

FROM BATTLE OF THE BANDS TO THE BIG LEAGUES: HOW DO LIVE MUSIC
VENUES STRUCTURE LOCAL MUSIC SCENES?

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FROM BATTLE OF THE BANDS TO THE BIG LEAGUES: HOW DO LIVE MUSIC
VENUES STRUCTURE LOCAL MUSIC SCENES?

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the role of live music venues in structuring local music scenes, using the city of Hamilton as case study. To explore this, I first develop a categorization scheme to distinguish “types” of venues to which individual establishments cluster into on the basis of their organizational characteristics. These venues types allow for claims to be made about the organizational structure of venues within the local scene. I then move forward to show that these venue types are better understood as organizational forms, by conducting a textual and visual analysis of the promotional data, which coincide with types of venue logics which inform promotional practices of each venue form. Finally, I examine the role of venues in contributing to gender inequality in the music scene, by looking at the types of bands that are booked to play in each venue form, taken into account not only gender composition but also the artist configuration (solo/band). Taken together this dissertation highlights the importance of venues as part of the social organization of any music scene over and above the social dynamics of artists and audiences.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction Chapter

Following a long line of important work situated within the sociology of culture my research elaborates on the structural influences of cultural production and performance specifically within the field of music. To do so, I examine two important factors that other work has yet to fully consider: (1) the role of music venues in ordering performance within a given music scene by elaborating and constraining music performances and (2) how these processes contribute to a structure of inequality in access to performance spaces and therefore audiences.

Drawing on the production of culture literature, this work contributes to the literature on musical scenes to illustrate the role of live music venues. Studies on music scenes have long been interested in offering rich detail-oriented ethnographic accounts of music scenes (for example, Cohen 1991; Grazian 2003; Bennett 2000). In doing so these studies have looked at the interactions that occur within music scenes among actors, and how these interactions in-turn shape the meaning that is attributed to specific genres, styles, bands, venues, record labels and cities (for example: Crossley 2009; Kruse 2010). However what remains to be explored within this vein of research is a more systematic understanding of how certain organizations, in my case venues, can structurally shape music scenes and the placement of actors and performances within them. This dissertation fills this gap by seeking to understand the structuring influences of venues on music scenes.

The production of culture perspective is useful in aiding the inter-venue point of view that I offer throughout this dissertation by highlighting the importance of looking at how changes in the organizational structure, for example, may lead to changes in the production of culture and cultural products (Peterson & Anand 2004). Although the production of culture perspective is ultimately interested in understanding how production systems shape culture, it does not claim that production shapes culture alone and notes that “individuals creativity, social conditions and regular endogenous variations in taste, are vitally important.” (Peterson & Anand 2004: 318).

The analytical purchase of my analysis highlights how social organizations and their structural characteristics, such as venues, shape music scenes. Beyond identifying the structural influences on musical production and performance, this research provides insights for understanding social inequalities, such as gender, within fields of cultural production. Each of the analytic chapters in this dissertation provide key insights to understanding how venues have structuring influences on music scenes. *Chapter 2* establishes the variety of venue forms that exists within the case study city. *Chapter 3* then looks at the venue logics by way of textual and visual analysis of promotional data. *Chapter 4* then shifts to explore the impact venues have for inequality, looking specifically at gendered inequality among the performances in each identified venue form. Taken together, I use these analytic chapters to argue that venues exist as different venue forms that operate under unique venue logics to promote themselves and their events online. In other words, venues occupy varying and diverging organizational forms

and logics. From here, I argue that due to the differing venue forms and logics, there is a systematic inequality that emerges from the venues and the boundaries they establish from within.

Literature Review

Music Scenes

Scholars interested in music scenes have been particularly interested in understanding how beyond the conglomerate driven music industry, music has allowed for clusters of individuals to come together and “share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others.” (Bennett & Peterson 2004: 1). In other words studies of music scenes have explored how musical diversity has continued to exist despite the corporate control of the music industry at large.

What is a Scene?

Before the adoption of the terminology of music scenes, these collectives were often referred to as music communities. However, as Straw (1991) and others have poignantly shown there are important differences between music scenes and music communities. The concept of community has been applied to music in two main ways: 1) “as a means of accounting for the way locally produced musics became a means through which individuals are able to situate themselves within a particular city, town or region.” (Bennett 2004: 224) and 2) to focus on the “significance of community as a romantic construct, through which individuals who lack the shared local experience can cast music as a way of life and basis for community” (Bennett 2004: 224). As Lewis (1992) notes “people look to specific musics as symbolic anchors in regions, as signs of community,

belonging and shared past.” Music has been understood to be an important factor in creating a sense of belonging for many individuals.

Subcultural theory, an early faction of scene studies, was largely adopted by scholars at the British Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), and was used as a way to explain the significance of post-war British youth cultural groups. Originally this perspective was more directly applied to youth style (see Hebdige 1979) but since then has been used to understand the collective appropriation and use of music itself (see Weinstein 2000 for an example using heavy metal music.) However, both of these perspectives have been criticized or rejected by contemporary scholars for a number of reasons.

Straw’s (1991) seminal work began to build the foundation of the scene perspective in academia, as he focused on extrapolating the difference between music communities and music scenes in a clear and concrete fashion. Straw (1991) notes that a music community “presumes a population group whose composition is relatively stable, and whose investment in music takes the form of an ongoing exploration of one or more musical idioms said to be rooted within a geographically specific historical heritage.” (373). In contrast, music scenes are much more dynamic and refer to “a cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization” (Straw 1991; 373). Based on these definitions it is clear that music scenes are not just interested in stabilizing local historical heritage of music but rather

find purpose in the forms of communication where the building of musical alliances and the drawing of musical boundaries occur (Straw 1991). Straw's distinction between music communities and scenes also highlights the diversity of musical style that can exist within music scenes, and while one genre may be more prominent, music scenes account for a range of musical genres. While music communities are heavily tied to geographical spaces, histories, and maintaining continuities, music scenes often work to disrupt continuities by either urbanizing, revitalizing, or refining them in some new way. This crucial distinction made by Straw (1991) sets the stage for this dissertation exploring how venues influence music scenes, rather than music communities.

What do we know about scenes?

Bennett and Peterson (2004) expand Straw's (1991; 1997) scene perspective to illustrate that music scenes can exist beyond local geographically bound sites of production. Specifically, Bennett and Peterson (2004) draw from the vast number of scene studies to compile a comprehensive reader that highlights how scenes can be local, trans-local and virtual in nature. Local scenes are most closely related to the original notion of a scene being clustered around a specific geographic focus; trans-local scenes refers to scattered local scenes that are drawn into regular communication about a distinctive form of music or lifestyle; finally virtual scenes involves individuals that are largely scattered around the globe but create the sense of a scene through the use of internet (Bennett and Peterson 2004). For the purposes of this analysis the focus is on local scenes, which Bennett and Peterson (2004) summarize as,

a focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians and fans realize their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to represent the local scene. (8)

Local scenes are not static entities but rather are kept in motion by the participation of musicians and fans who frequent gigs to network, communicate, and reinforce their sense of belonging to that particular scene. This sentiment begins to imply the importance of venue spaces in the formation and continuation of local music scenes.

Reviewing the work of sociologists and music scholars shows the interest that various academics have had in understanding how individual and collective interactions and experiences are informed by and shape music scenes at various levels of analysis. Scholars who have focused on local scenes have been interested in small-scale local music-making practices (Cohen 1991), how local networks of various forms of social interaction has built and maintained music scenes (Shank 1994), how popular music helps to inform local identities (Mitchell 1996) or youth cultures (Bennett 2000), and the role of the dense support networks, such as producers, sound engineers etc., that are crucial to maintaining music scenes (Spring 2004; Stalh 2004). A number of researchers have also shown that music scenes can also benefit cities and communities by creating an increase in tourism (Cohen 1997; Grazian 2003). Despite the wealth of literature on local music scenes, there is still a disconnect among scholars' understandings of how populations of live music venues structure and influence both the scene itself, and the experiences of musicians and fans within that scene.

Venues

It is important to keep in mind that while scenes are often thought about as informal assemblages by like-minded individuals, in many cases once a scene begins to flourish it becomes embedded deeper within the mainstream music industry (Bennett & Peterson 2004). The development of infrastructure that arises from this process is important, as the consecration of a music scene within a local industry will directly affect the development of music infrastructure within that locality, such as the creation and emergence of new venue spaces. This process of becoming embedded in a local music industry is something that has been seen in the city of Hamilton, Ontario and their music scene. All of the aforementioned approaches take for granted the physical infrastructure that facilitates the social dimensions of scene development. However, that infrastructure - especially venues – are important elements of scenes (see Cohen 1991; Johnson and Homan 2003; O'Connor 2002; Straw 2005; for examples). Venues can facilitate community development or set barriers against it. A collective set of venues can provide diverse or limited spaces for musicians and key industry members to come together. A theory of music scenes therefore must include a theory of venues.

Research on music venues has addressed a number of important factors concerning the cultural value of live music performances and how live music performances shape the understandings of audiences and musical meanings. Funarow (1997) has addressed the spatial and social organization of audience members that occurs within venues, and Craig and Dubois (2010) discussed how venues are instrumental in facilitating networking opportunities for performers. Other scholars have addressed how

the location and atmosphere of venues can lead to a gendering of scene participants (Cohen 1991). Further still some research has focused on the specific architectural forms that venues inhabit (Kronenburg 2011). The aforementioned studies tend to focus on how venues shape the interactions and activities that take place within them, but not how the venues themselves interact with one another. This study is interested in how the interactions between venues creates barriers and structures opportunities for performers and how this changes the distribution of musical products and producers within a local scene.

Grenier and Lussier (2013) have discussed how venues become classified and organized within localities by the definitions implied upon them by both organizations and municipalities. The scholars participating in the Live Music Exchange, organized and run by Simon Frith, have begun to address the relationships that exist between venues and how this effects local music ecologies. Behr, Brennan, Cloonan, Frith, and Webster (2016) discuss how the materiality of a musical place (size, shape, acoustics, and physical accessibility) affects the social construction of musical meaning. Utilizing a case study of three venues of varying sizes in Scotland, Behr et al. (2016) look to understand the construction of musical meaning over time. The study of a small venue puts the focus on a venue's environment, and how the environment needs to be understood in terms of temporality, in addition to physical and cultural understandings of the space. The analysis of a medium sized venue, like Funarow (1997), looks at the ecology within a venue and how audiences are constructed. Finally the examination of a large venue discusses how the spaces for large scale performances come about in the first place (Behr et al. 2016).

While this particular study does not address how these venues interact with one another it does begin to address the 3 types of venues, organized around capacity that exist in various scenes, in addition to providing legitimacy and validity to the classification methods utilized in *Chapter 2* of this dissertation.

Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan's (2014) study on the cultural value of live music addresses the relationships that exist between venues in 3 UK locations. The key concern of their project was to "produce a more concrete understanding of live music 'ecologies' and to understand how the various stakeholders within the live music sector either work together, or independently, to produce a value chain from the grassroots to the apex of commercial activity." (Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan 2014: 3). Beyond looking at the economic accounts of value for live music performances, the authors engage in qualitative research by talking with key industry players within each location. The results of these case studies highlighted the relationship between the private and public sectors of live music. First, Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan (2014) find that the weakest point of live music ecologies is currently situated in the small and medium sized independent venues. They note that this weakest link is problematic, as it is these smaller spaces that provide both performance and social spaces for 'rising stars'. These small to medium sized venues are also instrumental for building the local character of a specific location, as they feed into the local musical history, and provide the foundation for a city's musical reputation. Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan's (2014) work illustrates that the shapes and sizes of venues play an important role in building and maintaining music scenes. While their work highlights that all venue spaces should be recognized as important sites of live music

performance, it does not address how the variation of venues that exists in a local music scene can change the shape of the scene itself, and the distribution of the actors within it.

The scholarly work on venues has highlighted that venues play an important role in determining a number of factors that influence the shape of music scenes. However research in this area is still heavily concentrated on providing case studies of the experience of music within venues, rather than the inter-venue point of view that I offer in this dissertation. The question of how a population of venues within a city can create barriers that either enhance or mitigate opportunities for musicians still requires a more detailed systematic review, one that I offer throughout this dissertation. I address this problem by focusing on three key aspects of how venues structure music scenes: (1) what are the organizational forms of venues in the city (2) how do venue forms distinguish themselves and their promotional practices to the public, (3) and finally how do boundaries emerge from within venues, due to their diverging forms and logics, that affect the distribution of artists within the scene and which venue forms they can gain access to. For the purpose of my analysis it is important to understand how the organizational forms and logics of live music venues structurally influences music scenes and the distribution of artists and audiences from an inter-venue point of view that addresses differences across forms and logics.

The Sociology of Culture and Organizational Sociology

In order to address the gaps in the scene literature mentioned above, I draw on the production of culture perspective and organizational sociology to provide an inter-venue

point analysis of music scenes and the structuring influences that venues have on scenes from an organizational standpoint.

Organizational/Population Ecology

Organizational ecology is a theoretical perspective that does not have an interest in understanding the internal workings of an organizations, in fact it is not concerned with specific individual organizations at all (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1989; Carroll and Hannon 2000; Meyer and Scott 1992). Rather organizational ecology can be understood as a macro perspective that is interested in studying the growth of a population of organizations. As Scott (1998) states organizational ecology can be understood as an open natural system. Open natural systems are not interested in singular organizations, but rather the relationship of organizations within a field. Taking a macro perspective of organizations these theories look to explain how organizations within a field interact with one another, how they create relationships, and their interactions with external environment as a whole (Scott 1998). Open natural systems accentuate that understanding the external environment is a crucial step in understanding organizations' role within society, to one another, and the participants embedded in them (Scott 1998).

An organizational population is an abstraction that is used for theoretical inference (Hannan and Freeman 1977). It is suggested that organizational populations are not uniquely visible but in fact, are dependent on the view from a specific organization of group of organizations (Hannan and Freeman 1977). In other words, organizational ecology is not consistent and rather is dependent on the viewpoint in which the observer is taking. Population ecologists characterize a population of organizations as consisting of

all the organizations within a particular boundary that maintain a similar organizational form (Hannan and Freeman 1977,1989; Carroll and Hannon 2000). Carroll and Hannon (2000) state that when a new form of organization enters into the field, due to the scarcity of similar types of organizations, these new forms struggle to consecrate resources and legitimacy. However, as more organizations of a similar form begin to enter the field, keeping in mind birth rates tend to be slow at the beginning, organizations with this form begin to increase their perceived legitimacy within the field (Carroll and Hannon 2000). Carroll and Hannon (2000) poignantly show that it is the mere growth of organizations of a similar form that helps to increase familiarity, enhances legitimacy of the form, and encourage new organization to establish following this form.

Within music scenes the organizational population of music venues is characterized by a variety of both new and old establishments. Given the insights from population ecology, we would expect that newer music venues within the scene would encounter greater difficulty in gaining legitimacy and resources, as well as maintaining any sort of longevity. The newly established music venues would also be characterized as having a slow birth rate as they begin to enter into the field (Carroll and Hannan 2000). As discussed above, this makes sense given that legitimacy and resources are harder to obtain from the environment as an unfamiliar and unique organizational form.

It is important to keep in mind that the creation of a new organization, specifically a cultural organization, includes a number of other factors that are only given some attention by population ecologists. For example, when looking at music venues, it

becomes apparent that the demand of the environment may outweigh the desire to be perceived as a legitimate organization. To illustrate, new music venues may emerge at a rapid rate with little organizational failure, if the social conditions of the scene have created a strong demand. Population ecologists have expressed interest in seeking “to understand how social conditions affect the rates at which new organizations and new organizational forms arise, the rates at which organizations change forms, and the rates at which organizational forms die out” (Hannan and Freeman 1989: 7). It is clear that social conditions create demand, which in turn increase organizational diversity.

The increase of organizational diversity has positive benefits for a population of organizations. Hannan and Freeman (1989) succinctly indicate that,

A system with greater organizational diversity has a higher probability of having in hand some form that does a reasonably satisfactory job of dealing with the changed environmental conditions. Adaptation in such a system means reallocating resources from one type of existing organization to another, either by command or by mechanisms, rather than trying to identify and create appropriate organizational forms. (8)

It is clear that maintaining some degree of organizational diversity within the population of organization is an important aspect for dealing with and surviving through environmental uncertainty. This is of the utmost importance when applied to music scenes, as population ecologists point out having high organizational diversity will allow live music venues to adapt and survive through the ever changing stream of musical trends. Hannan and Freeman (1989) further point out that organizational diversity is

beneficial, not only to the organizations, but also to the individuals participating in these organizations.

Organizational diversity affects society in another way. Since careers are played out in organizations, the distribution of opportunities for individual achievement depends on the organizational forms. When diversity is high, individuals with different backgrounds, tastes, and skills are more likely to find organizational affiliations that match their own qualities and interests. (Hannan and Freeman 1989: 8).

By creating a music scene with diverse music venues, localities are able to exhibit a variety of music within the city. Not only is this appealing to musical artists but only the consumers and patrons of live music venues. “Diversity is often valued in its own right” state Hannan and Freeman (1989; 9). However while there may seem to be a high level of diversity among individual venues, this does not mean that there is necessarily a high level of diversity among the organizational venue forms or logics.

The Sociology of Culture

Bourdieu's Field Theory

It is difficult to talk about the relationships and interactions within a specific cultural field without addressing the theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's (1993) field theory is a useful conceptual tool that allows researchers to address the complex nuances that are occurring within a cultural field. Unlike the insights from organizational theorists, Bourdieu addresses the ways in which “the field becomes a network of objective relations between agents, but also larger groupings and institutions distributed within a space of possible positions.” (Prior, 2008: 304). Bourdieu's field theory has been addressed by

some organizational scholars (see DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; network theorists such as White 1981, 1992; Leifer and White 1987; Podolny 2001, 2005; and resource dependency theorists such as Lawrence and Lorsch 1967; Pfeffer and Salancik 2003[1978]) but in many cases this adaption has failed to address Bourdieu's field theory in a comprehensive way (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Dobbin, 2008).

Bourdieu is focused on how the objective relations within a field shape and distribute capital and habitus. It is important to remember that adopting a field perspective allows for the analysis of "historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and their own laws of functioning." (Bourdieu, 1990:87). It is important to understand that while field theory takes into consideration the historical composition of fields, that the structure and functioning of the field changes when new organizations are established, such is the case with music venues within a scene. Furthermore, the additions of new venues and the changing nature of musical tastes also have the ability to transform the 'laws of functioning' (Bourdieu, 1990) within that field.

A complex nuance of looking at music scenes that is particularly important in this dissertation research understands that the 'laws of functioning' are varied along the same types of boundaries and stratification of the music venues themselves. For example venues situated in the same organizational form are likely to have similar rules of functioning. However venues that promote similar genres of music are also likely to have similar laws of functioning. Therefore venues that are situated within the same organizational form, but promote different genres of music are likely to have different

relationships and understanding of they should function. This then becomes a very complex understanding of how venues within a music scene function. This is a crucial point that needs to be addressed in further detail. It is clear that while the overall field of music venues may have a general understanding of the best way to function, that this understanding is further confounded by a variety of influences including, but not limited to, the details of organizational identities and promotional practices.

Bourdieu (1993) situates the artistic field within the larger context of both the economic and political fields, noting that when examining the complexities of an artistic field it is important to understand its relationship within the larger social context.

Conceptually, the field is an immediate invitation to think relationally about the actions of social agents who, propelled by their habituses, compete for particular values specific to that field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). It is the interactions and conflicts between these agents over the prizes available that define the precise contours of the field, particularly the limits of what is found to be acceptable *as* the stakes in the field. (Prior, 2008: 304 emphasis in original)

It becomes clear that one of the most powerful aspects of Bourdieu's theorizing is the ability to examine the relations and interactions of individuals within a field and how these interactions are predicated by relations of power and larger structural forces of the field. It is this component of Bourdieu's thought that is missing in traditional organizational theories. In essence what is needed is a bridge between the macro- and micro-interactions occurring within and effecting fields of organizations engaged in cultural production.

The field can be understood as a space of competition in which actors, who are positioned by their habitus, compete over sources of capital within the field that are in accordance to the power and moves available to them via habitus (Bourdieu, 1993). It is clear that without being situated within a field, habitus and capital lose the original emphasis and conceptual power that Bourdieu intended them to have. Looking at music scenes the field is the space in which individual artists enter to compete over various forms of capital utilizing the power and resources that is available to them via their habitus. The field then works simultaneously to structure the conditions under which interactions and power relations play out given the ‘rule of functioning’ for that specific field. Bourdieu’s field theory, in its original context, is very focused on the effects of and on individuals that are participating in particular fields. He takes a structural viewpoint that exposes how structural components of social life come to influence and limit the relations and interactions that are available to individuals. In other words, he emphasizes the relational understanding that exists among structures and actors. Adding Bourdieu’s insights to the investigation of inequalities that stem from organizational compositions of music venues highlights how power relations and struggles for status and capital occur within the population of venues, as well as within individual organizations.

