Gray, Emubands).

While live music in Glasgow is a key driver of the economy, the digital revolution has also fostered music production in the city by enabling bands to produce their own music to near studio standard and to showcase it online at relatively little cost. But while the production quality may be going up, many feel that, at the same time, sound quality is declining:

While technology is advancing, the quality of music...the sound quality, because the way that a lot of people are listening to music, is diminishing. And it may... it may just be a bit out of depth, because basically when MP3s first came on board and MP3 players came on board, they were very poor.....because when something is introduced to the market, the quality was just good enough to be able to get it out there, but it's not going to make money. So we're now on the climb and the MP3 quality is improving and the way that they're listening to it is improving and the design is improving, but we're still at that really bizarre point where we've got this huge technological advancement in music, but you'll get kids listening to music on their mobile phone speaker.....even though the music is being made in the studio with thousands and thousands of pounds worth of equipment....I find it really odd. It's extremely odd, so... The lack... there's now a lack of appreciation for a really, really good hi-fi which is why a lot of the hi-fi shops in Glasgow have closed down now, and instead of hi-fi people are talking about surround sound systems and home cinema, so the emphasis on music at the moment it is really dying. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Emma suggested that there are various ways for musicians to get their music produced (Arnold & Glencross, 2008). This was evident in the different approaches adopted by Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters), whose band pre-mastered their own

album, and Louise Quinn (A Band Called Quinn), who took her music to others to produce.

The industry may have seen a decrease in CD sales, but the Internet can, if it is allowed to, open up new, untapped markets, or even old ones that the traditional industry has forgotten. Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) spoke about the renewed interest in vinyl:

Vinyl has come back to some extent as a result of the Internet, the Aereogramme box set, the Arab Strap box set, the Mogwai re-issue box set, you know, they're all absolutely beautiful. They're expensive.....but they're absolutely worth every penny, and it harks back to that idea of, you buy the tangible product, you keep it, you value it, you listen to it, with a real attention, because it's something that you've really invested in, you've actually had to part with quite a bit of cash and the value placed on it as a result is clearly significant. So there's always a flipside, and the flipside to the Internet at the moment is that physical packaging and vinyl has become, you know, people are upping the ante quite a bit, they're challenging themselves to do something which sticks out in the marketplace. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

In her research into the Indie music scene, Fonarow (2006, p. 47) found that for music fanatics there still remained a “certain degree of fetishism in the enjoyment of the purchase of a vinyl recording”. To the digital music consumer, the increased choice and convenience may outweigh what the record/CD collector would regard as the loss of the shopping/buying experience, but for Emma, and for many others, the tangible product remains important. Although the “*technology changes around us...well, we don't*” (Emma Pollock, Chemikal Underground). Many of the respondents felt that both the physical and digital markets offered opportunities, and that either or both (Ally Gray, Emubands) can be exploited by anyone who is willing to ignore the monopoly of the Majors and do it themselves (John Williamson, Banchory Music).

7.3 Death by Digitisation: Retailers and Distribution

As the production of music has changed, so too have methods of delivery. Traditional forms of distribution have declined dramatically. In Glasgow alone, respondents have noted the loss of many music retailers, and in the wider music industry, this downturn has taken place at a phenomenal rate, with even large retailers such as HMV closing many of their branches. As with production, the distribution function has had to adapt. The Majors have reacted by creating websites through which they can sell CDs and merchandise online, but many of the larger players have had problems adapting to the new digital distribution model. On the other hand, as one of the respondents noted, many of the independent labels have maintained strong relationships with distributors:

The distributors of the independent record labels that still exist are putting out an extraordinarily large amount of stuff. (Emma Pollock – Chemical Underground)

These links have given them the flexibility to sell their artists' music direct to the fans.

The Internet has facilitated a new distribution model which is centred on MP3 files, downloads, file sharing and streaming, but new technologies and partnerships still continue to emerge: M.D. (PRS For Music) identified the Apple iCloud as an example, while Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) mentioned the new Orange music partnership with UK Spotify rival Deezer. M.B. (EKOS) described the Majors as “*getting hammered by digital downloads [and] file sharing*” and commented on the knock-on effect this has had in the following way:

The industry's... persistently second rate and slow response to all of that [digital and technology changes] and its complete failure to adapt its business model to the.....reality of the digital world, and all of those things have just

continued to exert pressure all the way down, so it's a really, really tough industry. (M.B. – EKOS)

Yet, despite the uncertainties presented by digitisation, many in the industry have found ways to exploit the capabilities of the new digital market. Unrepresented artists (such as Scottish artist Amy MacDonald), for example, are able to produce and upload their music files directly onto the Internet and thereby cut out the need for physical distribution altogether (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 243). The success which has been achieved by some bands after posting on sites such as mp3.com and MySpace has confirmed these as new platforms for getting noticed. However, as the profile of these sites has grown, so too has the number of bands releasing music on them:

I think it was good for a window of about eight months, and then every man and their dog put on there, and most of the waffle that came through was utter, utter nonsense. (Paul Tasker – Doghouse Roses)

This echoes the views of a number of the respondents, who commented that while the introduction of music hosting on sites such as MySpace initially greatly improved the chances of getting noticed, the market has since become saturated:

The more accessible something becomes, the less effective it becomes. So it's easier to set up distribution on the Internet because you can, arguably you can put it up on MySpace and let everybody buy your song, but who knows it's there? Nobody knows it's there. So distribution is absolutely nothing if marketing doesn't go with it... No one knows it's there, I mean it's a bit like... you can write the greatest song in the world but if you keep it to yourself.....then, you know, it's a different thing entirely. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

M.D. (PRS For Music) went further, commenting in more general terms on the proliferation of music on the Internet:

There's too much music, that is a terrible thing to say, but you know, there is such a deluge of music now, because...having...the physical pressing of CDs acted as a kind of financial constraint to a certain extent, but now, once you've got your master done, there's very little expense involved in actually getting up online, so the Internet's choking with music, and the danger is, I suppose, that the really good stuff gets subsumed. (M.D. – PR For Music)

Inherently within the traditional model there was what one respondent (Emma Pollock, Chemikal Underground) called “*a vetting procedure*”: the media were an important part of determining which acts would eventually break through. As Wall (2007, p. 33) has explained, radio shows were once thought of as “the sole determinant of what could be heard and what was bought”. Now, however, anyone can produce and showcase music online, making it more difficult for genuine talent to be found among the large quantity of music which is ‘out there’:

It's a difficult thing to morally take on board, but the idea of the charts was always an interesting one, because it took quite a lot of the hard work out of it. Because a lot of people loved the fact that you could go and listen to the Top 40 and if you really wanted to know what was out there and what was the best, it was generally regarded that you were going to get the best.....on the Top 40. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Another respondent explained that the media is not (and never has been) the only means used to vet new talent:

I seriously doubt that A&R scouts scour MySpace for bands, it will still be tip offs, it will still be recommendations.....so in essence I don't think it's made it any easier or more difficult, it's just a lot more music there. It's kind of allowing the public to be the filtering layer before it gets to the A&R process line, I think. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

Acts may get noticed online, but they must still become known to the extent that people recognise their name, attend their live performances and buy their records; it is still a huge leap to go from MySpace or a self-recorded, locally produced demo to making a nationally distributed record. As one respondent (Jamie Gilmour, We Were Promised Jetpacks (WWPJP)) noted:

It's like finding a tree in a forest. And I think everybody's aware that that's the case. It's not that it's made it easier to be found, I think it's just given you more tools that you previously didn't have, and if you take it from that perspective rather than going, it's easier to find us, then you're not waiting on someone to find you. (Jamie Gilmour – WWPJP)

With this expansion in online activity, distribution companies have emerged which specialise in ensuring that artists are getting online exposure and are being paid for each sale. Businesses like Emubands in Glasgow are becoming the way forward for smaller labels and artists who are looking to distribute direct to their audiences by striking deals with online retailers such as iTunes and Amazon. Again, the problem of oversaturation is still present. But, as Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) commented:

We made these mistakes way before the Internet came along....you know and.....nobody knew it. (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

This view suggests that the industry cannot entirely blame the Internet for its current problems – it has to look at its own historic failures in order to avoid oversaturation and adapt new business models. It is still difficult to fully determine who benefits most from the new model: the consumers, the artists or the record labels. Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) observed that:

People used to say five or six or seven years ago... "Isn't the Internet great? Suddenly it's a level playing field." Well of course it isn't, it never is, because in business where there's a market people will always have an advantage

over other people. And that will depend on profile, money, strategy, simple distribution, really, really, really simple things, but it will never be a level playing field, so there are still artists out there who are able to use the Internet to more of an advantage to the next person.....who maybe doesn't have the knowledge or the money. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

The Internet has created problems for many industry players, but for others, it has made things easier in terms of reaching their contacts in the industry. Tam Coyle recalled how, as a young manager without money or connections, he took a demo tape down to London and cold-called record labels from a pay phone. These days, things are much easier:

I mean, I can literally... MP3 a track down; maybe 22 scouts in, be like, "Hi guys, how are you doing? We've just recorded a new demo at the weekend here, what do you think?" And maybe four or five come back. "Oh, I really like that, send us some more", "Oh, I'll come up and see them". (Tam Coyle – Former Glasgow Music City Officer)

Lastly, it should also be emphasised that the Internet has enabled some performers to create direct relationships with their fans; Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) described how her husband's band, Idlewild, used their website to make a plea to fans to help fund their album (the band recorded it in Glasgow in 2012). While a number of respondents commented that the move by Idlewild was a reaction to their previous relationship with the Majors, others saw it as an example of what the Internet was created for: to link artists and their audiences in ways which had not previously been possible.

7.4 Changes in Consumption Patterns: The Relationship Between Artist and Audience

For many of the respondents, the greatest impact of the new technologies has not in fact been on the creation and production of music but, instead, on its consumption.

Digital music, especially file sharing, has helped to drive broadband adoption, the multi-billion pound digital media industry, the evolution of the home stereo and the development of smart phones. It has resulted in a generation of consumers who are more interested in access than in ownership, as Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) explained:

It completely and utterly dilutes your relationship with that particular piece of music.....so you don't go out and invest and commit, you know? You don't actually say, "I am a fan of this artist or at least I'm going to take a chance on this artist", and put your hand in your pocket, come out with a tenner, part with it and go home with it, a tangible item. You own it, and it's there, and you see it, and you never forget you have it. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

Even so, as M.D. (PRS For Music) explained, each year, further advancements in technology bring a reduction in the total numbers of downloads. Emma Pollock puts this down to illegal downloading, while Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) ascribes it to advancements in streaming capabilities and music genome software such as Pandora, Spotify or iTunes Genius, which identifies the characteristics of a listener's favourite songs and directs them to other, similar music.

These changes in consumption patterns have impacted upon production. Although digital single sales are increasing year on year, both digital and physical album sales have seen a decline (BPI, 2011); consequently, the ways in which albums are produced have changed. Whereas as Emma Pollock commented many albums have in the past been used to tell a story, with each song developing the story further and drawing the listener in, artists are now being forced to tell "*a usually hour long story in less than three minutes*" (Emma Pollock, Chemikal Underground). The fan following for specific bands which once characterised the independent sector has now been replaced by audiences who have no alliances and who move from band to band as and when a new single takes their fancy, as Tam Coyle explained:

In my generation you got a CD home and you played it to death, now folk are, “Oh aye, I went to see a band at the ABC at the Academy or Barrowland,” or wherever. They go home, download tracks ABC, and they know three tracks from the band, and now... but I go to gigs now and I can remember my day there was about 80% of the audience singing every song, and now you can stand out there, kids outside maybe the Gallery of Modern Art wearing maybe a T shirt or an artist and you’ll say, “Are you a...?”, “Oh I’m a massive fan”. They go to a gig and they know five songs, they know the songs that are on the radio, they know the song their pal downloaded or they hear in the disco. (Tam Coyle – Former Glasgow Music City Officer)

Thus, one of the challenges facing the respondents is a decreasing commitment among listeners. Music is transient; one respondent (F.G. - Scottish Enterprise) even saw it as simply another type of content, which is interchangeable with videogame soundtracks.

It’s just content and music’s one of those things that could be in a game or the game could be in music and vice versa. (F.G. – Scottish Enterprise)

The spread of mobile technology now means that the audience’s ability to listen has become more important than the quality of the music which is being produced – although the music must still be produced to a professional standard. As Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) explained:

I mean you’ve got this idea that you can take music and you can shuffle it about and make it into a party mix and all this, and do you know, it does really, really, really compromise the listening experience for a lot of people. We’re being fed a bit of a, you know, a pop market, the way that music is being sold to us is very much the pop market idea, where the song, is about the song it’s about the song, and you never really hear people talk about the album as much, unless it’s a specialist music show. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

The audience no longer necessarily gains the additional context which has in the past been available through listening to the whole album, and the physical connection is also lost. As Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) observed: “*they buy singles and iTunes lets them*”. She sees this trend as having resulted in a generation of fluid fans, and believes that, for this reason, even contemporary bands as successful as Snow Patrol will never achieve album sales to rival bands like U2. In her view:

None of the bands are ever going to be this big again. I mean, people have said to me, “How are you going to get Snow Patrol to U2’s level?” And I’m like, “I’m not, it’s never going to happen, it’s too late”. (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

Tam Coyle recalled that in the 1980s, it was not unusual for bands to sell more than 40,000 copies of an album. However, this no longer happens because the fan base does not exist in the same way any more. Keren described a kind of pyramid effect:

With Aerials Up, you know, we nick Snow Patrol’s fans and we nick Paulo Nutini’s fans, because that’s what we need to do, you know? So if Paulo and Snow Patrol both take us on tour, brilliant, you know? And I’m saying, “Right, Snow Patrol, take Paulo with you on tour”, because maybe they can nick Snow Patrol’s fans.....Snow Patrol nick U2’s fans, right, U2 have got nowhere to nick from, and Snow Patrol are just a level below, there’s nowhere else to go after that. There’s different things that we can do, we can break different territories, you know? There’s a load of territories that we’ve not got into just now, and we’re going to use brand money to do that because we can’t do it through record sales. That’s what I’ve done with everything that I do, you know...? ’S like if you use the brand in the right way the band will get involved and more so now than ever. (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

In order to sustain their success, many bands have had to adapt and think creatively about what they should do next. This might include working with brands to enhance their profile, or becoming involved in organising festivals. Thus, Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) created the Tíree Music Festival in 2010, while Keren McKean (Greenflame Consultancy) has developed a Mediterranean version of the Weezer Festival cruise, called Offshore. Given that the UK is now saturated with festivals, a music festival on the high seas may represent a gap in the market, but even if this proves to be the case, like every other innovation, it will run its course and the industry will then need to find new ways to keep the audience engaged.

7.5 Adapting to Survive: The Local Industry

As suggested in Chapter 2, Glasgow has built a reputation as a pop-rock city and is of local, national and international importance as a musical centre (Williamson et al., 2003). The historic and current importance of music in the city (Craig, 2003), the high quality of its musicians (Wilson & Murphy, 2004) and the city's use of music as a tool for social regeneration, improvement and education were all recognised when Glasgow was awarded UNESCO City of Music status in 2008 (Myerscough, 2011). The music business in Glasgow is tolerant of variety, open to ideas and aware of the need to exploit digital technology and intellectual property (Cultural Commission, 2005, p. 86). The available literature suggests that it is for these reasons that Glasgow today is: "a more developed, vibrant and internationally sophisticated city than ever before" (GUCoM, 2008, p. 23).

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 showed that "locally produced live performances are a key driver of the night-time economy, and that the cultural benefits of music in the region are widespread" (SAC, 2005, p. 8). A respondent from the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau described the potential impact a live performance can have on the city's international profile:

...bringing in P Diddy to perform a world exclusive at the Fruitmarket to 1,500 people, it's the Charlie and the Chocolate Factory golden ticket, you

know what I mean? Competition winners all over Europe coming in for that one gig, it's broadcast tonight at 9 o'clock on MTV [29 September 2010] so I mean that's 161 countries and 641 million people will see that tonight. (A.J. – GCMB)

Making, playing, and earning from contemporary music is a market-orientated business in Glasgow. In the opinion of Radio 1 presenter Edith Bowman¹², its success lies in the fact that:

“Glasgow is home to genuine talent and the respect the musicians have not just for each other but for the city itself is astounding.”

However, it has been suggested that, “despite the huge Scots talent across the years, it's not all that often we've had a giant” (Kielty, 2006, p. 104)¹³. Many have felt that Glasgow's failure to produce an act which is capable of sustaining global success has put the city's music industry at a severe disadvantage. According to one respondent, businesses in the industry face:

...the classic problem of, while being probably very well placed in many cases to spot talent at grass roots, they lack the financial wherewithal to invest in that talent, so they quite often lose it. (M.B. – EKOS)

Many in Glasgow regard the use of the term ‘music industry’ as inappropriate, suggesting it is more of a “*small scene*” (Alan Scobie, Blue Productions) than a fully functioning industry due to its “*fragmented*” nature (M.B., EKOS), as well as its minimal resources (M.D., PRS For Music), the lack of “*major label presence in the country*” (John Williamson, Banchory Music) and its small or non-existent presence in the wider musical environment. Those labels which are connected to the wider environment are relatively small in terms of size and exposure, compared to the

¹² Radio 1, Documentary: Last Train to Glasgow Central, Broadcast 12/09/2005 [Online] <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio1/onemusic/documentaries/glasgow537p01.shtml> - [Accessed, 27 July 2007].

¹³ Wilson and Murphy (2004, p. 126) ascribe the city's musical strength to its honesty, passion and soul.

larger international players. The three main labels in Glasgow are Chemikal Underground, Domino Records and Soma, all of which are connected to the wider network through stable trading relationships and partnership agreements (meaning that the overall environment is an even more difficult one for smaller and newly emerging labels, of which there are many). However, what these three lack in size, they make up for in reputation, according to PRS For Music representative, M.D.:

Chemikal Underground, which is a brilliant label, I'm happy to go on record and say that I think they're brilliant people and they could hold their head up against any record label in the UK and probably in the world in terms of their business practices and their ethics. (M.D. – PRS For Music)

Glasgow's historic association with small, independently owned record companies is widely recognised across the industry (Green & Crutchly, 2007, p. 54), and its music entrepreneurs have an international reputation. It is also widely known that substantial public sector investment has been committed to nurturing the sector in Glasgow, by providing practice facilities, high technology recording studios and professional support. As one respondent explained:

In terms of support for the music industry... the Arts Council, I think, were quite active with what limited funds they had, because so much of their budget was committed by the big cultural players [for example the RSNO and RSAMD]. They tried to make investment into the sector, into labels, into parts of the infrastructure, to try and support and develop an industry... which is arguably not their job, but they were doing it. (M.B. – EKOS)

Government agencies have also ensured that the city has the hard and soft infrastructure which firms need, with city-wide strategies for outreach in education (Sheridan & Byrne, 1998, p. 1), individual and community development, and social inclusion (Brooks, 2000, p. 56). One respondent recalled pianist John Lill's message for the city:

“London should be ashamed of itself, a city of your size and you can do all this, this is wonderful... you have the balance between economics and the regeneration and transfiguration of the person and the community”. (C.L. – GCC)

Recent studies (e.g. Myerscough, 2011) have challenged a pessimism which has arguably been evident in the past, and highlighted the economic and cultural importance of the city’s music industry, and the city and the industry are now being seen in a new light. It is important to note, however, that these studies only address the measured industry; as many industry actors are, in reality, freelance but not registered businesses, the data represents only a fraction of what is actually happening, a finding that was confirmed by Scottish Enterprise representative, F.G. who commented that:

So there tends to be this blurring of, you know, who’s doing what... as a government agency, we tend to use industrial occupational classifications for stuff, which are woefully inadequate to actually capture a lot of this stuff. (F.G. – Scottish Enterprise)

Glasgow City Council’s commissioning of Myerscough’s report and the Scottish Government’s investment in the recently established Scottish Music Industry Association both suggested an increasing recognition of the role played by the industry. A.J., from the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, saw music as *“one of those USPs, if you like”*, while another representative from Glasgow City Council suggested that;

Without the arts, without culture, music, sport... we are barbarians. That’s what shows our humanity... every city needs more. In terms of the wider world we probably do... in terms of Scotland and the UK we probably do very well... we’ve got everything, and we’ve got what you’re interested in, we’ve got classical music and big events and the BBC Symphony Orchestra in Grand Hall, we’ve got the Fruitmarket, an edgy, dark, wonderful space... it’s

that smoky... edgy atmosphere... And the RSAMD is so to be proud of, and the fact that, you know, we have about 137 musical events every week from King Tut's Wah Wah Hut right through to classical concerts in the RSNO and RSAMD. But I think a man's reach should always exceed his grasp. You should always be aspiring for more... the future for Glasgow lies in partnership. It lies in finding the right partners, and persuading those partners that here we have something which is worth not just saving, but regenerating. (C.L. – Glasgow City Council)

Critics may argue that Glasgow's music industry lacks unity, that there is a lack of Major representation and an underdeveloped musical infrastructure, but more and more musical businesses are emerging each year and the sector continues to thrive. Although some observers are sceptical about the kind of support that has been given to the industry (Ross, 2007, p. 27), others argue that the involvement of public and private agencies is vital to its growth and to the city's economic prosperity.

