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You Can't Always Get What You Want:
Gatekeeping and Social Capital in the Live-Music Scenes of Atlanta and Taipei

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By

Yun Tai
MA, National Cheng-chi University, 2006

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
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Abstract

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By Yun Tai

This dissertation examines live-music markets (or "scenes") in the following cities: Taipei in Taiwan and Atlanta in the US. This examination is informed by three broad approaches to creative markets in sociology (field theory, the art worlds framework, and the music scenes framework), all of which share an emphasis on "embeddedness." In particular, I focus on the impact of both gatekeepers and social capital within each of those scenes, and how both play out in two different places with regards to the music featured at a range of venues. I do this by analyzing self-gathered data collected from local newspapers as well as from surveys and interviews with band-bookers that act as gatekeepers. This self-gathered data documented 175 live-music venues in Atlanta and 145 venues in Taipei in 2012—with 5,531 performers offering some 11,000 appearances in Atlanta venues, and 2,467 performers offering some 4,700 appearances in Taipei venues. Comparatively speaking, in 2012, Atlanta had a bigger, busier, more affordable but less connected live-music scene, while the live-music scene in Taipei was smaller, more expensive, and had less busy days and months but involved a denser network of music venues. Despite the distinct "ecologies" of these two live-music scenes, social capital at the aggregate level operated in a similar manner for both, as live-music venues within several homophilous niches (based on ticket-price and featured genres) converged in terms of band-booking similarity. Not only did the attributes of venues (e.g., pricing, genres) matter for social capital, so too did the manner of their connections—as venues with common "friend(s)" were more likely to be linked in terms of booking the same performers. Furthermore, inequality in live-music scenes also matters, as I find that a status order, with its attendant "competitive jostling" and "emulation," emerged among venues occupying different positions in the status order. This dissertation thus demonstrates how the market for live music is a domain in which social factors are intertwined with economic elements.

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To all my friends in Taiwan, Atlanta, and many other places: thank you for always being with me, no matter where you are.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, my brother, and my family. Thank you for loving me.

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PRELUDE

Three things happened during the past two years (while I have been working on this dissertation research) that reminded me of how and why I got interested in this research and its topic. Being someone who started out as an "accidental sociologist" (but has since become an enthusiastic one), and being someone who has trouble living a life without music, I could not help but notice these three things. The first happened in 2013. One of the oldest live-music venues in Taipei, Underworld, closed its doors in June—arguably because of ambiguous governmental policy and the consequences of "gentrification" (see Kuo 2013; Jian 2013). The second thing happened a year after the demise of Underworld. *Pots Weekly*, an independent, weekly newspaper affiliated with a private university in Taipei, released its last issue in March, perhaps because its operation had not brought enough profit to the university (Huang 2014). That was a particularly sad development for me because, not only had that weekly newspaper long been providing live-music information and music-album reviews to readers in Taipei, it also had served as a major source of "data" by which I documented the Taipei live-music in this dissertation. The third thing happened in 2014 as well, but on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. Album 88, the student-run Georgia State University radio station, which was described as having "eclectic and varied music broadcasts," was facing Georgia Public Broadcasting's takeover of its daytime programming and a re-orientation towards a news format rather than a format emphasizing music (Couret 2014).

The three things are not just about music itself, they are also about the production of music—that is, its making and dissemination. The production of music obviously

involves melody and other aspects of content, as well as the people who write, sing, or play that content. Yet, the production of music also involves other elements beyond the musical content, as well as other activities and other actors—such as the physical places that provide stages for musicians and the media that serve as intermediaries between musical creators and audiences by way of offering critical reviews and programming. Thus, when important venues (Underworld), newspapers (*Pots Weekly*) and radio stations (Album 88) close or turn away from music, that has important consequences for the range of music available to music lovers. The three things are especially unpleasant for me, as a person who does not like to see the disappearance of places and media outlets devoted to music that is often not featured in giant arenas and in major media outlets.

The three things serve as an important reminder to think about commercial markets for live music (or, in other words, live-music "scenes") in an "embedded" fashion. As I will discuss in Chapter One, this means that the connections between actors (e.g., musicians, venues, newspapers), as well as economic and social factors associated with them, all need to be considered because they combine to help create and sustain live-music scenes. That is, such scenes rely on more than music itself. As I view it, then, the three entities (Underworld, *Pots Weekly*, Album 88) were all part of a given live-music scene; though they faced difficulties in remaining viable or in retaining their "independence," they were still trying to do so, as were many other organizations involved in their respective scenes. In other words, various organizations (including, as will be the focus in the coming chapters, live-music venues) have worked to address distinctive "niches" in terms of the music that they provide audiences. While the niches targeted by Underworld, *Pots Weekly*, and Radio 88 will be impacted by their struggles,

hopefully other organizations will rise to address those same niches—particularly those niches that deal, not with the superstars featured at giant venues, but with the local musicians featured at small clubs. As the song (Jagger and Richards 1969) released 45 years ago observed, “You can’t always get what you want, but if you try sometimes, you just might find, you get what you need.”

CHAPTER ONE

MARKETS AND MUSIC: THREE APPROACHES

Markets and "Embeddedness"

In sociology of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, there has been an explosion of works addressing markets—thereby addressing a topic traditionally left to the discipline of economics (see Swedberg 1991; DiMaggio 1994; Dobbin 2004). This sociological research complicates arguments regarding what markets are and how they work, doing so in at least two ways. First, sociologists argue that markets are not just about supply and demand; in other words, markets are not reducible only to such economic factors as cost (see Dowd 2003). Indeed, markets are also shaped by cultural assumptions, such as norms and conventions that define what is appropriate to exchange in particular settings (see Zelizer 2010). Second, markets are not reducible to isolated actors who operate at "arms-length" from each other when producing and / or buying goods, as some in economics theorize (see Dowd and Dobbin 1997). Instead, markets are fundamentally shaped by (ongoing) relations among actors, such as relationships between potential competitors, between suppliers and producers, and between producers and consumers (see Granovetter 1985; DiMaggio and Louch 1998).

Among the numerous sociological works on markets, some famous ones make the above points particularly well. First, Karl Polanyi (1957), who is well known for explaining the emergence and diffusion of self-regulating markets, asserts that such markets are not simply natural; instead, such markets appeared at a specific point of time when a variety of social factors converged. He claims that the "double movement" was

the main driving force of social history in the 19th century. On the one hand, markets spread through almost the entire world. On the other hand, the action of markets relative to labor, land, and money was monitored by a network that was formed by regulatory measures and policies and that were embedded in powerful institutions. This thus indicates that the emergence of now commonplace markets was not simply driven by such things as supply and demand, but this emergence was also facilitated and / or regulated by an elaborate social network that went beyond isolated actors. Second, William Roy (1997), who is interested in the rise of modern corporations and industrial markets at the turn of the 20th century, demonstrates that efficiency (something touted by economists) is not sufficient to explain the business actions of corporations and, hence, the markets in which they operate. Rather, his work reveals that the social relationships between business corporations were also key—for the resources that influence markets were controlled by certain powerful actors linked together via business agreements, as well as by social events. Finally, when considering recent times, Brian Uzzi (1997) argues that daily operation of markets is shaped by ongoing relations among actors. For instance, in his study of the garment industry, he finds that it is easier for clothing manufacturers to coordinate with those vendors with whom they have close ties. That is, rather than operating at "arms-length" fashion from suppliers (and seeking out the best cost in each transaction), the manufacturers return again and again to those vendors with whom they share a long history.

What these three scholars—Polanyi, Roy, and Uzzi—have in common is an emphasis on "embeddedness"—which can be put simply as the situating of markets (and economic actors) in their broader context (Dobbin and Dowd 1997). As Granovetter

(1985: 482) argues, when considering actors (e.g., business firms) in the economic realm: "the behavior and institutions to be analyzed are so constrained by ongoing social relations that to construe them as independent is a grievous misunderstanding." The concept of embeddedness thus refers to the "contingent nature of economic actions regarding culture, social structure, and political institutions" (Dacin, Ventresca and Beal 1999: 320). "Embeddedness" makes it clear that markets are not separate from social life, but are a part of social life (see Dowd 2003; Zelizer 2010).

While sociologists in general talk about embeddedness in markets, those sociologists who work on media and the arts have especially done so. For example, they frequently argue that the markets for creative goods (e.g., books, music) are shaped by four types of capital—social, cultural, symbolic and economic (see Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo 1995). In other words, things like ongoing relations (i.e., social capital) can matter just as much as money itself (i.e., economic capital). Likewise, they often argue that some people and some relations matter more than others, as when they speak of "gatekeepers" who shape the flow of attention, recognition and success given their central position (and connections) within a given market for creative goods (see Godart and Mears 2009).

In this dissertation, I draw on and extend such ideas by examining the market for live music in two cities—Taipei in Taiwan and Atlanta in the U.S. In particular, I focus on the impact of gatekeepers and social capital, and how both play out in two different places with regards to music at the local level—that featured at venues ranging from a few large arenas to a host of smaller music venues within the metropolitan area, a range that is covered by local press periodicals. The introductory chapter proceeds in two

sections. First, I describe broad approaches to creative markets in sociology—those associated with the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu, the art worlds framework of Howard Becker, and the music scenes framework associated with Will Straw, Andy Bennett and others. While I go into some detail when dealing with examples of research drawn from each of these broad approaches, my ultimate concern is to highlight "social capital" when speaking of field theory, "gatekeeping" when speaking of the art worlds approach, and "place" when speaking of music scenes approach. Second, I turn specifically to research in that deals directly with social capital and gatekeeping in markets (or "scenes") for popular music. Thus, this chapter provides the broader intellectual traditions that shape my empirical project. While the research associated with the broad traditions can have different theoretical concepts and empirical strategies, they all share an emphasis on the "embeddedness" of creative markets.