Production of Culture Perspective

The production of culture perspective is most interested in understanding where culture comes from. But it is important to note that this perspective does not state that the production process is the only way that influences the ways culture is produced. As Peterson and Anand (2004) make clear

although the production system profoundly influences culture, the conditions of production do not alone shape culture because other factors including individuals creativity, social conditions and regular endogenous variations in taste, are vitally important (318).

Hence it is clear that while the production of culture is the main focus of this perspective, it does not ignore the importance of individual influences and cultural understandings such as those put forth by other theories such as reflection theory (see Griswold 1981, 1987).

The production of culture perspective put forth by Peterson and Anand (2004) discusses the six-facet model of the production nexus (including technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure, occupational careers and market.) They describe that changes in one or more of these facets can lead to the rapid change of cultural products. The rapid change of cultural products exposes the elements comprising a field of symbolic production (Peterson and Anand 2004). They systematically show that the production perspective of culture is 1) useful for systematically understanding the workings of diverse cultural production systems and 2) it highlights the need to understand the differences between various kinds of production systems and their influences on culture (Peterson and Anand 2004), both of which are important sociological considerations.

While the complete perspective as put forth by Peterson and Anand, (2004) looks at variety of forces that can influence cultural production, the one of most interest here is how organizational structures can influence cultural production. Specifically how do

variations in venue forms and logics shape music scenes and the distribution of artists within? The production of culture perspective would expect that differences in organizational structure would produce different cultural products. By combining insights from both organizational ecology, field theory, and the production of culture it is safe to say that varying organizational structures can increase the organizational diversity within a population, as well as highlighting how organizational structures affect cultural production and performance. It then becomes of interest to examine how organizational diversity, by way of venue forms, affects how culture is produced and distributed by musicians within a local music scene. Taken together the production of culture, field theory and organizational ecology provides insight into how inequalities stem from the composition of venue forms and logics within a specific music scene, providing an inter-venue point of view of music scenes that has been left out of previous scene studies.

The Study

This dissertation looks at the structuring influences that music venues have on music scenes. In *Chapters 2 through 4*, I consider how venues shape music scenes in three ways. First I investigate the organizational diversity of the venues within a given location by analyzing the organizational and cultural characteristics of each venue within the case city and grouping these into venue types. Second I look at how venues create and maintain boundaries from within by assessing the organizational forms and logics by way of offering a textual and visual analysis of venues online promotional data of their events and organizational identities. Last I analyze how the boundaries maintained by venue forms and logics structure the distribution of artists within the scene. I look specifically at

gender by analyzing the event listings of venue and hand coded each performer for their gender composition (men, women, or mixed) in addition to the artist configuration of each (solo/band). I then use this data to assess the relationships between gender, artist configuration, and venue forms. Each of these substantive chapters looks at different ways that venues can influence the structure of music scenes based on where music can be played, what type of music is played and who is playing the music. Taken together each of these substantive chapters offers insight into the structural influences that music venues can have on music scenes by offering an organizationally driven inter-venue point of view of local music scenes.

Methods Overview

This dissertation is based on a multi-method analysis of three original sources of data that I assembled between 2016-2018 from publically available information on the internet, and participant observation of the Hamilton music scene. These data have been compiled and organized into three distinct datasets, each of which is relevant to one of the substantive chapters that follows. Taken together, they offer a rich multi-dimensional view into the role of venues in ordering, gatekeeping, and producing inequality in the Hamilton, ON music scene. Below I offer a general overview but a more detailed methodological account is offered in each substantive chapter.

To address the landscape of live music venues in *Chapter 2*, I compiled, coded, and analyzed data that highlighted the basic organizational characteristics of each venue in the Hamilton music scene in 2009-2014. The key organizational features include: capacity size, type of establishment, type of performers, frequency of events, and

geographical location. After collecting this information I was then able to cluster venues into venue types based on the similarities and differences exhibited in these traits. I analyzed this data to establish the landscape of live music venues was not just a random assortment of performance spaces but rather highlighted how venues cluster together into specific venue types.

In *Chapter 3* I assess if these venue types were more accurately representative of venue forms and logics. To do this, I collected data that highlighted the organizational identities and promotional techniques used by each venue within each of the aforementioned venue types. I gathered this data on venue identities and promotional techniques by taking screenshots of each venue's website and Facebook pages to look at not only how individual events were promoted but also how each venue was presenting itself to the public. I then qualitatively coded the visual images for the following traits: text and layouts of venue websites, Facebook pages, event listings, promotional posters, and 'about us' section for each venue. The first set of qualitative codes were generated deductively from the themes expressed in *Chapter 2* that guided the venues to be grouped into venue types. I then added codes inductively after completing my first round of coding to capture themes surrounding the type of language used, how performers were discussed, description of the venues themselves and so forth (see Appendix 1 for full code book). After textually and visually coding this data I examined if each of the venues within a specific type identified with similar organizational identities and promotional techniques to confidently claim that these venue types are actually venue forms governed by individual logics.

Upon identifying the venue forms and logics in *Chapter 3*, I then explored the effects the boundaries around each venue form on the distribution of artists within the music scene, specifically concerning the social distinction of gender. This is the analytical focus of *Chapter 4*, and to explore this I collected data on the event listings for each venue, within each identified venue form for the year 2013. These event listings were gathered from venue websites, social media pages, and event listings in the local weekly circular the View. I then entered these data into a data set that indicated the name of the venue, the venue form, the date of the performance, and each of the artists/bands scheduled to play. I then coded each scheduled act by hand to indicate the artist configuration (solo/band) and gender composition (all-men, all-women, mixed). To code each artist I engaged in a name and image analysis of each artist by gathering information from each performing artists' websites, social media profiles, YouTube videos, bandcamp pages and news media articles and blogs. Once completed, I was then able to analyze this data to look at the effects of venue form boundaries on the distribution of performing artists within the scene. To analyze this data I conducted chi-square test to assess the significance of the relationship between the genders, gender and artist configuration, and gender, artist configuration, and venue forms.

Taken together each of these data and methodological approaches provides an insightful, dynamic, multi-dimensional view into how live music venues shape music scenes and the distribution of artists performing within.

Chapter Roadmap

Chapter 2 – The Landscape of Live Music Venues in the Hamilton Music Scene

analyzes the organizational characteristics of live music venues, highlighting that venues are not standardized and exist in variation within local music scenes. Variation occurs along a number of factors, including but not limited to; capacity size, technical capabilities, type of establishment, type of performers booked and the frequency of live music events hosted. Through the analysis of this chapter I find that there are 3 distinct types of venues within the Hamilton music scene. The differentiation of venue organizational types presents logical evidence that each of these venue types may be more accurately represented as venue forms which operate in accordance to unique organizational logics.

Chapter 3 – Venue Forms, Logics, and Boundaries picks up where the previous chapter left off and explores, through an analysis of language and promotional data, if different venue types are representative of organizational forms that follow distinct logics. I find that the venue types are in fact characteristic of venue forms by analyzing the language used by each venue within each form. Furthermore, I find that different venue forms adhere to individual logics, via the understandings of institutional logics via Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). Therefore for each of the 3 forms of venues identified there are also 3 different types of venue logics. The venue logics dictate the expected performances that take place within each form of venue. The different venue logics are explained in detail highlighting the different values each venue form places at the forefront and emphasizes through both its promotional techniques and booking

practices. The venue logics establish the expected behaviours and practices that are seen in each venue form. Therefore the findings of this chapter illustrate that not only is the variance among the venues within a given city, but that the expected experiences within each of these venues also differs for both artists and audiences. This chapter further hypothesizes that boundaries are created between organizational forms of venues not only by the organizational characteristics but also by the overarching logic of each form. Theoretically these boundaries create barriers for certain performers from playing in specific venue forms, while propelling others. Ideally, artists who match the values of the venue logics are able to cross boundaries, while those who fail to match the logics are kept out.

Chapter 4 – Gender Composition of Artists and Live Music Venue Boundaries explores if the boundaries that are maintained by the differentiation in venue forms and logics also have a latent tendency to perpetuate social inequalities, specifically, for my focus, gender inequality. If these boundaries, and venue logics, were gender neutral we would expect to see the same number of male and female performers booked into each venue form. However my findings show that these boundaries are not gender neutral and further dictate the shape of the music scene and the distribution of artists through covert gender discrimination.

This dissertation makes an important and considerable contribution to scene studies using a blend of the sociology of culture and organizations to show the structural influence live music venues have in shaping local music scenes and how they either grant

or limit access to performance spaces and the audiences that frequent them. Specifically, I reveal the structural, institutional qualities of live music venues and how these components contribute to social inequalities. While actors within the scene are undoubtedly important to the composition of music scenes, it is important to recognize how the structural aspects and capacities within the scene, such as venues, play an instrumental role and function in the creation, maintenance and longevity of music scenes. By recognizing the structural properties of venues this research also illustrates how these organizational structures can further contribute to the pervasive gender inequality that exists within the music industry at large. I highlight that venues have a substantial role in music scenes and should not be thought of as simply houses for musical performance, but should rather be conceptualized as active participants.

Ch. 2 – The Landscape of Live Music Venues in the Hamilton Music Scene

Not all music venues are created equal. In fact, venues vary on a number of characteristics including capacity, technical capabilities, location, food and drink service and so forth. Highlighting the distinct organizational types of live music venues provides the foundational framework upon which the remainder of this dissertation is built. By analyzing the key organizational characteristics of the population of live music venues within the city of Hamilton, Ontario this chapter identifies three unique types of live music venues. This analysis demonstrates that in order to fully understand music scenes, scholars must begin to recognize the structural role of music venues in shaping scenes and the distribution of its active participants.

In order to depict the landscape of live music venues in Hamilton, I gathered data on the key organizational indicators of venue spaces; such as the capacity size, the type of establishment, the types of performers booked, the frequency of shows, and the venues' location in the city. Assessing the variability of venues along these factors helps to classify each venue into a specific organizational type. I gathered data for over 120 venues spaces that were active in the city between the years of 2009 – 2014, and identify 3 types of live music venues within the city of Hamilton. I highlight key distinguishing factors of each type, and show how each type facilitates a different structural role within the city's music scene. Identifying distinct organizational types of live music venues provides logical insight that there may be individual venue forms and logics that guide the practices and public presentation of self by each venue form, this insight is explored fully

in *Chapter 3: Venue Forms, Logics, and Boundaries* that follows, but for now the focus is on exemplifying the distinct organizational types the live music venues take on.

The focus of this chapter is to first understand the distinct types of venues that are present within my sample within the case study city of Hamilton, ON. In the following chapter I then explore if these venue types do in fact constitute unique venue forms via Hsu and Hannan (2005). What is interesting however, is that venues themselves are already constitutive of a venue form. This means that each of the venues included in this sample have been identified by at least one or more of the media, musicians, or city council as constituting a venue, the label venue acts as a form of identification from a variety of audiences (Hsu and Hannan 2005). This label is indicative of a variety of norms and standards that are constitutive to the general understanding of a music venue (Hsu and Hannan 2005). My interest here is to then delineate various types of live music venues that exist within the otherwise large organizational form. The point of doing so is two-fold: the different types of venues will affect the distribution of artists within the city, and various venue types will also impart different values and symbolic resources back into the local music scene. However, before I address the above implications I must start at the beginning and identify the venue types.

Why the Structure of Venues is Important to Understanding Music Scenes

Venues play an important role in the social order of music scenes. Besides simply providing the physical space for performances to take place, venues help facilitate regular interactions between like-minded people who coalesce around particular styles and genres

of musical performance (for example Lena 2012; Cohen 1991; Johnson and Homan 2003; O’Conner 2002; Straw 2005).

However, live music performances are not valued in the same way across all venues types, and this differentiation changes the way musicians work is valued, along with their ability to successfully network. For example, a singer-songwriter performing in a restaurant will receive far less promotion and network opportunities, than a solo artist performing at the more typical venue/bar space with a roster of other local and touring performers. In addition to the different roles of live music within these spaces, venues also further differentiate themselves by promoting different genres of music, where more typical understandings of status and cultural capital play an important role (see Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996 for examples).

Understanding the structural nature of music venues within a local scene adds to the existing scene literature by highlighting the importance of looking at the role of all venues in a given city and how they shape the music scene and the distribution of artists within it, or, in other words, by taking an inter-venue point of view of music scenes. Illuminating the variance of the organizational types of live music venues helps to address how venues contribute to the social order of music scenes through their organizational structure. Venues that exhibit similar characteristics such as, establishment type, size, and the types of performances, presumably will be clustered together and occupy the same venue type. Between each venue type exists the possibility for boundaries to emerge from within venues that reflect the variance of the typical expectations and experiences,

providing evidence that these venues may actually occupy different organizational forms (Hsu and Hannan 2005).

The structure of these performance spaces also has very real consequences for musicians who are trying to enter or negotiate their positions within the local scene. While there are a variety of ways that musicians can become successful, especially now with the internet, the more traditional route of exposure was to become known in, and respected within a local scene before moving onto larger national and international routes of exposure. Given the differentiation of venue spaces within local scenes, the question of how musicians are able to move between venue forms and how they negotiate the expectations of each performance space becomes sociologically pertinent. Further still is the interest in understanding how social distinctions, such as gender, further complicate the distribution of artists within the various venue types within a music scene. This question is taken up in *Chapter 4*.

Brief Historical Case Description

Hamilton, Ontario offers the perfect lens through which to consider these questions. As a mid-sized city with a rich history of local music, Hamilton is fairly typical of Canadian music scenes, which often combine local music with intermittent scheduling of touring bands from across the country, in addition to international superstars. However Hamilton also offers a very unique case to study as the city has been going through a process of gentrification that is centred on putting the arts and culture at the forefront. I draw extensively on the Hamilton Music Strategy Report as a key source to outline the history and to illustrate the importance of music within the city. Highlighting the

importance of considering this a music scene full of diverse types of music rather than as a music community focused on geographically bound heritage music, via Straw's (1991) distinction.

Hamilton in the early 1900s had, and continues to have, a strong reputation in the provisions of musical instruction, and the Hamilton Conservatory of Music has been a key institution in doing so (Priel, 2014; Rockingham, 2015). By mid-century the Hamilton Philharmonic Orchestra (HPO) was founded and has been highly successful and influential in the local scene since this time. The HPO also had the first female concertmaster in North America, Olive Short; the mother of comedic actor Martin Short (Priel, 2014). The allure of music in Hamilton continued to grow and prosper as Harold Kudrats, uncle of actor Eugene Levy, began to grow his career as both promoter and agent. Kudrats promoted many of the biggest names in music in the 1950s such as; Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, and Nat King Cole to name a few (Priel, 2014).

After the 1950's until present day the music scene in Hamilton has fostered popular styles of music that are often categorized broadly as rock music. Thus, during this time period Hamilton saw the rise of many blues, country, folk, and indie artists, along with a burgeoning of punk and rock artists in the 1970s (Priel, 2014; Rockingham, 2015). The punk and post punk acts stemming from the city of Hamilton gained international success and include artists such as, Teenage Head, The Forgotten Rebels, and Simply Saucer. An excerpt from Bruce "the mole" Mowat, who was instrumental in promoting Simply Saucer, as quoted in Locke (2016), illustrates the musical culture of Hamilton

Hamilton is the undisputed rock ‘n’ roll capital of Canada. Affectionately dubbed “The Hammer” by the natives, it is a town of about 350,000 odd people who make their livelihood in and around the local steel mills, making it a sort of scaled down Pittsburgh. For many, rock ‘n’ roll is not only an escapist way to get ‘out,’ it is a career way to get out (6).

Mowat clarifies his above 1986 claim by highlighting his emphasis on rock ‘n’ roll.

Mowat states that

Hamilton wasn’t a popular culture center, in that popular culture, for the most part had outgrown rock ‘n’ roll by that point. Toronto was (and still is, to some extent) the industry center, where the bookers, the national media, and the branch plants of the U.S conglomerates ran shop. Those Toronto locals who ran against the grain were duly covered at least once, but the Hamilton scene remained in the shadow world. (Locke 2016: 6).

So while the punk movement began to highlight the importance of artists who were performing in Hamilton, the city’s music was still operating in the shadow of Toronto and its wide scale industry appeal to a variety types of popular music rather than being heavily focus on rock music as Mowat, hyperbolically, depicts of Hamilton.

By the 1990s we see a diverse and eclectic mix of artists that has continued through till present day within the Hamilton scene. Baulcomb (2016) recounts that by the time the millennium rolled around “Hamilton was one of those unique powerful scenes that appeared in the unlikeliest of places.” (6). During this time period there was a boom of alternative rock music bringing Hamilton bands like Junkhouse and the Killjoys to the forefront of the local scene. Furthermore the emergence of Hamilton record Sonic Unyon

in the downtown core, helped to usher in alternative rock bands, in addition to sparking a greater attention to the Hamilton music scene.

The early years of the 2000s were formative in setting the stage for the reemergence and invigoration of the Hamilton art and music scenes. During this time a number of instrumental venues emerged in the city offering new spaces for emerging artists and fans alike to congregate. Baulcomb (2016) eloquently describes this shift by stating

In the midst of this economic turmoil, music and culture in Hamilton began to flourish. People looked inward... to create something special that reflected our unique time and place in the world. The music was still tough and tenacious, but in many cases, also defiantly original. People started going downtown again. New independent businesses opened on long-abandoned street corners. Concert halls and underground clubs suddenly had lines snaking around full city blocks (5).

During this re-emergence of music and culture in Hamilton during the early 2000's there was an influx artists of all kind, but especially among electronic music and DJs such as Caribou, Junior Boys, Motem, and Orphx (Baulcomb, 2016). In addition the influx in creative individuals and musicians, Baulcomb (2016) further describes how the venues within the city played a crucial role in the city's cultural reinvigoration by focusing on facilitating specific musical styles of the city to prosper such as punk and electronic. By focusing on these musical styles and artists, venues allowed the scene to grow in ways that moved beyond the Top 40 music offered at many other night clubs within the city (Baulcomb 2016). Once again we see the focus of music production in Hamilton moving

away from more popular styles of music and focusing on the legacy of a variety of types of rock music that the city has been known for over history.

Since the turn of the new millennium and the beginning of the cultural and musical re-invigoration of Hamilton the population of venues has begun to steadily increase, specifically around establishments that offered a more diverse range of cultural offerings and musical sounds, albeit remaining heavily centered on various configurations of rock music. This cultural turn of the early 2000s set the stage for, what I come to refer to as Art form/logic venues as developed in *Chapter 3*, to emerge and foster the ever developing Hamilton music scene. In addition a number of Hamilton artists, spanning a range of musical styles, have created waves in the local music scene and beyond such as, Monster Truck, The Dirty Nil, July Talk, Terra Lightfoot and more. These changes and growth of the Hamilton music scene were not only noticed by the musicians and participants of the scene, but garnered further attention from Hamilton city council and news media outlets.

The City of Hamilton has begun to dedicate substantial resources to the development and the growth of the local music scene and arts community more generally. The refocusing of resources stems from the City of Hamilton 2010-2015 Economic Development Strategy that identified the Creative Industries as an important economic sector for the city (Priel 2014). This led Hamilton's city council to recognize not only how the music sector is contributing to the city's economic growth and cultural vitality

but also opportunities to maximize the contributions from the music sector by coordinating and focusing on greater development in this sector (Priel 2014).

As such the Hamilton Music Strategy was developed. The city proposed a music strategy plan to help reach the goals of; strengthening the local industry, growing audiences and music appreciation, increasing access to musical experiences and cultivating music creation and talent (Priel, 2014). Venues are addressed in the action items for increasing the access to music experience by facilitating the creation of diverse venues and conducting an industry needs assessment plan (Priel, 2014). While the goals of the city's music strategy plan are listed above the report also anticipates that the fruition of this strategy plan will help to solidify a musical identity for the city as well as creating a more sustainable industry, which will in turn facilitate both the economic growth and cultural vitality of the city (Priel, 2014).