7.6 The Real City of Music: Describing the Musical Community

The music industry encompasses a range of participants, including composers, performers, publishers, record companies, distributors, promoters, retailers and collecting societies, but at its core are musicians (Throsby, 2001, p. 112). Glasgow's music industry is not just a collection of businesses, but it is, rather, a vibrant creative milieu,¹⁴ comprising venues, events, artists and musicians who are all competing and cooperating with each other and with the wider music industry. The individuals and businesses who inhabit this milieu recognise themselves as a *community* – even those who dispute that it can be called an industry (M.B., EKOS). Those working within the community are also its creators. According to respondent M.G. (SMC), between them, they represent more than 120 occupations. This is despite that fact that, as both the literature and the respondents have identified, the

¹⁴ The term milieu encompasses both the built environment, from the hard infrastructure to the soft, and the spaces and places that provide opportunities for interaction. The milieu in the city is more of a metaphorical mind-set; nevertheless, the city's creative sector is calculated to have contributed over £707 million to its overall economy (GUCoM, 2008).

Major labels have no presence in Glasgow (John Williamson, Banchory Music), nor do they have any resources invested there (M.D., PRS For Music). Thus, business within the city's music community has largely been left to the 'independents'¹⁵.

It is important to note at this point that although the Majors have no presence in the city, there is a division between "*the subsidised and the unsubsidised*" sectors (M.B., EKOS). On the one hand there are the subsidised (Ken McCluskey, Electric Honey/Bluebells), who are generally classical, national companies (e.g. the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet and the National Theatre of Scotland)¹⁶. More than 177 organisations and businesses in the classical sector (encompassing everything from orchestras and jazz ensembles to festivals and events) collectively receive over £3 million annually in support from Culture and Sport Glasgow (part of Glasgow City Council) on a project-by-project basis. Those in the classical sector who are not connected to the larger companies and organisations, along with those working in other genres such as rock, pop, indie and folk, make up the commercial or unsubsidised (M.B., EKOS) sector. This sector forms the focus of the discussion¹⁷ in the following sections.

The commercial or unsubsidised community is made up of a large number of small businesses with no ties to larger organisations. These operate in different areas of the industry, from creative services, creative content, creative experiences and creative originals to manufacturing and distribution¹⁸. The largest organisation in this sector are probably event organisers DF Concerts, who are responsible for planning and booking marketing campaigns for every concert in the city and surrounding areas, from T in the Park to the 2008 MOBO awards. This company is one of the largest contributors to the Scottish economy (F.G., Scottish Enterprise). It works in

¹⁵ In this context, the term refers to the independent businesses located in the city. Later in the chapter, the term 'independents' will also be used to describe the independent record labels in the city.

¹⁶ Scotland's fifth national company is the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, which has a permanent base in Glasgow City Halls alongside the BBC Symphony Orchestra.

¹⁷ Deeper investigation of the differences between the classical and non-classical musical communities, although it would be useful, does not lie within the scope of this study. This could be a consideration for future researchers to think about when looking at the music industry.

¹⁸ UNESCO Bid Document, 2008.

partnership with local authorities and the city's marketing bureau, employing more than 20 full time staff and hiring others on a project-by-project basis.

In addition, there are numerous large and small venues, recording studios and rehearsal spaces as well as production companies and online distribution firms (A.J., GCMB). According to the UNESCO Bid Document, there are hundreds of such organisations in the city centre and the surrounding areas, covering every facet of the supply chain from live venues to production¹⁹ (GUCoM, 2008). Many are either small businesses or involve self-employed freelance workers moving from project to project and holding down more than one job at the same time (Jamie Gilmour, WWPJP) in order to make a living.

With hundreds of graduates flooding the market each year, and bands and businesses constantly moving or closing down, the creative community is perpetually renewing itself. Existing industry actors face ever greater challenges, while newcomers are likely to find it increasingly difficult to stand out. The musical community is saturated, both with qualified musicians looking for work²⁰ and with

...musical opportunities in terms of rehearsal rooms, recording studios, venues for you to play. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

According to Brian Harvey (Open Ear Music), the environment is “*very competitive*”; as many of the city's larger labels downsize, bands and artists are even being forced into other industries and areas of work in order to earn a living (Mason, Sheridan & McFarlane, 2012). Currid (2007) suggested that venues, clubs, recording studios and performance spaces act as physical conduits for music entrepreneurs, but Jamie Webster (Instinctive Raccoon) expressed the view that it is actually possible to have too many of these conduits:

¹⁹ The term here refers to the production of music.

²⁰ An example search carried out on the UK Music Jobs website (<http://uk.music-jobs.com>) showed more than 200 positions being advertised across the UK, from A&R to booking agents, yet only six were posted in Glasgow, and two of these were in promotions rather than the industry itself.

I think the disadvantage possibly would be maybe too many venues, too many bands, there's too much going on, you know? (Jamie Webster – Instinctive Racoon)

In contrast, one respondent asked:

... how can there be too much live music? That's a good thing, it's part of the city's character, it's part of what Glasgow's known for internationally, is having that. There are more gigs in Glasgow per year than virtually anywhere else in the UK, per head of population is phenomenally high, and in many respects that's just self-evidently a good thing, actually. (M.B. – EKOS)

Ally Gray (Emubands) echoed Jamie Webster by commenting that the free venues in the city “*devalued live music*”. With many bands and artists now paying to play, it is more difficult for genuine talent to earn a living. As Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) observed:

Unless you're, as big as say P Diddy, or unless you've got a funding budget from something like a council, or some major body, you'll not get near the Fruitmarket. (Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore)

Glasgow City Council, the Scottish Government and the Scottish Enterprise Network have been the primary drivers of, and investors in, the development of the Merchant City area. According to M.B. (EKOS), there has been:

...a deliberate strategy to build the music thing around the city halls to bring SMC down there, to bring the BBC Symphony Orchestra in there, regenerate the Fruitmarket and have that as a kind of hub of musical activity. (M.B. – EKOS).

The entrepreneurs' comments suggest that they have had experience of the polarising effects of creativity-based city planning policy described in Chapter 2, where increased public subsidies produce “gentrification and tourist income” but largely fail to reach those working in the sector (Peck, 2005). Even the City of Music title seems to have had little impact on the ground, with respondents not really knowing how it was intended to benefit the industry and its actors in real terms. Ally Gray (Emubands) noted:

Do you know, I've not heard anything about that since it started, so... [laughs] All I know is, Glasgow is...the UNESCO City of Music, but I don't know what that means... I'm sure it will become clear. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

Meanwhile, those tasked with evaluating the current provision were critical of the support on offer for the sector, for being too generic:

It's badged as cultural but do the music sectors and music companies, or record company and the graphics design business have the same sense of issues? Absolutely not. It's beyond the basic business issues of, you know, can we manage our finances, can we manage our cash flow, do we know what a P&L and a business plan is...? And every time I evaluate services to support creative industries, which I do a lot of, it's the very highly specific that work the best, that brings real industry knowledge... someone who has contacts in the market... and they know the sector and they know how it works and they know the people that they need to connect those companies to. (M.B. – EKOS)

According to M.B. (EKOS), the Cultural Enterprise Office is the only government-funded support initiative offering a service which is specifically tailored to the cultural sector. In terms of the music industry, PRS For Music is the most visible industry body and it is also the most utilised by respondents seeking remuneration for live performance and copyright, followed by the Scottish Music Industry Association

and then the Musicians' Union. The Scottish Music Centre (SMC) was also mentioned by some participants as another supporting organisation for anyone making or promoting music in Scotland, while ICO ICO Creative is an organisation which works with unemployed people looking to start a career in the arts. Musicians may find fault with the support on offer, but one respondent suggested that those on the other side of the fence can also find the relationship challenging:

... there are a lot of big personalities, there's a lot of baggage floats around in the music sector in Scotland, and the relationships with what could be some of their key public partners, including the Scottish Enterprise, are not always as good as they might be. So I think at times the music industry has damaged itself with policymakers, with decision makers, because they have failed to present a unified front. They have failed to present a coherent set of issues or opportunities that policymakers could engage with, and as a result, I think there are some within the kind of political and public sector establishment who probably don't think the music industry is very serious. So the kind of net result of all of that is that the sector itself, I think, feels under supported and unloved and I think there are certainly those in the public sector who are kind of fed up trying to make them work together and become more kind of organised and clear about what they need. (M.B. – EKOS)

The freelance and project-based nature of the environment makes this community just as flexible as those in the Warhol Economy (Currid, 2007). Where there exists a vibrant mix of social, cultural, and economic dimensions that encompass the music scene. Those links that do exist between the Glasgow community and the industry at the national level are of the community's own making (M.B., EKOS). This is not uncommon; according to the literature, small firms are often part of "loosely coupled networks of reciprocity, interdependence" (Taylor, 1999, p. 5). As musical output relies, more than ever, on the "social encounters that come from living shoulder to shoulder with your peers" (*The Economist*, 2007), industry actors turn to and draw upon the community as and when they need to do so. As one respondent noted:

Glasgow, like a good soul music city, has got a continual kind of way of reinventing itself and understanding where the market is and understanding how it needs to support that, and it all kind of supports itself. And I think the thing about Glasgow is that, it's a really small sector and most people know most people, you know? And most of them are plugging each other in and the greater good, and that's how it works, and there's always going to be rivalries between bands and there's always going to be different band managers who have got different agendas and venues always wanted, different promoters are wanting to work with different people and, you know, different promoters who want to work with the same people and therefore it's conflict more than harmony, but essentially the network within Glasgow is pretty small so I think that's how it continually develops. (A.J. – GCMB)

This community is characterised by its “*borrowing nature*” (A.A., SMIA), i.e. reciprocity, mutual aid and support are paramount, even if, for many, these things seem disjointed and fragmented. This is not unlike the temporary coalitions that are described by Taylor where interactions are formed around “‘reciprocal’ modes of exchange” (Taylor, 1999, p. 1). The community sees itself as sharing social values and responsibilities, and cooperating in mutually beneficial relationships, although the size of the industry inevitably means that competition is strong, and the leveraging of internal knowledge must often take second place to managing external contacts. Much of the business activity arises from informal contacts and chance encounters (Bilton, 2007, p. 57), and what starts as an informal conversation may well end up being pitched as a fully conceived production (*Ibid*, p. 50). An example is Keren McKean’s (Greenflame Consultancy) trip to Ireland with Snow Patrol, which resulted in them agreeing a joint tour of the US with Biffy Clyro.

According to Bannister (2006, p. 59), it is these “local scenes that are often seen as preceding, anticipating or redefining genres; providing new grassroots input and innovation into existing mass-mediated categories; and perhaps creating new genres”. While the literature highlights how government support initiatives have helped Glasgow to project itself to a wider audience, the entrepreneurs in this study

seem to operate in a different world from that of the policy makers. Argyle Court is an example of how an effective business environment has evolved without the involvement of public funding or policy makers, and is therefore illustrative of Florida and Jackson's theory that a creative (in this case, musical) milieu depends primarily on the attraction of the creative class rather than urban planners' intervention (Florida & Jackson, 2010, p. 311). The Argyle Court or the Hidden Lane community as it is affectionately called by its residents, is proof that behind the formal network structures lie "networks of social relations through which opportunities are identified, skills are advertised and paraded, partners are drawn together, and information is exchanged" (Taylor, 1999, p. 16).

7.7 A Creative Micro-Community: Argyle Court

The relationships within the Argyle Court community are the cornerstone to its success. In the words of Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore), "*it's about finding the right people*". While the businesses and the industry actors all compete, they also cooperate with one another on projects, joint initiatives and collaborations. Moreover, their personal associations also link²¹ them to the wider environment in ways which are neither measurable nor identifiable (see Keren McKean's story in the previous section). The work and social life of those inside the community are inextricably linked, with entrepreneurs making no distinction between personal and professional realms of activity. According to Ally Gray, owner of Emubands, "*they merge, yeah, totally merge together*", while Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) observed: "*everyone sort of knows each other*" and "*they kind of socialise together*".

Freelance workers and small businesses move from job to job or from project to project as and when their skill sets are required, renewing existing partnerships or forging new ones each time. For many of the respondents, it is this socialisation of connections that inspires the entrepreneurial process. But both the literature and the respondents also suggested that there are drawbacks to this kind of 24 hour connection:

²¹ The majority of respondents are only one "node" (Shaw, 1999) away from the wider musical community.

...at the same time if you want to get away from it, it's like a nightmare, you have to actually go away really... So it's quite weird, it's small enough that you sometimes can't get away from it. But that's... I think I like that part of it, it's good. (Ally Gray – Emubands)

This fluidity does not occur naturally, nor is it characteristic of the industry as a whole; rather, it is a particular feature of the industry community in the city and the size of the community. Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) explained:

You'll go down to the gig and you'll know like pretty much every single person in the room, you know? Because everyone's there. (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

It is this opportunity to congregate with like-minded individuals which drives the community. Each member of the community possesses their own individual network, which has been built upon relationships of trust, mutual aid and reciprocity. Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) reported:

I've got people round about me that I totally trust musically and personally, because this is where they want to be, then I want to be here too, just because this is where they are. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

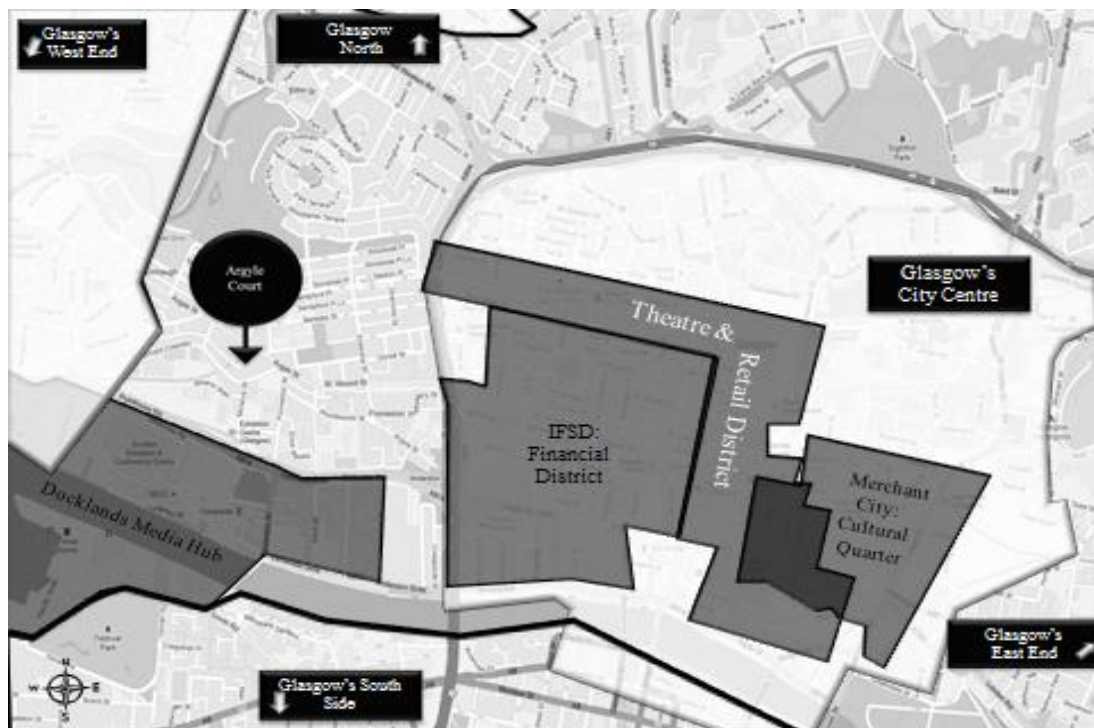
This is not uncommon in the community; indeed, many have deliberately gone there in order to be near those of a similar mind-set.

There is much discussion in the prior literature in the field of the ways in which spaces have been redeveloped for use by the creative industries (Turok, 2003). In cities such as Glasgow, these cultural quarters have given rise to a more polished urban landscape and have prompted planners to pay more attention to the development of urban amenities and cultural infrastructure. However, Curran and Blackburn (1994, p. 22) suggest that policies for redeveloping industrial districts

have mostly been fuzzy conceptualisations and that, in practice, “[r]eal people running and working in real enterprises, especially small enterprises, do not receive much attention”. The literature argues that, although place-based attributes may help project a city to a wider audience, the real interactions are more informal in nature, and physical linkages depend on social linkages between the individuals who live there (Brown et al., 2000).

This point was borne out by the respondents, who repeatedly cited the venues and the places in and around the city where they simultaneously socialised and did business. Brian Harvey (Open Ear Music) described the former Lighthouse as a hub for the creative community, while John Williamson (Banchory Music) mentioned the Glasgow School of Art. One location mentioned by many of the entrepreneurs was Argyle Court. Though it is not within any of the designated regeneration areas, this area of the city has offered cheap space to the creative community. It is actually a privately developed micro-cluster just outside the city centre, and on the periphery of the designated cultural zones (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Argyle Court



The trend identified by the literature is also evident here; with Glasgow's increasing suburbanisation, many of the new 'cultural zones' have been re-colonised by those with money²², meaning that areas which had previously been affordable to live and work in have been pushed beyond the reach of existing industry actors. Many of the respondents had relocated to the outskirts of the city in order to find cheaper spaces in which to do business. However, over half of the respondents are now settled in Argyle Court. One respondent described how this relocation has come about:

...what happens is that these areas [Merchant City] get picked up quite quickly because they create an environment which is attractive to certain kinds of private investment, be that in bars, in restaurants, in residential development, in developing loft apartments, oh, it sounds like a cliché, but it's generally what happens. And then you attract a certain kind of business to the area..., because they want to be around that kind of creative talent, fashion, music, and it kind of starts to coalesce a bit. All of that just drove the prices up and arguably now what's happening... is the artistic community is moving outside the city boundaries, it's just simply cost driven... (M.B. – EKOS)

Located at 1103 Argyle Street in the Finnieston area of Glasgow, the Hidden Lane (Figure 8, overleaf), as it is affectionately known by residents, began its life as a creative industry enclave in 1989. Its studios and spaces are currently home to over 80 businesses working within the creative sector. Its founder and landlord, Joe Mulholland, created the space in the hope of attracting creative individuals from every industry, including IT specialists and craftspeople. His vision has been realised through the rapid growth of the cluster.

²² Neil Smith and Deborah Cowen, "Suburban Manhattan," *The Suburbanization of New York*, ed. Jerilou Hammett and Kingsley Hammett (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 33.

Figure 8: Aerial Shot of Argyle Court



In terms of the music industry, the lane is home to recording studios (such as La Chunky Studio) and record labels (e.g. Back De Piggy Records), as well as production companies (Blue Productions), video producers, photographers (James Morrison Designs), publicity companies (Huntley's & Palmers), management (Banchory Music) and promotion companies (Mucky Puddle). It also accommodates the InnerEar independent music radio station, and was, until 2012, home to the only digital distributor (Emubands) in Scotland. There is therefore a wide range of individual businesses, all working in close proximity to one another. It became apparent during the interviews that all the respondents had some sort of a connection with Argyle Court. They had either been located there, were currently located there, and/or had worked with, or were currently doing business with, someone located there, as Table 19, overleaf suggests.

Table 19: Connection to Argyle Court

The Entrepreneurs	Previously Located There	Currently Located There	Worked With Others Located There	Never Been/Worked With Others Located There
1. Alan Scobie – Blue Productions		✓		
2. Emma Pollock - Chemikal Underground			✓	
3. Paul Tasker – Doghouse Roses		✓		
4. Ally Gray – Emubands	✓			
5. Keren McKean - Greenflame Consultancy	✓		✓	
6. Jamie Webster - Instinctive Raccoon			✓	
7. Jamie Gilmour – Manager WWPJP			✓	
8. John Williamson - Banchary Music	✓		✓	
9. Joy Dunlop – Solo Artist			✓	
10. Louise Quinn – 11. A Band Called Quinn			✓	
11. Stuart Braithwaite - Mogwai	✓			
12. Brendan Moon – Morsecode Management			✓	
13. Brian Harvey – Open Ear Music		✓	✓	
14. Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore			✓	
15. Ailidh Lennon – Sons & Daughters	✓		✓	

Bands such as Mogwai and Belle and Sebastian have also been based there (John Williamson, Belle and Sebastian Manager). The respondents may have seen Argyle Court as a hidden gem within the city, but for most, one of its key features is that it offers accessible, reasonably priced space. No one cited the abundance of creative people within the lane as a motivating factor for locating there, even though this undoubtedly exists; its main recommendations were the reasonable rent and the yearly lease on studio space. Ally Gray (Emubands) laughingly recalled that the appeal was simply that: “*It was cheap*”.