Three Broad Approaches to Creative Markets

Field Theory: Competition and Capitals

Field theory, which is associated with Pierre Bourdieu and others, approaches creative markets (e.g., those dealing in music)—and cultural production, in general (e.g., literature, the arts)—by emphasizing the range of actors involved (e.g., organizations) and the structure that arises from shared logics and dispositions among these actors (e.g., habitus, illusio) (Bourdieu 1993a; Craig and Dubois 2010; Crossley 2009). The relations between relevant individual and organizational actors are encompassed in particular fields, which reside in various parts of society (Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo 1995). In other words, rather than seeing society as one large domain, field theory emphasizes that

society has many domains ("fields"). Bourdieu sees the proliferation of fields as part of the differentiation that accompanies modernity. Over time, what would become capitalist societies were differentiated into "autonomous spheres" (fields); religion became its own field, as did science, etc. (Rubtsova and Dowd 2004). Hence, Bourdieu and others speak of the education field, the economic field, the political field, the artistic field, etc. (Anheier, Gerhards and Romo 1995). Each of these fields, as well as actors within them, operates by the logic of the given field rather than by a logic coming from society as a whole. Thus, something desirable in a field does not mean it is as desirable in anther field—for example, success is perceived differently in a religious field (honoring God) than in an economic field (making money). While such fields can have very different concerns, Bourdieu defines "field" as "structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analyzed independently of the characteristics of their occupants (which are partly determined by them)" (Bourdieu 1993b: 72; Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). While defining "field," Bourdieu also addresses the concept of "embeddedness" by emphasizing the competitions that occur in given contexts. According to Sallas and Zavisca (2007: 24), "Field is a mesolevel concept denoting the local social world in which actors are embedded and toward which they orient their actions." They also note how one review of field theory has revealed "three senses of the concept of field—a topological space of positions, a field of relational forces, and a battlefield of contestations. All three senses are present in Bourdieu's writings, but the sense of the contest is most significant…" (Sallas and Zavisca 2007: 24).

Despite having distinct logics, fields have at least two shared characteristics. First, fields are sites of competitions, in which a few dominate and possess much more resources and opportunities than others. Second, the circulation of particular currencies makes the competition dynamic (DiMaggio 1979; Rubtsova and Dowd 2004; Crossley 2009). Regarding these "currencies," Bourdieu (1984, 1986; Pinheiro and Dowd 2009) and others speak, at least, of three types: economic, cultural and social capital.[1] "Economic" capital is a relatively straightforward concept—as it revolves around wealth and money, with possessing more of such capital distancing individuals and groups from the necessities of daily life (Bourdieu 1984). However, economic capital does not work the same in all fields. For instance, in fields of large-scale cultural production, in which the logic of "art for money" is dominant, financial success is more desirable; meanwhile in fields of restricted cultural production, in which the logic of "art for art's sake" is dominant, artistic integrity is more desirable (Craig and Dubois 2010; Pinheiro and Dowd 2009; Sapiro 2010; Verboord 2011). Put another way, economic capital is more valued in the former fields than the latter. "Cultural" capital is less straightforward—especially because Bourdieu uses the term in a variety of ways, as Lamont and Lareau (1988) note. Consequently, the following definition is helpful: "…widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion, the former referring to exclusion from jobs and resources, and the latter, to exclusion from high status groups…" (Lamont and Lareau

[1] Other types of capital are also addressed by scholars, such as human capital (see Pinheiro and Dowd, 2009), subcultural capital (see Rubtsova and Dowd, 2004), multicultural capital (see Bryson, 1996), physical capital (see Wainwright and Turner, 2006), and symbolic capital (see Anheier, Gerhards and Romo, 1995).

1988: 156). Seen in this light, what constitutes cultural capital can vary from field to field—with such high-status signals being different in religious fields than in economic fields (Rubtsova and Dowd 2004). While economic and cultural capital can vary in impact and content from field to field, social capital tends to be similar across fields, as it involves "…the sum of the actual and potential resources that be mobilized through membership in social networks of actors and organizations…" (Anheier, Gerhards and Romo 1995: 862). Thus, put simply, if economic capital is "what you have" and cultural capital is "what you know," then social capital is "*who* you know" (Pinheiro and Dowd 2009). Moreover, as we will see below, one type of capital can often be converted to another type in a given field.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1993a) believes that differences in capital endowments and the social structure of cultural fields are related to each other. This is also endorsed by empirical studies such as Anheier and colleagues' (1995) study on the field of literature, in which they find that the distribution of the writers (i.e., elite writers vs. peripheral writers) is influenced by the overall amount and the relative composition of capital. Yet, while Bourdieu theorizes about social capital, that type of currency tends to disappear from his empirical analyses (Cvetičanin and Popescu 2011: 445-445). As a result, other proponents of field theory have demonstrated its impact. The importance of social capital as a form of resources, as well as the dynamics between social capital and the other two capitals (economic and cultural capitals) are broadly discussed in works dealing with art and cultural fields—especially the relationship between social capital, the conversion of it into other capitals, and the success of individual or organizational actors in such fields. I turn now to examples of some of this work.

Social Capital and Career Success in Fields of Cultural Production

Many studies on careers of cultural product creators (e.g., authors, actors, musicians) find a concentration of success in these domains; that is, most of these creators have little if any success, while a few have great success (Pinheiro and Dowd 2009; Dowd and Kelly 2012). Given the challenges of success facing creators, many scholars have turned their attention to such things as social capital—examining how success can flow to those creative personnel with (extensive) connections. Some of this research does so by examining career success in fields of restricted production in which creative personnel are more concerned with issues of art than with issues of money. For instance, Craig and Dubois (2010) examine the role of public poetry performance (i.e., readings in the field of poetry production) to understand how these readings contribute to poetry economies and to the careers of poets. On the one hand, the field of poetry is linked to the large-scale production of publishing, where multinational corporations are powerful players and the economic bottom line is prominent. On the other hand, poetry is also somewhat removed from this large-scale production, as it is not a moneymaker, but instead, a form of literature that brings prestige to publishing houses and others. It is thus a restricted field of production in the middle of a field of large-scale production. Craig and Dubois examine how aspiring and established poets alike negotiate success in such a field. They do so through interviews, observations, and surveys of poets in France (especially Paris) and northeast America (New York and Toronto). In doing so, they find that poetry readings are not only enjoyable social gatherings, they are also sites where social capital is made and maintained. Such capital, in turn, is important for both poetry economies and careers. For poetry economies, readings allow various actors in the field

(e.g., publishers, poets, and booksellers) to meet, to build networks, and to talk about their respective marketing and distribution needs. Poetry readings thus are not just about helping poetry economies—such as promotion and marketing—they are also casting poetry in terms of sociability and art rather than "business." In other words, readings allow restricted production to deal with issues of large-scale production while not getting "soiled" by such issues (Craig and Dubois 2010). For poetry careers, readings enable unestablished poets to get into the poetry world and increase their social capital by social interaction opportunities, such as meeting future mentors and being invited to after-reading gatherings. Meanwhile, established and well-established poets—who often act as gatekeepers (e.g., editors, curators, and positions in academic or critical review)—also participate in readings to maintain their own contacts and reputations—which, as they say, also helps keep vital their careers. Though in this restricted field of poetry, social capital does not guarantee success, but having extensive connections is better than having little to none, for social capital can sometimes be "converted" into "economic capital"—as when conversations with editors can sometimes lead to a contract of publication.

As in the poetry field, social capital also matters in a closely related field: the literary field. Anheier and colleagues' (1995) study the importance of different forms of capitals by examining the attributes of and relations between 222 writers in Cologne, Germany. They find that, in this particular literary field, membership in formal professional associations, as a token of social capital, is related to holding elite position in the field as a whole, while members of informal literary circles and clubs are more likely to be peripheral writers. In addition, they suggest that once actors accumulate sufficient cultural capital to retain their status in the field, their additional cultural capital can be

transformed to other forms of capital; for instance, cultural capital helps to pursue interest associations' membership (social capital), and in turn facilitates the access to new income opportunities (economic capital). Their study thus demonstrates the crucial role of social capital in the transition from cultural capital to economic success. Furthermore, their larger project (Anheier and Gerhard 1991; Anheier, Gerhards and Romo 1995) complicates the distinction between restricted production vs. large-scale production, as the elite authors in Cologne enjoy both critical and financial success. This finding is, however, different from studies of other fields, such as the field of jazz, where critical success and economic success are disconnected from each other (Pinheiro and Dowd 2009).