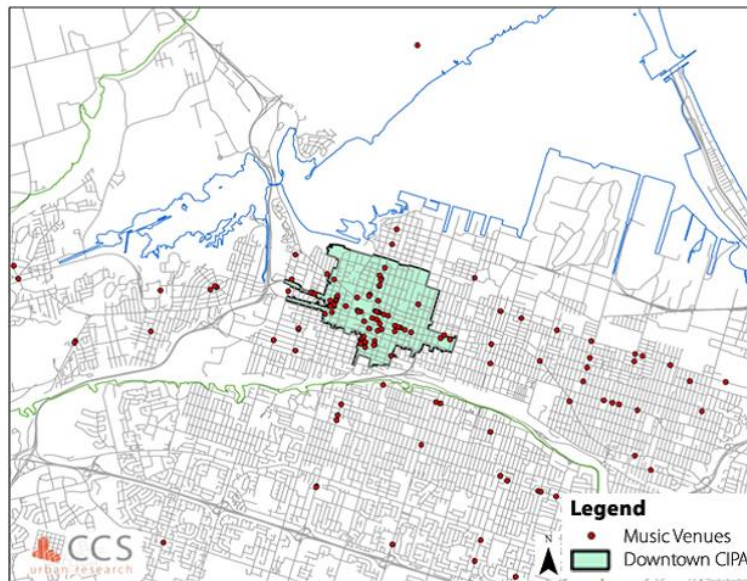
The re-emergence and growth of the Hamilton art and music scene is clearly illustrated by the headline, "Is Hamilton Canada's Brooklyn?" (Vaughan, 2010; Carter, 2015) which has appeared in a number of media sources over the recent years. The message embedded within and conveyed by this headline clearly communicates a sense of cultural renewal by comparing Hamilton to Brooklyn, which has recently undergone major cultural development by bringing the creative industries of art, music, dance, and entrepreneurship to the forefront of its local economy. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to affirm or refute the empirical validity of this claim, this headline clearly shows the zeitgeist of Hamilton at this point in time.

This brief historical case description has brought to the forefront the importance of music in Hamilton especially that which is heavily centered in the broadly defined area of rock music. This city wide focus on various types of rock music over popular musics is an important detail that has implications for the focus on gender inequalities among venues in *Chapter 4*, as gender discrepancies have long been an issue within the rock music vein (Coates 1997; Clawson 1993; 1999). However this is not to say that other types of inequalities, for example racialized discrimination, are not present in the Hamilton music scene, but given the data that was available to me, and the historical focus on rock music in Hamilton, looking at gendered inequalities is a logical line of inquiry.

Data and Methods

In order to begin to assess how the structural landscape of live music venues comes to influence musicians on the ground level, it is important to understand how venues are situated within the local scene. In order to make sense of venue types I employed a number of logical criteria, drawn from the work of Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan (2014), to help evaluate the different organizational types of live music venues

within the city of Hamilton, ON. Within my sample of venues are 120 spaces that were active between the years of 2009-2014.



Source: View Magazine, CCS Urban Research, 2011 as cited in Priel, 2014

This five year time frame was selected as it highlights a time of noticeable change to the scene's landscape and function, such as an increase in venues and festivals, in addition to a city wide initiative to increase support and promotion for the arts. This time frame also mirrors a period of a new musical economy (Koster 2008), a renewed importance of live performances (Sutherland and Straw 2007), and a turn to live music performance to subsidize artists' income (Bloomberg 2009; Ehmer and Porsch 2008). During this time period the Hamilton music scene was becoming more deeply embedded within the provincial music industry, and began receiving attention as a city with a lively music, arts, and cultural community. Information about each venue was collected from a number of sources including: the city's cultural and music strategy reports, the View, a

city wide weekly containing event listings for each of the venues, and from each individual venue's websites and social media pages.

Each of these sources played a key role in allowing me to collect the data necessary to begin typifying the population of venues within my sample. The View, provided event listings occurring within the city on a weekly basis. Venue websites and social media pages also helped to build the event listings database. This data is the main focus of *Chapter 5* but plays an important role here in helping me to determine what types of performers are being booked into what venues, and the frequency of shows being held at each space. Venue websites and social media pages aided in identify the types of establishment as well as providing information pertaining to capacity size and technical capabilities.

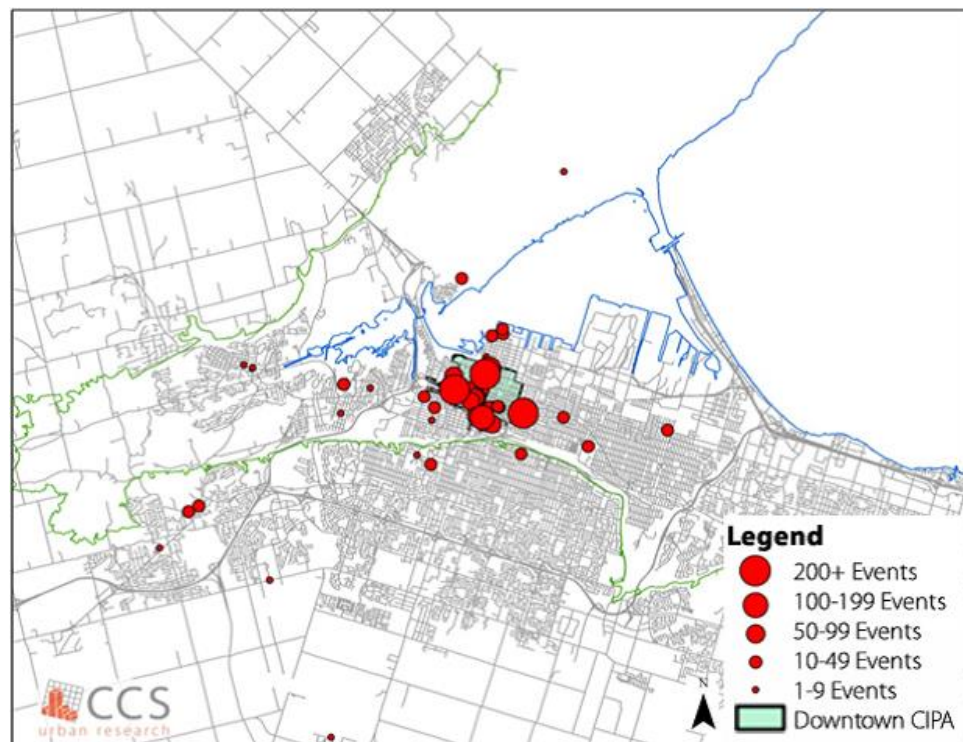
Beyond the websites, social media pages and the *View* I further consulted the Hamilton Music Strategy Report. This is a document that was presented to and accepted by the city of Hamilton as a way to help support and grow the local music scene, as music is identified as a key economic driver by provincial standards. The strategy report proposed ways that Hamilton music is positioned to become a flourishing economic component of the city, should they receive the proper support from city council. The report was drafted and presented by a number of key industry players, some of whom are also venue owners, within the city of Hamilton. Beyond presenting a plan to grow the music scene in Hamilton, the report also highlights the city's history and desire to bring forth economic and cultural prosperity to Hamilton on the basis of the city's identity and

prosperity of the local music scene. “The Hamilton Music Strategy articulates a shared vision, purpose and pathway to strengthen music in Hamilton and includes the interests and aspirations of a cross section of the local music community. It builds on the announcement of a Province of Ontario’s Live Music Strategy and its goal is to showcase the industry globally.” (Priel 2014: 8).

The music strategy report also provides a detailed description of the role of music within the city of Hamilton, as well as providing an index of musicians and venues within the Hamilton area. Included in the report were sections on history, maps highlighting the location of venues within the city, who many of the key players were, local music assets, and a SWOT analysis of the current music scene.

The SWOT analysis of the music scene highlighted various strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of the Hamilton music scene. While the examples in each category were numerous, there was at least one in each category that was directly related to venue structures within the city. Listed as a current strength was, “the number of venues available for live music in the city and across the region – a large number of smaller bar, club, lounge venues and a few well-known large destinations.” (Priel 2014: 14) This trend of a larger population of smaller venue spaces is also reflected in the identification of venue forms presented below. One of the weaknesses that was included in the Music Strategy report included that there is “a lack of mid-sized facilities and appropriately sized venues for music performance – a need for multi-purpose mid-sized (300-1000 capacity) venues.” (Priel 2014: 15) This identified weakness highlights two

things, the first it provided an indication of capacity size being an important characteristic for different organizational forms of venues. Second it highlighted that there is value in having a diverse range of venue spaces within a growing music scene. Going hand in hand with this weakness, is the opportunity, or lack thereof, to facilitate and encourage efforts to secure these mid-sized live performance venues in the city's downtown core.



Source: Tourism Hamilton 2010---2012, Listings Compiled from <http://www.tourismhamilton.com/> CCS Urban Research, as cited in Priel, 2014.

The Music Strategy Report provides useful information on the current state of the music scene in Hamilton. The information provided helped to guide the distinction of venues on the basis of capacity size. The report also helped to guide the selection of the key cultural and organizational indicators utilized. The strategy report emphasized the importance of capacity size, type of venues, and types of performers. It also indicated that

the hub of the music scene, in the downtown core, clusters around those venues with the highest frequency of shows, indicating how active particular venues are in perpetuating the local music scene, as the map from Tourism Hamilton indicates below.

Key Cultural and Organizational Indicators

The indicators used to classify the venue spaces are as follows: capacity, type of artists performing, the type of establishment, and the frequency of shows hosted over a five year time period between 2009 and 2014. These indicators were described in the music strategy report, as well as being utilized in other research on venues including Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan (2014). Venue capacity is seen as an indicator of status, under the assumption that the sold out stadium show is ultimate marker of success within a superstar market such as the music industry (Rosen 1981; Chung and Cox 1994). I should offer a caveat here saying that it is not my intention to assume or indicate that all musicians want to play a large stadium show, and in fact many are happy and prefer to play in smaller spaces. However, regardless of the goals of individual musicians this does not negate the fact that within the music industry the sold out stadium show is still the epitome of success. As such this becomes an important indicator for identifying the different organizational types that venues may take on.

When addressing the types of performers for each venue I categorized the performers into three distinct status categories. The first is *superstars*. Superstars are musicians and singers who have achieved international acclaim and a strong reputation as a musical artists both within and outside of the industry. These artists often have very large fan bases, multiple chart topping hits, and sell many records that often reach the

gold or platinum standing (Chung and Cox 1994; Denisoff and Bridges 1982). For example think of the Beatles in 1967, or Beyoncé in 2016. The second group of musicians I've identified are *touring artists*. This category is rather expansive and includes both local and international touring bands and solo artists. Furthermore, within this category are those artists that can be understood as *genre specific superstars*, which are those musicians who have strong reputations within their own genre categories, but have not surpassed into the industry defined category of superstars. The importance of this middle touring category is to capture those musicians that have made it out of their local scenes and are working towards creating a devoted fan base increasing their cultural capital and social mobility. Finally, the third category of performers are *local artists* who play exclusively in Hamilton and the surrounding local areas.

The status of performers plays an important role in helping to reaffirm or heighten the status of the venues they play in. This relationship is reciprocal as the status of the venue can also help to reaffirm or heighten the status of performers. This in turn then plays a role in shaping the local music scene and the distribution of artists within. For these reasons I also made sure to identify the type of establishment in which these venues exist (ie. Stadiums, theatres, bars, cafes and so on). Ad hoc venues, such as houses, basements, and garages were not included in this study as they are difficult to gather data on, such as the lineage of performers and key identifying characteristics. However as many scene researchers (Bennett & Peterson 2004; Culton & Holtzman 2010; Epstein 2016) have noted these ad hoc spaces are important for many musicians, and have a long

standing tradition in many musical genres and scenes, Hamilton included (see Baulcomb 2016).

The final key indicator used to identify venue types is the frequency of shows hosted in each space. The frequency of shows helps to illustrate the activeness of each venue in perpetuating, building, and shaping the local music scene, and is an indication of the localized status of venues on behalf of both performers and audiences. The frequency of shows for each venue was gathered from the aforementioned event listings database I have compiled for the analysis of *Chapter 5*. Taking into considerations all of the aforementioned traits of venues and organizing the 120 local venues accordingly, three distinct organizational types of venues becomes apparent.

Findings

Classification of Live Music Venue Types

Organized by capacity, a status marker, there is a clear distinction and grouping of venues on the basis of their key organizational and cultural indicators that were explained above. As it is shown below each venue type has a unique set of characteristics that is reflected in each of the venues spaces included within that type category. The n values reported in Figure 1 below indicate how many of the venues within Hamilton fit into each type of venue.

Type A Venues	Type B Venues	Type C Venues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n= 3 • Large staidums and theatres • Low frequency of shows • Hosts superstar performers • Large capacity size >1000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n= 14 • Hybrid or combination spaces (venue/bar, venue/bar/cafe) • High frequency of shows • Hosts local artists and genre specific superstars/touring artists • Capacity size between 100-300 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n= 103 • Neighbourhood bars that occassionally host musical acts • Frequency of shows is variable and venue dependent • Predominantly local performers • Small capacity <100

Figure 1 – The organizational types of local venues within Hamilton

Type A Venues

These spaces are comprised entirely of stadiums and theatres, with a capacity of over 1000, who host superstars or genre based superstar performers exclusively. These are the only venue spaces in Hamilton to host superstar musical acts. The frequency of shows at these venues is low, but this is not entirely surprisingly given the large number of audience members and tickets sold to each performance. These venues are not solely dedicated to live music performance and often host other large scale events such as sporting events and theatrical performances on nights that a live music event is not booked. Regardless of the event booked, these spaces bolster their large capacity and draw large audiences to view whatever performance may be of interest to them. Type A venues are clustered in the downtown core of the city, which could aide in promoting tourism into the city centre, and possibly even to other venues.

Type B Venues

Type B venues host the highest frequency of shows within the city and actively book local bands and some larger touring bands, as well as genre specific superstars. These spaces are mostly hybrid or combination establishments that not only offer a large occurrence of musical performances but most of these spaces also remain open during off nights as a bar. I characterize these venues as the heart of the Hamilton music scene, because in addition to being very active in hosting shows and promoting artists, many of the owners of these venues are also invested in building the local scene and participate in city-wide initiatives such as the music strategy report (Priel 2014). Furthermore, a number of the owners of Type B venues are also a part of local bands themselves. Compared to the Type A venues mentioned above, these venues are in the position to help perpetuate the local music economy, by allowing local musicians to perform regularly throughout the city and give them the opportunity to network with a number of other musicians from outside of the city. In addition to supporting local talent, these venues are all located in the downtown core of the city helping to drive and promote local tourism and add to the reinvigoration of the downtown core, which has been a main priority of local government over recent years.

Type C Venues

Finally, the third and largest category of venues within the musical landscape of Hamilton are those spaces that predominantly operate as pubs or restaurants, with small capacity sizes, offering live music entertainment on a weekly, rotating, or sporadic basis. These spaces book exclusively local bands and do very little in way of promotion. Their social media pages often just mention that live entertainment is offered on a certain day of

the week, rarely even indicating who may be playing. Unlike the Type B venues, Type C venues are dispersed throughout the city and not all are easily accessible by public transportation. Rather than helping to promote the local music scene, economy, or tourism to the downtown core, these venues utilize live music performance as a form of added entertainment for those patrons who regularly frequent their establishments which are embedded in surrounding neighbourhoods of the Hamilton downtown core.

Discussion

The Role of Each Venue Type in the Local Scene

It is clear that not all venues are created equal and, as such, each type of venue comes to play a different role in helping to facilitate, grow and support the local music scene. Type A venues can be characterized as what Kronenburg (2011) has called dedicated spaces. These venues are built for the sole purpose of being able to host large scale events. Hand in hand with the creation of this type of venue space comes a financial risk, due to the amount of capital required to initially launch this space. As such these venues work to ensure a return on their investment, by booking large scale shows that are able to sell relatively expensive tickets to large audiences (Behr, Brennan and Cloonan 2014). Based on these ideas it is not surprising that these venues almost exclusively book superstar performing artists. However, this booking practice is not without its benefits for the city as well, as booking superstar acts helps to increase tourism into the city, making their placement in the downtown core even more important as the city of Hamilton is working hard to reinvigorate the core of the city as a destination place. So while Type A venues cater to internationally renowned performers, by increasing tourism to the city they also may inadvertently help to promote the local scene. This is especially plausible

given the location of the Type A venues in relation to Type B venues within the downtown core.

Type B venues play an important role in the local music scene. Not only are these spaces the hub of live music performances within the city, but they also allow for a diverse range of performers, local industry representatives, and fans, places to interact with one another on a regular basis. Many of these Type B venues work to promote both local and touring artists and offer city inhabitants a variety of places and types of music to enjoy, mainly concentrated in the downtown city core. These venue spaces offer important network opportunities for musicians looking to expand where and whom they play with. Referring back to Kronenburg's (2011) typology of performance buildings, this venue for is representative of adopted spaces, which operate as a unique hybrid of both a bar and/or café and venue space. While many of the venues in the Type B category offer live music performances on most nights of the week, they also remain open on the nights that there are no live performances operating as a bar space. The high frequency of shows by both local and touring artists within these venues allows for the local scene to really begin to take shape and transform the music in city into something that holds a unique meaning for the industry professionals, musicians and fans that participate in their local scenes. Behr, Brennan, and Cloonan (2014) have poignantly underlined how important these medium sized venues are in helping to legitimatization and strengthen local music histories and scenes. Due to their ability to draw an eclectic group of individuals involved in the music scene, these spaces also grant musicians the greatest opportunity to network, as the spatial organization within these venues often illustrates Funarow's (1997) 3

distinct viewing zones. Knowing where key individuals will be situated in the venue can facilitate musicians' to make important connections. Furthermore, the geographical closeness of Type B venues can help to promote the re-emerging musical economy of Hamilton, while drawing crowds back into the downtown city centre. Furthermore, these Type B venues are those which have been identified in historical accounts of the Hamilton music scene as being supportive of those bands and artists that fall into the broadly defined rock music culture of the city as a whole, compared to Type A venues whom are more likely to bring in pop music superstars.

Type C venues can also be characterized as adopted building spaces, via Kronenburg's (2011) typology, but unlike those in Type B who have become fully adopted as venue spaces, these Type C spaces can be understood as being in the early stages of venue adoption. These spaces operate predominantly as bars and restaurants that will occasionally offer some form of musical entertainment. Often the performances in these spaces occurs only on the weekends and feature exclusively local performers. These performers can range from individuals who enjoy playing music as a hobby, or those who are just trying to break into the local scene. There is very little promotion of specific artists at these venues, and in many cases this venue type simply notes that there will be live music on select nights of the week. It is not unfounded to claim that in many cases the live music performed in these spaces is booked to please regular customers of the bar or restaurant, rather than to be instrumental in shaping the local scene. The dispersion of these spaces throughout the city also illustrate the removal of these venues from the

reinvigoration of the downtown core, and the emphasis of strengthening the musical economy of the city of Hamilton.

Therefore under the broad organizational categorization of live music venue this chapter has illustrated that there is variation among the types of venues that exist within any given city. These venue types facilitate local music scenes in different ways with Type A venues bringing in superstar performers into the city's core, while Type B venues help to bring local bands and artists into the downtown core by offering ample opportunities to perform due to the frequency of shows that these venues host. Type C venues works to bring live music events to the surrounding neighbourhoods of the downtown core of the city, allowing for musicians and artists to occasionally perform to audiences who may not venture into the downtown core to see live music events. So not only do these different types of venues bring in different types of performers, performing different styles of music, into the city but they also distribute them into different geographical areas throughout the city.

The variance of organizational types of venues within the city Hamilton illustrates how venues offer very different experiences and expectations of live music performances. The basic organizational and cultural composition of these spaces structure the way that music is distributed within the local scene giving logical evidence that these types of venues may in fact be representative of organizational forms with unique logics. This question is take up in the following *Chapter 3: Venue Forms, Logics and Boundaries*.

Chapter 3- Venue Forms, Logics, and Boundaries

Introduction

I have now identified that there are various types of venues that are present and active within the local music scene in Hamilton. While the previous chapter made logical hypotheses about the role of these venue types within the music scene, it is important to continue to push this analysis forward. In this chapter I examine the aforementioned venue types to show these types are more accurately represented as venue forms via clustering around similar organizational identities and characteristics. Subsequently, upon identifying venue forms, I further examine the governing venue logics that coalesce or diverge around each identified venue form. Identifying the venue forms and logics in this chapter, provides the foundation to explore the effects boundaries, taken up in *Chapter 4* that follows, may have in shaping the distribution of musical artists throughout the venue landscape of a city. The findings of this chapter contribute to music scenes literature by illustrating how venues value specific musical performances and genre communities, via Lena (2012), over others which in turn have a structural influence on the shape of music scenes and the performances within. The findings presented in this chapter provide important insight to how the infrastructure of live music venues shape local music scenes, such as how the absence or influx of a particular venue form will undoubtedly alter the types of performers, genre communities and musical styles that come to be representative of a particular given city.