These findings echo the literature in showing how gentrification displaces artists (Jacobs, 1961) and obliges them to seek cheaper spaces to work. However, although it may not have been an initial motivating factor for locating to the Hidden Lane, all

the participants who were (or had previously been) located there were positive about being surrounded by other creative businesses, with many being excited about the potential for partnerships and collaborations. Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) commented that since moving to the lane, he had gained more work and identified new opportunities for collaborations and joint projects. He commented that his new location has opened the door to new ways of working and thinking about the business and his role. He recalled his previous location, and offered insight into how things have changed:

Location is crucial now, but it didn't used to be because I didn't consider those things to be important in the past, because I wasn't producing in the past, I was just more like a service...[now] there's projects that I'm working on and have worked on that I've completed, that are out there and selling well, every single aspect of it has been done in the lane.... from the recording, some of the musicians playing on it, the photography, the graphic design, the album design, the posters for the launch of the album, the online marketing, the web promotion, the iTunes uploading, every single aspect that you could think of was all done from companies in the lane. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

However, it also became clear that while many of the interviewees were aware of the density of creative businesses in Argyle Court (i.e. the lane), they were yet to take advantage of this readily available network. On more than one occasion, respondents were surprised to find out that many of their industry partners were located right next door. For example, while Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore) acknowledged that “*Argyle Court is a network of its own*”, he actually had no idea that his online distribution company was located next door to his producer:

J.M.: It's just this wee community [Argyle Court], apart from the fact that not everybody knows each other, which I find quite weird because it is such a small space, because I said to the guys [Alan Scobie and Paul Tasker] I'm going to see Ally Gray from Emubands, and they said who's that?

D.G.: *Is Emubands in here as well?*

J.M.: *Yeah, Number 24, upstairs.*

D.G.: *We've got our stuff on that... I didn't know that, we were in here for months as well. The ones that go into the cafe, that's always the ones you met in here, when they come in here that was about it... (Daniel Gillespie – Skerryvore)*

This kind of story was repeated by a number of other respondents. Many of those who were aware of the lane reported that many interactions take place in the café, but their own networking seemed to be confined to those businesses known to the individual entrepreneur and their extended network. There is much discussion in the prior literature of the tendency of small creative firms to locate close together. It is clear that, in the music industry, cost may be an important motivating factor for location change, but the interconnectivity which results is vital for firms within the community. As Williamson et al. (2003, p. 25) suggest, “It is important to develop the notion of ‘scenes’, which are loose associations of like-minded people who gravitate towards each other and work together in mutually beneficial relationships”. For many of the respondents, it is important to be near their audience or market (Brendon Moon, Morsecode Management), but for others, it is just as vital to be near the people who can make the product or service better (Alan Scobie, Blue Productions).

Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) was open about emphasising the importance of networks. As Brian Harvey (Open Ear Music) had done, Alan relocated to Argyle Court from elsewhere. He observed that, since moving from the outskirts of the city to ‘the hidden lane’, his network has opened up as a result of working in close proximity to other creative and like-minded individuals:

You could have a fantastic journey through, starting from nothing and building yourself up to be a professional musician and a touring band or whatever, and singer songwriter. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

He is now able to take advantage of the various skill sets which are available close by and, as a result, his business has evolved from a recording studio into a production company. The respondents gave ample evidence of the value of the Argyle Court micro-cluster to their business, but, as John Williamson observed:

You've got a project and you've got to figure out how to make it work. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

7.8 Reciprocity and the Importance of Reputation within the Community

The findings above suggest that Glasgow's music community is far-reaching, and that there are many advantages to being part of it. It is made up of a large number of individuals and small businesses; the informal nature of this community facilitates the exchange of ideas and the flow of information, while collaboration and project work often determine its structure. It often functions by means of association, reciprocity and mutual aid, with individuals tapping into mini-networks of their own making, as and when they need to do so. Deals are usually struck in pubs or venues (Landry's 'soft spaces' (2000)) rather than in the boardroom or the office, suggesting that the community's industry success is largely the product of the people involved and their relationships. While it may be lacking in strong connections to the larger industry, the community itself is bound by personal contacts and close associations.

These associations are created over time, through experience and exposure. Recommendations and introductions are crucial, as Ailidh Lennon (Sons and Daughters) explains:

*You wouldn't get a job with a band because you had an immaculate...CV!
You'd get a job because you were recommended.* (Ailidh Lennon – Sons and Daughters)

The network may be built on friendships and personal relationships, but those who do a good job are building their reputation in the community in doing so, as well as increasing their chances of industry success. Alan Scobie (Blue Productions), for example, described meeting a sound engineer who had paid his own expenses to travel to, and assist at, the Tíree Music Festival in 2010. He quoted the engineer as saying: *“It's not because I'm getting paid, it's because I want to do it”*. Alan observed: *“from this day forward, who am I recommending?”* Describing his own approach to work, he went on to say:

Almost the entire month of October I'm working for a project for somebody for free, but the studio is booked for a month for free because I think this person's just amazing.... And that's why people come to me, because then when they do get some money, I've put... their songs are so important to me when I'm recording them, it's like it's the most important thing, I'll go the extra mile, I'll phone my friends and borrow things that you would never dream of having access to. The band that I'm working with just now, a couple of guitar things on their thing needed a particular sounding guitar and this old vintage guitar that would be so hard to find, so they have no access to that because they don't know anybody that has that level of income. People my age and over, they've been collecting guitars since they were boys, I know a few guys who have collections where they have individual guitars that are worth £25,000 and I can have access to those, so I just phone them and say, “Listen, it will help me out if you help this guy out and help this band out if we could just borrow your guitar for the afternoon”, and I'll go the extra mile, I'll get in my car and go to Dumbarton and bring it back in the middle of a session, and the rest of the band are just flabbergasted, they're like, “Why would you do that?” and I say, “Because I want it to be brilliant. I want it to be what you think it should be”. So, if anybody has a taste of me

being like that with them, that's why they come back. If they don't come back, they go to another studio after spending, say they spend three months with me, if they spend three months with me and then go to another studio after that, the other studio seems as though the guy doesn't care, because the other studios; they don't care, so that's why, it's because I do care, I care about what happens to the songs. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

According to Jamie Gilmour, manager of We Were Promised Jetpacks, an individual's work ethic and quality of work are critical to establishing a reputation in the industry and surviving in the face of competition. He said that:

The reputation side of it means that they know that you will and can deliver, so it's like you could find a band who are really good and you book them in to play a show and then they'll phone up the night before the show and go, "Listen, the drummer's, like, not well so we're not coming to the gig", and that happens. I mean don't get me wrong, like, touch wood, it could be that next week, do you know what I mean? Our drummer does genuinely fall really ill and we can't do a show, but if I phone up people who know me, say, "You know, this is what's happened", they'll know that's what's happened, and if it hasn't happened I'll say, "Yeah, you know that band I was working with? Well it turns out they're fucking idiots, so I'm not working with them anymore". ...It's my reputation. (Jamie Gilmour – WWPJP)

By making sure that they build a reputation as people who are amiable, good to work with and reliable, Jamie creates a favourable perception of his bands in the minds of everyone involved. On the other hand, Jamie Webster, manager of Instinctive Racoon and booking agent for Oran Mor, pointed out that having a particular reputation – even a good one – can be a drawback when it comes to trying to change the music community's views about yourself or your band:

I felt it was really important for Oran Mor when I started to get a reputation for doing good local music, because obviously the big promoters at DF and

PCL have got a stranglehold on certain mainstream genres, if you like, so rather than try and tackle them, because we work alongside them, they do a lot of shows here... It doesn't make sense for us to try and chase the acts that they book, we had to try and develop our own thing for up and coming artists and try and find, you know, gaps in the market if you like, whether it be in the folk world or whether it be tribute acts, we have to try and think of finding shows that work here, work for our audience here in the West End. So I think that obviously developing new bands to get them to work here, you know, people end up approaching me and asking me, "Oh, I want to do this, I want to do that, can you help me?" And I'm like, "Well yeah, yeah I will help you". I did a kind of key study thing for somebody not long ago and it was a case of venues in the city and it was like... it was for a particular venue which shall remain nameless, and it basically... There are 25 venues around about this capacity and within a small window and a lot of them are trying to do their own kind of things, and they were, this particular venue was positioned, kind of in the middle, in the room hire aspect, which was fine, but they were getting a reputation for a certain genre music, which is something which I came across in this venue I've taken over, because DF concerts, for instance, would only put singer songwriter type things in here because they thought that this was the kind of event, that kind of show. But after I built up a kind of dialogue with the promoters, I said to them, "Look, this venue is set up to do rock and roll, electronic, dance music, anything, you know?"And I saw a couple of bands who were playing at King Tut's and I said, "We'll look the next time they're touring and let's see what happens". And fair enough, that promoter put those two bands in here and they kind of, from that point they kind of launched us into a new realm. We got a lot more interest from a lot more promoters and that was really successful for us. So I think the venues have to guard against being seen as being genre specific, which a few of them probably are too much, so... (Jamie Webster – Instinctive Raccoon)

As the above examples show, building and nurturing relationships in order to create a favourable reputation may well prove to be, as a prior study has expressed it, “a

sound business decision because it could help you withstand future reputation shocks” (Bebbington, Larrinaga & Monevaet, 2008, p. 339). As respondent Brian Harvey (Open Ear Music) put it:

...it's all about recommendation or reputation, so the two R's really. (Brian Harvey – Open Ear Music)

The concept of reciprocity is central to the music community in Glasgow; it is the community spirit within the network that supports the city's music industry, rather than outside or government agencies, as was suggested in the literature. According to John Williamson (Banchory Music):

Who actually are the patrons of the arts in Glasgow? You know? And it's like, it's not the people who purport to be, and it is the people who are involved in that sort of barter system that goes on. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

In other words, some of the key patrons and supporters are the friends and extended networks which develop over time. These networks are based on trust and mutual aid. Respondents described how favours, advice and support are the common currency:

If you don't have a drummer, you know, you can borrow a drummer from a mate, and it's just all interchangeable. (A.A. – SMIA)

Everyone's just like, "Right, OK, I need that, hi, can you?" "Fine", and you know, it's like people argue a bit more about how they're going to make things work and like, "Are you nicking my guitarist? Are you nicking my guitar player?" "No, I'm borrowing him". (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

The key factor in these networks and exchanges is reciprocity; as Paul Tasker (Doghouse Roses) put it:

I just try to not fuck them up basically! Which is something, I'm really struggling not to do right now! I try and keep in touch generally, so if somebody sends out an email saying that I've got a radio show, we've got this band, every so often I'll reply to their email to say, this looks really good, I'll try and make it along, just so when the next time I'm emailing them, I'm not asking for something on every single email. (Paul Tasker – Doghouse Roses)

Thus, the milieu is a community of music industry actors who compete yet cooperate at the same time, while maintaining an almost self-sustaining ecosystem. This ecosystem adapts as is required, replacing the old with the new and continuously renewing the creative blood stream (Mumford, 1938). As John Williamson (Banchory Music) noted:

Generally, I think people are quite supportive, and even if it's only their pals that benefit from it, it's still other musicians in Glasgow that wouldn't otherwise get a chance to record or make a record or do things, you know? (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

However, while it is important to acknowledge the collaborations within the community, it is also vital to recognise the reality that while businesses may work together “when their collective profits are threatened” (Williamson & Cloonan, 2007), they are also competitors, seeking to maximise their individual profits at the expense of all others in the market. It would be a mistake to assume that musicians, labels, promoters, venues, organisations and individuals who are in daily competition with each other always share common interests and show selfless generosity at all times. Nevertheless, it is clear that those working in the industry seek out mutually beneficial relationships as and when the need arises, as Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) explained:

See, in the creative industries I don't think there's the same division between business and social. I mean, see, at the end of the day, people go into the creative industries not, I don't believe, to ever make money. It's to be creative and to actually try to spend their lives and their waking hours doing that thing. Now, unfortunately, money has to come into it because we all need to pay the mortgage and, you know, feed ourselves and our families, so there is an economic necessity there. But I wouldn't say that... unlike most business, it does not take priority. So, you end up in a situation where both those business connections that you make become social by their very nature that everybody's involved in the same end, which is to try and spend as much of their waking life and working life in the creative industries as we can, so it becomes a fight for survival and it's not about the biggest pay packet, at the end of the day. It makes it markedly different to other business choices....so, for example, looking for a gap in the market and identifying that gap and then exploiting it in order to make as much money as you can, I think is a totally different thing, because the product that you might sell, it doesn't really matter what the product is, because the reason you're doing it is to make a profit. Now with the creative industry, it's all about the product.... it's not about the actual profit, you actually making a profit to be able to continue, but generally speaking it is about the end product. So yeah, the business relationships are very, very social in nature and with an awful lot of them you could count them as friends, just as in the way you would count the friends that you make.....outwith, yeah the industry. They almost become more important friends because you share the same goal, and it's a really bizarre thing. So there is all this like really strong overlap which comes out of... the desire to live a life in the creative arts. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

7.9 The Disadvantages of Community: Boundaries and Gatekeepers

As has been identified above, the community in Glasgow is highly apparent, if only at the individual level. The advantages in terms of access and knowledge exchange

are frequently evident, with Respondent M.D. (PRS For Music) describing Scotland as “*bursting at the seams*” with talent and “[*punching*] *way above its weight*”. However, this respondent also went on to say:

Scotland’s kind of used as a seeding ground, if you like. The talent grows in Scotland and when it gets to a certain level, and maybe a multi-national organisation or a major independent will go and say, “That’s fine, that’s the oven ready now, we’ll have that”. (M.D. – PRS For Music)

In a similar vein, Keren McKean (Gleenflame Consultancy) also commented:

It’s hard when it happens, you know? London gets in touch and it’s like, “Right, so what bands are hot just now?” And you’re like, “Could you just leave us alone?” (Keren McKean – Greenflame Consultancy)

Stuart Braithwaite (Mogwai/Rock Action Records) suggested: “*I think that you’d be very hard pushed to be able to do everything from Glasgow*”. The question is why, when every area of the music industry’s supply chain is represented in the community, the Glasgow industry has not achieved the same success as other comparable cities of a similar size.

One argument put forward is that Glasgow is too small and lacking in resources (M.D., PRS For Music) to take artists all the way to an international level. According to former Argyle Court resident, Stuart Braithwaite (Mogwai):

I don’t think there are any distributors [physical distribution firms] based in Glasgow or even Scotland. A lot of the music industry is obviously based in London. I think, once you get to a certain level, you kind of need to have some people working in London. (Stuart Braithwaite – Mogwai)

His comments echo the sentiments of M.B. (EKOS) that: “*this is the consistent story of Scotland’s music industry*”. M.B. cited as examples:

Franz Ferdinand being sent to Domino Records down south because there was nobody here with the money to sign them;

And the story of Scotland's then largest label, Soma Records, and its unsuccessful experience with the popular electronic band Daft Punk:

They were not able to bankroll their first album. So Daft Punk went to Virgin and the rest is multi-million selling history. (M.B. – EKOS)

When it closed down its *Introducing Scotland* radio programme, the BBC cancelled the only national showcase for the country's unsigned acts. With few options available for providing national exposure, and no major labels, many bands feel forced to move elsewhere (Dubber, 2007; Wall, 2007). Although the community is supportive and offers musicians a reason to stay, many still choose to leave to further their careers. Label owner Emma Pollock (Chemikal Underground) could understand why:

The fact that we're so far away from London is as much a disadvantage as an advantage, because at the end of the day if you want to create a real impact nationally you have to go via London to do it...Chemikal Underground, let's be completely honest, would much rather do really, really well in the national charts than the Scottish charts...Yes, we're a Scottish label, we do work with an awful lot of Scottish bands and we have a love of Scottish music, but we're not trying to alienate ourselves. (Emma Pollock – Chemikal Underground)

While many of the respondents noted the importance of the opportunities offered by the London-based music industry, Louise Quinn (ABCQ) included, she also commented on Glasgow's ability often to offer the same opportunities:

I think one of the advantages of working up here is that the cost of living is cheaper and everything's close to hand and there is a support network. I

mean, so many people I know go down to London to make music or perform or act, and end up just doing a really rubbish job, and getting trapped in that for years, and so they're not really doing anything creative at all. So I think up here you do have the sort of freedom from the sort of financial pressures... But I think we're just doing what we're doing, and people seem to like it, and people from London are getting in touch with us, so I think if they really want to get involved with us then they will come up this way, you know? (Louise Quinn – ABCQ)

Although some of the interviewees prioritised being near the market, others were more concerned:

...to be near the people who can make my product better, which is musicians and photographers and designers, everybody that could be of help to a band. (Alan Scobie – Blue Productions)

In Alan Scobie's case, he feels that all the people he needs are located in Glasgow.

Notwithstanding the feeling of community within Glasgow's music industry, getting into it can be difficult, even for entrepreneurs. Joy Dunlop began her self-employed journey in Glasgow in April 2010, not long after releasing her first, self-funded, album *Dùsgadh (Awakening)*, but with no networks or friends in the city to begin with, she has found it difficult to become known. She observed: "*I'm finding it hard to make the initial contacts*" and was even slightly overwhelmed by the fact that Glasgow is "*a much bigger environment; it's easy to get lost amidst so many other bands/cultures/events*".

Joy described not knowing anyone, but an interview with another respondent, Daniel Gillespie (Skerryvore), revealed that, in fact, she had already formed a network of links to the highland community through Skerryvore. Perhaps unlike Joy, Skerryvore have been proactive about utilising their personal and professional links from home and university and in seeking advice and support. These entrepreneurs' stories show

that firstly, the community can appear unreachable to some, and secondly, those who wish to gain access to it must be willing to make the most of the tools at their disposal. Joy took a step in this direction in 2011 when she developed a website, ready for the launch of her second album, *Fiere*.

Another potential difficulty for those trying to enter the industry via the community is the perceived existence of cliques: tight pockets of individuals, businesses, venues and bands who work together, socialise together and support one another; indeed, these could be thought of as strong instances of the networking and inter-reliance which has been discussed above. A number of respondents acknowledged the existence of these cliques: Alan Scobie (Blue Productions) mentioned the “*Saturday morning club*”, while Ally Gray (Emubands) talked about “*artist level cliques*”. John Williamson (Banchory Music) observed that:

The art scene in Glasgow, it's extremely incestuous, it's extremely tied up to the music scene and yes, a lot of the same people populate them and a lot of the people's friends get involved. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

However, he was cautious about using the term, adding that:

Any mention of cliques seems to be from people who are on the outside... Everyone's experience is going to be different. I mean, I tend to find that if you're unsuccessful at something, you tend to blame it on cliques. If you are successful at something, you don't see these cliques because you are the clique, you know, in their eyes, and I don't think it's ever, ever as conscious as that, you know? (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

In John's view, regardless of industry or even community barriers, an individual's chance of success lies in their own hands:

Ultimately, if you're going to be successful, it's down to you and it's not down to other people, and I think that whether that's in art or whether it's in

creativity or it's in entrepreneurship, ultimately, it's back to that thing we were talking about: failure. It's like, if you fail at one route and you think, well there's a clique that's stopping me getting in there, then you've got to be resourceful enough... So it's like, going back to that thing of like, you know, if... you put your music up on MySpace and nobody listens to it, then you do some gigs. If nobody goes to the gigs, then you try and get on the radio, you know? There's loads of ways of doing, you know? And it might be that if all of them reject you then you're no good, but it's like because one of them rejects you doesn't mean that you're no good or if....and I mean I guess the nature of any cultural industry I guess to a certain extent is that. I mean if you look at the art scene in Glasgow it's extremely incestuous, it's extremely tied up to the music scene and yes, a lot of the same people populate them and a lot of the people's friends get involved, but at the same time it's like there is still, you know, there is still... or the art scene's really incestuous isn't it?. They're all pals with each other, they're all people that have done degrees in the art school, they're all talented artists in the same way that most of the people make it as musicians have got a talent of some kind that has worked its way through the process, it's not entirely because they're mates with Franz Ferdinand or because they're mates with... but I think a lot of people believe that that's the case and that's kind of blatant nonsense, you know? [laughs]. (John Williamson – Banchory Music)

While parts of the community may remain inaccessible to some, for the majority, recommendations and introductions from industry gatekeepers are crucial in breaking down barriers and exposing their bands and businesses to a wider audience. The music community in Glasgow is typically based on personal relationships and recommendations which have been built on years of trust and reciprocity, and these can be extremely difficult to access. On the other hand, Emma Pollock's (Chemikal Underground) experiences prove that even the most accidental of meetings within the community can sometimes lead to industry success.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how the music-entrepreneurs taking part in the study have responded to the uncertainties associated with working in the music industry at local and global levels. The findings show that increasing use of digitisation has significantly changed how music is produced, distributed and consumed, driving prices down and production costs up, and has left those in the industry feeling uncertain about what comes next. Previously popular promotional strategies (wide advertising of albums, high-profile tours, articles in fanzines and Top 40 airplay) have been superseded by downloads, file sharing, streaming and blogging. Music is now the product of an “open industry, fuelled by tools like MySpace, cheap music production software [iOS]” and the ability to release music online without having to pay for traditional, physical production (Arnold & Glencross, 2008, p. 1). As a result, the market has been flooded with new music (too much so, in some people’s opinions). The present challenge often expressed by those working in the industry is therefore not only to sustain their position but to remain relevant by finding new ways to reach their audience (Emma Pollock, Chemikal Underground).