Social capital—and the transformation between it and other forms of capitals—not only has importance in restricted fields like poetry and literature, but also in fields of large-scale productions, such as those devoted to television, film and music entertainment (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010). Social capital not only matters for the creators in the usual sense (e.g., scriptwriters, directors, musicians), it also matters for individuals involved in a wide range of "support" roles—such as the "creative labor" that includes production assistants and stage hands (Bechky 2006). In Lee's (2011) study of creative labor in the British independent television industry, he addresses the importance of networking in both job hunting and career development in television production. He finds that the freelancers in the British independent television production sector (ITPS) have an easier time getting jobs if they have more contacts; that is, word of mouth and personal recommendations figure in recruitment. Since networking—with social ties maintained by going to clubs and bars as well as connecting via email and mobile phones—is one

way to create social capital, this study indicates that creative laborers with more social capital are more likely to persist, and even succeed, in this industry. Also, he finds that workers with "right personalities," such as being "easy to work with" and knowing how to "express themselves effectively," are seen as more capable of doing work in the independent TV industry. These "personalities" are actually skills like communicative and self-presentation skills or levels of confidence, which can be considered, as Lee notes, a form of cultural capital (see also Lamont and Lareau 1988). Thus, this study also shows that cultural capital (e.g., "right personalities") can be transformed (i.e., converted) into social capital (e.g., contacts in the industry, networking), and social capital can be transformed into economic capital (e.g., the money resulting from jobs). Lee's research thus resonates with Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) research on three creative industries, for both of these studies point out that contacts in the industry lead to job contracts or opportunities, while those who lack interest in socializing and networking (e.g., drinking with colleagues after work) may have problems in getting future jobs. In short, they both find that in such fields of large-scale creative production, networks (as a form of social capital) matter in gaining economic capital and career success.

Art Worlds: Connections, Cooperation and Conventions

As discussed above, markets of all types are not simply collections of isolated individuals who pursue the "best deal"—instead, they are collections that include many ties (both short-term and long-term) between actors (e.g., producers, suppliers), as well as the shared assumptions among those actors regarding what is right and appropriate for market exchanges. The same is true for "markets" for art and culture. The production and

distribution of such things as books, poems, and music are not reducible to individual "geniuses" (creators), despite the common tendency to speak in terms of isolated creators set apart from the rest of the word. Instead, a range of actors plays key roles in the production and distribution of books, music, etc.—not just the individual creator. The "art world" approach associated with Howard Becker (1982) resonates with this argument about the collective nature of artistic and cultural production. Becker and others using the term of "art world" to capture and call attention to the collectivity of people whose activities are necessary for the production and dissemination of particular types of cultural objects (e.g., genres), as well as to the shared assumptions (e.g., conventions) that can shape and inform their collective action (Becker 1982).

While the art worlds approach shares with field theory an emphasis on the embeddedness of cultural production markets, it also differs from field theory in several ways. Field theory tends to be about competition—where when some actors in a field succeed, it comes at the expense of others (Anheier, Gerhards and Romo 1995; Sallas and Zavisca 2007). In contrast, the art worlds approach tends to emphasize the cooperation, if not community, that occurs among like-minded people (Becker and Pessin 2006; Curran 1996; Martin 2006). Next, field theory tends to be a top-down approach that begins with the entire system and then looks at its consequence for individual actors, whereas the art worlds approach tends to work from the bottom-up—seeing how interaction between actors leads to the entire system (Crossley 2009, 2010). As Becker and Pessin (2006: 277-278) put it: "But the metaphor of world—which does not seem to be at all true of the metaphor of field—contains people, all sorts of people who are in the middle of doing something that requires them to pay attention to each other, to consciously take account

of the existence of others, and to shape what they do in light of what others do…" Finally, field theory tends to measure explicitly the connections that occur between actors (social capital, as measured by network analysis techniques and correspondence analysis) and tends to theorize greatly about the tacit knowledge that they share (e.g., habitus, illusio). The art worlds approach, instead, tends to speak generally about "networks" of connections and "conventions" (Crossley 2009, 2010).

We can see the role and impact of these "conventions" if we think of artistic creation as an ongoing and collective activity—such as "music-making" (Martin 2006) or "musicking" (Roy and Dowd 2010). According to Becker (1982), *some* decisions regarding artistic creation (e.g., writing a song) are not usually made anew; rather, people rely on earlier solutions that are now customary (e.g., how to combine particular notes)—earlier solutions that he calls "artistic conventions." Artistic creations thus contain both "conventional" elements, which are based on precedence, and "innovative" elements, which are unique to a particular creator(s). The more that given creators rely on precedence, then the more "conventional" their work is. Indeed, beyond creation, what people do and how they do it in a particular context is likewise patterned by conventions (e.g., ways of listening to music in public)—with all these conventions, in turn, bestowing the social structure of a given art world (Crossley 2009). When reviewing three studies on occupational cultures in three different musicians' worlds—Hollywood studio musicians, rock bands in Liverpool, and jazz musicians in New York—Martin (2006) concludes that the art worlds approach can be useful for not only understanding what people do, but also why specific norms, values, and beliefs are adopted by people (i.e., how conventions, in Becker's language, are established). Martin also concludes that

the art worlds approach is especially suited for studying creativity as a collective (rather than individual) endeavor—seeing such creativity as "networks of collaborative practices"—networks that form and develop particular features as conventions guide and coordinate the division of labor involved in such collaboration.

This interplay between convention and the division of labor is especially evident in Gilmore's (1987, 1988) research. He focuses on the concert world in New York City—the world devoted to "serious" music rather than popular music, and he considers how, within this world, interdependent activities of musicians and others are coordinated to produce concerts. He finds that this concert product is actually segmented into three distinct sub-worlds—each with its own division of labor and set of conventions. The "midtown" world consists of major symphony orchestras—those large organizations that are based in large concert halls and perform well-known "classical" works. The "uptown" world consists of performers linked with universities—those organizations are not nearly as large, and they perform works that are more for specialists than the usual crowd at symphony hall. Finally, the "downtown" world is one of avant-garde composers who put together concerts primarily to feature their own works. Not only do these worlds different in terms of the size of performance groups (with midtown the largest), they also differ in terms of the stability of membership, with symphony orchestras of midtown having well-defined rosters of musicians, while the others are more fluid in terms of musicians involved—especially in the downtown sub-world. These worlds are also different with regards to musical notation: midtown uses notation that is well-known and has been around for centuries, while uptown and especially downtown use traditional notation as well as some that is quite new, if not unique, to a given piece. The other difference is the

role of composers: in midtown, a composer is usually not the performer; in uptown, a composer is sometimes the performer; in downtown, the composer is usually among the performers. Not only then, does each sub-world have different types of division of labor, they also differ in their conventions—with midtown drawing upon conventions of performance that date back centuries, while uptown and especially downtown seek to overthrow those old conventions while embracing innovation. Given these differences among these sub-worlds, it is indicated that, to facilitate collaboration between composers and performers, more elaborate conventions are established and required in more complex sub-worlds with, for instance, a highly specialized division of labor, while relatively simple concert organization occurs in the subworld that is less conventional. In other words, the most conventional world among the three is also the one with the largest and most defined division of labor (i.e., midtown), while the most innovative one relies on the smallest and most fluid division of labor (i.e., downtown).

Of course, it is not only creative personnel who draw upon conventions, so too do key decision-makers who can shape how a given art world operates. In her study of the fashion industry, Ashley Mears (2010) reveals the impact of conventions when they are employed by such decision-makers. Mears find that many fashion houses are simultaneously engaged in two types of creative markets—a "large-scale" one that targets a general audience for the purpose of making money and a "restricted" one that targets the specialized audience of critics and connoisseurs for the purpose of making "reputation." Both markets are marked by uncertainty, as standards of beauty can be quite variable (especially among the specialized audiences of high fashion). To deal with this uncertainty, key personnel at these fashion houses rely on conventions when selecting

models to display their clothing—conventions that are based on what they think each audience desires. When targeting the general audience, they pick models that are somewhat curvaceous and represent ethnic / racial diversity; when targeting the specialized audience, they pick models that are extremely thin and lacking in curves so as to serve as "clothes-hangers" that draw attention only to the clothes. Given their assumption that models of color are curvaceous, they tend to pick white models for this market—but they attribute their choices, not to race, but to appearance. Consequently, models of color and models that are not "size-zero" face challenges in working in high-end fashion.

Art Worlds and Gatekeepers

The research by Mears (2010) reveals that, within given art worlds, the decisions of some may have tremendous impact—such as on the careers of fashion models whose appearances do not fit conventions used in a given market. Many use the term "gatekeepers" to describe key decision-makers who stand between, say, creative workers and audiences—such as those who filter out which of many potential fashion models are eventually shown to the public. It is tempting to view these gatekeepers as individuals. However, the art worlds approach reminds us that gatekeepers are likewise part of the collective process of creation and dissemination. In doing so, however, the art worlds approach concedes that gatekeepers and their actions reveal that art worlds are not simply about community and cooperation, as the process of gatekeeping also shows the inequities that are found in art worlds.