In order to identify the organizational identities of live music venues, to claim that these venue types are actually venue forms, incorporating both organizational characteristics and organizational identities, I look at venues discursive strategies by

analyzing language data from venue websites and social media pages. In addition to the discursive strategies used in promotional data, I further examine the promotional data, both visually and textually to identify the common practices and values perpetuated by each venue form. I argue that different types of venues operate as distinct organizational forms, via their identities and characteristics, and in accordance to distinct venue logics that inform their practices. Similar to Lena's (2012) theory of genres forms, I find that different forms of venues promote themselves in line with the specific types of communities, as well as the production and consumption practices that they find to be the most valuable, based not only on the communities they target but also their organizational characteristics. Values, shared understandings, and judgements influence the creation of boundaries that emerge from within groups and aides in delineating insiders and outsiders (see Barth 1998). It is postulated that these differential organizational forms and logics of practice of venues, result in the creation and maintenance of boundaries that emerge from within the venues themselves, this is examined directly in the following chapter.

While Barth was discussing an analysis of polyethnic societies, the statement above illustrates an important aspect of the research that follows, that understanding the structural differences and similarities of venue forms, including their logics of practice, will allow for a variety of nuances to be uncovered concerning the structural components of music scenes, specifically live music venues. Furthermore, analyzing the self-presentation and identification of venues across digital platforms uncovers some of the key mechanisms of boundary maintenance that occur from within the venue types themselves, such as a “recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in

criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest” (Barth 1998:15). Identifying the distinct forms and logics of live music venues is the goal of this chapter and is accomplished through an analysis of promotional data, highlighting how venues’ identities and practices diverge or coalesce together.

Literature Review

While this chapter focuses on the distinction of venue forms and logics and how they diverge it is also important to relate this back to music itself. Music genres also help to structure music scenes as communities of people cluster around particular types of experiences and styles of music, as such it is important to think about this in relation to the identities and practices of live music venues.

What about Music Genres?

Musical genres are an important organizing principle that are used throughout the music industry, not only by industry leaders, but also by organizations, musicians, and fans alike to help define groups of like-minded individuals around a particular style of music. Genres acts a process of classification of cultural products that helps to identify the principles by which individuals give meaning to particular musical products, performers, and styles (DiMaggio 1987). To use Becker’s (1982) terminology musical genres help to bring together particular valued conventions of how music should be played, what it should sound like, and how it should be performed, and the accepted practices and activities that align with it.

What is important to stress here, following a fruitful line of sociological inquiry, is that genres are not fixed entities, but should rather be conceptualized as fluid, that evolve and change over time, whether that change be abrupt or gradually (Lena 2012; Lena and Peterson 2008; Lopes 2002; Peterson 1997; Santoro 2004; Roy and Dowd 2010). Genres play and inform a number of important aspects of an individual's relationship and experiences with music over their life. Genres play a vital in creating groups and establishing boundaries among differences in groups. Drawing from the work of Lena (2012) I highlight how understanding the social nature of genres imparts wisdom on why different types and forms of live music venue may be present in any city. Each form of live music venues as I highlight below, targets and promotes to a different genre community to frequent their spaces, to do so the venues align their values and the artists they book to align with specific genre communities or market categories.

Lena (2012) defines musical genres as “systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music.” (17). Her analysis of musical genres aims to uncover the social processes of specific musical communities that lead them to having an affinity to particular type of music. She comes to this conclusion by categorizing twelve formal attributes that span across musical styles, and takes this framework to guide her inductive coding of over 60 American musical style histories to identify typical genre trajectories. She goes on to note that genre communities facilitate bringing members together by their very nature. In addition to the performers, fans, listeners, and audiences,

these communities also bring together a diverse collection of record labels and complex organizations, such as live music venues (Lena 2012).

Through her work Lena (2012) identifies 4 distinct genre forms; avant-garde, scene-based, industry-based, and traditionalists. First are the Avant-garde genres which consist of small informal meetings of individuals who are interested in changing and innovating new styles of music that diverge from music of the status quo (Lena 2012). This community often meets in coffee shops, basements, or garages, and most Avant-garde genres wither way over time, or transition into another genre form. Second, are the Scene-based genres, this genre form often emerges in a specific city or neighbourhood where a number of committed individuals and organizations facilitate the growth of the music. When genres grow into the Scene-based phase it encourages a greater focus on distinction mechanisms such as “performance conventions, technological innovations, and style” (Lena 2012: 41). Third, comes Industry-based genres. This genre forms exhibits musical stardom in all its glory. Musically inclined members of this community have record contracts with major labels, (inter)national tour schedules, have merchandise distributed in large commercial outlets, such as a mall, and have gained large scale media attention (Lena 2012). Finally, there are the Traditionalist genres, which emerge when community members become interested in preserving an earlier form of a musical style, usually the Scene-based phase. Members of Traditionalist genres are often artists who played in the earlier Scene-based form and academics seeking to document the ‘authentic’ histories of a musical style (Lena 2012).

The genre forms identified by Lena, provides indications that the variation in genre communities are mirrored to a degree in the variation of live music venue forms. Since not all genre communities want or enjoy playing in the same types of spaces, it makes sense that a burgeoning music scene would attempt to diversify the venues they offer in order to accommodate various types of musicianship and genre communities. As it is shown below different venue forms and logics are more or less suitable for the values expressed through genre forms, illustrating how venues, in addition to genre forms, play a role in shaping music scenes.

Organizational Identities and Form

Understanding how genre groups of like-minded individuals is directly relatable to the idea of organizational forms, Hsu and Hannan (2005) discuss how genre, as conceptualized within the sociology of culture can add to organizational scholars understandings of organizational forms, especially when informed by organizational identities. Hsu and Hannan (2005) propose that,

meaningful organizational categories must be uncovered through attention to audiences' valuations of organizations and that sociologically meaningful organizational categories (i.e. forms) are those for which audiences screen and evaluate candidate organizations for satisfaction of standards (codes), and for whom membership affects organizational life chances (480).

This theoretical push argues that organizational forms cannot be understood on the basis of their observable traits alone. Instead, for organizational forms to constitute sociologically meaningful categories, scholars must also consider how various audiences interact with and give legitimacy to the values and boundaries that are imbued by the

categorization of organizational forms. “Sociologically real categories are those for which membership matters in the sense that an audience screens organizations for conformity with standard before conferring the status of valid member of the equivalent class” (Hsu and Hannan 2005: 478). Therefore while I have shown how venues are typified by their organizational characteristics, I must further look at venue identities to make sustainable claims of their forms and logics and any boundaries that may emerge from within these clusters.

Hsu and Hannan (2005) argue that the conceptual framework for identifying organizational forms and the specification of meaningful boundaries among forms is less than clear. This is because much of the work concerning organizational forms is reliant on partial definitions of the concept that were put forth in the initial theoretical formulations (Hannan and Freeman 1977; 1984). In order to create a better defined operationalization of organizational forms, Hsu and Hannan (2005) suggest considering how organizational identities and forms incorporate, not only prominent organizational characteristics, but also through social consensus of interested audiences. The authors note that,

[b]y treating organizational identity as something that inhere the expectations and beliefs of diverse audiences, both internal and external to the organization, we advance a more general view of how identity-based codes impact organizations (Hsu and Hannan 2005: 477).

The importance of this conceptualization of organizational identity is that, unlike traditional views, it allows for the possibility of insiders and outsiders of the organization to have different beliefs concerning the organizational identity.

Moving on beyond individual organizational types and identities then is the concept of an organizational form which “represents a specific kind of collective organizational identity” (Polos et al. 2002; Hannan 2005; Hsu and Hannan 2005: 477). Expressed more clearly Hsu and Hannan (2005) describe an organizational form as involving an abstraction from organizations individual uniqueness and aides in creating a typification of organizational commonalities. Therefore, if the classification of venue types also cluster around similar venue identities, which I show they do, then I can claim these as venue forms. Furthermore, these forms and the analysis of promotional data indicate unique venue logics, as I discuss in more detail below.

However, it is important to note that form membership, as defined above, does not assure that once an organization becomes a form member that they actually conform to the codes that are used to specify that specific form (Hsu and Hannan 2005). The important take away from this theoretical reconceptualization of organization forms, is that identification of organizational forms involves more than just categorizing the observable characteristics of organizations. Rather forms only hold meaning when they have been linked and verified to organizational identities that create the default codes for all organizations that cluster around a particular form, bringing back in the importance of audiences conceptions. Therefore, organizational forms require the formation and consensus of identities which are meaningful to audiences and genre communities.

This understanding of organizational forms has important applications for the project at hand. While I begin in *Chapter 2* by identifying venue types based on

organizational characteristics, such as capacity, type of establishment, location, and frequency of shows. These spaces have also already been identified as venues by audiences, both within and outside of, the organization itself such as; media, owners, city council and musicians. My focus then is to explore the organizational form of venues generally, taking interest in whether the category of venues can be further sub-divided into more meaningful categories to those who participate in music scenes. Following the identification of venue types in *Chapter 2*, this chapter analyzes the discursive strategies and promotional practices used by each venue type to argue that these are in fact representative of organizational forms that are governed by unique organizational logics. Analyzing language and discursive strategies to identify organizational forms and identities helps to illustrate the way “beliefs get established and reified” (Hsu and Hannan 2005: 485). Language is also used in the institutional logics perspective to understand organizational motivations of actions.

Institutional Logics

While *Chapter 2* was concerned with mapping the landscape of venues within the local music scene of Hamilton, focusing on difference among groups of venues based on their organizational characteristics, this chapter, *Chapter 3*, turns to see if these venue groupings are adhering to the same overarching logic of practice by analyzing the promotional tactics of each venue form. The logic for each venue form works to push different organizational and cultural aspects of their offerings to the forefront of their public presentation and promotion. In order to identify the logic of each venue form, I

turned to the theoretical insights of institutional logics to help guide the understanding and impact of different live music venue logics.

A key defining feature of the analytic framework of institutional logics, differentiating it from both new institutionalism and field theory, is incorporating previously ignored elements such as macro structures, culture, and agency to explain how institutions play an important role in enabling and limiting actions (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Building on the seminal work of Friedland and Alford (1991), Thornton and Ocasio (2008) define institutional logics as

the socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activities, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences. (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012:2)

Using institutional logics as an analytic framework allows researchers to assess the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations, in a social system. Further, extrapolating institutional logics as a theoretical model highlights how “each institutional order of the interinstitutional system distinguishes unique organizing principles, practices, and symbols that influence individual and organizational behaviour.” (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012:3).

My analysis of the music venues in the city of Hamilton shows that each organizational form of music venues, functions in accordance to an organizational logic that is informed by dominant institutional logics. The organizational logic of music

venues is motivated by the intersection of ideal institutional logics of the interinstitutional system, and venues clustered within similar venue forms operate under similar organizational logics. The venue logic of each venue form is based on each individual venue's promotional data obtained from websites and social media pages, in addition to the organizational and cultural characteristics identified in the aforementioned classification of venue types in *Chapter 2*. Analyzing this type of data illustrates not only venues identities, but also how venue forms align themselves to certain audiences or genre communities through each guiding logic.

Institutional logics highlight a number of important traits and motivations not only for the organizations to which the logic applies, but also for the individuals that enter and participate in each of these spaces. What is useful about this perspective, in comparison to more traditional organizational approaches, is that institutional logics compose the frames of reference used by individuals to help facilitate their sensemaking capabilities. It does so by conditioning the choices actors make, the vocabulary used to motivate their actions, as well as actors' sense of self and identity (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). The organizational logics of live music venues resultant of the intersections of various ideal institutional logics, therefore lead to differentiation in sense-making practices and vocabularies of motives of venue forms. Therefore this analysis looks at the discursive strategies and promotional tactics of venue types, as identified in the previous chapter, to support claims that venue types are more accurately conceptualized as venue forms whose promotional techniques are guided by unique and diverging venue logics.

To fully comprehend and enact the institutional logics perspective Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) lay out four fundamental principles: (1) There is an existing duality between agency and structure, (2) institutions are both material and symbolic, (3) institutions are historically contingent, and finally (4) institutions can be understood from multiple levels of analysis. These four principles are crucial to my analysis of music venues and how actors negotiate their positions within each venue form and logic. Ideally if musicians were cognizant of the structure of venue forms and logics, they would then be able to make more informed decisions of the best place to perform, based on the genre communities and values that they may align themselves with.

Bound together with the symbolic value of each venue is the history or reputation of that space. The history of venues can have detrimental effect on the perceived reputation of a music venue. Those venues that have hosted a wide array of historically important performers will convey a different reputation than one who has hosted only local bands (see Cloonan, Behr, and Brennan, 2014). Furthermore, it is also important to consider that some venues that were the top performance spaces in the 1970s may have now fallen to the wayside and no longer hold the same reputation they once did. As Friedland and Alford (1991) note both individuals and organizations need to be situated within the institutional structures of a society, if we are to understand either of their behaviours.

Institutional Orders and the Interinstitutional System

Before moving on to analyze the applicable organizational logics of music venues, it is first important to illustrate the societal level institutional orders and complementary

interinstitutional system that influences and permeates each organizational logic. As noted by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) “to understand how institutions are created, and how they influence cognition and behaviour, one needs to understand how institutions shape interests independent of individuals and organizations, ie. the market, the state, etc.” (pg. 52). Institutional orders and the resulting interinstitutional system provide the cornerstone building blocks of society. Each of the cornerstone institutions represented within this typology, embodies both the cultural symbols and material practices that govern that area of life (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Friedland and Alford (1991) noted six key institutional orders within modern society; family, religion, state, markets, professions, and corporations. Building upon this model, Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) propose a typology of each of these orders ideal types while adding an additional community institutional order (see page 56 for a detailed chart (3.1) outlining the specifics for each institutional order).

Important for the purposes of this research are the institutional orders of the market, professions, corporations, and of course, community. Musicians and other cultural actors occupy unique positions that are influenced by the intersection of these orders. The intersection of these orders and the predominance of one order over another, has a profound effect on the resulting institutional logic and symbolic boundaries that musicians and cultural actors must learn to negotiate. This becomes a difficult task as each institutional order varies on the basis of key characteristics, such as sources of legitimacy, authority, identity, the basis of norms, attention, and strategies, as well informal control mechanisms and the economic systems in which they are embedded

(Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Each of these elements influence the sense of self and identity, of both individuals and organizations, by influencing salient language, and vocabularies of motive, how they act, and the logics of those actions. In turn each of these differences then creates boundaries that influence who gets to play and perform in each of these venues.

As it will be shown, the resulting intersection of institutional logics for each form of live music venues forms creates unique challenges that musicians must learn to negotiate. It is apparent that as musicians progress through different forms of live music venues they must be able to adapt their behaviour to fit the dominant institutional logic of that form. What becomes most challenging for artists is simply being able to identify and understand the motivating forces of each individual venue, and understanding which venues operate under a similar logic and which differ. This requires actors to keep a keen eye on not only the cultural symbols and symbolic practices of each space, but also, how they can signal these symbols back to key actors and organizations operating under a similar logic. However it is also important to recognize that actors should be able to understand the meaning of symbols and act out practices, without necessarily being socialized a priori to doing so (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). This means as artists move into venues with differing organizational logics they should be able to learn to adopt to the new practices without any prior knowledge of how to do so. However, as much as these things are able to be learnt by participating members there may still be influencing factors, such as gender, that allow some artists and band to enter into venues more easily than other performers. Understanding the gendered boundaries that emerges

from each venue form and logic is the focus of *Chapter 4*, which shows that despite the gender neutral processes involved in organizational logics, there is still a large and noticeable gender discrepancy that occurs in the booking practices of each live music venue form.

Clearly, institutional logics and the resulting organizational logics play an important role in shaping local music scenes and the distribution of artists within it. As I illustrate the Hamilton music scene represents three dominant venue forms each operating under a unique venue logic, which is influenced by institutional logics and the interinstitutional system. Once situated within a venue logic, musicians' renegotiate and evaluate their sense of self as a cultural producer, and the values they hope to enact, either conforming to or diverging from the venue logic. Therefore by focusing on how venues as organizational forms influence the production of music and the distribution of artists within the local scene, this chapter adds to scene literature by offering an inter-venue point of view of how music is performed, valued, and dispersed among venue within a given city.

Data and Methods

Data

Since this chapter is interested in identifying venue forms and logics, I gathered a variety of data from venues' websites and public Facebook pages to analyze how they engage in self-presentation and the promotion of the musical acts they book. This is important as the self-presentation of venues shows venue identities and helps to categorize them into venue forms, as well as illustrating how venue forms diverge; while

the promotion of musical acts highlights how venues are targeting specific market categories and genre communities. Taken together the self-presentation and promotional practices of each venue form provide insight into venue logics. In other words, this form of promotion and self-presentation highlights the values and judgments that different venue forms adhere to. I focus on the digital media platforms of venue websites and Facebook profiles, over other types of digital media, because through my own participation in the Hamilton music scene of attending musical events in the city for about 10 years, I quickly became aware that it was through these avenues, compared to platforms like Twitter or Myspace, that most of the city's venues promoted themselves and their shows. Utilizing these digital resources allowed me to collect data on a large sample of various type of live music venues in an efficient manner, allowing for a comparison both within and across venue forms providing an inter-venue point of view of the Hamilton music scene.

In order to begin to gain insight on these analytical interests, I gathered digital data from 73 venues with an online presence in Hamilton, ON between the years of 2009-2014. While not all of the venues in Hamilton have websites or Facebook pages, and therefore those who do not have an online presence have not been included in my sample or analysis, each of the three organizational types identified in Chapter 3 are still represented. I captured, from both digital platforms, screen shots of the homepages of the websites or Facebook pages, as well as any important complimentary pages such as: about us sections, entertainment/event listings pages, and photo galleries. Some of the key components that were gathered and subsequently analyzed included images of website

banners, promotional posters, event listings, posted pictures, ‘about us’ sections, gig calendars and the language that was employed in each of these sections. This data collection process clearly illustrated the differences in presentation and promotion of diverging venue forms and these differences are explained in detail in the findings section below. By focusing on the visual and textual data of venue forms self-presentation and promotion, I am able to identify systematic differences in venue identities and promotional behaviour reflecting distinct venue forms and logics. This understanding then allows me to gain insight on the structuring role of venues in music scenes, and how diverging forms and logics create and maintain boundaries between various venues. This moves beyond an in-depth qualitative analysis of one venue, as has typically been seen in scene studies, and illustrates an inter-venue point of view of a music scene.

One important limitation of my data however is the absence of venues with a capacity size between 300-1000 people. This is specific to my case study, as at the time of this research the city of Hamilton does not have any venues of this size. However, it will be interesting in future research to see if these venues types have their own distinct venue form. This limitation and avenue of future research also opens the possibility for gainful comparisons of venue composition within different cities, and how the distribution of venue forms contributes to differences among city-specific music scenes and the types of musical communities present.

Methods

After collecting the data for each venue, it then became imperative to try and make sense of what this information was showing me. To do so, I relied on qualitative

methodologies to code and conduct content analyses of the words and images I had collected on each venue from the digital platforms. The use of qualitative content analysis for exploring case studies has many benefits. The first being the ability to guide and build theory. This theory-guided approach is equally as important for both case studies and qualitative content analysis, as Eisenhardt (1989) states “the central idea is that researchers constantly compare theory and data – iterating toward a theory that closely fits the data.” (541). This methodological approach then leads to the interpretation of study results in two different ways, the first being your own interpretation of the findings, and the second comparing the results with the existent theories and research results (Kohlbacher 2006). The qualitative content analysis of case studies then allows for sensemaking to occur,

sensemaking is the manner by which people, groups, and organizations make sense of stimuli which they are confronted with, how they frame what they see and hear, how they perceive and interpret this information, and how they interpret their own actions, go about solving problems, and interacting with others (Berg 2007: 285).

This type of sensemaking stemming from organizations is crucial to this analysis. Understanding the sensemaking processes of organizations will, not only help identify venue forms and to illustrate the logics of practices, but it will also provide insight into how boundaries are made and maintained from within the organizations themselves.

An additional benefit of employing the qualitative content analysis as a methodological approach is that it also allows for some quantitative interpretations to be

employed as well, such as counts and frequencies of themes and salient language. The benefit of this multi-method approach further aides in the analysis of a case study by allowing for a more comprehensive understanding in addition to facilitating data triangulation (Kohlbacher 2006).