The findings suggest that Glasgow’s music industry actors are able to adapt not just because of technological advances with which they are familiar, but also because they are part of a wider musical community within the city. The informal nature of this community is nourished by personal associations between like-minded individuals who are drawn to the same places and spaces (albeit often for financial reasons, i.e. they will often gather in areas where the rent is cheap). Some see it as a fragmented community, while others regard it as a supportive hub and a stage for home grown talent. Many of the respondents noted the complexity and diversity of the Glasgow music industry, describing how it incorporates a myriad of genres and sectors and a huge number of actors moving from project to project. The nature of the industry and those involved is a social one, with mutual aid and reciprocity holding it all together. But while many see this as enhancing their ability to sustain business performance in uncertain times, others (such as Brendon Moon and Keren McKean) suggested that it can only take entrepreneurs so far.

The findings provide evidence that government support has improved the cultural and business landscape of the city in macro terms (see Chapter 2), but the entrepreneurs in the study felt that the support initiatives and regeneration activities which have taken place (and are ongoing) have done little to improve their everyday working lives. In fact, the creation of cultural zones has had the opposite effect, in that it has driven up rents and forced entrepreneurs to find cheaper spaces elsewhere. The emergence of micro-clusters like Argyle Court (the Hidden Lane) is evidence of the displacement effect, as described in the literature.

By taking into account the context in which their entrepreneurship has developed for the entrepreneurs participating in the study, the analysis highlights “the dynamics of entrepreneurial activities as well as their manifestations” (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 73). It shows how these individuals are able to maintain their position in a resource-constrained environment. The common themes emerging throughout the analysis are the entrepreneurs’ natural tendency towards action and their active engagement with the industry and the community. It has become clear that each of the entrepreneurs has their own individual community, which they draw on when required. Staying in the Hidden Lane is a viable option for Alan Scobie, but Keren McKean and Brendon Moon have been forced to look further afield. Driven by the need to secure international exposure for their clients – and to make a living for themselves – their prime consideration has become growth and making money, rather than purely artistic integrity or sustaining their positions.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the entrepreneurship process as it operates in Glasgow's music industry, showing how this process is affected by both the individual and context dimensions. Earlier chapters looked at the early stages of entrepreneurship (specifically the recognition or creation of opportunities and the acquisition of resources), then at how entrepreneurs go from making music to making money, and finally at how entrepreneurs manage their business in an uncertain environment. This chapter provides an overview of the findings of the study and identifies its key contributions to the entrepreneurship field. Recommendations are made to practitioners, policy makers and future researchers, and the limitations of the study are discussed.

8.2 Contribution to Theory

This study contributes to our understanding of the entrepreneurial process in the creative industries in two ways. Firstly, by demonstrating how the process of entrepreneurship occurs in the music industry, including the role and impact of the agency and context dimensions at each stage and the interplay between the internal logics that drive the process. Secondly, by showing how entrepreneurs handle the transition from "making music" to "making money".

8.2.1 *Contribution to Studies of Process*

Critics have suggested that existing process models are not based on empirical evidence (Zahra, 2007; Baron, 2008; Hindle, 2010a; Moroz & Hindle, 2012) and that the majority are either static frameworks that focus solely on the role of actors in new ventures or value creation, or stage models that mark an organisation's development by means of key events or milestones (Hindle, 2010a; Moroz & Hindle, 2012). It has

further been suggested that none of these models reflects the heterogeneity of the entrepreneurship process (Moroz & Hindle, 2012).

Bygrave (1989, p. 7) argues that the process of entrepreneurship “cannot be studied with the methods developed for studying smooth, continuous, and linear (and often repeatable) processes”. Instead, researchers should adopt a framework that draws upon methods and theories from across the entrepreneurship field, tailoring them to suit the characteristics of the phenomenon under investigation. Baron’s (2008) framework, for example, suggests that the entrepreneurial process is best studied by focusing on the entrepreneur’s three main activities: recognising opportunities, acquiring resources and managing in highly dynamic environments. Breaking the process down into these three stages enables the identification of its key elements and helps to reveal the various logics which drive it.

This study draws on Sarasvathy’s (2001) process dynamic model of causal and effectual logic and Dew’s (2009) view of serendipity to explore how entrepreneurial opportunities are recognised and created, before going on to consider how entrepreneurs acquire and combine resources to access funding, advice and support or to advance their business. Baker and Nelson’s (2005) combination of bootstrapping and bricolage theories offers a practical view of how this occurs at the level of the agent. The study then addresses the question of how entrepreneurs are able to adapt and survive in a highly uncertain and dynamic market. The findings suggest that in the context of the music industry, entrepreneurs manage uncertainty by continually finding new opportunities, exploiting these opportunities in different ways, acquiring new resources and recombining existing ones.

The data highlights the cyclical nature of the process and the fact that music-entrepreneurs are not homogenous in terms of their behaviours and actions. The entrepreneurial process in the music industry does not follow a set path; it is expressed in a series of discrete acts or projects which are unique to each individual and which are likely to change with patterns of consumption. The process begins afresh with each new project, but each of these individual projects are part of a

larger, ongoing process, in that each one informs and affects how the next one is undertaken.

Although this study draws upon the work of Baron, Sarasvathy, Dew, Baker and Nelson and others, it seeks to offer a new way of thinking about the entrepreneurial process, especially in the context of the creative industries. The empirical evidence suggests that when it comes to describing this process, researchers, like entrepreneurs, should use a combination of bootstrapping and bricolage – recombining existing process models in new ways to produce models that are suited to studying specific contexts.

8.2.2 Inclusion of Context in the Study of Process

This study builds on the work of previous scholars who have begun to examine the impacts that the individual and context dimensions have on the process of entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011; Zahra & Wright, 2011). Recent research acknowledges a lack of attention to context in existing process models and suggests that “...an overt commitment to understanding context must always be an integral part of appropriate process” (Moroz & Hindle, 2012, p. 811). Entrepreneurship does not occur in isolation, but existing models have largely overlooked “the characteristics of the phenomena they study” (Zahra, 2007, p. 445). As Gartner (1985, p. 70) observed, entrepreneurship researchers “have a tendency to underestimate the influence of external factors and overestimate the influence of internal or personal factors when making judgements about the behaviour of other individuals”.

Welter (2011) shows how putting entrepreneurship into context can improve our understanding of the phenomenon, by illustrating the ways in which temporal, spatial, institutional, business, societal and social dimensions impact both the process of entrepreneurship and agent behaviour. Welter’s paper argues that an understanding of context is important for appreciating the *who, why, what, where* and *when* dimensions of entrepreneurship. Welter’s (2011) findings suggest that the

activities entrepreneurs undertake and the organisations they develop are “dependent on continuing exchanges with – and constituted by – the environments in which they operate (Scott, 1998:28) and the pressures and constraints that arise from that context” (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 330). Thus, the entrepreneurship process in the music industry, as elsewhere, is heavily dependent on who the entrepreneurs are, what they know, whom they know, where they are located and the richness of information, knowledge and resources to which they have access (Haynie, Shepherd, Mosakowski & Earley, 2010).

Zahra (2007, p. 451) argues that theory in this field should not only focus on the psychological, behavioural or cognitive processes of entrepreneurs, but also on the context in which they are situated and in which they make their decisions – their “causes, structures and effects”. The findings of this study suggest that from the beginning, individual and context dimensions have a significant influence on the three stages of the entrepreneurial process. They provide evidence that the process of opportunity recognition is affected not only by the individual’s innate abilities, prior experience, education, background, traits, networks and role models, but also by the context in which the firm is located and develops. The fact that Glasgow is home to over 50% of Scotland’s musical workforce highlights the significance of the societal context and the links between the spatial and institutional contexts. Indeed, the city’s deliberate creation of a suitable hard and soft infrastructure to foster creativity was one reason why it was originally chosen as the focus of the study.

The findings also suggest that both individual and context dimensions affect how resources are acquired. At the individual level, social networks are even more important to the entrepreneurship process in the creative sector than they are in others. The study found that support at the political and regulatory for the creative sector, including the music industry, has grown in Glasgow, but even so, many respondents still found accessing finance to be challenging and had instead used social networks to effectively bypass the regulatory system. As Sarasvathy (2001) suggested, entrepreneurs ask themselves: “Who do I know who can help this process?” and then call upon their personal networks accordingly.

In terms of how entrepreneurs survive in a highly dynamic and uncertain market, the findings suggest that this stage of the process is also heavily impacted by agency and context. The business context – that is, the structure of the music industry as a whole – has significantly changed in recent years, bringing even more intense competition. In response, musical communities have emerged in Glasgow, which are built around friendships and acquaintances, and which feature reciprocity and mutual aid. This thesis supports previous studies on the role played by family, friends and extended networks (Aldrich, 1999) and the importance of a supportive economic, socio-cultural and political environment that provides “assistance and support services that facilitate the start-up process” (Gnyawali & Fogel, 1994, p. 44). The present findings highlight the role of both agency and context and provide further evidence of the entrepreneurial coalition that occurs in small firms, as described by Taylor (1999). They also bear out Currid’s (2007) assertion that creative milieus arise out of the social interactions between groups of creative individuals living in close proximity to one another.

8.2.3 The Interplay Between Causation, Serendipity and Effectuation

The study also contributes to the current debate about the relationship between causal and effectual logic. In their study, Moroz and Hindle (2012) place causation and effectuation at opposite ends of the spectrum, while Sarasvathy (2008), on the other hand proposes that they are complimentary processes working in combination. Laaksonen et al. (2010) argue that musicians building up their skills deploy causal logic. Once the opportunity has been discovered or created, and as the business idea is developed, effectual logic guides the process; the entrepreneur works within their given means set, using bootstrapping and bricolage methods to acquire and combine resources in useful ways (Nielsen & Lassen, 2012). As the business grows further and planning and strategy become more important, causal logic again comes into play. Just as the entrepreneurial process is cyclical, this study shows that the effectual and causal logics follow a similar pattern driving the entrepreneurial process.

The study findings also support the argument of some theorists that serendipity lies between the planned and unplanned approach, or between causation and effectuation, and provides a bridge between the two (Dew, 2009, p.736). Causation inspires the initial search, then the recognition of new information may happen as a result of serendipity, and then effectuation logic drives the entrepreneur to work with who they are, what they know and whom they know. As Shane and Venkataraman (2000) argue, the key to recognising and exploiting an opportunity lies in the knowledge, networks and experience of the individual; “they must therefore be aware of this and have the desire to understand and make use of it”.

While the literature suggests that entrepreneurial opportunities are more likely to be the result of a systematic search (Fiet, 2002; Shane, 2000) than a fortuitous discovery, the findings of this study suggest that the combination of “accident and sagacity” is particularly important to entrepreneurs in the music sector and is therefore directly relevant to the study of process in this industry (Dew, 2009, p.753). While much of the literature still views causation and effectuation as being diametrically opposed, Dew’s (2009, p. 749) perspective on serendipity provides “a coherent rationale that unifies these otherwise conflicting perspectives”. It is therefore helpful in explaining the behaviour of creative-entrepreneurs.

For the majority of the respondents in this study, the entrepreneurial process was triggered by chance encounters through their social networks in the societal setting. In other words, it has been heavily impacted by both agency and context. Given the number of contextual dimensions influencing the process and the logic used, “extending effectuation theory with the interactions between different layers of reality... would make effectuation theory even more dynamic” (Nielsen & Lassen, 2012, p. 387).

8.2.4 The Transition from Art to Commerce

This study also contributes to current discussion of how entrepreneurs react to making the transition from artisan to money maker. Recent research has addressed

career transitions, founder identity and the conflict that may arise from having multiple identities (Adler & Adler, 1978; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010), yet this stream of research tells us little about how individuals handle the move from a highly creative identity such as being a musician to become an entrepreneur, and how they adapt to their new environment. The findings of the current study suggest that those who are motivated by a desire for freedom, independence or artistic integrity find this transition especially difficult; only when faced with the reality of earning a living do they switch gears and focus on making money. They may have ‘boundaryless’ careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), but many of the entrepreneurs, although they are experienced musicians, felt unprepared for the practicalities of running a business.

Burland (2005, p. 242) argues that “the career transition of the musician is perhaps more difficult than any of the other transitions”. While her focus was on how performers and non-performers in the classical sector negotiate this transition, her finding that many highly skilled musicians are unprepared for the realities of professional life compares with the findings of this study. The literature suggests that as workers in the music industry increasingly follow project-based careers, they have to assume multiple identities. A number of authors have looked at how the entrepreneur and musician identities interact, and how individuals reconcile the two. The findings in this study confirm that musicians can possess a number of identities, with most of the respondents describing themselves as playing several different roles. Interestingly, however, none of them saw themselves as an entrepreneur. It appears that Sarasvathy’s “Who am I?” question becomes harder for musicians to answer as they make the transition to entrepreneur. Instead, they are likely to focus on what they can do and whom they know.

The change in identity may have an impact upon what they produce and whom they produce it for, as well as the kind of support they are offered. In the literature focusing on the arts sector, project work is now regarded as an entrepreneurial act (Lindgren & Packendorf, 2003), but elsewhere, the traditional view of entrepreneurship persists. The findings of this study suggest that it is important to

extend the concept of entrepreneurial identity within the creative industries context, not by measuring business performance but by addressing the novelty of the actions which the individuals themselves undertake. This may encourage more people to identify what they are doing as entrepreneurial, and lead more people to see them as entrepreneurs (Lindgren & Packendorf, 2003). The findings indicate that many investors regard music industry businesses as uncertain prospects; therefore, clarifying their understanding of the interaction between who entrepreneurs are and what they do (Pratt et al., 2006) might help bridge the gulf between the kinds of support music-entrepreneurs need and what is currently being provided by the government and other organisations.

Overall, the implications of these findings are that while scholars continue to study the process of entrepreneurship in isolation and continue to favour the single-firm perspective; this thesis instead sees entrepreneurship as a temporary organising process (Packendorff, 1995; Söderlund, 2000) and acknowledges that both individual and contextual dimensions play an important role at each stage.

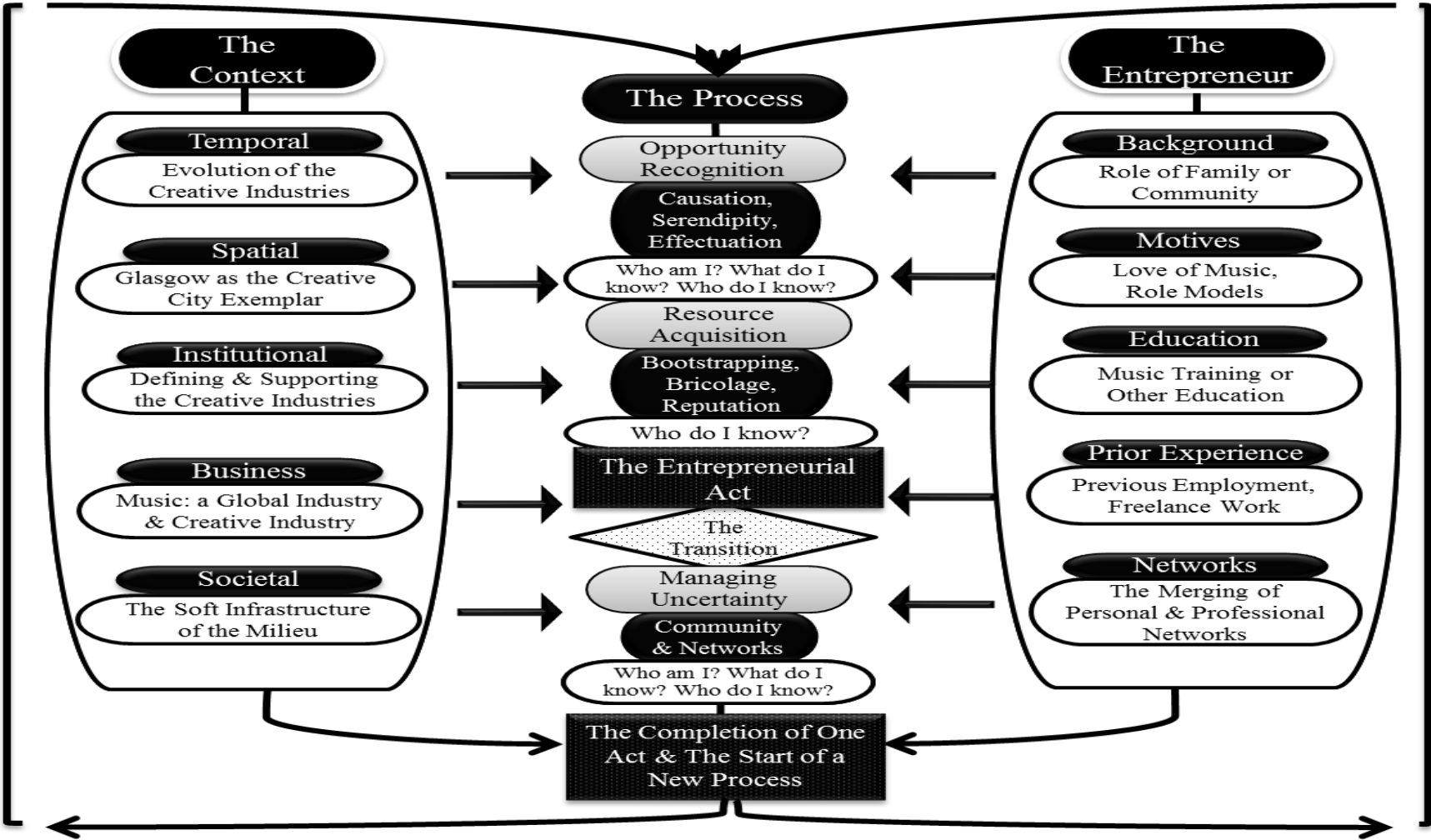
Figure 9, below, shows the cyclical nature of the entrepreneurship process as it operates in the music industry. It takes place as a series of projects or acts, starting with the discovery of the original opportunity, progressing through the acquisition of the required resources, to the development of the project. The process ends with the introduction of the product to the market, and begins again when a new project is undertaken. The same questions are asked by the entrepreneur at the beginning and end of the process. Each project informs how the next one is undertaken; it may influence what opportunities are discovered, what resources are required and how they are accessed, and who becomes involved at each stage. As Figure 9 identifies, the individual and contextual dimensions have a significant influence at each stage of the entrepreneurial process, and on subsequent venture creation and project work.

Figure 9 also marks the position of the career transition within the entrepreneurial process. The findings suggest that the musician turned businessperson can find it hard to reconcile their two identities. The fact that many still view themselves as

anything rather than entrepreneurs suggests that they continue to feel unprepared for the realities of life in the industry. The findings also suggest that any investigation of the entrepreneurial process in the music industry must acknowledge not only the role of agency and context but also this change in role.

This study contributes to the current discussion of the entrepreneurial process by presenting evidence that shows how and why individuals choose to pursue a career in music, as well as outlining the processes they use to identify opportunities and access resources, illustrating how they handle the transition from making music to making money and describing how they deploy their skills and networks to overcome uncertainty in the wider environment. The following section will outline the implications of these findings for policy makers and practitioners.