Given the previous discussion, it is evident that activities in cultural production—including "gatekeeping"—should be seen as socially constructed collective process, just as the concept of embeddedness points out. For instance, Clayman and Reisner (1998) show the impact of social connections among those news media personnel who act as gatekeepers by selecting the front-page news for each daily edition of a newspaper. While other research usually focus on the influence of a given story's "news value" to make sense of its newspaper placement, Clayman and Reisner, instead, look at editorial conferences—those daily settings in which stories are presented and are assessed among a team of the lead editor and the editors of the various newspaper sections (e.g., the city section, the sports section). Clayman and Reisner especially consider interactional aspects of these conferences and how these aspects, in turn, shape the placement of stories. They find that the verbal assessment a story receives is highly associated with its placement in the newspaper—with stories of mild endorsement favored for front-page place. As Clayman and Reisner observed, editors are more likely to label stories mildly than label them as very important or very boring, in order to maintain positive relations with reporters of their departments and editorial colleagues; "important" stories often involve editors advocating for the reporters working under their authority, while "boring" stories allow editors to save face with their editorial colleagues. While this study is part of a long line of scholarship that treats news itself as a "social construction" (see Schudson 1989), it also goes the extra step and shows how "gatekeeping itself is fundamentally a social and collaborative process" (Clayman and Reisner 1998: 197). Assessments of newsworthiness are not determined by atomized individuals, but rather, these assessments are actually shaped by social interactions and collective practices. Also, the consideration

of social connections (i.e., the need to maintain relations with other actors in the workplace) is a key factor in which the gatekeeping process (i.e., news selection) is embedded. Finally, the result of this collective process is that newspapers highlight for readers but a few of the possible news stories.

The impact of social connections is not only shown in the newspaper industry, but also in the literary world. When selecting news stories, newspaper editors not only care about news value, but also the relations with their colleagues; when choosing fiction books to review, newspaper critics not only consider the value of literature, they also look at their fellow reviewers' choices—colleagues located at a variety of newspapers. Janssen (1997) demonstrates this collective gatekeeping process by examining how literary reviewers in the Netherlands selected fiction books to review. The results show that only a fraction of books were actually selected to be reviewed—54% of 444 books published in 1978 were reviewed, while only 36% of 657 books published in 1991 were selected by reviewers. Also, new authors (i.e., first book publications) were less likely to be selected for reviewing—among other things, those new authors represented by large publishing houses tended to get reviews—but even those reviews were shorter than other reviews; while veteran authors' new titles were more likely to be preferred by reviewers if they had received more reviewers' attention for their previous work. Thus, Janssen finds significant agreement among reviewers' selection of books, which indicates that reviewers look at each other's choices and adjust their own choices when deciding which ones to discuss. This is so because, as Janssen (1997) and van Rees (1989) indicate, critics can enhance their own reputation when gaining their colleagues' approval, so they look at other critics' actions—especially those reputable ones—to reduce the uncertainty

inherent in having to assess something as vague as literary value. "Reviewers take due note of each other's achievements and adjust their choices and judgments to the ones made by other critics. There is a remarkable agreement and continuity in reviewers' selection of works for discussion…They show a preference for reviewing new titles by authors whose work has already been assessed by a substantial number of their colleagues" (Janssen 1997: 295). Hence, gatekeeping involves not only connections within a given organization (Clayman and Reisner 1998) but also connections that can span organizations (Janssen 1997)—with the result of this collective process focusing reader attention on a fraction of the potential content.

Gatekeeping not only has implications for types of media content (e.g., front-page news, literary reviews), it can also have considerable impact on the careers of creative personnel—both in the short-term and the long-term. Regarding the short-term impact, Godart and Mears (2009) study how gatekeepers utilize social networks to deal with uncertainty—in this case, in the world of fashion, specifically, how key-personnel at fashion houses identify and sign the "right" models to feature on their "catwalks" during Fashion Week in Paris, Milan, New York, etc. Through interviews with fashion designers, stylists, and casting directors—as well as through network analysis based on fashion show reports located on Style.com—Godart and Mears find that the skill to which fashion personnel refer—the ability to identify the "right" look of model, such as having an "eye" or "vision"—is actually tied to producers' social networks and information sharing. In other words, just as critics look to each other when evaluating literary worth (Janssen 1997), fashion house personnel likewise look to each other when evaluating the physical beauty and appeal of models. Two mechanisms make this information-sharing

possible across fashion houses: (1) tips are shared through producers' social networks (i.e., word of mouth), by which "hot" models are determined by their desirability by prestigious clients, and (2) the "option mechanism" that accompanies the interviewing of models to hire, where it is readily apparent which fashion models have the most or high-profile show options and, in turn, which of the models is currently "hot." Godart and Mears find that high-status fashion houses share a small cluster of the most popular models, while lower-status fashion houses do not share such "hot" models, but rather, they select models from a larger pool. This is the case because lower-status fashion houses do not have as much access to networks and have difficulty with "optioning" popular models away from high-status houses. This indicates that, although fashion producers share a collective taste regarding the currently "hot" models, their respective opportunities to hire the most popular models are not equal. In other words, this study shows that it is not sufficient for actors in a field to be connected—with *whom* they are connected also matters, for resources can vary greatly depending on the type of network involved. Of course, the result of all of this is that—in the collective evaluation of beauty involved in gatekeeping—a few fashion models have lucrative opportunities (and careers) while the majority does not (see also Mears 2010).

Regarding long-term implications for careers, we can see this especially when turning attention to the composers mentioned above with regards to Gilmore (1987, 1988). As Dowd and colleagues (2002) note, symphony orchestras are key gatekeepers in the art world of classical music. For centuries now, major U.S. orchestras have featured the works of dead composers, thereby making it difficult for living composers to be heard. This point is based on their analysis of 86,500 performances by 27 U.S. symphony

orchestras from 1842 to 1969. While there are factors in the art world that pushed the major orchestras to expand the range of composers they played—such as the (1) increased performance capabilities of orchestras, (2) expanded resources for new music and (3) the spread of music programs at U.S. colleges / universities, which highlights, among other things, living composers—the emphasis on dead composers continues to hamper the careers of living composers. This limitation is further demonstrated by Dowd and Kelly's (2012) study of living composers in the repertoires of U.S. orchestras—in which they use data provided by the League of American Orchestras to assess 7570 performances by 313 orchestras during the 2005-06 season. They find that about 89% of performances in 2005-06 are devoted to the music of dead composers, rather than living ones. They thus claim that past barriers for living composers to be accepted into repertoires do still exist. In addition, large orchestras, which tend to be more conformist and less specialized than their smaller counterparts, are less likely to include living composers in the repertoire. This study thus demonstrates that the selection choices of gatekeepers, such as those at large orchestras, can have lasting impact on the careers of creative personnel, such as orchestral composers.

The Music Scenes Approach and Place

The music scenes approach resonates with the third emphasis of this dissertation—that involving "place." This approach—like the previous two approaches—works against notions of isolated creators, as well as the "arms-length" relationship between creators and their fans. In fact, this stream of research focuses on how unique music traditions are "cobbled together" by cultural creators and audiences (Pinheiro and

Dowd 2009). Contributors to the music scenes approach tend to write in an engaging and approachable fashion. Not surprisingly, then, they are informed by the everyday usage of the term—which usually refers to "a particular local setting, usually a city or district, where a particular style of music has either originated, or has been appropriated and locally adapted" (Bennett 2004: 223). In academia, Will Straw (1991: 379) provided an early and important take on the concept, defining a music scene as "actualiz[ing] a particular state of relations between various populations and social groups, as these coalesce around specific coalitions of music styles."

While the music scenes approach likewise emphasizes the embeddedness of cultural production, it has some similarities and differences with the two previous approaches. It is similar to field theory when dealing with the "capital" that helps some scene members have an advantageous position relative to others—such as Sarah Thornton's (1996) focus on "subcultural capital" in London's dance club scene of the 1990s, where some participants are more hip than others. It is also similar to field theory when some of its proponents take a rigorous approach in measuring social capital and networks (see Crossley 2009; Dowd, Ryan and Tai 2014). That said, while some people like Thornton and Crossley overlap with field theory, many focus not on competition but on community (see Straw 1991) and many offer thick-descriptions rather than rely on particular measures of social networks / capital. The common emphasis on "authenticity" in the study of music scenes overlaps with field theory's concern with restricted vs. large-scale production (with the "authentic" often cast at odds with commercialism; Grazian 2004; Tai 2006; William 2006) and "authenticity" arguably overlaps with art worlds emphases on conventions (e.g., the inauthentic is overly conventional). Finally, music

scenes share with both field theory and art worlds an attention to place. When applying field theory, place is also a factor that should be considered—since fields are located in physical spaces with respective configurations (Pinheiro and Dowd 2009), which can range from small clubs (Thornton 1996) all the way to entire nations (Katz-Gerro 2002). Likewise, art worlds proponents often emphasize such places as cities—as seen in Gilmore's (1987) study of the NYC concert world and Becker's (2004) study of the jazz world in Kansas City. However, the music scenes approach tends to take a more nuanced approach to place than do field theory and the art worlds approach—treating it not just a location, but also as something shaping collective production and consumption.