In addition, I also looked to techniques from visual sociology to help make sense of website layouts, and what the positions of the information shown meant (Christin, forthcoming). In Rose's (2001) work on visual sociology, she emphasizes the importance of investigating the visual cultural consumption of visual life and that this can be accomplished through content analysis and coding of images. To clarify, Rose (2001) quoting Lutz and Collins (1993) highlights the benefits of this type of analysis and addresses immediate critiques of this approach stating,

Although at first blush it might appear counterproductive to reduce the rich material in any photograph to a small number of codes, quantification does not preclude or substitute for qualitative analysis of the pictures. It does allow, however, discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on casual inspection and protection against an unconscious search through the magazine for only those which confirms one's initial sense of what the photos say or do." (89)

It is clear that neither Lutz and Collins nor Rose have the intention of trying to explicitly reduce images to numeric representation, but are rather arguing that the benefit of this type of analysis allows for subtle patterns to emerge from the data. Patterns such as how venue types differ in important ways in how they create and organize their websites.

I utilized these methodological techniques to perform a qualitative content analysis of venues websites and public Facebook pages to investigate how venues present

their identities, the logics of practice they follow, and if venues belonging to the same form use their online presence to claim membership to that form, which would be indicative of the construction and maintenance of boundaries. To develop my code book, I deducted the first set of codes from the organizational characteristics that were used in *Chapter 2* to classify venues into different types such as: capacity size, technical specification, and frequency of shows, and types of performers. I then added codes inductively after completing the first round of coding to capture the salient language and themes that emerged from the data. The codes added inductively captured themes such as: the promotion of artists, promotion of food and drink, use of the word spectacle or entertainment or the phrase local artists/Hamilton artists community, descriptions of ambiance, mentions of venue awards, and so forth. Once the coding was complete I was then able to capture the frequencies of different types of themes or language presented by each individual venue as well as for the venue form as a whole.

Once the coding was completed, I then grouped the images and codes for each venue into the venue type groups I identified in *Chapter 2*. This grouping was necessary to identify if (1) venues belonging to the same type cluster around a similar venue identity indicating distinct organizational forms, and (2) if there are similarities or differences between venue types' logics of practice, self-presentation and promotional use of digital media.

I employed the data analysis strategy described above to explore how venue forms create boundaries and engage in boundary-work to shape the market categories and

musical communities they are attracting to their venue spaces, indicating the existence of individual organization forms logics. The purpose of this analysis is to look across different types of venues to look for evidence of boundary making that originates specifically from venues, as such I am interested in broad general patterns of venue forms and this analytical strategy helps me to accomplish that.

Findings

The findings below examine the discursive strategies and the promotional practices employed by each venue category, to assess if these venue types may be more accurately represented as organizational forms which cluster together around similar organizational identities and reflect similar logics. If venues cluster around similar discursive strategies and promotional practices, as I show they do, then this highlights an important advancement of the venue types identified in *Chapter 2*. The discussion following these findings illustrates how the shared discursive strategies, promotional practices, and venue identities are indicative of distinct venue forms that are governed by different organizing logics and discusses what these logics may mean for the musicians within the scene.

Discursive Strategies, Promotional Practices, and Organizational Forms of Live Music Venues

As noted in Hsu and Hannan (2005) language can be used as a way to help understand organizational identities. It is only in conjunction with the physical characteristics and identities of venues that I can then claim that these venue types are more representative of specific organizational forms. Hsu and Hannan (2005) note;

By examining how evaluators describe and compare organizations, researchers can potentially infer fundamental premises and rules guiding evaluators' perceptions, expectations, and actions toward different types of organizations. This approach can yield a more refined understanding of classification schemes (485)

Similar to the work of Hsu and Poldony (2005; and Hsu 2005) I utilize the 'semantic similarity' to evaluate category member. Utilizing this approach allows me to focus "on how beliefs and social categories are organized in the minds of relevant actors" (Hsu and Hannan 2005: 485), or in my case, how venues claim their own organizational identity and how this becomes meaningful in shaping the local scene and the musicians accessing these spaces. In addition to this textual analysis of discursive strategies, which following Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) is also an important element in identifying distinct logics, I also employ a visual analysis of venue websites and social media pages to analyze similarities and differences between different forms of venues. The visual analysis of online promotional practices and websites illustrates that venue forms not only have similar characteristics and identities but also employ comparable promotional practices, giving additional strength to the claim that venue forms also cluster around similar venue logics.

My analysis illustrates that venue types employ a different discursive and promotional strategies to describe themselves and their events online, in comparison to venues in other type categories. I further highlight that the venue types identified in *Chapter 2* are more accurately representative of organizational forms, who cluster around similar organizational identities and logics. I show how the different practices used by

venue form evokes an imagery of the expected experiences at each venue, by drawing attention to the resources that each type has access to and their own perceived reputation. Table 1.1 provides an example of the different discursive strategies that are characteristic of each venue type/form. Table 1.2 below indicates the frequency of each language used by each type of venue. In presenting each venue forms’ discursive strategy and promotional practices I also offer the typical website layouts and promotional practices that are seen in each form.

Table 1.1 – Discursive Strategies of Each Venue Type/Form

Spectacle Language	Art Language	Entertainment Language
variety of spectacular concerts	to host great live bands, touring and local bands	entertaining events
spectacular acoustics	With everything from Rock N Roll to jazz, blues to country and everything else, we aim to be the number one venue for live bands in Hamilton	Inventive food, great music A vision of a restaurant and live music venue that focuses on three things: the best food, the best entertainment and the best customer service
where your event can be a big success	stage has been graced tens of thousands of local and touring musicians continuously since 1931	Live entertainment calendar
	every week we have a full line up of local and touring bands	occasionally live music to complete the atmosphere
	providing a community-based home away from home for those who enjoy	best live entertainment in the Hamilton area

	the arts, fine coffee, wine and beer	
	gives emerging talent a platform to learn and explore, and seasoned professionals an opportunity to grow and experiment	make sure that there is always something to entertain you
		Live entertainment nightly; never a cover charge

Table 1.2 - Frequency of language use among venue types

	<i>Spectacle</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Entertainment</i>
<i>Type A</i>	8.5%	0	0
<i>Type B</i>	0	28.5%	0
<i>Type C</i>	0	17%	46%

Note: Frequencies reflect the 35 cases of direct use of discursive strategies, and does not reflect all codes used in the visual analysis of promotional practices.

1. Type/Form A Venues use a Spectacle Discursive Strategy and Promotional Practices

Below I highlight three features that stand out as being important in the discursive strategies and promotional practices of Form A venues: space, technical capabilities, and the memorable experiences of audience members. First, space is often emphasized by these venues to not only illustrate the capacity of the venue, but also to imply that the performances that will be booked in these spaces will draw in large audiences. Second, Form A venues emphasize their technical capabilities as a way of conferring that they

have the resources and abilities to put on a grandiose showcase. Third, is the memorable experiences of audiences, in conjunction with the superstar performers booked into Form A venues. These spaces emphasize that the size of the audience and the capabilities and resources of the venue will create the ideal atmosphere to put on a musical performance that will be both visually and acoustically astounding.

1.1 Spectacle Discursive Strategy

Form A venues all consistently used the words ‘spectacle or spectacular’ to describe the experiences of attending an event at one of their venues. Form A venues used the word spectacle to emphasize how their spaces and technical capabilities enables all performances to become memorable experiences, this done not only through the word itself but also the context in which it is used. These memorable experiences are formed not only by the types of performances booked, but also all the ‘bells and whistles’ that are only granted to the venue form. The salient spectacle language is used to indicate the resources that Form A venues have access to, in addition to their own perceived reputation and identity.

To illustrate, consider some of the following examples of the salient promotional language used by Form A venues: ‘One of North America’s premier entertainment venues, housing a variety of spectacular concerts and sporting events each year.’; ‘Known for its gorgeous interior and spectacular acoustics, making it the ideal space to showcase any event.’; ‘Where your event can be a success!’ The discursive strategy used by Form A venues clearly emphasizes that the experiences in these spaces will be the absolute best they could be. Form A venues are clearly trying to market themselves as the venues that

would hold the most magnificent experiences, compared to any other type of venue space, creating and maintaining a symbolic and cultural boundary pertaining to experience, and organizational boundaries surrounding the venues identity and status.

1.2 Spectacle Promotional Practices

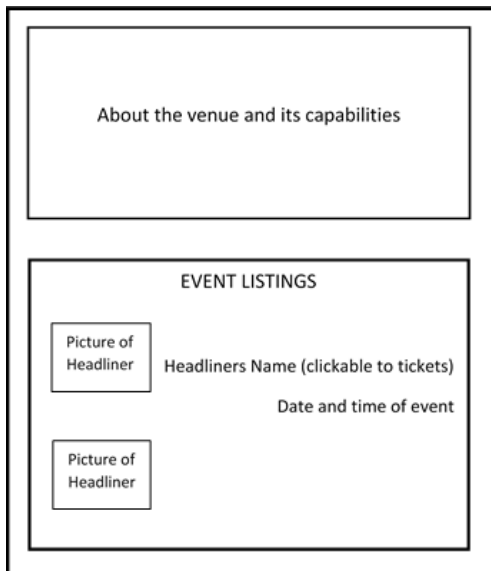


Figure 1 – Form A venues typical website layout

Form A venues generally featured their event listings on the front page of their websites but only after offering a brief description of the venue’s attributes, such as their technical capabilities. The event listings of these venues provided very minimal information, listing only the name and picture of the headlining act, the date of the performance, and a clickable link that would lead to ticket sales, as is seen above in Figure 1. The most interesting promotional technique of Form A venues is the consistency among these venues to emphasize the organizational characteristics of their spaces before the artists that have been booked to play. The promotion of the venues’

capabilities typically included statements about capacity and technical equipment, such as, “offers excellent seating and sightlines. Every seat in the house gets the best views.”; “great acoustics offers a one-of-a-kind experience”; “has a capacity of up to 2193 and is fully licensed and feature state of the art audio and lighting production.” The immediacy of the descriptions of venue capabilities, and the positioning of this information at the top of the page on digital platforms, indicates that Form A venues use this characteristic to reflect their organizational identity and reputation to ensure that any performance seen there meets the criteria of being a spectacle.

In addition, what is most interesting about the practice of placing venue capabilities before the events booked, is that Form A venues are the only spaces to host superstar artists. In this instance, superstars can be understood as those artists whom have already achieved international acclaim, and have very strong reputations as musicians both within and outside of the industry (Rosen 1981; Hamlen 1991). Form A venues then, in part, become partially reliant on the already established reputation of the artists booked into these venues, to aide in event promotion. The remainder of the information presented on Form A venues’ websites highlighted the venues’ resources such as: layout and technical capacities, providing seating plans and detailed information of the type of equipment that was available for use.

2. Type/Form B Venues use an Art/Music Discursive Strategy and Promotional Practices

Form B venues also have stand out features that will be explained below including: an emphasis on building the local arts/music community through support of local talent, showcasing touring bands that pass through, and the artistic qualities of the shows featured. Form B venues through their discursive strategy and promotional practices draw attention to the local bands playing in the city. These venues further offer their support to local musicians by featuring videos of these bands performing on their websites and social media pages and by booking them on bills with touring acts. Form B venues showcase touring acts, by not only frequently hosting music events, but also, through their far reaching promotional practices. The artistic qualities of the shows booked into Form B venues are clearly shown as these venues provide links to musicians work, as well as detailing the style of music they play, and who their label or recording studio representation is.

2.1 Art/Music Discursive Strategy

Form B venues used language that emphasized the types of events they were booking and hosting such as; ‘local and touring bands’ or ‘the Hamilton artists’ community’ in their online promotion and discursive strategy, different from the experiential focus of Form A venues discursive strategy. To illustrate the event based focus of Form B’s discursive strategy consider the following quotes; ‘Our first choice is always local flavour and local talent! Come by and enjoy our wholesome and delicious food and fresh on-site roasted Fair Trade, organic coffee. Then come back at night to sample our range of craft beer and great local and not-so-local live performances.’; ‘Aims to be the destination to host great live bands, local and touring bands.’ This discursive

strategy is used when discussing the values of the venues and the type of events they were promoting. In line with Barth (1998) this alignment to a specific value is a mechanism for boundary creation that stems from within the organization itself. Form B venues often display this language on their websites either on the homepage or in the about us section, highlighting this characteristic as a key component of their venue identity. The characteristic or organizational value being conveyed is the support of all art and music, not just the internationally renowned, but all those aspiring musicians in their own music scene. With the promotional language being focused on the performers and events booked into Form B venues, these spaces are using this discursive strategy to signal not only the resources they have access to, but also the diversity of cultural offerings they present.

2.2 Art/Music Promotional Practices

Form B venues strategized their event promotion very differently from the Form A venues described above, most Form B venues utilized both websites and Facebook pages to promote the musical events they had booked. Figure 2 below highlights the typical layout of Form B venues websites, however there are variations to this among the venues categorized as Form B, however the key components included in Figure 2 remain consistent across the various website configurations, indicating that they are using similar promotional practices.

The websites of Form B venues all offered a gig calendar or an event listings page (never an ‘entertainment’ listing or tab) that captured both past and upcoming events that the venue had scheduled. The event listings often provided information about the date the event was happening, the entire roster of artists who were booked to play, and a link to

ticket sales, if applicable, and sometimes a list to the Facebook event page. Furthermore, Form B websites often featured promotional posters, videos, and images of groups who had played or were scheduled to play on their homepage. This venue form also frequently had an embedded Twitter feed on their websites, which was also utilized by Form B venues as yet another tactic of online promotion and self-presentation.

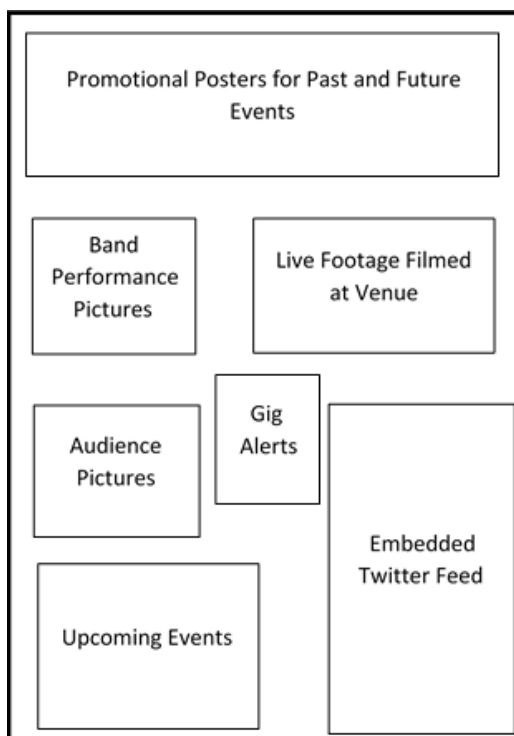


Figure 2- Form B venues typical website layout

On social media, specifically Facebook (but it is clear from Figure 2 above, also Twitter), Form B venues were the most proficient group in utilizing this platform to promote their events. In addition to listing their events on their venue specific Facebook profile, Form B venues also created unique Facebook event pages to promote their shows, actively posting about upcoming and past events, and posting images of the promotional

posters of the event. The unique Facebook event pages Form B venues created allowed for widespread dissemination of the event listings and performer information such as: a brief bio or description of each band scheduled to perform, a link to the bands' personal websites or bandcamp pages, the musical style of each act, where the band came from, and who, if any, was their label representation. It is here, that individuals interested in attending the events would find the most specific and detailed information of the acts booked into Form B venues conveniently located in one place. The use of Facebook by Form B venues, clearly touches upon many of the key values and conventions that are to be expected within a Scene-based genre (Lena, 2012). These values and practices can then be utilized by these spaces to engage in boundary work processes, by establishing boundaries around organizational identity, cultural tools, and access to resources.

Utilizing the features of Facebook allowed Form B venues to provide much more detailed information of their events and artists. The Facebook promotional strategy utilized by Form B venues allows for a much more interactive experience between venues, artists, and potential audiences. To illustrate, this type of promotion allows bands or artists to promote themselves in discussion threads, for attending or interested audience members to join events and keep track upcoming events, for individuals to 'like' specific venues and band profiles, as well as the ability to share the event page with a large group of friends. Clearly this promotional strategy allows Form B venues to reach a much larger network of interested individuals in a much more interactive way than just their regular website traffic.

The use of Facebook for promotional means also allows Form B venues to provide more details of the acts they have booked in addition to giving the artists the opportunity to engage in self-promotion as well. This type of promotion is instrumental for local or less well known bands to attract larger audiences and promote themselves outside of their already established networks. Form B venues were the only venue category to engage in this type of promotional technique, a technique that has aligned itself to the core values and conventions that are expressed in Scene-based genres.

This reciprocal reputational pull is the inverse from that used by Form A venues. To clarify, where Form A venues were reliant on the reputational pull of the artists booked to attract audiences to their spaces, Form B venues used their reputation as a venue to help the bands they booked to reach larger audiences and networks, especially through the practice of booking local bands with more well-known headliners. When compared to the online promotion of Form A venues, who provided very little information about the bands and artists they booked, Form B venues brought the promotion of bands and artists to the forefront of their online presence, through images, links, and descriptions of the artists and their sound.

It is these characteristics that help to support the claim that Form B venues and Scene-based genres communities constitute the backbone of the local music scene. Together Form B venues hosted approximately 4000 shows over a 5 year period, exponentially higher than any other form of venue included in this study. This supportive nature and ability to encourage constant interaction among Scene-based genre members,

regardless of their musical style, is a crucial component of the art/music promotional practices of Form B venues. It is within these venues that artists' music will be appreciated for its artistic characteristics by supportive, and moderately sized audiences.

3. Type/Form C Venues use an Entertainment Discursive Strategy and Promotional Practices

Like the other two venue forms, Form C venues also have important stand out features such as: creating an enjoyable audience experience, hosting generic unnamed music performances, and emphasizing non-music related features such as food and drink. Form C venues used the emphasis on food and drink and the musical events to highlight their focus on creating an enjoyable experience for patrons. By emphasizing different food or drink specials on some nights, and live music on other nights, they promoted their spaces as having something enjoyable occurring most nights of the weeks. The musical acts booked into Form C venues were often described as local musicians through the discursive strategies and promotional practices employed by these venues.

3.1 Entertainment Discursive Strategy

In contrast to the spectacle discursive strategy used by Form A venues and the art/music strategy of Form B venues, Form C venues utilized the word 'entertainment' when describing the live music events they hosted. The word entertainment, brings forth images of a relaxing, almost passive experience. In other words it illuminates an activity that an individual just simply enjoys such as reading a book or watching a movie. In contrast to emphasizing the capabilities or resources, Form C venues used the word entertainment to help establish the relaxing atmosphere of their establishment, somewhere

people can go to catch up with friends or enjoy a meal. Like Form A venues, Form C venues are using a discursive strategy to allude to the expected experiences of attending an event at their venue.

For instance, many of these Form C venues had statements such as “Live entertainment nightly; never a cover charge”; or “Saturday: Free Entertainment” listed on their websites, as well as referring to the events listings as ‘live entertainment or entertainment’. Others offered a more descriptive statement of what can be expected at their space, such as: “A wide selection of beer is available on tap with pub food and occasionally live music to complete the atmosphere. The recently renovated upstairs is quickly becoming a hotspot for late night dancing.” While this example does not contain the word entertainment explicitly, it still uses the same imagery by stating that there is ‘occasionally live music to complete the atmosphere.’ In this instance live music is being used to explicitly state that it adds to the already comforting atmosphere of this space.

3.2 Entertainment Promotional Practices

The promotional strategy used by Form C venues across digital platforms differed from the strategies of other venue forms. Form C venues has the largest amount of variation in the use of digital platforms and while there was variation amongst the type of digital media used by Form C venues, the way each platform was used was consistent among the venues in this group. Some Form C venues had websites, albeit often outdated and amateur looking, while others had Facebook pages that were, seemingly, rarely used beyond their initial creation.

Form C venues offered minimal event promotion, and what little promotion was done had a very limited reach. Those Form C venues that had websites promoted live music events alongside the heavy promotion of food and drink specials that occurred on various nights of the week, as seen in Figure 3. In most cases there was no mention of the artists booked to perform, just simply a note that live music would occur on a specific day and time. To illustrate, consider this Form C promotional statement,

Supplying recognizable brands, fresh menus twice yearly, and entertaining events both on and off site have kept our family of patrons passing through our door today and for years to come. Our dedication to quality ingredients and high level service keeps us on our toes to ensure the best possible experience for our guests. Specializing in what we like to call a continental fusion, our chef takes some of your favourite classic dishes and puts a modern twist on them so that you might learn to enjoy them all over again. Live music every Friday and Saturday, golf tournaments, tasting events and impromptu celebrations keep the fun times rolling through the year.