Figure 9: The Dimensions of Context and Agency that Impact the Entrepreneurial Process



8.3 Contribution to Policy and Practice

In Chapter 2 it was suggested that much of the mapping of the creative industries by government and industry bodies has been based on data that, at best, fails to take into account the non-standard nature of these industries and, at worst, is inaccurate. Key elements within the creative industries remain classified in broad industrial categories, and even data sources such as the ABI give little by way of detailed analysis. The data currently excludes many of the freelance and self-employed workers who make up a significant portion of the media, games, design, visual arts, literature, performing arts, music and craft sectors. As a result, the actual value of these sectors has been under-represented. But these freelancers are making an increasingly important contribution to the industry and to the UK economy, leading some to argue that:

“...additional data are required to measure as a priority the size, shape and specific skills demand of the Creative Industries, its constituent sectors and large freelance labour pool to a granular and commonly understood sub-sectoral level, using bespoke methodologies to ensure adequate sample sizes” (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2011, p. 32).

The institutional literature characterises the music sector as a single industry made up of composers, producers, managers, music publishers, artists, concert promoters, record companies and live music entrepreneurs, but this study offers further evidence that this paradigm is no longer adequate; it does not reflect the complexity of today’s global entertainment industry, or the entrepreneurial activities of industry actors. It is unsurprising then that the government’s policies for the creative sector are largely ineffective.

One reason why many entrepreneurs fail to qualify for funding is because this funding is based on figures derived from these flawed mapping documents. The government is still debating how best to develop a supportive framework that understands and encompasses all the creative industries, and that facilitates their

access to information, advice and funding. The problem is that existing support initiatives are largely based on unreliable data, with the result that much of the creative sector remains under-represented and under-supported. Thus, while Creative Scotland's figures suggest that Scotland's music industry accounts for 0.47% of total employment in the country, BPI research suggests this is a significant underestimate. Government bodies might be better advised to coordinate their research efforts with industry bodies such as the PRS (which has a register of musicians across the UK), or to cross-reference their data with other agencies (for example, VAT registered music businesses). Not only would this lead to more businesses being represented, but it would also provide researchers with a more accurate information base upon which to draw.

In a recent study, Arshed (2012) criticised the UK government's attempts to formulate and implement enterprise policy:

“No structures or national frameworks were in place to guide the RDAs²³ or the local enterprise agencies with respect to what would be delivered, how it would be delivered, or who it would be delivered to... Little thought was given to the heterogeneity of the SME sector or whether the business support and advice being delivered was effective or of high quality...It was exclusively dominated by achieving contractual targets rather than providing satisfactory business advice and support to increase the quantity and quality of entrepreneurs” (Arshed, 2012, p. 282).

Arshed's study was not explicitly focused on the creative sector, but it highlights fundamental shortcomings in the support offered to SMEs generally. The findings in this study confirm that the same problems exist within the creative industries. Interviewees commented, for example, on the funding changes at Creative Scotland and the perceived lack of support in the city, thereby highlighting possible shortcomings in Glasgow's policies to support and facilitate entrepreneurship at local and regional levels. However, although Glasgow's music community insists more

²³ RDAs were abolished in March 2012, to be replaced by Local Enterprise Agencies.

needs to be done, it seems unable to agree on what this should be. Until a consensus is reached, there is little the government can do but continue to ensure music in Glasgow is seen by the wider industry as a market-oriented sector.

Previous research has focused on the role of entrepreneurship in the creative industries at the macro level, but few studies have addressed the entrepreneurship process within specific sectors, and even fewer have taken the role of context into account. Yet recent research suggests, as does this study, that the entrepreneurship process is inextricably linked to its contextual setting; indeed, those who seek to study it in isolation “miss an opportunity to enrich their theory building when they overlook the characteristics of the phenomena they study in terms of their newness, uniqueness, magnitude, frequency, and complexity” (Zahra, 2007). This study contributes to the debate by exploring the process of entrepreneurship at the micro level and examining which parts of the process are impacted by agency, context or both.

The final contribution of the study is methodological; that is, its incorporation of three levels of analysis (the individual, the firm and the environment) and three units of study (the entrepreneurs, the industry experts and public and private support bodies). Bygrave (2007) has argued that there should be less emphasis on complex statistical analysis in entrepreneurship research and a greater focus instead on what entrepreneurs do and how they do it; in other words, there is a need for more empirical research which draws on individuals’ lived experience. The consideration of context requires that the researcher understands who is involved and what other factors influence the entrepreneurial process. In this study, the inclusion of multiple variables and multiple respondents has made it possible to capture the process, the agent and the context within which the process takes place. Multiple levels and multiple units of analysis provide a richer, more contextualised view of the process and have led to new insights which may not otherwise have emerged. This contributes to our understanding of not only who entrepreneurs are, but also what they do, why they do it, where they do it and who else is involved.

8.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Both the academic literature and government materials focus mainly on the impacts of policy initiatives. The areas of activity within entrepreneurship and how it occurs in certain sectors of the creative industries are largely ignored in favour of mapping documents and regeneration activities. But the rising profile of the UK's creative industries and creative-entrepreneurs makes it vital that researchers understand the structure and composition of these industries as well as the activities of those involved.

8.4.1 Studying the Entrepreneurial Process

Scholars analysing the entrepreneurial process have placed emphasis on agency dimensions such as prior experience and personal networks, but almost all have ignored the role of context. Rather than focusing solely on the individual, future research should include the contextual dimensions which influence the process as a whole. Research must take into account both the omnibus and discrete context dimensions shaping the environments within which small firms develop (Johns, 2006), while investigating how entrepreneurship occurs in practice. Sector-specific, cross-sector and cross-industry studies should be conducted and longitudinal research employed, ideally using social constructionist or ethnographic methods, to capture the inner workings of the creative industries as well as the spatial, temporal, institutional, business, societal and social contexts within which entrepreneurship occurs. This will enable contextually rich study of who these entrepreneurs are, why they become entrepreneurs, what opportunities they identify, how they exploit these opportunities, and where and when entrepreneurship happens. In this way, it will be possible to arrive at an overall account of the process.

Rather than dwelling on the differences between process models, scholars need to address the lack of communication between different fields of research. This lack of communication may explain the current lack of consensus as to what entrepreneurship is and how it is undertaken. Future researchers should build on the

common threads that exist within current models and develop these so that future theorists can fully grasp what the process is and how it occurs (Moroz & Hindle, 2012). More careful consideration of the *who, what, why, how, where* and *when* of entrepreneurship should be incorporated into process research in order to bring together the fragmented areas of the field. By taking into account contextual dimensions, researchers can better define and explain the phenomenon of entrepreneurship, and ground their research in practical examples of real-life situations.

8.4.2 *Studying Entrepreneurship in the Context of the Creative Industries*

Scholars of entrepreneurship generally seek to understand how goods and services come into existence where there is no established market (Venkataraman, 1997). The creative industries are a practical example of how this occurs in the UK, although so far, the entrepreneurship process in these sectors has received little attention from academics. The government argues that the creative sector is filled with self-employed entrepreneurs and acknowledges the need to support these industries, but it has so far failed to define its key objectives for individual sub-sectors or address how best to facilitate creative-entrepreneurship – as evidenced by the respondents’ expression of a perceived lack of government support for Glasgow’s music industry.

It is vital to identify the key factors which drive entrepreneurship in the creative industries, and those measures that should be put in place to support creative-entrepreneurs. This requires better empirical data, but rather than considering the creative sector as a whole, future research needs to focus on specific industries, as these differ in terms of what they achieve, what they require to keep going and how entrepreneurship occurs. The government also needs to strengthen its evidence base by using up-to-date sources such as the Business Register and Employment Survey, the Annual Business Inquiry and the Labour Force Survey, in combination with industry-specific data. In terms of the music industry, for example, it could combine data from the BPI and PRS with the data currently used by DCMS and the Scottish

Government. This would help national, regional and local governments to develop better strategies to assist SMEs within the creative industries.

There needs to be better communication between the local enterprise agencies which provide support and the entrepreneurs who receive it. More must also be done to identify needs from the bottom-up. Industry lobby groups and the SMIA represent the interests (and voice the concerns of) the music community in Glasgow and across Scotland as a whole, but the successful delivery of business support for the creative sector is ultimately dependent upon the cooperation between public and private bodies and the wider industry. As Wall explains: “dynamic partnerships between micro, small, and medium sized enterprises, the public sector, and higher education are key to creating a sustainable regional music economy” (Wall, 2007, p. 31). The development of the hard infrastructure in Glasgow is less important to the entrepreneurial process than the city’s social networks and their openness to new people and ideas; in other words, support agencies must engage with those working in the creative industries if their policies are to make any noticeable difference in promoting micro-businesses and then harnessing them as they grow (Wall, 2007).

8.5 Concluding Remarks

This study provides a snapshot of one industry at one moment in time. Industries based on creativity are inherently complex; by looking at the entrepreneurial process as a series of acts, as advocated by Lindgren and Packendorff (2003), and adopting the lens of effectuation, this study hopes to understand what actually facilitates entrepreneurship in these industries, and to give some insight into how art and commerce coexist in the music sector. It is important to examine how opportunities emerge at the local level, how individuals position themselves to exploit them and what they do with them once exploited, but it is even more vital to understand how this new, broad, creative force of musicians and artists support themselves as a community in such a turbulent environment. While this study does not claim to represent the entire population of the music industry in Glasgow (it excludes, for example, classical music players, groups and orchestras in the city), what it does do

is provide an accurate account of how some of the music industry's players support themselves and take advantage of the opportunities presented to them.

The findings of the study increase our understanding of how the entrepreneurship process occurs in the creative industries. The data indicates that the entrepreneurial process in the music industry is continuous, although it is usually undertaken on an ad hoc basis, and that it can be both causal and effectual in nature. It is heavily impacted by both agency and context. Networks and community play a crucial role in facilitating opportunities and the acquisition of resources, and in helping entrepreneurs to adapt to highly dynamic and challenging environments.

Notwithstanding the level of support which is currently provided to the creative sector, very little is known about the actual numbers of actors involved. Despite studies from the DCMS, Creative Scotland and the United Nations, there is no general agreement on how the creative industries should be defined or measured. The literature shows that countries vary in terms of what they define as creative and acknowledges the lack of reliable data on the numbers of self-employed or freelance workers. Yet policy is formulated on the basis of this unreliable data, raising the question of whether the provisions currently in place properly reflect the sectors which they are trying to support.

In the Scottish music industry alone, the industry's own figures don't match those of the government; more needs to be done to understand, measure and define the sector so that it can be better supported with finance, information and advice. In 2011, BIS produced a report focusing on access to finance for creative industry businesses. The authors pointed to the lack of investors specialising in the creative sector, but found that even where public or private support bodies do exist, many creative industry businesses (CIBs) are largely unaware of these specialist investors. Arguing that if CIBs are made aware of a network, they will make use of it, the authors recommended the "introduction of a small business mentor network by the Business Finance Taskforce" to offer CIBs mentoring, information, advice and support (Fraser, 2011, p. 1819). Recent changes to the way Creative Scotland distributes its

funds have only served to exacerbate the problem in Scotland's music industry. If it is to help firms in the creative sector grow and prosper, the government must change the way it measures and supports the sector.

The creative industries, including music, are highly complex; they are at the same time discrete creative sectors and part of the global entertainment industry. Government support bodies must look at each industry sector individually to fully understand its economic contribution (in terms of employment and GDP), its structure, how its entrepreneurs operate and what they need to keep going. It has been highlighted that prior research has failed to capture the full extent of these industries, yet they illustrate new ways of working and living which must be examined more closely. If the government truly wants to support industries that are one of the keys to our shared economic future, then the "policies set forth in support need not only to be continually examined, renewed, revitalised and discarded (if necessary), but also to be harnessed from the very early stages" (Arshed, 2012, p. 292). Future research must draw on more diverse samples if it is to advance our understanding of industry changes and the economic and social revolution that is underway.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: KEY CREATIVE INDUSTRY PUBLICATIONS, POLICY ACTIONS AND INITIATIVES

APPENDIX 2: STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SIC) CODES FOR THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – 1998, 2003, 2007, 2011

APPENDIX 3: COUNTRY COMPARISON OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES SECTOR

APPENDIX 4: SCOTTISH ARTS & CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – KEY INDUSTRY SECTORS

APPENDIX 5: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEUR PROFILES

APPENDIX 6: CREATIVE SECTOR SUPPORT INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX 7: INDUSTRY EXPERTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX 8: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX 9: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

APPENDIX 10: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (I)

APPENDIX 11: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (II)

APPENDIX 1: KEY CREATIVE INDUSTRY PUBLICATIONS, POLICY ACTIONS AND INITIATIVES

Year	International Papers, Policy Actions or Initiatives	UK Papers, Policy Actions or Initiatives	Scottish: Glasgow Papers, Policy Actions or Initiatives
1930s & Earlier	<p>Marshall, A., 1920. <i>Principles of economics</i>. 8th ed. London: Macmillan.</p> <p>Mumford, L., 1922. <i>The story of utopias</i>. New York: Boni and Liveright.</p> <p>Schumpeter, J., 1934. <i>The theory of economic development</i>. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.</p> <p>Mumford, L., 1938. <i>The culture of cities</i>. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.</p>		
1940s	<p>1940: Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) founded.</p> <p>1945: Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) founded.</p> <p>Horkheimer, M. & Adorno, T., 1947 (English Translation in 1972). <i>The culture industry: enlightenment as mass deception</i>. In: <i>Dialectic of enlightenment</i>. New York: Herder & Herder, pp. 120-167.</p> <p>1948: Local Government (Scotland) Act 1948 empowers local authorities to raise funds for spending on music and drama.</p> <p>Di Cicco, P., 1949. <i>Municipal mind: manifestos for the creative city</i>. Ontario, Canada: Mansfield Press.</p>		<p>1942: CEMA establishes Scottish Advisory Committee after pressure from the Secretary of State for Scotland.</p> <p>1947: Scottish Committee meets for the first time. George Firth appointed first Director of SAC. Dr. James Welsh appointed Chair.</p>
1950s	<p>Hoggart, R., 1957. <i>The uses of literacy: aspects of working-class life</i>. London: Chatto & Windus.</p> <p>Williams, R., 1958. <i>Culture and society</i>. London: Chatto & Windus.</p>	1951: Festival of Britain	
1960s		<p>Harold Wilson, <i>A first-class nation</i>, speech in Edinburgh, 21 March 1964.</p> <p>Reprinted in Wilson, H., 1964. <i>The new Britain: Labour's plan outlined; selected speeches 1964</i>.</p>	

		Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, pp. 42-56. 1968-1969 Town and Country Planning Act/Skeffington Report consultation and public participation in planning	
1970s	1970		UNESCO Report - Green, M. & Wilding, M., 1970. <i>Cultural policy in Great Britain</i> . Paris: UNESCO. Conservative Government elected.
	1971	Althusser, L., 1971. On ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: L. Althusser, ed. <i>Lenin and philosophy and other essays</i> . New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 127-186. Peterson, R. & Berger, D., 1971. Entrepreneurship in organizations: evidence from the popular music industry. <i>Administrative Science Quarterly</i> , 16(1), pp. 97-107.	Gramsci, A., 1971. The intellectuals. In: Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith, eds. <i>Sections from the prison notebooks</i> . London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 5-23.
	1972	UNESCO Report - Girard, A., 1972. <i>Cultural development: experience and policies</i> . Paris: UNESCO. Hirsh, P., 1972. Processing fads and fashions: an organization-set analysis of cultural industry systems. <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> , 77(4), pp. 639-659.	
	1973		
	1974	Mumford, L., 1974. <i>The condition of man</i> . New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.	Labour Government re-elected. Baldry, H., 1974. <i>The Report of the Community Arts Working Party</i> . London: Arts Council Great Britain (ACGB).
	1975		
	1976		Schumpeter, J., 1976. <i>Capitalism, socialism and democracy</i> . 5th ed. London: George Allen & Unwin.
	1977	DiMaggio, P., 1977. Market structure, the creative process and popular culture: toward an organisational reinterpretation of mass-culture theory. <i>Journal of Popular Culture</i> , 11(2), pp. 436-	Garnham, N., 1977. Towards a political economy of culture. <i>Higher Education Quarterly</i> , 31(3), pp. 341-357.

		452.		
	1978	Peterson, R., 1978. The production of cultural change: the case of contemporary country music. <i>Social Research</i> , 45(5), pp. 292-314.		
	1979	Miege, B., 1979. The cultural commodity. <i>Media, Culture and Society</i> , 1(3), pp. 297-311.	Conservative Government elected (Thatcher Government)	
1980s	1980			
	1981			Glasgow Council prepares first Economic Development Plan
	1982	Girard, A., 1982. Cultural industries: a handicap or a new opportunity for cultural development? In: <i>Cultural industries: a challenge for the future of culture</i> . Paris: UNESCO, pp. 24-40. Girard, A., 1982. <i>Cultural industries: experience and policies</i> . Paris: UNESCO.		Start of the Merchant City Initiative – the conversion of disused buildings to residential use; Sighthill Park opens, the largest park created in Glasgow for 100 years
	1983		Position paper written by Nicholas Garnham for the 1983 GLC conference on cultural policy. Reprinted in 1987: Garnham, N., 1987. Concepts of culture: public policy and the cultural industries. <i>Cultural Studies</i> , 1(1), pp. 23-37.	Glasgow's Mayfest; Burrell Gallery opened; 'Glasgow's Miles Better' promotional campaign initiated
	1984		Arts Council of Great Britain broken up, Scottish Arts Council becomes independent 1984-1992: Garden Festival programme	Scottish Arts Council becomes independent Lord Grieve inquiry into Glasgow housing conditions; Public launch of the Glasgow District Plan
	1985			McKinsey and Company report (1985) commissioned by the Scottish Development Agency (SDA); Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) opened
	1986		GLC formally disbanded.	
	1987		Levine, M., 1987. Downtown redevelopment as an urban growth strategy: a critical appraisal of the Baltimore renaissance. <i>Journal of Urban Affairs</i> , 9(2), pp. 103-124.	Princes Square Shopping Centre opened

	1988		Myerscough, J., 1988. <i>The economic importance of the arts in Britain</i> . London: Policy Studies Institute. Economic regeneration through culture spreads nationally and internationally as a public sector initiative	National Garden Festival at Princes Dock/Pacific Quay attracts 4.25 million visitors
	1989	Miege, B., 1989. <i>The Capitalization of cultural production</i> . New York: International General.	Keens, W. 1989. <i>Arts and the changing city: an agenda for urban regeneration</i> . London: British American Arts Association. Harvey, D., 1989. <i>The urban experience</i> . Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Harvey, D., 1989. From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation of urban governance in late capitalism. <i>Geografiska Annaler</i> , 71b(1), pp. 3-17.	St Enoch Centre and the New Museum of Transport opened
1990s	1990			City hosts European City of Culture year and Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opened. Scottish Enterprise established
	1991		Foundation for Sport and the Arts established	Glasgow Development Agency (GDA) set up and 'Glasgow's Alive' promotional campaign initiated
	1992			Glasgow awarded five Europa Nostra Diplomas of Merit. Glasgow Cathedral floodlit
	1993		UK Lottery established as an additional funding source	Glasgow Regeneration Alliance founded
	1994			
	1995		Creative cities/creative clusters The creation of Regeneration Thinking	
	1996			Reorganisation of local government - Glasgow becomes a unitary authority
	1997		New Labour Government elected; social inclusion and creativity are key priorities. Creative Industries Task Force established Social Inclusion Unit established	Royal Town Planning Institute awards Glasgow the Silver Jubilee Cup for Planning Achievement - Cathedral Precinct and City Centre Public Realm strategy and demonstration projects for Royal Exchange