Analytically, music scenes scholars tend to complicate the concept of "place" in two ways: on the one hand, they focus on what place *may do* and, on the other hand, they focus on where place *may be.* Regarding what place does, Baker, Bennett and Homan (2009) discuss place's role in studies, especially sociocultural dimensions of place and space. For instance, it is suggested that places can have multiple identities and plural meanings attached to them (see also Massey 1993). As Baker et al. (2009: 150-151) summarize, "…it is now widely acknowledged that, in addition to its physical properties, space and place have significant 'cultural' dimensions, the latter facilitating their own forms of reflexive engagement with space and place that produce a plurality of 'spatial' discourses." Regarding where place is located, Peterson and Bennett (2004) summarize that it can be treated as a trichotomy involving three different (but sometimes connected) contexts: local scenes, trans-local scenes and virtual scenes. First, the building and maintenance of a local music scene is related to local networks of social relationship (Bennett 2004). For instance, Cohen's (1991) study *Rock Culture in Liverpool* shows

how local groups (e.g., bands), in which their members share collective values, are related to the shape of local music-making practices. Hence, "place" in this sense is a community in the traditional sense. Second, the concept of trans-local scenes—with an emphasis on the relationship between the global and the local, as well as appropriations and innovations facilitated by globally available media (Bennett 2000)—is considered to have more currency in an age of global media (Bennett 2004). In this sense, "place" is almost a web of connections between local communities. Third, the development of the Internet since the mid-1990s has facilitated the formation of virtual scenes, which are not in physical spaces such as cities, but in virtual spaces (Bennett 2004). These scenes can be created without members meeting in person.

Empirically, scholars have compiled evidence which shows that places, with their respective scenes, matter for both individual and collective activities in terms of cultural production. For example, drawing on survey data for particular cities, Pinheiro and Dowd (2009) find substantial effects of places on jazz musicians' success—with those musicians working in New Orleans or New York enjoying more economic and critical success than those working in San Francisco. They attribute these differences to the fact that New Orleans is the birthplace of jazz, and New York City is the largest jazz scene in the world—giving both places resources and opportunities not found in San Francisco. Place's importance is neither limited to jazz nor to musicians. Relying on archival and network data, Crossley (2008, 2009) deals with what allowed a punk scene to emerge in London and a post-punk scene to emerge in Manchester. This rich data allowed him to delve into what elements easily afforded an emergent scene and what each scene entailed. In Manchester's music scene, for example, Crossley includes musicians, as well as actors

other than musicians in his study, because non-musicians—such as producers, sleeve designers, record label owners—are important in "connecting bands and thereby generating a networked scene" (Crossley 2009: 32); the links in the scene could be generated since these non-musicians usually worked with a variety of artists. The early British punk scene emerged firstly in London, with an initial network of 46 key actors—including crucial band members, supportive personnel (e.g., managers and promoters), and opinion-leading fans. This inner circle was formed through a number of relations among the actors, such as exchanges among band members (e.g., Mick Jones of the Clash and Tony James of Chelsea were both in a band called London SS) and band managers (e.g., Malcolm McLaren, the manager of the Sex Pistols, had managed Masters of the Backside, which had included members of the Pretenders and the Damned[2]), romance and friendship, as well as being regular audiences and meeting each other at the early gigs. While the London punk scene emerged with a pre-existing network that linked the actors, the Manchester scene was triggered by the introduction of the Pistols from London and was further shaped by the formation of associations between bands and relative actors, through connections among venues and events such as punk nights (Crossley 2008, 2009). His studies thus, not only show the importance of social networks in music scenes by demonstrating the "take-off" of the London punk scene and Manchester's post-punk music scene, they also reveal how a given locale can come to gain a musical identity.

[2] These bands (the Clash, Chelsea, the Sex Pistols, the Pretenders, and the Damned) were all key bands of the early British punk scene.

Besides locally happening scenes, for instance, in cities such as London and Manchester, scenes can also happen trans-locally and virtually. Williams' (2006) study on music-driven punk straightedge subculture provides an example of how both trans-local and virtual scenes are constructed and perceived by actors (e.g., the youth involved). With data collected from an online forum of straightedge community, where the participants are from various places (e.g., the U.S., the U.K., and New Zealand), he finds a tension between physical places and the virtual. Scene members who also participate in face-to-face scenes (i.e., music-straightedgers) identify their straightedge identity by emphasizing involvement in local scenes (e.g., going to music shows), while those who are only active online (i.e., net-straightedgers) construct their identity by committing to a straightedge lifestyle (e.g., drug-free), but not by connecting to local scenes. This study thus shows that a scene (e.g., straightedge scene) can happen in more than one place (i.e., trans-local) through the connection of the Internet, and it can also happen without any physical place (i.e., virtually), based on such things as online forums; however, a given scene can be constructed and identified differently, when it is perceived as a trans-local scene or a virtual scene.

Social Capital and Gatekeeping in Scenes for Popular Music

The three broad approaches discussed above provide me with plenty of leverage on the phenomena of both cultural production and critical attention. Yet, given my particular attention to *local* production (that occurring at small to large venues) and *local* attention (the coverage offered by city papers), I briefly turn here to relevant literature that links to the three broad approaches while also linking to my particular concerns.

Social Capital and the (Online) World of Local Musicians

A few studies reveal that, at least for aspiring musicians, social capital is particularly important—especially given that such musicians often lack economic capital. In particular, social capital matters for them, on the one hand, because of its potential to "convert" to economic capital and, on the other hand, for its potential to forge strong ties within a given locale (bounding) and weak ties across locales (bridging; see Sargent 2009).

Regarding the first potential, social capital among actors in the music industry, as Crossley (2009) demonstrates, can be a means by which a music scene emerges, if not a music genre. Yet that is not all that social capital can do. Scott's (2012) study on DIY ("Do It Yourself") music producers in New Zealand reveals the importance of capital mobilisation and conversion in the construction of aspiring musicians' careers in the music industry. Such careers often require money in hand (economic capital) to pay for such things as recording and promotion costs—money that aspiring musicians typically lack. Scott finds that DIY music producers, with limited economical resources, are able to build their careers by converting Bourdieu's alternative capitals, which offers use- and exchange-value, to generate interests. The alternative capital used by these music producers includes, for instance, networking (e.g., partying with other bands' members) and the use of "favours" (e.g., accessing graphic designers or music video directors to provide service for free). Thus, while it is challenging for these musicians to accumulate money on their own, it is far less challenging for them to develop connections with musicians and non-musicians via socializing and favours. Once they develop this social capital, they can sometimes convert it into economic capital, in order to create

opportunities for recording and promotion. This conversion is not limited to New Zealand. In the indie music market of Taiwan, Tai's (2006) case study of an independent record label (WWR) shows that the social networks of the record company's personnel are crucial to the establishment of the company. The owner of the label—KK, who was also a member of a band—used to hang out with her band friends in a live-music venue, and they thus developed a friendship with one of the owners of the venue, Freddy, who was also a member of another band. The record label was able to start its business by cooperating with the owner's friends, as well as Freddy.[3] The social ties, as a form of social capital, of the owner and staffs of WWR not only helped with the initial launch of the record label, but also the ongoing operation of the company—serving as an important means for selecting and promoting musical groups and products. Through its social ties with bands, performing venues and music critics in the indie and popular music field, WWR is able to gather the information about selecting products as well as promoting them to their potential audiences. The conversion of capitals regarding music production can also be found in jazz music field. Pinheiro and Dowd (2009), in their study on the economic and critical success of jazz musicians, find that cultural capital (e.g., family support on music exploration), human capital (e.g., having private music mentors), and social capital (e.g., affiliation with musicians' unions or network of music friends) all have positive effects on jazz musicians' economic success. This indicates that these alternative capitals, as resources, can be converted into economic capital; that is, those

[3] WWR was started as a record store located in the renovated restroom of a venue, and it later became a record label while continuing its record store business. It subsequently moved to a bigger place next to another live music venue, one that is also partially owned by Freddy.

jazz musicians with more cultural, social, and human capital are more likely to enjoy higher income from music.

Regarding the second potential—that of bonding and bridging—social capital not only matters for individual musicians' success, but also for their ability to build audiences within, if not beyond, their locale. By interviewing and observing musicians in two American college towns, Sargent (2009) demonstrates the role of what she calls "on-line" and "off-line" social capital—both of which can be used in building audiences. She finds that musicians use at least three types of social capital, with all of these incorporating information and communication technologies (ICTs) to enlarge their audience size: (1) *local social capital,* ICTs used in local music scenes "to represent the local scene to itself" with the belief it will be noticed by audiences "out there"—which also helps with the cultivation of local networks; (2) *maintained social capital* that, through online social networking sites, enables musicians to maintain loose ties and extra-local connections with, for instance, scenes and relative actors in other cities; and (3) *subcultural social capital* by which musicians participate in and build networks of people who have interests in particular, and usually marginalized genres (e.g., experimental noise and street hip hop). The social capital made possible by ICTs, then, allows for both bridging and bonding. However, as Sargent finds, while such forms of social capital provided the potential for effective promotion within and beyond a given locale, it does not always ensure that this expanded audience will materialize. Indeed, given the time necessary to exploit social capital online, some of these musicians end up hiring professionals to do it for them—thereby blunting the supposedly "costless" nature of ICTs.

It is always not easy for musicians—especially unestablished ones like those in Sargent's case—to enlarge their fan bases. This is evident in a study of Australian musicians as well—one likewise examining the promise and reality of online social capital. According to Young and Collins (2010), one of the shifts in the music industry enabled by new technologies—especially those associated with Web 2.0—has been the blurring of the divide between creators and audiences, for those once seen as audiences are now able to collaborate in music production. This has resulted in "disintermediation," whereby the role of traditional gatekeepers (e.g., record labels, distributers and radio stations) can now be bypassed. Hence, Young and Collins investigate how aspiring musicians in Australia negotiate this new business environment. They find that online networking—such as that allowed by mailing lists and social network sites like MySpace—has been highly utilized by musicians to contact and cultivate fans. Moreover, these aspiring musicians see this online networking as having a significant impact—with social networking sites like MySpace especially offering connectivity as "an effective digital word of mouth, with users frequently checking out what their friends are checking out" (Young and Collins 2010: 351). Young and Collins also find that, although selling recorded music is becoming difficult, many musicians (especially unsigned and DIY bands), are benefiting from live performances. That is, CDs and MP3s are now considered as promotional tools of live performances by many bands rather than money-earners, as fans are becoming more willing to pay to see bands live than to buy their recorded music.