From the above statement it is clear that Form C venues are focused on the food and drinks that they offer above all else. Unlike the targeted promotion of Form A and B venues to a specific genre community, Form C venues use food and drink to target a market category that falls outside of the genre forms expressed by Lena (2012). While live music events are mentioned there is no further detail provided about who will be playing, or any information about the acts themselves. Some Form C venues were a little more specific and did provide names of musicians booked to play; however it became clear upon looking at the live entertainment calendars that the same handful of performers were booked and played on a semi-regular rotating schedule. Within Form C venues music was not a primary element of the experience, but rather complimentary. Of the 51

venues of this form sampled, 35% had a set rotating schedule of performers. There was no additional information about artists provided anywhere on the venue’s website.

Deceivingly, some Form C websites had an entertainment tab on the top menu of their websites (see Figure 3.1) but following this link brought you to a page promoting drink and party theme nights, or food tastings, and rarely musical acts. The images presented on these websites were also exclusively focused on food and drink, or the interior of the venue.

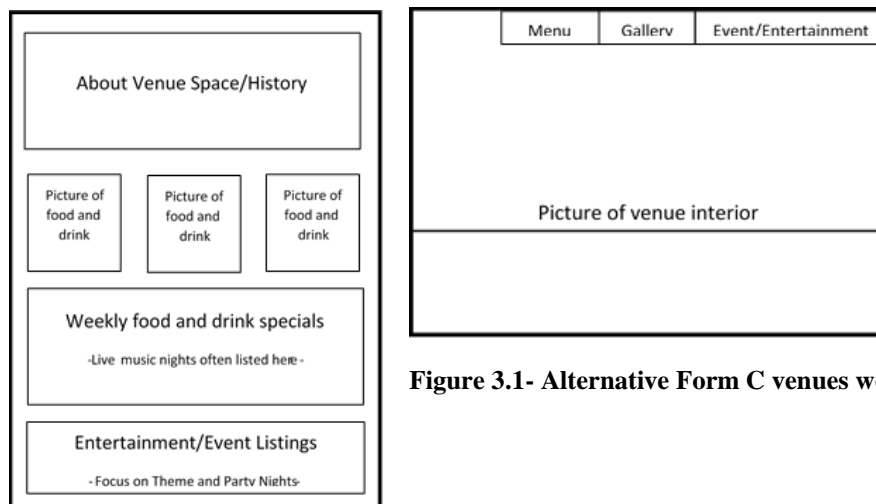


Figure 3.1- Alternative Form C venues website layout

Figure 3- Form C venues typical website layout

For those Form C venues that had Facebook pages, in most cases there was very little activity. In fact, this venue form had very few posts, images, and no event listings, and what small activity was seen on Facebook pages was all directly related to food and drink specials. The best way to describe Form C venues typical use of Facebook, is that they did not really use it at all, and those who did, used it in a similar way to the website promotion discussed above (ie. to promote food and drink). However, there a few minor exceptions where 2 of the venues classified as Form C venues along the basis of their

organizational characteristics and capacity, as identified in *Chapter 2*, engaged in online presentation and promotion that was more closely aligned to that of Form B venues. This point will be taken up in greater detail in the discussion section below.

Unlike Form A and B venues, Form C venues focused on promoting the food and drink available at their venues. Where Form A venues relied partially on the reputational pull of the superstars they booked to draw audiences, Form B venues used their reputation as a venue to aide in the promotion of lesser known acts. Form C venues, on the other hand, focused on creating a reputation as a fun place to get together with friends, have a drink and something to eat, with occasional live music accompaniment. Form C venues did little to increase the reputation of the acts they booked, nor did they used the reputation of the artists booked to increase their own reputation. The online promotional technique of Form C venue websites is categorically different from that seen among the other two forms of venues.

The findings presented above for each venue form's discursive strategies and promotional practices highlight that venue types, as identified in *Chapter 2*, are better understood as venue forms, by illustrating that venues cluster together around a shared organizational identity that is illustrated by the discursive strategies and promotional practices of each venue form. This suggests that the structural elements of the social organization of venues also share institutional dimensions that are observable through their promotional materials which is consistent with the institutional theory of organizations such as (Meyer & Rowan 1977; DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Fligstein 1991).

Below, I elaborate how the discursive strategies and promotional practices of each venue form are constitutive of unique venue logics that shape the presentation of local music scenes.

Discussion

The Logics of Live Music Venues

The analysis of music venues' promotional practices and discursive strategies, and the consistency of these among venue forms, illustrates that each music venue form is operating in accordance to a distinct logic. These logics act as orienting principles, around which all other factors orbit, similar to how Friedland (with Alford 1991; 2002; 2009) and Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) have conceptualized institutional logics. These logics are not a tangible resource but are rather seen through practice and substance (Friedland, 2009). The logic that each venue form follows places a different expectation and valuation on musical performances. Not only is the musical performance valued differently among the venue forms, but so are the promotional practices that they engage in. Since the forms of venues are focused on different genre communities or market categories, a highly valued practice in one venue form may be less important to the other forms. This differential valuation is a key component for the creation of boundaries that emerges from within the organizations themselves (Barth 1998), and helps venues to identify those who are like them and those who are not.

The logics of live music venues outlined below, provides additional evidence to my above claims of venue forms, while further suggesting how venues cluster together

and work to create and maintain boundaries from within their organizational form. These logics highlight the dominant practices of each venue form in the digital promotion of their spaces and events across platforms. My discussion of live music venue logics fit well with Lena’s (2012) concept of different type of music scenes. Although she develops her conceptualization of scenes through an analysis of the social organization of genres, my analysis of the institutional logics of music venues offers a similar views of the social boundaries of music within local scenes.

Table 2- Key Components of Live Music Venues Logics

Spectacle Logic Form A Venues	Art Logic Form B Venues	Entertainment Logic Form C Venues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Emphasis on technical equipment and ability •Ability to host large audiences •Only spaces to host superstars of international acclaim •Only open on event nights •Use of the word spectacle performances •Professional-Corporate websites, little to no presence on Facebook 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Emphasis on types of artists and performers that have been booked •Heavy promotion of events booked •Emphasize 'local and touring bands' and the 'Hamilton artists' community' •Remain open on "off" nights •Focus on the musical aspects of artists performances •Very active online presence, including both websites and Facebook pages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Emphasis on artists ability to entertain local patrons of their establishment •Very little promotional data on performers •Heavy use of the word entertainment •Artists often on a set or rotating schedule •Offer little performance space and rarely any equipment for artists to use •Basic websites and infrequent basic use of Facebook profiles

The Spectacle Logic of Form A Venues

A spectacle logic emphasizes something very special, something that cannot be reproduced on a regular basis, but is rather characterized as being a fantastic, magical experience that will imprint and last for a lifetime in memories. Venues whom operate

under a spectacle logic work hard to ensure that their online promotion and presence illustrate the above values. A spectacle logic is not simply about selling enough tickets to sell out an event but rather to host performances that will leave audiences in awe. Following this logic there are a number of component pieces that are to be expected from each of the venues belonging to this form such as: technical capacities, large audience sizes, higher ticket prices, and for the venues to be open less frequently. Each of these components were seen clearly in Form A venues use of online promotion and self-presentation.

Furthermore, relating back to Lena's (2012) genre forms, it can be understood that venues practicing a spectacle logic are closely affiliated with Industry-based genres. Within this genre community Lena (2012) notes that artists have reached a point in their career where they receive a large amount of their income from the sales of merchandise, concert ticket sales, and performance royalties. The connection between the spectacle logic of music venues and Industry-based genres is logically apparent. Industry-based genres, who are supported by major record labels and multinational corporations, have the resources and (inter)national star power to bring in large sized audiences, and in turn sell many tickets. Furthermore, the genre norms and conventions perpetuated by the mainstream music industry parallel many of the same values of the spectacle logic, most notable the relatively formulaic and predictable nature of the performance.

With the increase of available resources, Industry-based genres use the allure of performers to solicit large scale attention from both audiences and media. This increased

attention helps to perpetuate the idea that the tours, concerts, and performances of artists from Industry-based genres will be occasions that will last a life time, facilitating and complimenting the spectacle logic of Form A venues. The emphasis and value placed on the type of performance and the access to necessary resources to create a spectacle then become key features utilized by these venues to establish boundaries that emerge from within the organization itself.

The Art/Music Logic of Form B Venues

An art logic implies the Scene-based genre development, via Lena (2012). This logic works to build a community of like-minded artists and audiences, and an attunement to the current status of the genre, especially what has been established, what is considered cutting edge, and what areas deserve the most attention from both the media and audience members. Lena (2012) notes that within Scene-based genres, the neighbourhoods that scene's typically emerge from, work to "nurture the scene and the lifestyle growing around it by fostering constant interaction among scenesters." (45). These neighbourhoods tend to include a number of supportive local business, such as; coffee shops, clubs, bars, venues, records stores, small recording studios and independent record labels. Lena (2012) notes that often scene members become business entrepreneurs, acting as band managers, club owners, and promoters. Furthermore, she notes that support venue owners offer opportunities for live performance for scene artists.

The components of an art logic and the Scene-based genre complement one another well and include such factors as: spaces being open more often, discussions of musical styles and newness, attention to the specific attributes of genre development (ex.

Promotion, frequency of events, emerging styles, and invested participants to help garner more attention from media and community members), as well as the high turnover of artists from different musical styles, but who belong to the same musical communities or genres (Lena 2012). Furthermore it is in these venues where Scene-based genre members will gain the greatest opportunity to network with other artists, as well as key industry players, recruiters, and media personnel, which is facilitated by the venue form's promotional strategy and geographical location in the downtown core. As various scholars have noted these network connections can be invaluable for individuals looking to expand or become more mobile when negotiating their situational positions (Small 2009; Craig and Dubois 2010). Venues following an art/music logic strive to do exactly this and cater to the development of Scene-based genres, this can be seen in their promotional techniques used across online platforms.

The Entertainment Logic and Form C Venues

An entertainment logic works in a way that almost erases, or completely minimizes the musical act. This logic emphasizes providing audiences with a good time with one another in a comfortable space, placing the musician and their performance in the background. The specific components of this logic include – little to no promotion of events or artists, booking mostly cover bands and singer songwriter artists, ambiance and background music, small spaces, and only occasionally hosting live music acts. These components were clearly seen above in the analysis the discursive strategies and promotional practices of these venues.

My analysis builds upon the insights of Lena (2012) to show that venues have an important role to play in the development of music scenes, not only as a physical spaces for performance but as institutional players in setting the rules for what music can play in which venue and establishing boundaries between different types of musical performance. It is through these promotional practices utilized by each venue form that I am able to begin to hypothesize about the boundaries that may emerge around each venue form and what implications these boundaries may have in shaping the music scene and the distribution of artists within it. The focus on boundaries and the effect these have on musicians within the music scene is addressed in the following chapter.

However before moving on to address the boundaries between venue forms and logics, there are some interesting findings here that deserve more attention, specifically how Form C venues seem to straddle two competing venue logics. In discussing the form and logic of Form C venues it was shown that some of the venues in this category, a relatively small number of venues in this form but also those with the highest frequency of hosted shows, tended to use promotional tactics that are more closely aligned with the arts logic more commonly associated with Form B venues. The majority of the Form C venues, however, were more likely to follow the entertainment logic which is more closely associated with their organizational form. However, the outliers of Form C require greater discussion, to which I would like to offer two theoretical points of discussion.

Mimetic Isomorphism of Live Music Venue Identity and Form.

The outlying Form C venues, who host a high frequency of musical events, using the promotional techniques of the art/music logic which is more closely aligned with

Form B venues is suggestive of the process of mimetic isomorphism as detailed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). This mimetic process is characterized by an organizations attempt to reduce uncertainty by modelling themselves on other organizations within their field whom are viewed as being more legitimate or of higher status than the organization performing the mimetic techniques (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). The process of modelling as used by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) “serves as a convenient source of practices that the borrowing organization may use” (151) commonly unbeknownst to the organization that is being modelled. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) describe that models may be transferred through employees or other organizations. The authors note that the wider the population of employees or customers served by the organization often exerts a higher amount of pressure for this organization to provide the services or products provided by other organizations within their field (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Suggesting that the dual use of logics seen among Form C venues is due to the mimetic processes of these outlying venues. In other words, the venues in Form C, hosting many shows, and more closely following the art logic of Form B venues may be trying to change their organizational identity by adopting promotional practices that are more closely aligned to Form B venues. In this regard, these outlying Form C venues may be trying to either increase their organizational status or legitimation within the music scene.

Hsu and Hannan (2005) discuss that the use of multiple logics among an organizational form is deserving of greater attention. They note that this coexistence of multiple logics of practice may actually allow for interested audiences to notice new organization forms (Scott et al. 2000; Stark 2006). Due to the possible emergence of a

new organizational form, Hsu and Hannan (2005) reiterate the importance in understanding organizational identities in delineating organizational forms, stressing the understanding the diversity of these identities is important especially considering the emphasis on conformity that is stressed through ecological and neo-institutional approaches to organizations. So, before defaulting to the above process of isomorphism, Hsu and Hannan (2005) stress ensuring that an organizational identity is fully and completely understood. With respects to the variance among the logics of practice seen among Form C venues, it would first be worthy to investigate further the identities of these outlier venues by interviewing key audiences both within and outside of the organization such as patrons, musicians, bookers, employees, and media. Doing so would provide insight to be able to claim if these venues are in fact more in line with Form B or Form C venues, or if they are indicative of a hybrid organizational form that was not fully conceptualized here given my sample of venues.

Given the minor exceptions just discussed, this chapter has shown that the venue types identified in *Chapter 2* are actually more accurately represented as organizational forms governed by varying venue logics, via their discursive strategies and promotional practices. By identifying the unique forms and logics that capture the venues within the Hamilton music scene this provides grounds for the logical expectations that there are also boundaries that are created and maintained between these venue forms. These boundaries are part and parcel to the identification to distinct forms and the governance by individual logics (Hsu and Hannan 2005). These individual forms clearly indicate that there are organizational boundaries that emerge between the venue forms but it is of

further sociological interest to explore the role of these boundaries among venue forms in more depth. For example, how do these venue form boundaries change the distribution of artists within the music scene? Especially as it relates to key social distinctions such as gender. Gender is of particular interest here do to the long standing history of gender inequality that has been persisting in the music industry for decades, and even more so among rock music, which has long been prominent in the Hamilton music scene. The following chapter explores this line of inquiry to see how venue forms and logics lead to the creation and maintenance of boundaries, and how these boundaries shape a music scene and the distribution of artists within.

Chapter 4: Venue Logics and Gendered Artist Distribution of Music Scenes

Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated that different forms of live music venues operate under unique logics that i) influence their presentation of self to the public, and ii) the type of events booked in their spaces. Now that I have shown that venues cluster together around particular venue forms, whom operate under similar logics, it is worth considering if there are gender disparities between the acts booked into each venue form within the city of Hamilton. Specifically do certain venue logics favour men or women performers? Gender was chosen as the vector of inequality to be examined throughout this chapter due to the long standing gendered nature of music, especially rock music, and within the music industry as a whole. For example, Schmutz (2009) analyzed newspaper coverage of artists in four nations over a 50 year time period and highlights that women continually receive less coverage than men. Rock music in particular, has a long history of being notoriously in favour of men and masculine traits (Coates 1997; Clawson 1993, 1999). Even more interesting is to explore whether these gendered practices are reaffirmed through venues that span from industry level superstars to local performers, and ‘entertainers’.

In order to answer these questions, I collected data on the event listings of all available venues within the city of Hamilton for the year 2013. Data was collected from this year as it represents the most stable year within the time frame of 2009- 2014. It is a year after a number of new venues within the city had opened and represents an accurate depiction of the city wide shift to investing in the arts and music. The event listings data were gathered and cross checked from a variety of publically available sources including;

The View, a local weekly circular, venue websites, Facebook event listings, and websites such as setlist.fm. Once the listings were collected, I then inputted them into a dataset that indicated when the event took place, what venue it was at, the venue form and logic, and who was playing. I hand-coded each performer for each event for whether they were in a band or a solo artist, and the gender of each contributing member into the categories of man, woman, or mixed. I completed the coding of artist and gender configuration by searching the bands websites or Facebook profiles to analyze band profiles and pictures to designate the appropriate code for both the performance type and gender make up of each act. Once this data collection and coding was complete I was then able to run chi-square tests to see if there was in fact a relationship among the variable of gender, venue form, and artist composition. I find that venue forms and logics do play a role the gender distribution of artists within a local scene, favouring bands and solo artists comprised of men over those made up of women. This finding indicates that while gender is absent from venue logics, there is still a structural level perpetuation of gender inequality that infiltrates into music scenes.

Literature Review

Music and scene literature has addressed live music venues (for example see Cohen 1991; Johnson and Homan 2003; O’Conner 2002; Straw 2005; Grenier and Lussier 2013; Behr, Brennan, Cloonan 2014) but these accounts often focus on an in depth qualitative analysis of one specific venue or type of venue, for example Grenier and Lussier’s (2013) account of constructing small venues in Montreal. Beyond addressing venues specifically, scene literature has focused on exploring a specific musical style and

the people involved within specified locations (examples include Cohen 1991, 1997; Shank 1994; Mitchell 1996; Bennet 2000; Bennet and Peterson 2004; Stalh 2004; Spring 2004; Grazian 2003). However, this type of analysis ends up masking the venues themselves and how, or if, they contribute to gendered boundaries among the different venue forms within a city. Some scene literature has added to the discussion of boundaries in music; such as Grazian's (2003) account of how authenticity in blues music is defined, and how these definition are constrained by racial boundaries, or how Cohen (1991) makes note of the gendered boundaries that are drawn around authentic forms of creativity in Liverpool. However, it has not addressed how venues themselves actively contribute to gendered boundaries through their organizational form and logic. While scene literature is detail rich, and has been fruitful in discovering how venues can shape audience experiences (take Funarow 1997 for example), this type of analysis does not allow for claims to be made across different types of venues. The analysis that follows provides an organizational inter-venue point of view of boundaries among live music venues within a local scene.

The Study of Boundaries

To this degree, there is utility in thinking of the different organizational forms of live music venues as occupying different market categories. Hannan, Polos, and Carroll's (2007) work emphasizes the role and importance that audiences have in both authorizing and legitimating organizational identities. Furthermore, they argue that the various social identities of organizations are correlated to audience expectations of category membership, in addition to more individual considerations of unique histories and

organizational traditions (Hannan et al. 2007). Often, venues become categorized on the basis of the style of music they promote. However, the venues included in this study span across categories of types of establishments, and while all are treated as venues here, some can also be largely characterized as a bar, pub, or restaurant. These types of categorizations changes how audiences view each space, and how venues promote themselves across various forms of digital media.

Spanning across different market categories aides in the blurring of organizational and symbolic boundaries that exists among different forms and logics of venues. Hannan et al., (2007) support this noting that it is often more useful to think of organizational identities as a gradient of membership, or as fuzzy categories, rather than as fixed or completely fluid identities. By doing so this allows researchers to think about the gradient of membership, or fit of an object to the expectations that audiences have for a certain category, and the attributes that follow (Hannan et al. 2007).

Hannan et al., (2007) show, using psychological research, that audiences use two principles to help them make sense of multiple categories; the principle of certainty, and the principle of representativeness. The principle of certainty refers to the probability of one category membership as compared to other categories, where the principle of representativeness refers how typical features align with features of the focal category (Hannan et al. 2007). Research has shown that when asked to assign organizations to categories people engage with both principles, however when they are asked to make inductions about market categorization people tend to emphasize representativeness. This

emphasis on representativeness leads audiences to simplify the identities of organizations whose features fall into multiple categories (Hannan et al. 2007). Therefore, as venues are promoting themselves across digital platforms, those who have features of more typical bars, pubs, or restaurants need to work harder to present themselves as a place to see live musical performances, and to have audiences confirm these identities. In other words, venues whose organizational form is not dominant by typical qualities of live music venues must work harder to fit this market category in the eyes of their audiences, blurring the boundaries surrounding the organizational forms of venues.

Lamont's work on structural and symbolic boundaries provides a useful set of tools that will aid in explaining how different venue forms and logics operate within the same city. Her theorizing on boundaries also helps to inform why distinct logics may be seen among various venue forms. Therefore it is important to understand the basic concepts of her theory of boundaries.

Lamont and Molnar (2002) define symbolic boundaries as the “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality.” (168). Lamont and Molnar (2002) express that by examining symbolic boundaries researchers are able to capture many important social processes and relations “as groups compete in the production, diffusion, and institutionalization of alternative systems and principles of classification.” (168). The boundaries that become established, not only create schisms among groups of people, but

they are utilized as an “essential medium through which people acquire status and monopolize resources.” (168). Once there is a generalized consensus on the existence of a particular symbolic boundary it becomes solidified as a social boundary such as gender, race, or class.