				Square and Candleriggs
1998	Hall, P., 1998. <i>Cities and civilization: culture, innovation, and urban order</i> . London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson	Government introduce Public Service Agreements monitored by Quality, Efficiency and Standards Teams; Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document. Scott, A.J., 1998. <i>Regions and the world economy: the coming shape of global production, competition and political order</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.		£200 million Buchanan Galleries Shopping Centre opened
1999		Policy Action Team 10 report advocates sport and arts in social inclusion.		Scottish Parliament officially opened; Glasgow hosts the 1999 Year of Architecture and Design; Lighthouse building and Homes for the Future building project open as part of 'Glasgow 1999'
2000	Banks, M., Lovatt, A., O'Connor, J. & Raffo, C., 2000. Risk and trust in the cultural industries. <i>Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences</i> , 31(4), pp. 453-464. Brooks, D., 2000. <i>Bobo's in paradise; the new upper class and how they got there</i> . New York: Simon and Schuster. Florida, R., 2000. <i>Competing in the age of talent: environment, amenities and the new economy. Final report to the Richard King Mellon Foundation and Sustainable Pittsburgh</i> . Pittsburgh: s.n. Footer, M. & Graber, C., 2000. Trade liberalisation and cultural policy. <i>Journal of International Economic Law</i> , 3(1), pp. 115-144. Hall, P., 2000. Creative cities and economic development. <i>Urban Studies</i> , 37(4), pp. 639-649. Kunzmann, K., 2000. Strategic spatial development through information and communication. In: <i>The revival of strategic spatial planning</i> . Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, pp. 259-266.	Banks, M., Lovatt, A., O'Connor, J. & Raffo, C., 2000. Risk and trust in the cultural industries. <i>Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences</i> , 31(4), pp. 453-464. Brown, A., O'Connor, J. & Cohen, S., 2000. Local music policies within a global music industry: cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. <i>Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences</i> , Volume 31, pp. 437-451. Caves, R., 2000. <i>Creative industries: contracts between art & commerce</i> . 1st ed. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press. Chatterton, P., 2000. Will the real creative city please stand up? <i>City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action</i> , 4(3), pp. 390-397. Clark, W., 2000. Monocentric to polycentric: new urban forms and old paradigms. In: G. Bridge & S. Watson, eds. <i>A companion to the city</i> . Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 141-154. Landry, C., 2000. <i>The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators</i> . 1st ed. London: Earthscan.		Glasgow City Council sanctions the biggest public-private partnership investment programme in the UK - all 29 of the city's secondary schools upgraded/refurbished over a three year period; Scotland's national football stadium, the new Hampden Park, officially opened

2000s	<p>Porter, M., 2000. Location, competition, and economic development: local clusters in a global economy. <i>Economic Development Quarterly</i>, 14(1), pp. 15-34.</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2000. Cultural Tourism as an urban cultural industry. A critical appraisal. <i>Cultural Tourism</i>, pp. 33-45.</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2000. New media, the new economy and new space. <i>Geoforum</i>, 31(4), pp. 425-436.</p> <p>Putnam, R., 2000. <i>Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster.</p> <p>Scott, A., 2000. <i>The cultural economy of cities</i>. New York: Sage Publications.</p>	<p>Mayo, M., 2000. <i>Cultures, communities, identities: cultural strategies for participation and empowerment</i>. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.</p> <p>Monaghan, J. & Just, P., 2000. <i>Social and cultural anthropology: a very short introduction</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>Negus, K. & Pickering, M., 2000. Creativity and cultural production. <i>International Journal of Cultural Policy</i>, 6(2), pp. 259-282.</p> <p>O'Connor, J., 2000. <i>The definition of 'cultural industries'</i>. [Online]</p>	
2001		<p>Chell, E., 2001. <i>Entrepreneurship: globalisation, innovation and development</i>. London: Thomson.</p> <p>DCMS, 2001. <i>Creative industries mapping document</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.</p> <p>DCMS, 2001. <i>Mapping creative industries technical document</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2001. <i>Cultural planning: an urban renaissance?</i> London: Routledge.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2001. The World Bank and world heritage: culture and sustainable development? <i>Tourism Research</i>, 26(3), pp. 83-86.</p> <p>Henry, J., 2001. <i>Creative management</i>. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications.</p> <p>Howkins, J., 2001. <i>The creative economy; how people make money from ideas</i>. Suffolk: Penguin Books.</p> <p>Malmberg, A. & Maskell, P., 2001. <i>The illusive concept of localization economies. Towards a knowledge-based theory of spatial clustering</i>. New</p>	<p>Glasgow Science Centre opened; transfer of 90,000 council houses to the Glasgow Housing Association agreed; Glasgow's Financial Services district launched; Scottish Football Museum opened at Hampden Park</p>

		<p>York, s.n.</p> <p>McGuigan, J., 2001. <i>Three discourses of cultural policy</i>. London: Sage Publications.</p> <p>Mossberger, K. & Stoker, G., 2001. The evolution of urban regime theory: the challenge of conceptualisation. <i>Urban Affairs</i>, 36(6), pp. 810-835.</p> <p>Scott, A., 2001. Capitalism, cities and the production of symbolic forms. <i>Transactions: Institute of British Geographers</i>, 26(1), pp. 11-23.</p> <p>Scott, A., 2001. <i>Global city regions: trends, theory, policy</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>Simmie, J., 2001. <i>Innovative cities</i>. London: Spon Press.</p> <p>Thorsby, D., 2001. <i>Economics and culture</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p>UNCHS, 2001. <i>Cities in a globalizing world</i>. London: Earthscan Publications.</p> <p>Volkerling, M., 2001. From Cool Britannia to hot nation: creative industries policies in Europe, Canada and New Zealand. <i>International Journal of Cultural Policy</i>, 7(3), pp. 437-455.</p>	
2002	<p>Florida, R., 2002. <i>The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community, and everyday life</i>. New York: Basic Books.</p> <p>Berger, 2002. <i>A Puerto Rican rebirth in El Barrio; after exodus, gentrification changes face of East Harlem</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2002. <i>The geography of employment in the cultural industries: towards a cross-national comparison (UK and Japan)</i>. Los Angeles, s.n., pp. 375-385.</p>	<p>Caves, R., 2002. <i>Creative industries: contracts between art and commerce</i>. 2nd ed. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.</p> <p>Fujita, M. & Thisse, J., 2002. <i>Economics of agglomeration</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p>Hesmondhalgh, D., 2002. <i>The cultural industries</i>. London: Sage Publications.</p> <p>Jeffcutt, P. & Pratt, A., 2002. Editorial: managing creativity in the cultural industries. <i>Creativity and Innovation Management</i>, 11(4), pp. 225-233.</p> <p>Reeves, M., 2002. <i>Measuring the economic and social impact of the arts. A review</i>. s.l.: Arts Council</p>	<p>Hamilton, C. & Scullion, A., 2002. Cultural policy and Scotland: a response to the National Cultural Strategy. <i>Scottish Affairs</i>, 39(Spring), pp. 131-148.</p> <p>Launch of a new lighting strategy encompassing the lighting of individual buildings and landmarks, statutory street lighting, amenity and festive lighting and lighting as an art form</p>

		of England. Robson, C., 2002. <i>Real world research</i> . Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.	
2003			Glasgow designated European Capital of Sport; with the adoption of City Plan 1 on 1st August, Glasgow moves from a system of 43 local plans of varying ages to one single up-to-date development plan covering the entire city
2004	<p>Barley, S. & Kunda, G., 2004. <i>Gurus, hired guns, and warm bodies: itinerant experts in a knowledge economy</i>. Princetown, NJ: Princeton University Press.</p> <p>Bathelt, H., Malmberg, A. & Maskell, P., 2004. Clusters and knowledge: local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. <i>Progress in Human Geography</i>, 28(1), pp. 31-56.</p> <p>Christensen, C., Anthony, S. & Roth, E., 2004. <i>Seeing what's next: using theories of innovation to predict industry change</i>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.</p> <p>Cronheim, C., 2004. Reviews of <i>Creative destruction</i> by Tyler Cowen and <i>The rise of the creative class</i> by Richard Florida. <i>Journal of Policy Analysis and Management</i>, 23(4), pp. 932-936.</p> <p>Florida, R., 2004. <i>Creative class war. How the GOP's anti-elitism could ruin America's economy</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Hall, P., 2004. Creativity, culture, knowledge and the city. <i>Built Environment</i>, 30(3), pp. 256-258.</p> <p>Jayne, M., 2004. Culture that works? Creative industries development in a working-class city. <i>Capital and Class</i>, Volume 84, pp. 199-210.</p> <p>Kloosterman, R., 2004. Recent employment trends in the cultural industries in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht: a first exploration.</p>	<p>Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), 2004. <i>Creative people, openness and productivity: an exploration of regional differences inspired by 'The rise of the creative class'</i>. London: Department for Trade and Industry (DTI).</p> <p>DCMS, 2004. <i>Evidence toolkit-DET: the regional and cultural data framework</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.</p> <p>Duxbury, N., 2004. Creative cities: principles and practices. <i>Background Paper No. F47</i>, August.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2004. Cultural industry quarters: from pre-industrial to post-industrial production. In: <i>City of quarters: urban village in the contemporary city</i>. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 71-92.</p> <p>Jones, P., Comfort, D., Eastwood, I. & Hillier, D., 2004. Creative industries: economic contributions, management challenges and support initiatives. <i>Management Research News</i>, 27(11/12), pp. 134-145.</p> <p>Power, D. & Scott, A., 2004. <i>Cultural industries and the production of culture</i>. Abbingdon, Oxon: Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group</p>	<p>Turok, I., 2004. Scottish urban policy: continuity, change and uncertainty post-devolution. In: <i>New horizons in British urban policy: perspectives on New Labour's urban renaissance</i>. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 111-128.</p> <p>Wilson, N. & Murphy, S., 2004. <i>Scotland</i>. London: Lonely Planet.</p> <p>Cultural Policy Collective., 2004. <i>Beyond social inclusion towards cultural democracy</i>. Aberdeen: Lemon Tree.</p> <p>The Clyde Gateway project is initiated to tackle the physical and economic decline of a large part of the city's East End and part of South Lanarkshire; Glasgow's first River Festival takes place</p>

	<p><i>Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie</i>, 95(2), pp. 243-252.</p> <p>Kunzmann, K., 2004. An agenda for creative governance in city regions. <i>DISP</i>, Volume 158, pp. 5-10.</p> <p>Malanga, S., 2004. The curse of the creative class. <i>City Journal</i>, 14(1), pp. 36-45.</p> <p>Mommaas, H., 2004. Cultural clusters and the post-industrial city: towards the remapping of urban cultural policy. <i>Urban Studies</i>, 41(3), pp. 507-532.</p> <p>Power, D. & Jansson, J., 2004. The emergence of a post-industrial music economy? Music and ICT synergies in Stockholm, Sweden. <i>Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences</i>, 35(4), pp. 425-439.</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2004. Creative clusters: towards the governance of the creative industries production systems. <i>Media International Australia</i>, Volume 112, pp. 50-66.</p> <p>Törnqvist, G., 2004. Creativity in time and space. <i>Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography</i>, 86(4), pp. 227-243.</p>		
2005	<p>Carroll, M. W., 2005. <i>Keeping score: the struggle for music copyright</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Cultural Commission, 2005. <i>Our next major enterprise. Final Report of the Cultural Commission</i>. Edinburgh: Cultural Commission and Scottish Executive.</p> <p>Florida, R., 2005. An introduction to the creative class. In: S. Franke & E. Verhhagen, eds. <i>Creativity and the city: how the creative economy is changing the city</i>. Rotterdam: NAI Publishing, pp. 20-41.</p> <p>Garnham, N., 2005. From cultural to creative industries: an analysis of the implications of the 'creative industries' approach to arts and media policy making in the United Kingdom. <i>International</i></p>	<p>DCMS, 2005. <i>Creative industries economic estimates: statistical bulletin</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.</p> <p>EKOS, 2005. <i>Scottish Music Industry Association: Feasibility Study</i>. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2005. Measure for measures: evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration. <i>Urban Studies</i>, 42(5/6), pp. 959-983.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2005. <i>Strategies for creative spaces: case study London</i>. London: London Development Agency.</p> <p>Wilson, N. & Stokes, D., 2005. Managing creativity: the challenge for cultural entrepreneurs. <i>Journal of Small Business and Enterprise</i></p>	<p>Phase 2 of the Lighting Strategy is approved and Glasgow hosts its first lighting festival, Radiance.</p> <p>S.A.C., 2005. <i>Scottish Music Industry Association: Feasibility Study</i>. Edinburgh: EKOS and Rightsrouter.</p>

	<p><i>Journal of Cultural Policy</i>, 11(1), pp. 15-30.</p> <p>Gibson, C. & Kong, L., 2005. Cultural economy: a critical review. <i>Human Geography</i>, 29(5), pp. 541-561.</p> <p>Glaeser, E., 2005. Review of Richard Florida's <i>The rise of the creative class</i>. <i>Regional Science and Urban Economics</i>, 35(5), pp. 593-596.</p> <p>Hesmondhalgh, D. & Pratt, A., 2005. Cultural industries and cultural policy. <i>International Journal of Cultural Policy</i>, 11(1), pp. 1-14.</p> <p>Jayne, M., 2005. Creative industries: the regional dimension? <i>Environment and Planning C</i>, 23(4), pp. 537-556.</p> <p>Landry, C., 2005. Lineages of the creative city. In: S. Franke & E. Verhhagen, eds. <i>Creativity and the city: how the creative economy is changing the city</i>. Rotterdam: NAI Publishing, pp. 42-55.</p> <p>Lang, R. & Danielsen, K., 2005. Review roundtable: cities and the creative class. <i>Journal of the American Planning Association</i>, 71(2), pp. 203-220.</p> <p>Montgomery, J., 2005. Beware 'the creative class'. Creativity and wealth creation revisited. <i>Local Economy</i>, 20(4), pp. 337-343.</p> <p>OECD, 2005. <i>Culture and local development</i>. Paris: OECD.</p> <p>Peck, J., 2005. Struggling with the creative class. <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i>, 29(4), pp. 740-770.</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2005. Cultural industries and public policy: an oxymoron? <i>International Journal of Cultural Policy</i>, 11(1), pp. 31-44.</p> <p>Pumhiran, N., 2005. <i>Reflection on the disposition of creative milieu</i>. Bilbao, Spain: s.n.</p> <p>Taylor, P., 2005. Leading world cities: empirical evaluations of urban nodes in multiple networks. <i>Urban Studies</i>, 42(9), pp. 1593-1608.</p>	<p><i>Development</i>, 12(3), pp. 366-378.</p>	
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	2007	<p>Baker, B., 2007. <i>Destination branding for small cities</i>. Portland, OH: Creative Leap Books.</p> <p>Currid, E., 2007. <i>The Warhol economy: how fashion, art, and music drive New York City</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.</p> <p>Kellner, D., 2007. The Frankfurt School. In: T.</p>	<p>Bilton, C., 2007. <i>Management and creativity: from creative industries to creative management</i>. 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.</p> <p>DCMS, 2007. <i>Work foundation: staying ahead: the economic performance of the UK's creative industries</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media</p>	<p>BBC Headquarters opened at Pacific Quay; Glasgow Green £15.5 million (8 year) restoration programme completed; Glasgow hosts the UEFA Cup Final at Hampden Park; Glasgow hosts Europe's largest comedy festival;</p>

	<p>Edwards, ed. <i>Cultural theory: classical and contemporary positions</i>. London: Sage Publications, pp. 49-68.</p> <p>Montgomery, J., 2007. <i>The new wealth of cities. City dynamics and the fifth wave</i>. Burlington, VA: Ashgate, Aldershot.</p>	<p>and Sport.</p> <p>DCMS - Work Foundation: <i>The Creative Economy Programme</i></p> <p>Dimov, D., 2007. Idea generation from a creativity perspective. In: A. Zacharakis & S. Spinelli, eds. <i>Entrepreneurship: the engine of growth</i>. Portsmouth, NH: Greenwood Publishing Group, pp. 19-41.</p> <p>The Work Foundation, 2007. <i>Staying ahead: the economic performance of the UK's creative industries</i>. London: NESTA.</p> <p>Hartley, J., 2007. <i>Creative industries</i>. 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.</p> <p>Huws, U., 2007. A spark in the creative engine: creative workers in a global organisation. <i>Work Organisation Labour and Globalisation</i>, 1(1), pp. 1-12.</p> <p>O'Connor, J., 2007. <i>The cultural and creative industries: a review of the literature</i>. London: Arts Council England.</p> <p>Ross, A., 2007. Nice work if you can get it: the mercurial career of creative industries policy. <i>Work Organisation Labour and Globalisation</i>, 1(1), pp. 13-30.</p>	<p>Glasgow successful in securing the 2014 Commonwealth Games.</p> <p>Doucet, B., 2007. <i>Flagship regeneration: panacea or urban problem?</i> Glasgow, Paper presented to Eura Conference – The Vital City.</p> <p>Frith, S., 2007. Live music matters. <i>Scottish Music Review</i>, 1(1), pp. 1-17.</p> <p>Hibberd, L., 2007. Devolution in policy and practice: a study of River City and BBC Scotland. <i>Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture</i>, 4(3), pp. 107-125.</p> <p>Williamson, J. & Cloonan, M., 2007. Rethinking the music industry. <i>Popular Music</i>, 26(2), pp. 1-41</p>
2008	<p>Costa, P., 2008. Creative milieus, gatekeepers and cultural production: evidence from a survey to Portuguese artists. <i>Review of Cultural Economics, Korea Association for Cultural Economics</i>, 11(1), pp. 3-31.</p> <p>Crookes, D., 2008. <i>Conceptualizing entrepreneurship in music: a project-based view of entrepreneurship in high art music performance</i>. s.l.:Malardalen University, School of Sustainable Development of Society and Technology.</p> <p>Draper, P., 2008. <i>On disintermediated culture, education, and craft</i>. Lowell, MA: s.n.</p>	<p>Clifton, N., 2008. The 'creative class' in the UK: an initial analysis. <i>Geografika Annaler B</i>, 90(1), pp. 63-82.</p> <p>Hartmann, B., 2008. <i>Levels of policy leadership: the subsidiarity principle in creative industries governance</i>. Glasgow: s.n.</p> <p>Hesmondhalgh, D., 2008. <i>The cultural industries</i>. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications.</p> <p>Landry, C., 2008. <i>The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators</i>. 2nd ed. London: Earthscan.</p>	<p>Glasgow named UNESCO City of Music; Glasgow hosts the Glasgow International Festival of Contemporary Visual Art; Pollok Country Park voted Europe's Best Park</p> <p>(GUCM), G.C.o.M., 2008. <i>Glasgow City of Music. Application Dossier submitted to UNESCO Creative Cities Network</i>. Glasgow: Glasgow City of Music (GUCM).</p> <p>Hibberd, L. A., 2008. <i>Creative industries policy and practice. A study of the BBC</i></p>

	<p>Florida, R., Mellander, C. & Stolarick, K., 2008. Inside the black box of regional development-human capital, the creative class and tolerance. <i>Journal of Economic Geography</i>, 8(5), pp. 615-649.</p> <p>Hutton, T., 2008. <i>Restructuring, regeneration and dislocation in the 21st century metropolis</i>. London: Routledge.</p> <p>Pratt, A., 2008. Creative cities? <i>Urban Design Group</i>, Volume 106, p. 35.</p> <p>Scott, A., 2008. Inside the city: on urbanisation, public policy and planning. <i>Urban Studies</i>, pp. 755-772.</p> <p>Segers, K. & Huijgh, E., 2008. <i>Clarifying the complexity and ambivalence of the cultural industries</i>. Brussels: Centre for Media Sociology (CeMeSo).</p>		<p><i>Scotland and Scottish Screen</i>. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.</p> <p>Lundy, I., 2008. <i>The killing of Mr Happy</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Ramage, J., 2008. <i>Media cities or virtual worlds?</i> Glasgow: Proceedings of Creative Clusters Conference, 17-21 November.</p>
2009	<p>Avraham, E. & Daugherty, D., 2009. "We're known for oil. But we also have watercolors, acrylics & pastels": media strategies for marketing small cities and towns in Texas. <i>Cities</i>, 26(6), pp. 331-338.</p> <p>Catungal, J. P. & Leslie, D., 2009. Editorial. Contesting the creative city: race, nation, multiculturalism. <i>Geoforum</i>, 40(5), pp. 701-704.</p> <p>Cheung, J., 2009. <i>Perpetuating Spadina Avenue: conceptualizing the creative milieu</i>. Ontario: University of Waterloo.</p> <p>Costa, P., Seixas, J. & Roldão, A., 2009. <i>From 'creative cities' To 'urban creativity'? Space, creativity and governance in the contemporary city</i>. Madrid, Spain: s.n., pp. 1-31.</p> <p>Rato, B., Mühlhan, O. & Roldão, A., 2009. <i>A typology of creative cities in the world - lessons learned</i>. Kaiserslautern, Germany: s.n.</p> <p>Watson, A., Hoyler, M. & Mager, C., 2009. Spaces and networks of musical creativity in the city. <i>Geography Compass</i>, 3(2), pp. 856-878.</p>	<p>BIS, 2009. <i>The future of the creative industries</i>. Watford: The Grove.</p> <p>Bontje, M. & Musterd, S., 2009. Creative industries, creative class and competitiveness: expert opinions critically appraised. <i>Geoforum</i>, 40(5), pp. 843-852.</p> <p>Evans, G., 2009. Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy. <i>Urban Studies</i>, 46(5/6), pp. 1003-1040.</p>	<p>SAC, 2009. <i>The Quarterly Newsletter for Scotland's Youth Music Initiative</i>. Glasgow: Youth Music Initiative.</p>