In sum, for musicians operating at the local level, the fostering of social capital online offers the potential for them to become more known within particular communities

and beyond those same communities. Scott (2012), for instance, finds that tools afforded by the Internet—specifically, social networking sites, blogs, download sites, and chat rooms—help musicians to construct a community of potential fans or consumers, which is important in forging online "buzz" of their music products, with various types of virtual connections possibly leading to the accrual of economic returns. Pinheiro and Dowd (2009) also find that jazz musicians who use the Internet for music purposes tend to do better in making money from music, which indicates that they may be able to attract more audiences than those that do not use the Internet to market their music. Sargent (2009), however, finds that off-line strategies—such as entering contests, hiring professional promotion service, and making cold calls (e.g., collaborating with other musicians)—are needed as part of a "re-intermediation" process in improving musicians' visibility. Furthermore, as Sargent (2009) finds for aspiring musicians in the U.S., Young and Collins (2010) find that aspiring musicians in Australia are sometimes surprised, if not overwhelmed, by the amount of time it takes to network online—thereby showing the limits of this particular type of social capital.

In short, the field theory of Bourdieu is not only applicable to cultural production in general, it especially applies to the particular case of local production by aspiring musicians. Given previous studies on social capital, it is evident that social capital—with its liquidity of transformation, as well as with how the Internet offers a new means of building and utilizing social capital—may play a pivotal role in the careers of aspiring musicians, as they seek to cultivate an audience and find (economic) success.

Gatekeeping and Musicians in Local (and Global) Settings

Local musicians face at least two types of gatekeepers that operate in their immediate locale—those at local venues and those at local newspapers. That is, for aspiring musicians to have even a bit of success—they often must get the attention of key decision-makers in their local settings. Given this, it is helpful to consider briefly a few studies addressing two specific types of gatekeepers standing between the musicians and potential audiences.

Venues for the live performance of "popular" music have been around for centuries (Roy and Dowd 2010), yet surprisingly little sociological research focuses on them—particularly those venues operating at the local level. This is a shame given the role that venues play in local scenes. For instance, while not focusing specifically on venues, Crossley (2009) indicates in his study of Manchester post-punk scene that venues were places where key actors first met and connected with each other. This can be understood as the concept of "foci" (Feld 1981, 1982; Crossley, 2009)—where individuals are drawn to the same places (e.g., venues) because of their shared interests, which helps to maintain the connections between these individuals. Fortunately, there is a study by Foster, Borgatti and Jones (2011) that offers a compelling investigation of local venues while also showing that social networks (i.e., social capital) plays an important role in the selection and promotion of musicians at live-music venues. In particular, these researchers investigate 29 nightclubs in Boston (80% of the clubs in the city offering live music on a weekly basis), with a focus on the role that each club's "talent buyers" have as gatekeepers in the process of band selection. Specifically, they examine the strategies used by talent buyers when searching for and selecting local bands to perform at their

respective venue. Foster and colleagues proceed by interviewing talent buyers, musicians, and nightclub patrons; by tracking nightclubs' entertainment lists on *The Boston Phoenix*; by performing a pile-sorting task, by which they "measure the perceived similarities among clubs and elicit the criteria the gatekeepers used to understand the club domain" (Foster et al. 2011: 251-252); and by resorting to sophisticated methods for mapping this live-music scene—such as social network analysis. The results show that, first, participants in the scene (e.g., talent buyers at clubs) classify the clubs in two broad ways by distinguishing between "original clubs," which present bands that play songs created by themselves, and "cover clubs," which present bands that perform popular songs (e.g., hits on the *Billboard* charts) by *other* bands from well-known genres (e.g., 70s rock, R&B). Second, they find that "original clubs" tend to present several acts per night and book a variety of bands, while "cover clubs" tend to have fewer acts per night and book the same bands repeatedly. This is so because of their different customer bases: "original clubs" rely on fans of the bands to consume in the clubs (e.g., buy tickets, drinks and food), while "cover clubs" usually have their own "built-in" audiences. Third, the social networks that talent buyers utilize to seek new bands are larger and more diverse among "original clubs" than those among "cover clubs." Given that "cover clubs" present recognizable music, they have a somewhat stable and predictable client demands (i.e., they have reduced uncertainty, in that the need for searching innovative bands is minimized). Meanwhile, as "original clubs" book a variety of bands, they hence have a more diverse need of programming and innovative genres, so that they need larger and more diverse social connections to deal with a higher uncertainty. In addition, Foster and colleagues find that "original clubs" tend to share bands with each other while "cover

clubs" do not; also, talent buyers at "original clubs" usually talk to other talent buyers (their competitors) about which bands to book, while agents at "cover clubs" do not (they talk to bands instead). In short, this study demonstrates the different patterns of social networks between nightclubs and bands. On the one hand, talent buyers of the clubs featuring bands playing original music works tend to rely on dense networks between their fellow clubs to gather information on bands, but they maintain "arm's length relations" with bands. On the other hand, gatekeepers of clubs featuring bands playing "covers" of familiar popular songs do not have close relationship with each other, thereby keeping "arms-length" with their competitors, whereas they tend to connect more strongly to a small number of bands.

There is a parallel gap in the sociological literature regarding the *local* coverage offered musicians by newspapers and periodicals. Instead, such research—like Janssen's (1997) study of critics and authors—tends to focus on national coverage given to musicians (e.g., Schmutz et al. 2010). However, one recent study by Cheyne and Binder (2010) is suggestive. Although dealing with large newspapers (i.e., the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times*) and dealing with hip-hop musicians primarily (rather than musicians in a range of genres), it nevertheless focuses on issues of place—particularly musicians in the local area. The authors identified approximately 3500 articles from the two elite publications from 1991 to 2005 containing the terms "rap," "rapper," and "hip-hop," among them a final sample of 218 articles were selected for content analysis to understand how rap music is discussed by critics. They find that reviewers are generally open to hip-hop; it is a genre that has legitimacy with them, and those songs with themes connected to "place" are especially preferred by critics. Yet, they find uneven critical

preference of rap within this one single genre. Critics tend to praise the rap that comes from the "streets" (non-corporate production) rather than corporate studios; they tend to treat those produced in local sites as "authentic" while see those made for national market as lacking of innovation and values; this resonates with my earlier discussion of the field theory that restricted fields of production are often seen as more inclined to the logic of art than commerce. The critics also favor hip-hop that comes from the newspapers' home city more than non-local music; for instance, most of the *NYT* coverage of the music from LA was about its legal and political "troubles." The critics, too, favor the rap that comes from overseas—foreign rap, especially those with "exotic" local elements, are more likely to be seen as "authentic innovation" than American rap. Considering this positive evaluation of hip-hop from abroad, is this something unique to hip-hop or something typical for various types of popular music? On the one hand, we know in considering another type of gatekeeper—those at major record companies—they tend not to favor all types of international music but, instead, tend to favor Anglo-American music and sometimes downplay local styles, as a study in the Dutch music industry indicates (Hitters and van de Kamp 2010). Thus, local newspaper critics are a bit different from those corporate gatekeepers. On the other hand, newspaper critics in various countries tend to focus on some genres that are popular in many nations (rock) while also focusing on some genres unique to their own country (e.g., chanson in France); note that rap's popularity among critics is, as we would expect, relatively new (Schmutz et al. 2010).

In sum, the art worlds approach reinforces the point that cultural production and distribution is a collective process, and it also reminds us that gatekeepers play important roles in calling attention to some creators over others. In this dissertation, I will see how

such gatekeeping plays out on the ground, dealing with local gatekeepers and thereby filling a gap in the literature.

Research Questions

In this dissertation, I will not take a "hypothesis-testing" approach but, rather, I will take a more inductive approach. This makes sense for several reasons. First, the music scenes and art worlds approaches that inform my dissertation are typically interested in issues of "how"—the processes by which collective activity emerges and unfolds. Methodologically, then, such studies often (but not always—like Crossley 2008, 2009) take an approach that emphasizes thick description informed by key concepts (Becker 1982; Bennett 2004). Second, field theory is an empirically rigorous approach, but Bourdieu and other notable proponents stress the relationality present in fields—seeing, for instance, how various capitals combine to structure simultaneously the relative positioning of actors in a field rather than employing such statistical techniques as regression analysis to tease apart the independent impact of a given variable in deductive fashion (Cvetičanin and Popescu 2011; de Nooy 2003). Third, given the limited sociological scholarship on local music venues—and, as a consequence, little prior grounding in how they operate in one locale, let alone how they operate in two locales in different hemispheres—I take more an inductive approach so as to fill in the "empirical gaps" while being theoretically informed by the key concepts discussed above. Finally, the methodologies that I am employing—social network analysis and in-depth interviews—tend to emphasize findings that "emerge" from the data more than findings

that support or reject hypotheses, particularly when interview data are often not "representative" in the statistical sense (see Crossley 2010; de Nooy 2003; Small 2009).