Studies of ‘boundary work’ have highlighted how boundaries can be shaped and maintained by the cultural tools and resources individuals have access to (see Lamont 2000; Somers 1994; Swidler 2001). Similarly many scholars have focused on ‘boundary maintenance’ or how groups work to maintain differences among groups, which also includes their access to resources. Many scholars in the field of the sociology of culture have utilized the concept of boundaries to assess aesthetic boundaries and investigate the categorization of genres, consecration, and claims of legitimacy and authenticity. For example Baumann’s (2007) work on the changes in the Hollywood film industry is particularly useful for considering the context and effect of institutional constraints, and how boundaries are spanned, crossed or hybridized. Velthuis (2005) shows how legitimacy is constructed through the interactions among artists and gallery owners by highlighting how classification influences the assessment of economic value. Whereas Chong (2011) shows how boundaries are created around the value of literary fiction along the basis of authors’ race and ethnicity to account for authenticity, classify ethnic genres, and assess international literary talent.

Work within the sociology of culture that focuses on how institutions and organizations help to create or solidify symbolic boundaries is fundamental to my own

research that explores how venues as organizational forms, operating under different venue logics which span various market categories and musical communities, engage in boundary-work. A major difference, however, is that my work moves away from cultural production and reception, and rather focuses on how these organizations create boundaries that change the distribution of cultural producers and products, via where they perform. This chapter brings in the concept of gendered identities of bands and artists to the forefront explore the permeability of these boundaries, sustained by venues organizational forms and logics, to different types of performers. Specifically I explore if the seemingly gender neutral logics of live music venues, covertly also creates an unequal landscape for different forms of gendered bands and artists. Organizational literature has often highlighted how organizational processes may seem gender neutral on a surface level, but in fact they are actually embedded with very real inequalities that allow for participants to cross boundaries and enter into organizational forms of live music venues more easily.

Gender and Music

The gendered discrimination of women within the music industry at large has been persisting for decades where women have been consistently viewed as being lesser than the men in the industry. Bayton (1998) highlights that historically women were designated to be the vocalists in musical performance as it did not challenge the dominant masculinity of having technical proficiency or mastery over a physical instrument. Davies (2001) adds that singing was not seen as a threat to the dominant culture of masculinity in music because it was viewed as a natural physical ability rather than a special talent

(Clawson 1993). Davies (2001) goes on to illustrate that men were, and still are, the gatekeepers to the music industry. Men predominantly occupy the roles of music journalists and critics leaving them with the power to create and shape historical records (Davies 2001; Coates 1997). Not to mention that during the earlier years of music scholarship, the 1970s and 1980s, the focus was on men and their contributions primarily because they comprised the majority of the industry (Groce & Cooper 1990). Dowd et al. (2005) and Katovich & Makowski (1999) do note however that girl groups became more prevalent in the 1960s but received little fame, and tended to be stereotypically stylized as overly feminine. More women began to enter into music with the advent of punk, partially because the focus on do-it-yourself (DIY) and amateurism was seen to be appealing to a number of women who may have previously felt they were less than capable of creating and performing music (Bayton 1998; Moran 2010; Mullaney 2007; O'Meara 2003).

Research on music and gender has highlighted how pervasive gendered inequalities existent in society infiltrate and effect all aspects of musical life. Understanding the relation of music and gender highlights how women are continually seen as being lesser than their male counterparts in almost every area of the industry at large, and even more so within rock music culture. As noted before, music in Hamilton is deeply embedded in the rock persuasion, and due to this it becomes interesting to see how the gendered boundaries among venue forms distribute artists within the music scene. Clawson (1999) has illustrated that women in rock music have continually been viewed as having less knowledge, and technical capabilities than men, and these pervasive

gendered understandings have led to women in bands being designated, most often, to the electric bass player, or the lead singer (Clawson, 1993). Clawson (1999) highlights that the bass is often viewed as being less complicated than the guitar and the drums, and when on stage the bassist often stands out of the limelight. The values about this instrument confer to those who play this instrument and for these reasons men often feel more comfortable allowing a woman into their band if she plays bass (Clawson, 1999). In short, a woman on bass does not challenge the dominant masculinity of music in the same way that a woman playing guitar would. Adding to the subordinate position of women in rock bands, Groce & Cooper (1990) discuss how women are often viewed by other musicians and fans as being an oddity for being a rock drummer or guitarist, or are interrogated to prove their knowledge and proficiency of their instrument.

Beyond being an active member in musical performance research has also highlighted how women face discrimination as rock music fans and audiences. McRobbie and Garber (1976) illustrated how young girls were often not viewed as music fans in the same regard as boys, since they were absent from the more public spaces considered to house music fans. However, McRobbie and Garber (1976) show that rather than not being music fans, young girls, due to the restrictions placed on them do to their gender, expressed their musical fandom in their bedrooms. Cohen (1991) explored the absence of women in rock culture in Liverpool highlighting the various ways women were viewed by men in the industry as either a threat or an intruder. Cohen (1991) illustrated that women in bands were continually mistaken for being girlfriends of male band members, or 'groupies' (Groce & Cooper 1990; Leonard 2007), that women who were performing

were granted less status than men (Chapple & Garofalo 1977; Frith 1981; Schmutz & Faupel 2010), and that rather than being seen as a crucial component to the creation and performance of music women were viewed as appendages to their male counterparts.

Research on music and gender has highlighted that women face inequality in a number of meaningful ways when it comes to participation in music, especially rock music. Whether being a fan, performing on stage, playing an instrument, or gaining recognition within the industry, women in music are continually faced with outdated and stereotypical notions of what a woman's role in music is and how she should participate. The insightful knowledge gained through this work has led to me to consider if the organizational properties and logics of live music venues also play a part in perpetuating the inequality of women's participation and experiences in a music scene that has deep roots in rock music.

1.1-Gender Inequality and the Music Industry

Sociological research has long been interested in understanding the gender discrepancies and inequalities within the creative industries, including the realm of music. Many sociologists and feminists have asked questions about women's role in the often masculinized realm of music, especially rock and roll. Some studies have focused on women's role as music fans (McRobbie and Garber 1976; Cohen 1991); as music connoisseurs or record collectors (Straw 1997); as instrumentalists (Clawson 1999; DeNora 1997); as recording artists (Coates 1997; Dowd et al. 2005; Schmutz 2009); while others have focused on female centred factions of music subcultures or genres

(LeBlanc 1999; Schippers 2002); or what genres are seen as being more feminine (Wald 1998; Bayton 1998; McRobbie and Garber 1976). What many of these studies have found is that women in music, like many other areas of social life, have been systematically subordinated to the role of men. Furthermore, much of this subordination is done through not only just the actions others involved in the creation of music, but also through the various structural institutions that help perpetuate the music industry, such as record labels, radio stations, and newspapers. Therefore I expect that my data will also represent this broad general trend of gender inequality within the music industry.

H1: Expect to see a higher proportion of men, as both bands and solo performers, than women.

1.2- Gender and Artist Configuration

In addition to the industry wide experiences of gendered inequality, women who do actively participate in the creation of music, especially rock music, have faced continued discrimination. Clawson (1999) notes that when women do take on instrumental roles within rock bands are often electric bass players, as this instrument has been deemed by men as being less prestigious and complex in comparison to the guitar and drums. Recent news articles have also expressed the sentiment that women musicians are consistently being undermined as performers and recording artists. Due to the high levels of discrimination and stereotypes women face performing in a band it is logical that women may then defer to being a solo performers to try and mitigate some of these unwelcoming circumstances.

H2: Expect to see more women performing as solo artists than in a band configurations.

1.3- Venue Logics, Gender, and Artist Configuration

In the previous chapter, I illustrated that each venue form operated under unique organizing venue logics. These logics illustrate the expected experiences within each venue form, highlighting what it has to offer, what performers are likely to be booked there, and what type of a live musical experience audiences can expect. I illustrated three venue logics evident in the Hamilton music scene; the spectacle logic, the art logic, and the entertainment logic. Given the understandings of each of these logics we can expect different experiences in venues that are organized by these varying logics. I suggested in *Chapter 3* that is likely that boundaries are produced at the intersection of varying venue logics and forms, boundaries that would make it harder for certain musical acts to cross and easier for others. For example within spectacle logic venues, where internationally recognized and renowned superstars perform, gender may be less of a factor given the level of success it takes to be booked into these venues. However, if it is true that women are more likely to be solo performers, than we can expect a relatively equal level of gender representation within spectacle venues, but with women occurring more as solo artists in comparison to men.

H3: In spectacle logic venues it is expected to see a more even representation of men and women, but women more likely appearing as a solo performers than in bands.

In comparison, following the art logic of venues and the emphasis on supporting local talent and very active promotion strategies, we could expect that within these venues there would be no reason for there to be an unequal representation of both solo performers and bands. Furthermore, it is logical to expect that within these venues we could expect to see the highest representation of women, in either bands or as solo artists, as these venues purport to be the most supportive of actors participating in the local scene.

H4: In arts logic venues it is expected that the bookings will be equally representative of both men and women, and that there will be a higher prevalence of women in this type of venue, regardless of whether they are solo performers or in a band.

Finally, given the entertainment logic we may expect to see more solo performers in these spaces do to the limited space in these venues. In addition, if women are more commonly solo artists then we can expect to see more women performing in venues operating under an entertainment logic.

H5: In entertainment logics venues it is expected that there will be a higher prevalence of solo performers, and in turn more women performing.

Data and Methods

Building upon the classification of venue forms and logics discussed in the previous chapters, this chapter looks at a sample of the event listings among the various forms of venues within Hamilton ON in the year 2013, providing an inter-venue point of

view of the distribution of artists, at varying industry levels, throughout a music scene. My sample of event listings data was compiled by hand by consulting event listings from venue websites, venue Facebook listings, and event listing from the weekly circular *The View*. I then cross checked the listing offered from each source against one another to ensure validity. My sample captures event listing from each venue form and logic; spectacle, art, or entertainment, over the course of a year. While many venues offered open mic/open stage nights, these events have been excluded from this analysis, as there is no record of who played at these events, and consequently no way to capture the gender composition or the artist configuration of the performers at these events.

My event listings sample considered all bands who were booked to play on a specific night capturing a more holistic view of all the musicians that play in venues rather than just the headlining acts. Once the data were gathered I then coded the event listings for identification of venue form, performance type (solo/band) and the gendered composition of each performer. When coding for performance type, the solo code was applied to any individual performer, even those who were accompanied with a supporting band. So, for example, if the event listing just named the one individual then they were coded as a solo act (for example, Mother Tareka). If however, the listing specifically stated the individuals name along with the band's name then they were coded as a band (for example, Mother Tareka and the Rebel Function). This decision was made on the fact that a number of musical artists are engaged in both solo work, and participation in a band, and that these are two distinct forms of musical production. Furthermore, some artists have a band name but are a solo artist, these logically are coded as solo artists. This

was especially prevalent among many DJs and EDM musicians, whom have a very strong presence within the Hamilton music scene (Baulcomb 2016). In addition, if two individual performers were booked together but did not identify as a band then they were also coded as solo performers (for example, John Smith and Jane Doe).

I hand coded the gender of artists through both a name and picture analysis by searching for the bands and solo artists on a variety of online sources including: the original event listings, band websites, Facebook profiles, twitter accounts, bandcamp pages, fan websites, YouTube videos, Wikipedia pages, and blogs focused on Hamilton musicians. Utilizing a variety of sources for each band gives me confidence in not only the applied gender code, but also, validity that I am in fact looking at the right band who performed. The last point is especially important as, not surprisingly, there are a multitude of bands who share the same name, especially among those with relatively little recognition or renown outside of the local scene. Any band profile that could not be found was treated as a missing data value. All performing artists and bands were coded for gender composition under the following gender categories: all-men, all-women, mixed. The all-men code captures bands that are comprised of all men, and also to any solo male performers. Similarly the all-women code captures bands comprised of all women, and any female solo performers. The mixed category was applied to any band that had one or more woman in the band, capturing bands that had female lead singers, and any band that may have had 2 or more women in the band as well. In most cases the band websites or profiles clearly stated each member's role in the band. In many cases the gender of each

member was compiled through both a name and picture analysis again adding validity to the applied codes.

Before moving on I want to offer the following caveat considering the gender coding I've done in this chapter. I realize this way of accounting for gender does not account for gender fluidity or non-binary representations of gender, but it does allow for the broad social pattern of gendered movement across organizational and symbolic boundaries of music venues to be exposed. It is not my intention to impose a gendered identity on anyone, nor am I dismissing the importance of analyzing the experiences of non-conforming, non-binary artists or musicians. This type of detailed micro-level analysis of gender simply falls outside the scope and focus of this particular research. That being said research on the experiences of non-binary musicians is an under-represented area of research that deserves continued attention.

In order to explore the coded event listings data for Hamilton during the year 2013, I employed a number of methodological strategies to answer the aforementioned hypotheses. After compiling this data set in an excel sheet which indicated the venue name, venue type, date, artists' name, and gender code, I utilized Excel pivot tables to begin exploring my data and any general trends that may be evident within it. As stated earlier I am interested in looking at the gender composition of artists, specifically looking at differences in artist configurations (solo or band) and bookings between the venue forms, in order to provide insight on how musical artists are distributed among live music venues. I used the pivot table function in Excel to explore the basic differences among

gender categories of the whole sample, differences among male and female solo artists and bands, the gender distribution among the three venue forms and logics (as previously shown and discussed in *Chapter 3*), and the distribution of gendered solo artists and bands, within each venue form. After looking at the raw data compiled into each pivot table, I then employed the Chi-squared test to see if there was in fact an association between these categorical variables. The Chi-square tests to see if the observed and expected frequency mismatch is attributable to chance alone. In other words the Chi-square tests against the standard null hypothesis that the two variables are independent, or have no relationship. While the Chi-square tests the bivariate relationship, it does not hold constant other factors that may contribute to the gendered inequality among venue forms.

Findings

Throughout this analysis I will highlight how gender interacts with venue forms. More specifically, I am interested in exploring if venue forms and their corresponding logics are associated to the gender distribution of artists within a local music scene. In order to explore this focus it is first important to explore some of the broader gendered trends seen in this data. Each stage of this analysis highlights important insights on how the social construction of gender effects the distribution of musical artists in a music scene, specifically in relation with overarching venue forms and logics. I will first explore the basic gender differences within my sample, before turning to then look at the relationship between gender and artist configuration, and venue form. Finally I will focus on the relation of gender in conjunction with both venue form and artist configuration together.

3.1 – Gender Inequality in the Local Scene

The first step in this analysis is to determine the extent of gender inequality of performing artists within the Hamilton music scene over the course of 2013.

Table 1 - Basic Gender Differences of Hamilton Artists performing in 2013

	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>		<i>Mixed</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Artists (both solo & bands)</i>	2267	78.3	205	7	425	14.7	2897	100

Table 1 above illustrates the basic gender differences among all the performing men and women within my sample, regardless of the venues they played in, or their artistic configurations. The results from this table directly address **H1**: that there would be higher proportion of men actively performing in the local music scene. What is most interesting from these basic differences is the clear prevalence of men in the music scene before taking into account any other factor. This finding however is not surprising as literature on music and gender has illustrated the dominance of men in music, especially rock music, for quite some time (for example, McRobbie and Garber 1976; Cohen, 1991), and the history and embeddedness of the Hamilton music scene in rock culture and music. All women bands or solo performers, when compared to mixed gender or all men categories, are the least represented type of performers within this local music scene. These findings are quite similar those of recent news articles that have begun to look at the gender discrepancy of women on charts (Chapman and McCook 2017) or live music

performances in the UK (Larsson 2017). This gendered distribution of musical acts in the Hamilton music scene in 2013 matches the expected findings based on the research. However, it is interesting and important to explore this discrepancy on a deeper level.

3.2 – Gender and Artist Configuration

In order to further address the gendered inequality occurring in the local Hamilton music scene, it is important to assess the gender distribution of different types of artist configurations, specifically the differences among men and women in bands or as solo performers. Literature on this topic would suggest that we are likely to see men performing in bands, especially if these are rock bands. Whereas we are more likely to see more female solo performers (Bayton 1998; Davies 2001; DeNora 1997). The mixed category entirely is representative of mixed gender bands and therefore not illustrated in the table below. While it would be interesting to further examine the role of the women in each mixed band (ie. were they lead singers or what instrument they played) this detail falls outside the scope of my analysis.

Table 2 – Gender and Artist Configurations

<i>Band Type</i>	<i>All Men</i>		<i>All Women</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Solo</i>	666	29	180	88	846	100
<i>Band</i>	1601	71	25	12	1626	100
<i>Total</i>	2267	100	205	100	2472	100

Chi Square test p-value <0.01

As it can be seen from table 2 above, my findings of the gendered configuration of artists is in-line with the claims of the literature and support **H2**: that more women will perform as solos artists in comparison to performing in bands. While men still dominate the majority of performances throughout the local scene, it's shown that when women do perform they do so overwhelmingly as solo artists, rather than in bands comprised completely of women (p value <0.01). The results of this analysis indicate that there is a significant relationship between gender and artist configurations that is not likely to be due to chance. Now what becomes even more interesting is looking at how gender is distributed among different types of venues, and then how this changes or stays the same once we add in artist configuration. In other words, how do venue forms and logics facilitate the gendered distribution of artists in a music scene?

3.3 – Venue Logics, Gender and Artist Configuration

This section of my analysis focuses on looking at where men and women, of different artistic configurations, perform among the different venue logics of either spectacle, art, or entertainment within a music scene.

Table 3- Venue Form and Gender Distribution

<i>Venue Form</i>	<i>All Men</i>		<i>All Women</i>		<i>Mixed</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>A</i> <i>Spectacle</i>	17	70.8	5	21	2	8.2	24	100

B	1549	78.8	141	7.1	278	14.1	1968	100
<i>Art</i>								
C	701	77.5	59	6.5	145	16	905	100
<i>Entertainment</i>								
Grand Total	2267	78.3	205	7	425	14.7	2897	100
								<i>Chi Square test p value <0.04</i>

Table 3 highlights where each category of gendered artist was most likely to perform. For now I am just considering venue type and gender, bringing in artist configuration below. However, it is first important to look at what the data is showing based on the gender distribution among different venue type. Please keep in mind that these venue forms follow the classification of venues in the previous two chapters of this dissertation. While venue logics may appear to be a gender neutral organizational mechanism, the results of this analysis suggest that there may be a gendered ordering component to venue forms and logics. In other words, venue forms and logics may be one factor that contributes to the gendered distribution of performers in a music scene. Organizational literature on gender would support this claim, suggesting that very few organizational processes are gender neutral (Acker 1998).

Unsurprisingly, males continue to be the most common to perform among all venue forms. However, does this change when artist configuration is added back into the equation? In order to fully answer the above hypotheses (H₃-H₅) it is important to further explore the differences of gender and artist configuration throughout each venue form and

logic. Table 4 below show the counts of solo acts and band within each venue type in coordination with each gender category.

Table 3.1 – Gender distribution among venue type and artist configuration

<i>Venue Form</i>	<i>All M</i>		<i>All F</i>		<i>Mixed</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>A</i>	17	70.8	5	21	2	8.2	24	100
<i>Solo</i>	11	68.8	5	31.2	0	0	16	100
<i>Band</i>	6	75	0	0	2	25	8	100
<i>B</i>	1549	78.8	141	7.1	278	14.1	1968	100
<i>Solo</i>	438	78.8	117	21.2	0	0	556	100
<i>Band</i>	1111	78.6	24	1.7	278	19.7	1412	100
<i>C</i>	701	77.5	59	6.5	145	16	905	100
<i>Solo</i>	217	77.5	58	20.7	5	1.8	280	100
<i>Band</i>	484	77.4	1	0.2	140	22.4	625	100
<i>Grand Total</i>	2267	78.3	205	7	425	14.7	2897	100

Based on the theorizing provided in *Chapter 3*, it is expected that certain occurrences, especially artist configurations, are more likely within each venue form. As **H3** suggests, in form A or spectacle venues, where superstar performers take to the stage, it is likely that we would see more solo performers with an equal gendered distribution due to the level of prestige needed to be booked in these types of venues. However, as Table 3.1 shows above, while form A venues have a much higher percentage of solo performers, there is also a much higher prevalence of men performing within these

venues compared to women. **H4** expected that, among form B or art venues, a large number of bands would play in these spaces, as well as the gendered distribution to be equal within this venue form, due to the emphasis art venues have in supporting any and all local musicians. In form C, or entertainment venues, **H5** illustrates suggests that more solo performers would play these venues due to their limited capacity and technical capabilities, and as the literature suggests these solo performers are more likely to be women. However based on the findings presented in table 3.1 it is clear that there is not an equal gender distribution among entertainment venues, nor is there a higher prevalence of women. Rather as it is illustrated above, solo performers and bands comprised of men are booked to play in these spaces at a much higher frequency. In order to highlight the differences among gender and artists configuration between each type of venue and logic, below I present a breakdown of the gendered distribution of all male and all female performances within each type of venue for both solo acts and bands. By taking a closer, more detailed look, at the performers booking into each venue form, I am able to address each of the aforementioned hypotheses more directly.