	2010	<p>Darchen, S. & Tremblay, D., 2010. What attracts and retains knowledge workers/students: the quality of place or career opportunities? The cases of Montreal and Ottawa. <i>Cities</i>, 27(4), pp. 225-233.</p> <p>Florida, R. & Jackson, S., 2010. Sonic city: the evolving economic geography of the music industry. <i>Journal of Planning Education and Research</i>, 29(3), pp. 310-321.</p> <p>Granger, R. & Hamilton, C., 2010. <i>Breaking new ground. Spatial mapping of the creative economy. External Report</i>. Coventry: Coventry University.</p> <p>Granger, R. & Hamilton, C., 2010. Re-spatializing the creative industries: a relational examination of underground scenes, and professional organizational lock-in. <i>Creative Industries Journal</i>, 3(1), pp. 47-60.</p> <p>European Commission, 2010b. Green Paper: Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries. Brussels: European Directorate-General Education and Culture.</p>	<p>Formation of Coalition Government – Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. Prime Minister David Cameron., 2010. <i>Transforming the British economy: Coalition strategy for economic growth</i>. [Online]</p> <p>BOP Consulting, 2010. <i>Mapping the creative industries: a toolkit</i>. London: British Council.</p> <p>DCMS, 2010. <i>Creative industries economic estimates (experimental statistics)</i>. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.</p> <p>Jones, T., Ram, M. & Theodorakopoulos, N., 2010. Transnationalism as a force for ethnic minority enterprise? The case of Somalis in Leicester. <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i>, 34(3), pp. 565-585.</p> <p>McKay, G., 2010. Community arts and music, community media: cultural politics and policy in Britain since the 1960s. In: K. Howley, ed. <i>Understanding community media</i>. London: Sage Publications, pp. 41-52.</p>	
	2011	<p>Zarka, Y., 2011. <i>The meaning of utopia</i>. [Online]</p>	<p>DCMS, 2011. <i>Creative industries economic estimates full statistical release</i>. London: DCMS.</p> <p>O'Reilly, D., 2011. Mapping the arts marketing literature. <i>Arts Marketing: An International Journal</i>, 1(1), pp. 26-38.</p> <p>UK Music, 2011. <i>Liberating creativity</i>. [Online]</p>	<p>Myerscough, J., 2011. <i>Glasgow cultural statistics digest</i>. Glasgow: Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Life.</p> <p>Event Scotland, 2011. <i>MOBO returns to Glasgow</i>. [Online]</p>
	2012	<p>Fonarow, W., 2012. <i>When should amateur musicians call it a day?</i> [Online]</p> <p>Leadbeater, C., 2012. <i>The hospitable city: Guimarães, Open City Project</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Mjos, O., 2012. <i>Music, social media and global mobility: MySpace, Facebook, YouTube</i>. New York: Routledge.</p>	<p>BBC News, 2012. <i>Cameron urges overseas investors to back UK arts</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Scotland on Sunday., 2012. <i>Call for tax breaks to aid film productions</i>. [Online]</p>	<p>Scotland celebrates Year of Culture</p> <p>Glasgow IFSD, 2012. <i>International Financial and Services District (IFSD) Glasgow</i>. [Online]</p> <p>McMillan, J., 2012. <i>Three deadly sins of Creative Scotland's bad funding review</i>. [Online]</p> <p>Silver, J., 2012. <i>DCMS downgrades value of creative industries?</i> [Online]</p>

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**APPENDIX 2: STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SIC) CODES
FOR THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – 1998, 2003, 2007, 2011**

SIC Codes 1998

Sub-Sector	1998 SIC Codes	Description	% Of Code Taken
Advertising	74.40	Advertising	All
Architecture	74.20	Architecture and engineering activities and related technical consultancy	25%
Arts &	52.48/9	Other retail sales in specialised stores	5%
Antiques	52.50	Retail of second-hand goods in stores	
Crafts		Crafts – the majority of businesses are too small to be picked up in business surveys	
Design	No codes match this sector		
Designer Fashion	9 Codes	Clothing manufacture	0.5%
"	74.84	Other business activities not classified elsewhere	2.5%
Video, Film, Music and Photography	22.32	Reproduction of video recording	25%
"	92.11	Motion picture and video production	All
"	92.12	Motion picture and video distribution	All
"	92.13	Motion picture projection	All
"	74.81	Photographic activities (+)	25%
Music & The Visual &	22.14	Publishing of sound recordings	All
Performing Arts	22.31	Reproduction of sound recordings	25%
"	92.31	Artistic and literary creation and interpretation	All
"	92.32	Operation of arts facilities	All
"	92.34	Other entertainment activities not classified elsewhere	50%
"	92.72	Other recreational activities not classified elsewhere	25%
Publishing	22.11	Publishing of books	All
"	22.12	Publishing of newspapers	All
"	22.13	Publishing of journals and periodicals	All
"	22.15	Other publishing	25%
"	92.40	News agency activities	All
Software, Computer Games &	22.33	Reproduction of computer media	25%
Electronic	72.21	Publishing of software	All
Publishing	72.22	Other software consultancy and supply	All
Radio & TV	92.20	Radio and television activities	All

*These nine codes cover manufacture of clothes and footwear, within which are designer fashion activities: 17.71, 17.72, 18.10, 18.21, 18.22, 18.23, 18.24, 18.30, 19.30

SIC Codes 2003

Sub-Sector	2003 SIC Codes	Description	% Of Code Taken
Advertising	74.40	Advertising	All
Architecture	74.20	Architecture and engineering activities and related technical consultancy	25%
Arts & Antiques	52.48	Other retail sales in specialised stores	5%
"	52.50	Retail of second-hand goods in stores	5%
Crafts		Crafts – the majority of businesses are too small to be picked up in business surveys	
Design	No codes match this sector		
Designer Fashion	9 Codes	Clothing manufacture	0.5%
"	74.87	Other business activities not classified elsewhere	2.5%
Video, Film and Photography	22.32	Reproduction of video recording	25%
"	74.81	Photographic activities	25%
"	92.11	Motion picture and video production	All
"	92.12	Motion picture and video distribution	All
"	92.13	Motion picture and video projection	All
Music & The Visual & Performing Arts	22.14	Publishing of sound recordings	All
"	22.31	Reproduction of sound recording	25%
"	92.31	Artistic and literary creation and interpretation	All
"	92.32	Operation of arts facilities	All
"	92.34	Other entertainment activities not classified elsewhere	50%
"	92.72	Other recreational activities not classified elsewhere	25%
Publishing	22.11	Publishing of books	All
"	22.12	Publishing of newspapers	All
"	22.13	Publishing of journals and periodicals	All
"	22.15	Other publishing	25%
"	92.40	News agency activities	All
Software, Computer Games & Electronic Publishing	22.33	Reproduction of computer media	25%
"	72.21	Publishing of software	All
"	72.22	Other software consultancy and supply	All
Radio & TV	92.20	Radio and television activities	All

* These nine codes cover manufacture of clothes and footwear, within which are designer fashion activities: 17.71, 17.72, 18.10, 18.21, 18.22, 18.23, 18.24, 18.30, 19.30
 Note: Music was removed from video, film & photography.

SIC Codes 2007 (released 2010)

Sub-Sector	2007 (2010) SIC Codes	Description	% Of Code Taken
Advertising	73.11	Advertising agencies	
"	73.12	Media representation	
Architecture	71.11	Architectural activities	
"	74.10	Specialised design activities	4.5%
Arts & Antiques	47.78/1	Retail sales in commercial art galleries	
"	47.79/1	Retail sale of antiques, including antique books in stores	
Crafts	No codes match this sector	Crafts – the majority of businesses are too small to be picked up in business surveys	
Design	74.10	Specialised design activities	89.6%
Designer Fashion	10 Codes	Clothing manufacture*	0.5%
Fashion	74.10	Specialised design activities	5.8%
Video, Film and Photography	18.20/2	Reproduction of video recording	25%
"	74.20	Photographic activities	25%
"	59.11/1&59.11/2	Motion picture and video production	
"	59.12	Motion picture and video & TV post-production activities	18.4%
"	59.13/1&59.13/2	Motion picture and video distribution	
"	59.14	Motion picture projection activities	
Music & The Visual & Performing Arts	59.20	Sound recording and music publishing activities	
"	18.20/1	Reproduction of sound recording	25%
"	90.01	Performing arts	
"	90.02	Support activities to performing arts	
"	90.03	Artistic creation	
"	90.04	Operation of arts facilities	
"	78.10/1	Motion picture, TV and other theatrical casting	0.07%
Publishing	58.11	Book publishing	
"	58.12	Publishing of newspapers	
"	58.14	Publishing of journals and periodicals	
"	58.19	Other publishing activities	50%
"	63.91	News agency activities	
Software & Electronic Publishing	18.20/3	Reproduction of computer media	25%
"	62.01/2	Business and domestic software	
"	62.02	Computer consultancy activities	
"	58.29	Other software publishing	
Digital & Entertainment Media	58.21	Publishing of computer games	
"	62.01/1	Ready-made interactive leisure and entertainment software development	
Radio & TV	60.10	Radio broadcasting	
"	60.20	TV programming and broadcasting activities	
"	59.11/3	TV programme production activities	
"	59.12	Motion picture, video & TV post-production activities	81.6%
"	59.13/3	TV programme distribution	

*These ten codes cover manufacture of clothes and footwear, within which are designer fashion activities: 14.11, 14.12, 14.13, 14.14, 14.19, 14.20, 14.31, 14.39, 15.12 and 15.20

SIC Codes 2011

Sub-Sector	2011 SIC Code	Description	% Of Code Taken
Advertising	73.11	Advertising agencies	
"	73.12	Media representation	
Architecture	71.11	Architectural activities	
"	74.10	Specialised design activities	4.5%
Arts & Antiques	47.78/1	Retail sales in commercial art galleries	
"	47.79/1	Retail sale of antiques, including antique books in stores	
Crafts	No codes match this sector		
Design	74.10	Specialised design activities	89.6%
Designer Fashion	10 Codes	Clothing manufacture*	0.5%
"	74.10	Specialised design activities	5.8%
Video, Film and Photography	18.20/2	Reproduction of video recording	25%
"	74.20	Photographic activities	25%
"	59.11/1&59.11/2	Motion picture and video production	
"	59.12	Motion picture and video & TV post-production activities	18.4%
"	59.13/1&59.13/2	Motion picture and video distribution	
"	59.14	Motion picture projection activities	
Music & The Visual & Performing Arts	59.20	Sound recording and music publishing activities	
"	18.20/1	Reproduction of sound recording	25%
"	90.01	Performing arts	
"	90.02	Support activities to performing arts	
"	90.03	Artistic creation	
"	90.04	Operation of arts facilities	
"	78.10/1	Motion picture, TV and other theatrical casting	0.07%
Publishing	18.11	Printing of newspapers	
"	18.13	Pre-press and pre-media services	
"	58.11	Book publishing	
"	58.13	Publishing of newspapers	
"	58.14	Publishing of journals and periodicals	
"	58.19	Other publishing activities	50%
"	63.91	News agency activities	
Software & Electronic Publishing	18.20/3	Reproduction of computer media	25%
"	58.29	Other software publishing	
Digital & Entertainment Media	58.21	Publishing of computer games	
"	62.01/1	Ready-made interactive leisure and entertainment software development	
Radio & TV	60.10	Radio broadcasting	
"	60.20	TV programming and broadcasting activities	
"	59.11/3	TV programme production activities	
"	59.12	Motion picture, video & TV post-production activities	81.6%
"	59.13/3	TV programme distribution	

* These ten codes cover manufacture of clothes and footwear, within which are designer fashion activities: 14.11, 14.12, 14.13, 14.14, 14.19, 14.20, 14.31, 14.39, 15.12 and 15

APPENDIX 3: COUNTRY COMPARISON OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES SECTOR

	<u>UK</u>	<u>Finland</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Spain</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>EU</u>	<u>Switzerland</u>	<u>Hungary</u>
	Creative Industries	Creative Industries	Creative Industries	Creative Industries	Culture or Creative Industries	Culture Industries	Cultural Sector	Cultural Sector
Advertising	x	x	X	x		x	x	x
Architecture	x	x	X		x	x	x	x
Archives	x			x	x	x	x	x
Art Market	x		X		x		x	x
Audio-Visual (Film, TV, Radio)	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Craft Market	x	x	X				x	x
Design	x		X			x	x	x
Fashion	x	x						x
Libraries				x	x	x	x	x
Literature Publishing	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Multimedia	x		X	x	x	x		x
Museums/Cultural Heritage			X	x	x	x	x	x
Music Industries	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Phono Market			X				x	
Performing Arts	x	x	X	x		x	x	x
Software Market	x	x	X					x
Visual Arts	x			x		x		
Sources:	Department for Culture, Media and Sport 1998	Wilenius 2002	Backes 2005; MWME NRW 2001; Muhlhans et al 2005; Piesk and Werner 2003; City of Cologne 2000	Bonet et al 2002; Real Instituto Elcano 2004	Benhamous 2003; Ministère de la Culture et la Communication 2005	MKW 2001	Weckerle and Sondermann 2003 and 2005	Szokolai 2005

Source: Hölzl, K., 2006. *Creative industries in Europe and Austria: definition and potential*; Söndermann, M., Backes, C., Arndt, O., & Brünink, D., 2009. *Culture and creative industries in Germany*.

APPENDIX 4: SCOTTISH ARTS & CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – KEY INDUSTRY SECTORS

DCMS Cultural Domains	Scottish Arts & Creative Industries	Definition of Sector (using 2007 SIC Codes)	
Visual Art	1) Advertising	73110: Advertising agencies	
		73120: Media representation	
	2) Architecture		71111: Architectural activities
			71112: Urban planning and landscape architectural activities
			71121: Engineering design activities for industrial process production (partial)
			74100: Specialised design activities (partial)
	3) Visual Art		47781: Retail sale in commercial art galleries
			90030: Artistic creation (partial)
	4) Crafts		16290: Manufacture of other products of wood; manufacture of articles of cork, straw and plaiting materials
			31090: Manufacture of other furniture
			32120: Manufacture of jewellery and related articles
			32130: Manufacture of imitation jewellery and related articles
			23410: Manufacture of ceramic household and ornamental articles
			23490: Manufacture of other ceramic products
			23130: Manufacture of hollow glass
			23190: Manufacture and processing of other glass, including technical glassware
			13200: Weaving of textiles (partial)
			13300: Finishing of textiles (partial)
			13922: Manufacture of canvas goods, sacks etc (partial)
			13931: Manufacture of woven or tufted carpets and rugs
			13939: Manufacture of carpets and rugs (other than woven or tufted)
			13990: Manufacture of other textiles (partial)
		14110: Manufacture of leather clothes	
	14190: Manufacture of other wearing apparel and accessories (partial)		

	14200: Manufacture of articles of fur (partial)
	14390: Manufacture of knitted and crocheted apparel (partial)
	15120: Manufacture of luggage, handbags and the like, saddlery and harness (partial)
	15200: Manufacture of footwear (partial)
	47791: Retail sale of antiques, including antique books, in stores
	95240: Repair of furniture and home furnishings
5) Fashion & Textiles	13100: Preparation and spinning of textile fibres
	13200: Weaving of textiles (partial)
	13300: Finishing of textiles
	13910: Manufacture of knitted and crocheted fabrics
	13921: Manufacture of soft furnishings
	13922: Manufacture of canvas goods, sacks etc (partial)
	13923: Manufacture of household textiles (other than soft furnishings of 13921)
	13940: Manufacture of cordage, rope, twine and netting
	13990: Manufacture of other textiles (partial)
	14110: Manufacture of leather clothes (partial)
	14120: Manufacture of work wear
	14131: Manufacture of men's outerwear, other than leather clothes and work wear
	14132: Manufacture of women's outerwear, other than leather clothes and work wear
	14141: Manufacture of men's underwear
	14142: Manufacture of women's underwear
	14190: Manufacture of wearing apparel and accessories (partial)
	14200: Manufacture of articles of fur (partial)
	14310: Manufacture of knitted and crocheted hosiery
	14390: Manufacture of other knitted and crocheted apparel (partial)
	15110: Tanning and dressing of leather; dressing and dyeing of fur
	15120: Manufacture of luggage, handbags and the like, saddlery and harness (partial)
	15200: Manufacture of footwear (partial)

	6) Design	71121: Engineering design activities for industrial process and production (partial) 74100: Specialised design activities (partial)
Performance	7) Performing Arts	78101: Motion picture, television and other theatrical casting (partial) 90010: Performing arts 90020: Support activities to performing arts 90040: Operation of arts facilities
Audio-Visual	8) Music	18201: Reproduction of sound recording 32200: Manufacture of musical instruments 59200: Sound recording and music publishing activities
	9) Photography	74201: Portrait photographic activities 74202: Other specialist photography (not including portrait photography) 74203: Film processing 74209: Other photographic activities (not including portrait and other specialist photography and film processing)
	10) Film & video	18202: Reproduction of video recording 59111: Motion picture production activities 59112: Video production activities 59120: Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities (partial) 59131: Motion picture distribution activities 59132: Video distribution activities 59140: Motion picture projection activities 78101: Motion picture, television and other theatrical casting (partial)
	11) Computer Games	58210: Publishing of computer games 62011: Ready-made interactive leisure and entertainment software development
	12) Radio & TV	59113: Television programme production activities 59120: Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities (partial) 59133: Television programme distribution activities 60100: Radio broadcasting

		60200: Television programming and broadcasting activities
		78101: Motion picture, television and other theatrical casting (partial)
Books & Press	13) Writing and Publishing	18110: Printing of newspapers
		18121: Manufacture of printed labels
		18129: Printing other than printing of newspapers and printing on labels and tags
		18130: Pre-press and pre-media services
		18140: Binding and related services
		58110: Book publishing
		58120: Publishing of directories and mailing lists
		58130: Publishing of newspapers
		58141: Publishing of learned journals
		58142: Publishing of consumer, business and professional journals and periodicals
		58190: Other publishing activities
		74300: Translation and interpretation activities
		90030: Artistic creation (partial)
		Heritage
91012: Archive activities		
91020: Museum activities		
91030: Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions		
91040: Botanical and zoological gardens nature reserve activities		
Digital Industries	15) Software/electronic publishing	58290: Other software publishing
		62012: Business and domestic software development
		62020: Computer consultancy activities
Cultural Education	16) Cultural Education	85520: Cultural education