Although I will not take a hypothesis-testing approach in my dissertation, I nevertheless have research questions that are drawn from the literature and that will inform my analysis. These questions include the following.

(1) How do the live-music scenes of Atlanta and Taipei compare in terms of their respective "ecologies" (e.g., the range of venues and the distribution of those venues into distinct niches; see Carroll and Hannan 1995; Webster 2011)? That question is addressed in Chapter Two and, in the process, I add to the music scenes approach by offering a comparative mapping of the "places" and "infrastructure" that make local (if not trans-local and virtual) scenes possible (see also Gallan 2012; Dowd forthcoming).

(2) How do gatekeepers ("bookers" at live-music venues) deal with the uncertainty of selecting which musicians to feature on their respective stages and how do their various approaches lead to an accumulation of inter-venue connections (social capital) in the aggregate (see Foster et al. 2011)? This question is addressed in Chapter Three and, in doing so, I contribute to the music scenes and art world approaches by showing the importance of connections and conventions in the day-to-day operation of Taipei live-music venues (see Becker 1982; Crossley 2008, 2009, 2010).

(3) Is there a "status-order" at play in live-music scenes, whereby similarly positioned venues (in terms of local media coverage) gravitate towards similar booking patterns (see Godart and Mears 2009)? This question is addressed in Chapter Four

and, as a consequence, contributes to the music scenes and art world approaches by heeding the relational inequality involved in the Atlanta live-music scene and in the production of culture more generally (the very relational inequality emphasized by proponents of field theory; see de Nooy 2003; Dowd and Pinheiro 2013).

CHAPTER TWO

THE CITIES AND THEIR SCENES: THE ECOLOGY OF PLACE

Music Scenes, Place and Ecologies

"Place" has figured prominently in the music scenes literature. On the one hand, scenes proponents have tended to emphasize the "grassroots" efforts of ordinary individuals and their local engagement with music rather than the "faceless" corporations that mass-produce and disseminate music. Hence, scholarship on scenes has placed emphasis on (1) enthusiasts / fans (e.g., Baker et al. [2009] on youth's uses of popular music, as well as Bennett [2006] and Davis [2011]) on punks); (2) musicians (e.g., Pinheiro and Dowd [2009] on jazz musicians and Sargent [2009] on musicians in American college towns); and (3) entrepreneurs and small-scale businesses (e.g., Thornton [1996] on dance clubs and Tai [2006] on an independent record label). On the other hand, music scenes proponents locate those grassroots efforts in specific places. Sometimes those places are in a single community (i.e., a "local" scene), such as Liverpool's rock scene (Cohen 1991), Austin's cowboy song scene (Shank 1994), or Toledo's rave scene (Spring 2004). Sometimes those places span multiple communities (i.e., a "trans-local" scene), such as the Goth scene that originated in the UK and spread overseas (Hodkinson 2002) or the progressive rock scene with its small festivals now found around the world (Dowd forthcoming). And sometimes these places are found online (a "virtual" scene)—such as Internet-based scenes devoted to particular artists (e.g., John Prine and Kate Bush; Kibby 2000; Vroomen 2004), a music scene of a social movement (e.g., the White Power Movement) with virtual dimensions to connect its

activists (Futrell et al. 2006), or the formation of international fandom of music from a particular country (e.g., the Swedish independent music scene; Baym and Burnett 2009). The emphasis of music scene scholars on both the grassroots and place, then, leads them to emphasize the everyday and communal aspects of musical life.

In exploring and demonstrating the importance of place, scene proponents have demonstrated several analytical tendencies: First, they tend to focus on single genres, so that readers do not see the array of genres available in a given place. Second, they tend to focus much more on the fans and musicians than the entrepreneurs and their businesses; and when businesses are mentioned, the attention often moves quickly to the musicians / fans. For instance, Grazian (2004), although he conducted research on blues bars in Chicago, arguably favored individuals in his analysis (e.g., club owners, musicians, and support personnel); Crossley (2009), though he mentioned the importance of punk venues, addressed mostly key individual actors (e.g., band members and opinion-leading fans) in the Manchester post-punk scene. In other words, the businesses are often the context of a case study rather than the object of that study. With only a few exceptions to this second tendency, such as Foster and colleagues' (2011) study of Boston clubs, we do not get much of a sense of the "infrastructure" for various scenes—an infrastructure that is as important as the interaction among scene participants because it provides spaces and/or means for such interaction (Dowd forthcoming). Third, scenes proponents tend to focus on actors in similar economic positions (like punks) rather than across different economic positions. Thus, with the emphasis on community, we do not see as much attention to inequality and competition in this literature—factors that Bourdieu and field theory proponents have emphasized (see Chapter One). Finally, scene proponents tend to

focus on how actors perceive their scene (e.g., sense-making and identity issues) rather than the patterned relations among them. As a result, their scholarship is more about interaction occurring within a scene rather than the structure of that scene; that too contrasts with Bourdieu and field theory scholarship that emphasizes structure more than interaction (see Chapter One).

While music scenes scholarship has played a large role in getting at how "place" figures in scenes, it does not usually give a sense of "ecology" of the scene (i.e., the range of actors and their respective niches within a given place; Carroll and Hannan 1995; Webster 2011). Therefore, in this chapter, being informed and aware of scene scholarship, I add to it by taking it in a different direction: dealing with music scenes that span genres and economic positions. I do this by focusing on venues for live music. The ecology I provide not only complements the scenes literature, it also sets up the network analyses in the chapters to come. Before addressing those ecologies, consider first the cities that I address.

Situating the Two Places

The self-gathered data of this dissertation address live-music venues and performances in two cities over a 12-month period—Atlanta (US) and Taipei (Taiwan). I selected the two cities for several reasons. To begin with, there is a pragmatic element—as having lived in both cities, I am familiar with them and their respective live-music scenes. Furthermore, I selected the two cities because both are major cities in their respective countries. Atlanta is the "capital city" of the southeastern US and the largest city in the state of Georgia, and Taipei is the capital of Taiwan. Also, each of the two

cities is known as a transportation hub, both for their countries and for the world. Atlanta is easily accessible for other domestic areas as well as for countries in Europe, South America, and Asia, with ”the world’s busiest airport” (Hartsfield Atlanta International Airport) in Atlanta (Sood 2013; Hetter 2014), while Taipei is also well connected with other parts of Taiwan, as well as with the world, via railways, high speed rail, highways, and two international airports (Taipei SongShan Airport and Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport). In addition, both cities can be considered “international cities” given their convenient transportation; the growing proportion of immigrants among their residents;[4] and the global events they each have hosted—for instance, the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta and the 2009 Deaflympics in Taipei.

The two cities are also similar in terms of their demographic characteristic regarding live-music activities. In 2010, the official city population of Atlanta reached 420,000,[5] and its larger metropolitan population was 5,268,860 (Wilson et al. 2012), while the population of the Taipei metropolitan area was about 6,500,000.[6] Young people can be considered as the main age groups among the live-music audience, as they are often seen as frequent participants of nightlife (see Gallan 2013; Roberts 2013). The proportion of youth and young adults are considerable and similar in the two cities: 37%

[4] Foreign-born residents in Atlanta totaled 424,519 in 2000 and 716,434 in 2010 (Wilson and Singer 2011). According to the Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DBAS) of Taipei City Government, foreign residents in Taipei totaled around 58,000 in 2000 and 70,000 in 2010 (DBAS 2012).

[5] U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Demographic Profile Data of Atlanta City: http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1304000lk.html.

[6] The Taipei metropolitan area includes Taipei City and New Taipei City. The population of Taipei City is about 2,600,000 (DBAS 2014), and the population of New Taipei City is about 3,900,000 (New Taipei Government 2011).

of the Atlanta population was in the age-range of 15-34 years in 2010,[7] while 34% of Taipei's population was in that age range in the same year (Taiwan Executive Yuan 2012). In this section, I briefly address the history, development, and the importance of the music industry in the two cities.

The Music Industry in Atlanta

Several reports (Edmiston and Thomas 2003; Rushton and Thomas 2005; Riall 2011) have shown the estimated size and economic impact of the commercial music industry in Georgia, with Atlanta being the state's leading city. According to the report published in 2003, the Georgia music industry was estimated to have provided about 9,000 jobs and generated more than $94.7 million in tax revenues. The 2005 report estimated the fiscal impact of the music industry to be $54.3 million of tax revenues and 11,032 jobs, and the 2011 report expected the music industry to provide more than $313 million per year in total revenues to state and local governments, with a total employment number of 19,955.