3.3.1- Spectacle Venues’ Gender Distribution and Artists Configuration

This sections addresses the following hypothesis:

H3: In spectacle logic venues there will be a more even representation of men and women, but women more likely to appear as a solo performers than in bands.

Table 4.1- Spectacle venues performances

<i>Spectacle</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>Total</i>
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<i>Solo</i>	11	5	16
<i>Band</i>	6	0	6
<i>Total</i>	17	5	22

Table 4.1.1- Spectacle venue gender percentages

<i>Spectacle</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>% of M in Spectacle</i>	<i>% of M in Sample</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>% of F in Spectacle</i>	<i>% of F in Sample</i>
<i>A</i>	17	77.2	0.0075	5	22.7	2.44
<i>Solo</i>	11	50	0.0049	5	22.7	2.44
<i>Band</i>	6	27.2	0.0026	0	0	0

Chi-square test p value <0.05

As expected, spectacle venues have a much higher rate of solo performers compared to bands. However, what is most interesting is that despite the required status and prestige needed to be booked into these venues, there is still a gendered inequality among the performers. This suggests that despite the acclaimed status of these superstar performers, men are still more likely to enter into and be booked into these spectacle venues. In addition women who are booked to play in spectacle venues are more likely to be solo women performers, rather than a band comprised of entirely women. This suggests that the boundaries that emerge between different venue forms and logics, not only expect different types of performances from the artists they book, but that logics while seeming gender neutral, may also work to perpetuate the gender distribution and inequality present in local music scenes.

3.3.2- Art Venues’ Gender Distribution and Artists Configuration

The below discussion of arts venues takes up the following hypothesis:

H4: In arts logic venues bookings will be equally representative of both men and women, and that there will be a higher prevalence of women in this type of venue, regardless of whether they are solo performers or in a band.

Table 4.2- Art venue performances

<i>Art</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Solo</i>	438	117	555
<i>Band</i>	1111	23	1134
<i>Total</i>	1549	140	1689

Table 4.2.1 – Art venue gender percentages

<i>Art</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>% of M in Art</i>	<i>% of M in Sample</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>% of F in Art</i>	<i>% of F in Sample</i>
<i>B</i>	1549	91.7	68.33	140	8.3	68.29
<i>Solo</i>	438	25.9	19.32	117	6.9	57.07
<i>Band</i>	1111	65.8	49.00	23	1.4	11.22

Chi-square test p value < 0.01

From both tables 4.2 and 4.2.1 above, the gender discrepancy between male and female artists in art type venues is highly evident. Furthermore, it is seen that many of the performances (roughly 2/3s) within art venues is by bands which is to be expected given the logic of these venues. However the extreme gendered discrepancy between the types

of bands performing cannot be predicted from the logic alone. In addition, it is shown that surprisingly men are even more prevalent as solo performers within this venue type running counter to what would be expected from the literature on music and gender. However, while the gendered distribution between men and women musicians is not equal, art venue forms and logics are the most likely of all venues to book women performers, whether they be in bands or solo artists, with over half of the women in my sample performing in some way in art type venues.

3.3.3- Entertainment Venues' Gender Distribution and Artists Configuration

The presentation of findings below addresses the following hypothesis:

H5: In entertainment logics venues it is expected that there will be a higher prevalence of solo performers, and in turn more women performing

Table 4.3- Entertainment venue performances

<i>Entertain</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Solo</i>	217	58	275
<i>Band</i>	484	1	485
<i>Total</i>	701	59	760

Table 4.3.1- Entertainment venue gendered percentages

<i>Entertain</i>	<i>All M</i>	<i>% of M in Entertain</i>	<i>% of M in Sample</i>	<i>All F</i>	<i>% of F in Entertain</i>	<i>% of F in Sample</i>
<i>A</i>	701	92.2	30.92	59	7.7	28.78
<i>Solo</i>	217	28.6	9.57	58	7.6	28.29
<i>Band</i>	484	63.7	21.35	1	0.1	0.48

Chi-square test p value < 0.01

Given the logic of entertainment venues we would expect to see a higher rates of solo performers in entertainment venues, however as is seen in tables 4.3 and 4.3.1 above this is not the case, as a large percentage of performances in these venues is by bands. Furthermore, also contrary to what would be expected, we can see a much higher frequency of male solo performers in these venues when compared to their female counterparts. The findings here illustrate that the covert gendered organizing principle that is embedded in venue logics. That while appearing to be gender neutral there is a gender inequality present in the types of performers and bands booked into play each of these venues.

Discussion

The focus of this chapter and the resulting analysis was to explore if venue logics correlated the gendered distribution of artists within a local music scene. The literature on gender and music would predict that there will be more men involved in the music scene, especially in bands, than women, whom are more likely to perform as solo artists. My findings are in line with these claims and this was an expected and unsurprising outcome. What is most interesting from this analysis is the illustration that venue logics may appear to be gender neutral on the surface, but may in fact be suggestive of a gendered organizing mechanism, which could effect the distribution of different types of artists within a music scene. For example, within spectacle venue forms it would be logical to expect an equal gendered distribution of the performing superstars due to the level of prestige needed to be booked into these spaces, however this still requires further empirical investigation. While the spectacle logic appears as a gender neutral organizing

process, as shown in *Chapter 3*, my findings illustrate that even at the level of being a world famous musicians there is still a prevalent gender inequality. This suggests that while it is known that women are underrepresented in the music industry at large, they may be further discriminated against when booked in venues, despite being at the height of their careers. This means that within any local music scene, despite the success of the artists, spectacle logic venues are still more likely to book solo performers or band comprised of entirely men. Illustrating that despite conforming to the expectations of the venue logic, men are more likely to perform in spectacle venues than women.

Art venue forms logic at first appeared to be a gender neutral organizing principle as well, as they emphasized the importance of booking and hosting local performance artists. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, despite the fact that most women who do create music perform in these venues, there is still and unequal representations of both of these venues. This however may be due to the fact that there are less women in general represented in music. This suggests that art venues are the most likely venue to, at least attempt to, bring forth an equal representation of men and women musicians. This type of gendered distribution of musicians among venues then plays an important role in shaping local music scenes. For example, in scenes with very few art venue forms it is surmisable that women would be even further excluded from musical participation within their local scene by being restricted in gaining access to venues to perform in. This illustrates how the structural and organizational components of music scenes, such as venues, play an important role in shaping the producers and types of culture products offered.

The findings for entertainment venues were more likely to book bands of all men, running counter the expected outcomes given the venues' form and logic that would suggest a higher rate of solo performers being booked to play in these spaces. While about a third of all performances taking place in entertainment venues were by solo performers, and overwhelming percentage of those solo artists were men. Here again, the continued gendered distribution of artists within a music scene is evident. While the literature suggests that women are more likely to be solo artists, they remain to be excluded from the venues who promote themselves in a way that seems to be the best place for these performances to occur. This further illustrates the covert and latent gendered function occurring at a structural level within music scenes.

Based on the findings present within this chapter it would be interesting to further examine the gendered distributive effect of live music venues in other cities, who may either have more or less of the three venue forms. It is logical to conjecture that the shape of scenes and the gender distribution of musicians within them fluctuate given the availability of structural components of the music scene. Furthermore, further research into venues would benefit from taking a closer look at how the promoted expectations of live music performances are carried out in practice by venue bookers and promoters. This would add further insight into how venues contribute to the shape and gendered distribution of artists within local music scenes. The findings presented open up many new avenues of future research to explore how venue types and logics construct cultural and symbolic boundaries around other categories such as race, genre, sexuality and so

forth. It is likely that the venue logics, that are seemingly neutral organizing principles, are in fact systematically creating an unequal distribution of artists within music scenes.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion Chapter

Drawing on insights from the sociology of culture, my dissertation demonstrates that structure - including the physical facilities and venues - is an important dimension in which music can be performed in a given city or town. These spaces are finite, and though they change somewhat over time, at any given point in time, these venues form constraints around the musical (and other cultural) performances. I investigate the structural and institutional aspects of the constraints that venues place on music performance, as well as the inequalities that venues reflect and contribute to in music performance.

The sociological contributions of this dissertation highlight how live music venues, through their structure and institutional roles, play a part in organizing local music scenes. To show how venues accomplish this I developed a categorization scheme of venue types to illustrate how these types cluster around a shared set of organizational characteristics. From here I was then able to explore if these venue types further shared organizational identities and overarching logics. Upon identifying that venues cluster around shared organizational characteristics and identities, in addition to governing logics, I then hypothesized that the cluster establish boundaries between them that have very real consequences for the performers accessing these spaces. By analyzing data and event listings from all the venues I was able to show that each venue form and logic contributes to gender inequality within the music scene, along the lines of gender and artistic composition (solo/band). Taken together the findings of this dissertation illustrate that live music venues matter. Venues contribute to the social organization of musical

performers, and music scenes as a whole. They should not be thought of as static entities that simply house musical performance, but rather as dynamic and influential players within music scenes.

First, I highlight the structural landscape of venues, illustrating that they exist in variation within music scenes, by not only having different organizational characteristics but by also fulfilling different roles within music scenes. I show that venues are understood best as grouped into categories or types, as they exist in variation within the overarching category of live music venue. They are organized in such a way that venues within categories are similar to each other, while the characteristics shared between categories are fewer. These venue types represents the physical infrastructure of a music scene, but also governs the access of music performers to performance spaces.

Bands/performers of a given type, with a following of a given size, are more likely to have access to one type of venue than others, and they are likely to have access to numerous venues in that category, but none in the other categories. I argue that venues are an important part of the structured nature of music scenes, and sociologists who are interested in the structure of cultural production should pay attention to venues as an important organizing principle of performance.

I then illustrate the institutional role of each live music form. I first highlight that the venue types are actually more accurately represented as organizational forms, through assessing the salient language used among each type to garner the venues organizational identities. I further show that the venue types that I identify differ not only by physical

characteristics, and organizational identities, but also by their institutional dimensions, specifically by the organizing logics. In revealing the institutional logics of each category of venues, I reveal the hidden norms of music performance that govern the actions of those within venues, booking venues, and performing in venues. Like the structural features of performance spaces, the institutional dimensions also govern which bands/performers have access to which spaces. In this case, the cultural capital, as well as the social capital, of performers, managers and booking agents becomes an important feature of where bands can perform. They must know the institutional logic—either consciously or instinctively—and present themselves as consistent with the appropriate logic to access the space. Furthermore the identification of these unique venue forms and logics illustrates, via institutional understandings of organizations that each venue form and logic helps to create and maintain boundaries. These boundaries are shaped not only through venues’ organizational characteristics, but also the discursive strategies and promotional practices used to distinguish what venues are similar or different. I argue that the institutional dimensions of the social organization of venues in a music scene is important, in addition to the physical dimensions.

Finally, I bring inequality into focus, exploring how diverging forms and logics of venues influence the performers participating within this music scene. Much work has been done to show that music scenes have inequalities embedded in them, I add to this highlighting how gender inequality is perpetuated through venue forms and logics at different levels within the music industry. I focus specifically on the social distinction of gender, not only due to the type of data available to me, but also because of the longevity

of rock music within the city of Hamilton, and the knowledge of the predominant gender inequality that exists within rock music culture. I show that gender inequality is not the same across all venue categories. Rather, the same structural features and institutional logics that I identify in earlier chapters govern access to venues for men differently than they do for women. One of the ways this happens is by preferring one type of performer to another (solo/band distinction). The gender inequality in access to bands, shown by others such as Mary Ann Clawson (1999), negatively affects women's access to venues, in addition to what looks like blatant inequality in the gender of performers that venues are willing to book. Women have much greater access to the most locally focused venues, relative to the venues that feature road bands and stars. This shows that, when considering the causes of gender inequality in music performance, the organizational form and institutional logics of venues as one source of inequality among many.

My dissertation suggests, and offers convincing evidence, that venues matter. The inter-venue point of view that I offer adds to scene studies by addressing how the landscape of live music venue forms influences, not only the type of live music performances likely to occur in a given music scene, but also how artists are distributed among different venue forms. This is important as it moves away from the typical way scene research addresses music scenes, rather than offering an in-depth ethnographic view of music scenes, my research pulls back to address how the entire landscape of music venues within a given location can shape a music scene, above and beyond the artists and audiences who may be involved. This methodological shift allows for this research to address how music scene infrastructure, specifically venues, makes it easier or harder for

different types of genre communities and performers to flourish in music scenes. I argue to fully see the structuring effect of venues on music scenes it is crucial to look across venue forms and logics.

The methodological and theoretical approach I have taken in this research draws attention to the structuring effects of venues on music scenes looking beyond the individual artists and audiences involved within; this approach brings new insight to scene studies. Furthermore my research provides an understanding to how different venue forms and logics compliment different genre communities, via Lena, and illustrates how based in the venue infrastructure different types of music scenes are more or less likely to flourish in a given location. Finally, my research illustrates that regardless of the genre community, the venues within a scene also works to perpetuate social inequalities, such as gender.

To further illustrate my point of the structuring influence of venues on music scenes consider the following examples within my case study city of Hamilton, ON. The relatively dense population of Form B/Art Logic venues, in the city's downtown core provides ample breeding grounds for Scene-based genres, via Lena's distinctions, to flourish. However, for sake of illustration consider how things would change if these Form B/Art Logic venues were minimal or absent from the city. Scene-based genre members would be forced to either perform in underground ad-hoc spaces or play in surrounding cities with the appropriate venue infrastructure that would support their music and attract the audiences who they wish to perform to. The absence of Form B

venues in any given location would limit the musical performances within a city to be limited to either superstar performers, given the presence of Form A venues, or sporadic live performances in bars and pubs, which are typically performed by solo singer-songwriters or acoustic performers. This would then require local artists or bands who did not fit into these venue forms or logics to take their live performances ‘underground’ or outside of their own city. While I do not intend to undermine the power of creative individuals to remedy the absence of needed performance spaces and work to create and establish the infrastructure necessary to facilitate their needs, my dissertation shows that without the required venue forms the development is either prolonged or stunted.

Given the historical importance of rock music within the city of Hamilton, the presence of Form B/Art Logic venues have proved to be instrumental in shaping the music scene and allowing the musical style that many musicians equate to the city to be supported and flourish. As Baulcomb (2016) notes it was the action and promotion of Form B venues (e.g., the Underground and Absinthe) that helped to respark the Hamilton music scene in the early 2000’s with their success ultimately leading for other Form B venues to be established and providing space for local Hamilton artists who fall within a Scene-based genre to perform with and for other like-minded individuals.

Discussing the influence of yet another Form B, Absinthe, Baulcomb (2016) states the following, “It was hot. It was sticky. It was dirty. It was undeniably Hamilton.” (70). He further describes the influence of this venue for the local music scene stating, “formerly known as the Hudson. The old blues and hard rock bar had been shuttered for

roughly 18 months. Lubardo set about rebranding the murky hall for a new generation of live music fans.” (71). Further still once Absinthe was open for business it continued to provide unique and innovative events that appealed to many whom could be considered apart of Scene-based genres, by supporting many musical styles. However what really allowed this venue to facilitate the local music scene was its Motown dance night, and the provision of another stage that supported and “helped reinforce the cultural cachet of the underground club DJ, a new hero into the city’s music community.” (Baulcomb, 2016: 73). With the success of Motown and underground DJ’s, Absinthe was soon regarded as a destination for member of Scene-based genres members in Hamilton. Innovating further Absinthe established an alternative club night to combat the over saturation of Top 40s dance nights in other venues spaces throughout the city it was called “I Say Disco/ You Say Punk” and it bolstered a unique mix of techno, house, hip hop, indie, and hardcore punk (Baulcomb 2016). This club night was soon turned into a Hamilton centered live to broadcast club night which again brought this venue and the scene-based genre members of Hamilton into the limelight as it became an ultimate success. Commenting on the success of this live to broadcast club night the owner Lubardo, as cited in Baulcomb (2016), states the following,

Usually what happens is: things start in places like NYC and London, Toronto steals it from them and then we take it from Toronto. But with the Disco/Punk thing, it was very unique. A lot of people that came from LA, or photographers and DJs from NYC, they were like, ‘man, this is really cool’... It seemed like there was no other world once you were in that basement. It was sweaty, and it was packed. It was a scene, for sure man. (Baulcomb 2016: 90).

The above clearly illustrates the influence of Absinthe while also highlighting the main argument that I have put forth in this work that venues matter and have a structuring influence on local music scenes. While these historical accounts are only focused on one venue, my research has expanded this understanding further by highlighting how the landscape of venues within a city can come to shape a local music scene. If Hamilton was absent of Form B/Art Logic venues imagine the number of creative artists and musicians that would have no place to perform.

Taken together, my dissertation is an important contribution to the scenes literature. My dissertation demonstrates that venues matter. They are part of the organizational structure of music performance, organizing access to performance spaces, and they contribute to measurable inequalities in who performs where. This pushes forward the literature on music scenes by demonstrating, through a lens of organizational sociology and the production of culture perspective, that venues are an integral part of the structural and institutional processes that produce inequalities in music performance.

Limitations of Research

There are two main analytical limitations of this research on live music venues; the first limitation of this research is the absence of medium sized venues (capacities within the 300-1000 range) within the city of Hamilton. The absence of medium sized venues limits the ability of this research to be able to comment on all venue forms and logics. It is highly likely that these medium sized venues comprise a unique type of venue form and logic. The second limitation of this research is my inability to comment on the influence of the underground, or informal, venues that may be instrumental in shaping

and facilitating music scenes, such as houses, basements, garages, barns and the like.

While absent from this analysis informal venue spaces likely present yet another venue form and logic. However, these informal venue spaces were excluded from this research as there is no way of documenting the organizational characteristics, promotional materials, or event listings for these type of venues, beyond words of the word of mouth and active participation in events hosted in these informal venues spaces.

Directions for Future Research

There are a multitude of avenues for further investigating the role of music venues in shaping music scenes and the distribution of artists within. First and foremost, future research on live music venues, should look to analyze the venue forms and logics of the types of venues missing from this study (ie. medium sized and informal venues) to round out the theory of venues that my research offers. In addition, it would be fruitful for future research on venues to explore what other vectors of inequality may be enforced or mitigated by the boundaries between different venue forms and logics. While my focus here was on gender inequality of performances it is likely that race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, and social distinctions are also compounded by the boundaries of venue forms and logics. Another interesting line of future inquiry in the exploration and theorization of live music venues would be to engage in a comparative study of two or more cities. A comparative analysis of the venue landscapes of two or more cities could result in interesting findings for such questions as: Are cities more likely to benefit from a larger proportion of arts-oriented venues than a smaller town? Does the geographical locations of venue forms influence the boundaries maintained between venue forms? What

similarities and differences are seen in cities music scenes with venue landscapes? How do venues influence a city becoming known for producing a specific style of music (for example Seattle's grunge rock, or Detroit's Motown)? In addition to comparing to music scenes from different cities, future research should also work to bring back in the question of genre and musical style exploring what venue forms and logics are most supportive or restrictive to specific types of music, and how this may influence cultural boundaries between venue forms and logics in addition to the organizational boundaries that I have illustrated in this analysis. Finally, it may also be beneficial to explore the interaction between music festivals and their relationship, or lack thereof, with venues. For example, do outdoor music festivals influence the shape of music scenes in a similar fashion to live music venues, or are these festival influences more temporary? Do festivals help bring more or detract business from live music venues, and what effect does this have on the overall music scene of that location? These are just some of the examples of the areas of research that can be pursued by putting the role of venues and infrastructure to the forefront of music scene analysis.

My research also has important policy implications for cities and municipalities that are interested in supporting local music scenes, or growing these scenes to support the growth of these places as 'music cities' (Florida 2005). My research shows the importance of having a diverse venue infrastructure to allow for a large variety and frequency of live music events to occur within a given location. Furthermore my research highlights the importance of the art-oriented venue form in allowing for the support and growth of local musicians within a city. Policy makers should therefore pay attention to

live music venues in the quest to grow into a recognized destination of live music events with original performances and artists. My research highlights the importance of not only supporting creative individuals when trying to grow a music city, but to also support live music venues.

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Methodological Appendix 1

Codebook for coding of discursive strategies and promotional practices

Codes
Technical/equipment specifications
Capacity size
Use of word spectacle
Superstar performers
Best venue
Venue layout
Promotion of bands
Details or bio of musical acts
Links to bands website
Local and touring acts
Best place to see live music
Hamilton arts community
Combo/hybrid space
Use of the word entertainment
Use of social media
Local music