APPENDIX 5: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEUR PROFILES

BUSINESS	INDUSTRY JOURNEY
1. Blue Productions (A.S.)	Alan was informally trained as a pianist by his father and grandfather and worked for years as a session musician, playing piano and keyboard. After a period of unemployment, he retrained under the New Deal For Musicians and, with the help of a friend on the course, secured funding to open his own studio. In 2007, the forced closure of the building obliged him to move to a new location in Argyle Court. He is now a studio owner and music producer.
2. Chemikal Underground (E.P.)	Emma studied physics at university in Glasgow, but a love of music and an interest in engineering brought her to GR Management in Glasgow. While there, Emma worked with bands and organised events. She subsequently formed the band the Delgados and launched the Chemikal Underground label. Later, she opened the Chem 19 studio. Both the band and the label achieved great success, but in 2005, the band split up and in 2009, Emma launched her solo career.
3. Doghouse Roses (P.T.)	Paul Tasker studied biochemistry and pharmacology, completing a PhD in biomedical sciences in Aberdeen. An interest in guitar music led him to start learning the instrument. He began attending open mic nights, then formed his first band, On The Case. In 2000, Paul left to join traditional music band, Banish Misfortune. After successful showcases at the Orkney Folk Festival and Celtic Connections, Paul started teaching the guitar and moved to Glasgow. In 2005, he formed Doghouse Roses and launched the Yellowroom Music label.
4. Emubands (A.G.)	Ally Gray studied the music industry in Liverpool for his Masters degree research and, after graduation, moved to Glasgow to begin managing bands. However, the overcrowded nature of the industry meant that he instead promoted events for venues around the city. He began working for an online digital distribution company which acted as the middleman between the Majors and online retailers, but when he noticed the lack of distribution available to independent labels, Ally started Emubands next door to his former boss. With investment from Aberdeen University, he became the only digital distributor in Scotland, dealing with independent labels and artists.
5. Greenflame Consultancy (K.M.)	Keren began working in the industry after the death of her father from leukaemia. She organised a benefit concert to raise money for leukaemia research, drawing on contacts among friends, family and friends of friends. She went on to work with DF Concerts, where she worked on a number of high profile events. After studying literature at university, she decided to continue in the industry. During her time at DF, Keren was

	given the opportunity to manage the up and coming band, Snow Patrol. However, this role was taken away from her when the band started to target the US market. Keren set out on her own and opened Greenflame. Since starting her business, she has managed bands including Biffy Clyro, The Reindeer Section and Aerials Up. More recently, she has worked on the Miller Draft campaign and has begun to align her bands with brands.
6. Instinctive Raccoon (J.W.)	After completing a degree in hotel and hospitality management, Jamie worked his way up in bars and restaurants before going to work in the auditorium at Oran Mor. He was offered a trainee manager position in the venue's nightclub. After one occasion when the venue was double booked, Jamie took over the job of events manager and booker, going on to help to organise a number of events throughout the city. An email request for a gig at Oran Mor introduced him to Ross Clark and from there, the company Instinctive Raccoon was created.
7. John Williamson	John began writing fanzines about his favourite bands while still at school. After studying politics and English literature, he worked for music magazine <i>The List</i> and the <i>Evening Times</i> before going freelance. He got involved with the European City of Culture programme, putting on the New Music World event. He then helped set up the 13 th Note with friends, did research for the BBC and worked with a number of public and private agencies. Eventually, he was asked to manage a friend's band, Bis. The band became successful, but John decided to step down from managing them in 2000 to complete his PhD and to work with the former SAC and Prince's Trust. After this brief hiatus, he returned to the industry; alongside his teaching, he now manages the band Belle and Sebastian.
8. Jamie Gilmour	After studying performance and promotion at North Glasgow College, Jamie studied business, at the same time doing freelance work and running events. He joined the Scottish Music Centre and the British Academy of Composers, Songwriters and Authors. He was introduced to the band We Were Promised Jetpacks; he and his partner now manage them full time.
9. Joy Dunlop	Joy was immersed in Gaelic culture from an early age and for a number of years held the full-time post of Gaelic Development Officer in Argyll, Bute and the Islands. However, Joy decided to focus on becoming a full-time solo artist and moved to Glasgow. She has support from the CEO in Glasgow. In addition to her solo work, Joy is also heavily involved in Gaelic choral music. She has become an increasingly familiar face in Gaelic broadcasting and is also a popular columnist in the Scottish Press.
10. Louise	Louise studied drama at the RSAMD in Glasgow until she was asked by her brother's friend to join his

Quinn	band. The band was given a record deal by Sony but they quickly parted ways and signed a publishing deal with Chrysalis Records. Chrysalis provided Louise and her partner with the funds to set up their own label (Lunar Discs) and studio (Lunar Studios) to release their own music, and A Band Called Quinn was born. When it parted with GR Management, the band set up Tromolo Records and began touring with the Scottish Theatre Company Vanishing Point.
11. Morescode Management (B.M.)	Brendon decided to leave his architecture course in the second year to join a band. Soon after, his band was signed, but after years of having little money, he decided that music was not for him. However, while on tour with a friend's band, he was asked to be the tour manager. Not long after, Brendon began working with the newly formed DF Concerts as well as promoting for GR Management. His experience got him a job doing regional promotion for Mercury (formerly Phonogram). When Brendon and his partner were asked to secretly manage a band 'stolen' from their former label, they formed Morsecode Management. They were initially unsuccessful, but the discovery of Paolo Nuttini changed this.
12. Open Ear Music (B.H.)	With an MA (Hons) in psychology and an MSc in sound design, both from Edinburgh University, Brian set up his own events company, Quality Control, to promote cutting-edge live music and DJ events around Scotland. He began working as a Radio DJ, and has also become an award-winning sound artist, winning the PRSF (Performing Rights Society) 'Live Connections' award in 2007 with BAFTA-winning filmmaker Ling Lee. From 2005 to 2007 he was a partner at the sound design and music production company Unified Sound and Music, working on several films, animations and documentaries around the UK. In 2007, he was accepted onto the NESTA (National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts) Creative Pioneer programme, a UK-wide initiative to support 30 young innovators in starting up in business. NESTA's expert training and support enabled Open Ear to launch in late 2007.
13. Sons & Daughters (A.L.)	Ailidh worked for Regular Music, a music promoter based in Glasgow, and during her time there developed a number of networks, both professional and social, which would later form the basis of her band. In 2001, Ailidh decided that she wanted to learn the bass guitar after a conversation with band-mate and friend Adele Bethal. The band began working on demos and sending these to labels until they secured funding. They used a prior contact to launch their album in the US. This created a buzz around the band; they were asked to play at the South by South West Festival and were subsequently signed to Domino Records.
14.	Daniel was classically trained in the accordion from a young age at his home on the Island of Tiree. From

<p>Skerryvore (D.G.)</p>	<p>the age of 16, he was playing gigs on the island. After a chance meeting in a local hotel, Daniel, his brother Martin and their friend Frazer formed their first band. At university in Glasgow he was introduced to Alec, Craig and Barry. With the line-up complete, the band launched under the name Brois in 2003. It was unsuccessful, and in 2005, it rebranded itself, changing the band name to Skerryvore. The band has since taken off, winning the PSYBT Young Entrepreneurs of the Year award in 2009. Skerryvore then launched a huge branding campaign and released a self-titled debut album. In 2010, it set up record label Tyree Music, and Daniel organised the first Tiree Music Festival.</p>
<p>15. Mogwai (S.B.)</p>	<p>Stuart studied music at Jewel and Esk Valley College, forming the band Mogwai straight after graduation. The band soon set up their own label, Rock Action Records, to sign new acts but were subsequently signed themselves by Chemikal Underground where they remained until 2010. Stuart, who is involved in a number of activities, is also on the board of the newly formed Scottish Music Industry Association.</p>

APPENDIX 6: CREATIVE SECTOR SUPPORT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section 1: Organisation's Role within the Music Industry:

- 1). Could you tell me a little bit about yourself and your role within (*said organisation*)?
- 2). What is the purpose of your organisation?
- 3). Who are the services aimed at?
- 4). Who utilises the services offered?
- 5). What are your plans for the future?

Section 2: Glasgow as a City of Music:

- 1). What is your own experience of Glasgow's music industry and those involved?
- 2). Is there an industry?
- 3). What changes have you witnessed?
- 4). What about the UNESCO City of Music title; what role do you hope it will play?
- 5). What are your views on the regeneration of the city centre: has it helped or hindered?
- 6). Is there enough support for those in the industry?
- 7). What do you think is needed in order for Glasgow's music industry to flourish?

APPENDIX 7: INDUSTRY EXPERTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section 1: Your Role and Views of Glasgow's Music Industry:

- 1). I'd like you to begin by telling me about your role in the music industry and how you started out. (*Key triggers*)
- 2). Who or what inspired your journey? (*Role models; personal influences; musical influences*)
- 3). What factors did you need to consider when starting out? (*Finances; showcasing your music*)
- 4). Did you have any prior experience of the industry?
- 5). What business are you in now? Has your experience helped? How?

Section 2: The Role of Glasgow:

- 1). Does Glasgow have a music industry or scene? Why? (*Structure, composition, characteristics*)
- 2). Is there enough support for those in the industry from public and private sources?
- 3). What makes Glasgow's music industry unique? Why?
- 4). Are there advantages to being located in the city? What about disadvantages?
- 5). Glasgow has just been named UNESCO City of Music. Is the title deserved?
- 6). What do you think is needed in order for Glasgow's music industry to flourish?

Section 3: A Bit About Yourself (*Much personal data was retrieved via online sources*):

- 1). Name and full role within the industry:
- 2). Age:
- 3). Current personal status:
- 4). Any dependent children living at home? (Yes/No)
- 5). Education:
- 6). College/university and course title:

APPENDIX 8: MUSIC-ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section 1: Your Role within the Music Industry:

- 1). I'd like you to begin by telling me about your role in the industry and how you started out. (*Key triggers*)
- 2). What were your main motives for starting out in the industry? (*The music; money; success*)
- 3). Why this industry? Who or what inspired your journey? (*Role models; personal influences; musical influences*)
- 4). What knowledge or experience of the industry did you have before you started? (*Prior contacts ~ family or friends in the industry; friends that were in bands; musical influences; previous education; work experiences*)
- 5). How did the opportunity emerge to become a business?
- 6). Were your family and friends supportive?
- 7). What support did you receive, both personal and professional? (*Family and friends; friends of friends; partners; industry contacts; government sources; other...*)

Section 2: The Role of the Business within the Music Industry:

- 1). How did the business start?
- 2). How long has it been in operation?
- 3). Who helped?
- 4). What factors did you need to consider when starting out? (*Finances; showcasing your music*)
- 5). What difficulties or barriers did you face? (*Financial worries; showcasing your talents; technical difficulties etc*) What steps did you take to overcome them?
- 6). In what ways did your prior knowledge and experience of the industry help in the process of start-up?
- 7). How do you position yourself to take advantage of opportunities? Can you provide examples?
- 8). What do you do to promote yourself and your business?
- 9). What role did your networks play?
- 10). How do you balance your personal and professional contacts?
- 11). What are the key skills needed for potential music-entrepreneurs to make a living in the music industry?

Section 3: The Role of Location:

- 1). Can you tell me more about the location of the business?
- 2). Why did you decide to locate there?
- 3). Is the location important to the business? Why?
- 4). What are your views of the city and its music industry?
- 5). Does Glasgow have a music industry or scene? Why? (*Structure; composition; characteristics*)

- 6). What makes Glasgow's music industry unique? Why?
- 7). Is there enough support for those in the industry from public and private sources?
- 8). Are there advantages to being located in the city? What about disadvantages?
- 9). Glasgow has just been named UNESCO City of Music. Is the title deserved?
- 10). What do you think is needed in order for Glasgow's music industry to flourish?

Section 4: A Bit About Yourself (*much personal data was retrieved via online sources*):

- 1). Name and full role within the industry:
- 2). Age:
- 3). Current personal status:
- 4). Any dependent children living at home? (Yes/No)
- 5). Education:
- 6). College/university and course title:

APPENDIX 9: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

‘The Process of Entrepreneurship in
the UK Creative Industries:
A Case of Glasgow’s Music Industry’.



I volunteer to participate in fieldwork conducted by Julie McFarlane from the University of Strathclyde. I understand that the study/research is designed to gather information on the process of entrepreneurship within the music industry in Glasgow.

1. I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.
2. I understand that most interviewees will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
3. I understand that participation in the investigation involves being interviewed by Julie McFarlane from the University of Strathclyde. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape will be made of the interview and any subsequent dialogue.
4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.
5. I understand that no one other than Julie McFarlane from the University of Strathclyde will be present at the interview or have access to raw notes or transcriptions. This precaution will prevent any of my individual comments from having any negative consequences.
6. I have read and understood the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Please print your name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you have any questions or concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed, please contact myself or my Supervisor:

Julie McFarlane

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APPENDIX 10: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (I)

TABLE 1: AN EXAMPLE OF CODING AND DATA FOR THE PROCESS OF OPPORTUNITY DISCOVERY (CHAPTER FIVE)

OPPORTUNITY CREATION OR RECOGNITION (Clustered Theme)		
<i>SERENDIPITY</i> (Second-Order Theme)		
First-Order Theme Quotes	Clustered Theme Exemplary Quotes	Additional Representative Data
1. Fortuitous Discovery	<p><i>“I was running the campaign for Fame Academy, and it was my job to assist the artists to have their kind of moment of glory and part of it was to do with when David Sneddon won. Paisley had a civic reception for him in Paisley Town Hall but he was late, so there was Radio Clyde who were hosting it and they had Gavin Simpson. The DJ just said, ‘Well, let’s have our own Fame Academy contest’, and we just got kids out of the audience to sing, and I was like, ‘Whatever you like, just carry on’. And so they had a kind of pop quiz. Paolo stuck up his hand and they said, ‘What are you going to sing, son?’ And he answered the question right and he goes, ‘Ah, I’ve</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“I’d finished work and there was a three band bill and according to McGee, and to my shame I can’t remember if this is true, but McGee claimed I came downstairs, ‘You’ve got to come up and look at this band, the singer’s got something, he’s a ballsy pain in the arse but he’s got something’, and McGee came up to see this wee band called Oasis. Alan mentions me as the creator of that, I actually don’t remember telling him to go upstairs, but he remembers it better than me.” (Tam, GCMO)</i> • <i>“Kim Beacon was a very big influence on me as he had already had all the success I had dreamed of. The skills he taught me are still skills I use today and most of the milestones in any musician’s career were achieved for me via Kim. This led me to meet, perform and eventually establish a song writing partnership with David Edgar, the original drummer with Texas and many of the musicians I met during that time are still part of my ‘inner circle’ of people I feel continue to influence me.” (Alan, Blue Productions)</i>

	<p><i>got some songs of my own'. They just went, 'What the hell, carry on', gave him the microphone and he was amazing, amazing."</i></p> <p>(Brendon, Morsecode Management)</p>	
2. Causation	<p><i>"I started out when I was studying the music business in Liverpool, obviously my thesis was about the Scottish music industry and developing it, so I moved home from Liverpool and started up a business as a record company and a concert promoter just to try and make the best of the great music that's available that doesn't always get discovered. So that's how I got into it."</i> (Ally, Emubands)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"That whole thing came from my degree which was in psychology and I looked at the sort of psychology of music, how powerful it can be, then I did a Master's in sound design, which looked at architectural acoustics and how sound would react to a space, and following on from that I got onto NESTA Creative Entrepreneur programme, basically took what in effect was like a business idea and gave me the kind of foundations and support to help, basically build the business and I've been doing that ever since, for the last four years basically. So that's one side, meanwhile then that whole thing, I obviously needed to pay the bills so that's why Open Ear came into being, and it's a creative business but it's still a business, whereas I still kept going, like my own kind of musical stuff and I still run monthly club nights. I've got residences, DJ and kind of Glasgow and Edinburgh and do like all round the country."</i>(Brian, Open Ear Music)
3. Effectuation	<p><i>"I went to the wrong part of Park Lane Studios and ended up in GR Management. So that was pretty much how I got involved in the industry in the business end - because of an</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"I must have been about 15, 16 and a sort of family friend bought one of the local bars and hotels in Tiree and asked me to come in and play. And I said, "Ah, I'll come in and do that", and like he gave me a tenner or something like that, so I was getting a tenner a night to go in and play some tunes. So that was how it started, and then the hotels had been struggling by this point and then it</i>

accidental meeting... all down to choosing the wrong door to knock on! So that was really interesting, it was a job that introduced me to the mechanics of the industry and at the same time Delgados were going on in the background and we were getting more and more recognition. So I was there for two years and then eventually I left and we got a publishing deal with Delgados and it went on from there.”(Emma, Chemikal Underground)

started getting busier and busier so I just sort of started thinking, I’m going to negotiate and see if I can get a bit more out of him you know? And I ended up getting £50 a night, so at 16 years old that was alright, and so it expanded from there to the point that Fraser, what’s now in the band, the drummer, he was going up to Tiree on holiday and his family would come into the pub on the nights we were playing and I don’t know how but somebody had sort of mentioned, “Oh, this guy plays the drums”, and I said, “Do you want to come up and play then?” He’s come up and played a bit. And then I’ve moved to Glasgow obviously to study and Fraser, I’ve kept in touch with Fraser, got to know his family, and he says, “Oh, do you fancy going to do a couple of gigs?” So I then got £150 a gig, or something like that. So we knew that there was the capability of making money through our music but to be honest the first, sort of actually get into the industry is when we decided we were going to set up a band, like myself, Fraser, one of Fraser’s friends, Alec, who’s now the lead singer, and Martin, my brother, and Alec. Martin had finished school, he says, “Oh, let’s go for a... go and try and do a tour in a band.” Skippinish, we ended up... you know, I knew Angus pretty well, they guy and they have now got a record company and a venue and a band and they helped us out. They set us up on the first wee tour and we printed out some business cards and just went and I think it was like six nights or something like that, but from those six nights we were handing out a load of business cards and a whole load of requests to do other stuff, so that’s, to be honest there was never ever any plan of doing this full time, it just snowballed like that, you know?” (Daniel, Skerryvore)

APPENDIX 11: EXAMPLE OF CODING AND EXEMPLAR QUOTES (II)

TABLE 2: AN EXAMPLE OF CODING AND DATA FOR THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY (CHAPTER SEVEN)

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY (Clustered Theme)		
MUTUAL AID (Second-Order Theme)		
First-Order Theme Quotes	Clustered Theme Exemplary Quotes	Additional Representative Data
4. Borrowing Nature	<i>“Everyone’s just like, “Right, OK, I need that, hi, can you?” “Fine”, and you know? It’s like people argue a bit more about how they’re going to make things work and like, “Are you nicking my guitarist? Are you nicking my guitar player?” “No, I’m borrowing him”.</i> (Keren, Greenflame Consultancy)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“Borrowing from here and there...”</i> (Ailidh, Sons and Daughters) • <i>“If you don’t have a drummer, you know you can borrow a drummer from a mate, and it’s just all interchangeable.”</i> (A.A. – SMIA) • <i>“I’ll phone my friends and borrow things that you would never dream of having access to.”</i> (Alan, Blue Productions)
5. Reciprocity	<i>“I just try to not fuck them up basically! Which is something I’m really struggling not to do right now! I try and keep in touch generally, so if somebody sends out an email saying that, “I’ve got a radio show, we’ve got this band”, every so often I’ll reply to their email to say, “This looks really good, I’ll try and make it along”, just so when the next time I’m emailing them I’m not asking for something on every single email.”</i> (Paul, Doghouse Roses)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“Dougal [Radio Magnetic] is your number one person you should speak to, he’s fantastic. I mean he’s amazing, basically when I got finished with the NESTA thing I got in touch with him, I’d never met him but I was totally aware of what they did and I was like, “Right, can you help me out?” And they basically like totally sorted me out, and they helped me set up the company, gave me loads of advice and support.”</i> (Brian, Open Ear Music) • <i>“I was doing a talk for the Cultural Enterprise Office yesterday at Edinburgh Uni and I was just like, “I just have to tell them the truth, you know?” I tell them exactly what my life is like, I tell them the high points and the low points, I tell them that one day I might be dressed up as a hotdog in Tollcross Park getting booted</i>

	<p><i>up the arse by some neds, and then the next day I'll be flying to Paris to sing on Kid Loco's album, it's as random as that, there's no definities, there's no like, pension."</i> (Louise, A Band Called Quinn)</p>
<p>6. Reputation <i>"You wouldn't get a job with a band because you had an immaculate...CV! You'd get a job because you were recommended."</i> (Ailidh, Sons and Daughters)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"It's all about recommendation or reputation, so the two R's really."</i>(Brian, Open Ear Music) • <i>"I started to get a reputation for doing good local music."</i> (Jamie W, Instinctive Racoons) • <i>"We just kind of...we're known for doing a great job, so...because, you know, any kind of events going on in Glasgow we'll attend, there'll always be people that we know that are going to recommend us to other people they know, aye, just making sure we get the job done properly seems to build a reputation, so yeah."</i> (Ally, Emubands) • <i>"...they [Skerryvore] have this kind of...the sound engineer guy wouldn't know that that's the reason he's there, he won't know that it's because he's captivated by them, these people, he will think it's because of the music, that it's not... Well the way this connects to me and this is the way it kind of exposes everything or how I think it would benefit you, how I see that, is the sound engineer in question, this guy, his name's Paul. I only met him at that ABC gig, I only saw him very briefly and I know all about him through that, and I saw him at the Tiree gig as well. Now what has happened, because I've seen in him that passion for, "I'm just doing it for the sake of doing it", because he never got paid for the time he put in, he just paid for it</i>

himself so that he could go and do it, so I've seen he's got the thing that I've got, he's like, "I don't really care about the money, I just want to do it because..."...it's, I want to do it, so that's why I'm doing it. It's not because I'm getting paid, it's because I want to do it. So now if anybody says to me in the studio from this day forward, "We're going to be doing some gigs and we need a really good sound engineer", who am I recommending? And it's happened every single time, above any other sound engineer I've ever worked with, for those reasons, it's like he has that... I want you to get it right, for the sake of getting it right, you know? I don't want to get it right so that I get paid more. I just want, for my own... that's the kind of guy he is..... and I love that, you know? He's not in it for the glory or for wearing the right shoes and having the right hair cut and drinking in the right pub in the West End." (Alan, Blue Productions)