As mentioned above, Atlanta is very accessible because of its geographic location and its transportation infrastructure, which helps the city to serve as the southeastern hub for the national / international music industry. For instance, according to Edmiston and Thomas's (2004) study, Atlanta is where the five major prerecorded music distributors[8] have set up their offices to serve the entire southeast region of the US, which can include

[7] U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Demographic Profile Data of Atlanta City: http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1304000lk.html.
[8] The five major distributors are WEA, Sony, BMG, Universal, and EMD (Edmiston and Thomas 2003).

nine states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Consequently, multinational corporations have been shipping their supply of recordings through Atlanta. The city of Atlanta is also where all of the three performance rights organizations (PROs) locate their regional offices—the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), and SESAC, Inc. These organizations are responsible for securing royalties associated with the performance of live-music (see Dowd 2003). Also, the majority of recording facilities (i.e., more than 300 of them) operating in Georgia, which produce commercial music and broadcasting programs, have been located in Atlanta (Edmiston and Thomas 2004). The city harbors a chapter of the National of the Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS), as well. Furthermore, radio stations also have played a pivotal role in the state's music industry, as they are influential in deciding what music is played to the public—even with the availability of new media such as online music streaming services (e.g., Pandora Radio, Spotify, and iCloud) (Rossman 2012). The radio market in Atlanta ranked 11th nationwide in both 2003 and 2005, with an estimated listening population of more than three million people—with about 28% of the listeners being African American, just fourth behind New York City, Chicago, and Washington DC in terms of African American listeners (Edmiston and Thomas 2003; Rushton and Thomas 2005). With the mass number of radio listeners and more than 20 FCC-licensed radio stations[9] based in Atlanta (Federal Communications Commission

[9] Accessed at FCC FM Query: http://www.fcc.gov/encyclopedia/fm-query-broadcast-station-search.

2014), the city is one of the strongest in radio throughout the southeastern region and the nation.

With the transportation infrastructure and commercial music industry creating a resourceful environment, many record labels and musicians have made Atlanta home or have been closely tied with the city. LaFace Records was formed by Antonio "L.A." Reid and Kenny "Babyface" when Edmonds signed a joint-venture agreement with Arista Records in 1989, and this Atlanta-based record label was a driving force in creating a signature urban music sound throughout the 1990s. Many music artists were produced and promoted by LaFace, such as Toni Braxton, TLC, Usher, Outkast, Goodie Mob, and Pink. Other talents—such as music producers Jermaine Dupri, Dallas Austin, Organized Noise, and the Dungeon Family—were also associated with LaFace. This major record label was also involved in helping with the formation of several smaller labels, such as Bystorm Entertainment and Ghetto-Vision. Another major label that emerged in Atlanta was Jermaine Dupri's So So Def Recordings, a joint venture with Columbia Records and Sony Music, which was launched in 1993. Many musicians' careers were fostered by that label as well, such as Kris Kross, Da Brat, Jagged Edge, and Xscape. So So Def's success has been maintaining the presence of a "major" record label in the city of Atlanta (i.e., one of the multinational corporations that dominates the global music business; see Dowd 2004)—especially given the departure of LaFace in early 2000. It has since been joined by other companies associated with major labels—for instance, Raymond Braun Media Group (RBMG), the company widely known for discovering Justin Bieber, which has had a business deal with Island Def Jam Music Group of Universal, and Block Entertainment, which signed joint venture deals with Bad Boy Records of Warner Music

Group in 2005 and Capital Records in 2009 (see Tullos et al. 2003; Edmiston and Thomas 2004; Rushton and Thomas 2005; Miller and Adams 2013). Other record labels based in Atlanta include "independent" labels not affiliated with the majors—such as Grand Hustle Records owned by artist T.I. and Daemon Records founded by Amy Ray of the Indigo Girls.

The metro Atlanta area also has its share of major musical talents. A good number of famous musicians—like those who have had #1 or #2 albums or singles on the *Billboard* popularity charts, with that high ranking signifying broad appeal and financial success (see Dowd 2004)—call Atlanta home, including Cee Lo Green, T.I., and Usher. Pop music singers and bands have also been produced or proven in Atlanta, including the Indigo Girls, Collective Soul, and John Mayer. Music producer Jermaine Dupri—Grammy Award winner and the founder of So So Def Recordings—is an Atlanta native; India Arie, who has been nominated for a Grammy award seven times, calls Stone Mountain[10] home. Meanwhile, not far from Atlanta, many other music-related individuals or groups are based in the state of Georgia, such as R.E.M, the B-52's, the Allman Brothers Band, Kelly Price, and Arrested Development (see Edmiston and Thomas 2004).

The Music Scene in Atlanta: Venues, Events, and Sounds

Music venues have served as center points for the development of, and proving grounds for, many of the successful musicians hailing from Atlanta, as well for the flourishing of the city's music scenes. These venues include the Yin Yang Café (now

[10] Stone Mountain is located about ten miles from downtown Atlanta.

Apache Cafe) in Midtown and its role in the development of the neo-soul scene and the artists like India.Arie (Reeves and Hargro 2006), and Eddie's Attic, the independent club in Decatur at which John Mayer, Clay Cook, and Shawn Mullins performed (see Guthrie 2003; Jackson 2007). The music venues around Atlanta range from mega-sized places like Philips Arena, where famous stars perform, to mid-sized settings like the Variety Playhouse, which presents musicians playing an array of music genres such as bluegrass, rock, and world music, and to intimate spaces like the Drunken Unicorn and the Earl, which are usually filled with a younger crowd of concert goers. While observing the music scene in Atlanta, it also appears to me that, other than commercial music venues, many churches in the city and concert halls affiliated with educational institutions such as Emory University and Morehouse College also contribute to the diversity of urban sounds by featuring genres like gospel music and classical music.

Atlanta also has had music festivals and events presenting different genres and featuring many musicians—be they regional, national, or even international artists. Its two major festivals are Music Midtown, which attracted an estimated 40,000 people for the 2011 event (Ruggieri 2011), and the Atlanta Jazz festival, which has been held annually since 1978 (Ross 2012). The Atlantis Music Conference and Festival is also an annual Atlanta event, which was first launched in 1998. Other than the regular events held in the city, Atlanta has also housed the Billboard-American Urban Radio Networks (AURN) R&B/Hip-Hop Awards Show in 2005.

Among its multiplex sounds (e.g., classical, country, blues, and indie-rock), Atlanta has been called "hip-hop's center of gravity" by the *New York Times* (Caramanica 2009) and "the rap capital of the Southeast" (Miller 2008). Atlanta's hip-

hop/rap sound started to gain its own signature sound in the late 1980s and the early 1990s (see Tullos, Miller, and Dowd 2003; Miller 2008), largely fostered by local record labels and their artists. D-Roc's "Bankhead Bounce," Duice's "Dazzey Duks," and Arrested Development were among the early Atlanta-tied artists or groups that attracted national attention (Miller 2008). LaFace Records—started by "Babyface" and "L.A." Reid—produced well-known hip-hop/rap artists, such as TLC, Toni Braxton, and the duo Outkast, which all gained success in the marketplace and sometimes from critics. The other major record label based in Atlanta, So So Def, owned by producer Jermaine Dupri, has also contributed to the flourishing of the scene by delivering rap and R&B hits from Kriss Kross, Lil Jon, and the Eastside Boyz.

The Music Industry in Taiwan and Taipei

Before the late 1980s and early 1990s, the main actors in the Taiwanese popular music industry were local record companies; however, approximately 25 of these local companies were absorbed by international music corporations during that time. In a study of such global music companies operating in Taiwan, Chou (2002: 38) has pointed out four main historical periods in the evolution of popular music in Taiwan: (1) the 1940s to 1950, the emergence of Taiwanese popular music, (2) 1951 to 1975, the beginning of influence from the West and, in particular, the US, (3) 1976 to 1990, the relaxation of domestic political control, the flourishing of the domestic economy, and the industrialization of the Taiwanese popular music industry, and (4) 1991 onwards, with political democracy, economic liberalization, and globalization's influence on the Taiwanese popular music industry.

Chou (2002) indicated that, before 1945, all of the musical recordings in Taiwan were imported from foreign countries. It was not until 1961 that the first popular music song was released by a Taiwanese company—"Serenade of Green Island," sung by Zi Wei and recorded in Mandarin. After songs associated with a film soundtrack (the *Love Eterne*), sung by Ivy Ling Po and others, became big hits in Taiwan, the Taiwanese popular music industry began its boom period. It is notable that American culture and music were a huge influence in Taiwan during that time because US army forces were stationed in Taiwan for the Vietnam War—bringing their music and other products with them. In the 1960s and early 1970s, pop music from the West had a high market share in Taiwan, until the emergence of "modern folk" in the 1970s (or "campus folk song," see Wang 2009)—a genre composed by Taiwanese songwriters and sung in Mandarin. This bloom of modern folk, with its associated development of local songwriters and singers, was seen as the foundational base for the subsequent success of Taiwanese pop music in the Asian music market (see Chou 2002; Wang 2009; Moskowitz 2014).

Before the 1980s, most foreign music products in Taiwan were pirated ones. Thus, while popular in Taiwan, the money for such recordings was not flowing back to their foreign sources. This changed when Taiwan and the US started to negotiate about the protection of intellectual property rights in 1985, which was followed by domestic music companies beginning to legally import foreign music commodities. Laws about patent and publication have since been amended to prevent any trade sanctions being imposed due to intellectual property rights violations. Following their successful establishment of distribution channels and the recognition of their brands names in Taiwan, these international corporations started to set up operational branches in Taiwan.

The majors chose to establish these branches because Taiwan was seen as a center of the Mandarin music market, because it had been the exporter of pop music products in the "Chinese cultural sphere" (Chou 2002) and because it had been influential for pop music of other Asian areas such as Hong Kong (Moskowitz 2014). Among the major record companies, PolyGram was the first to have a branch in Taiwan, doing so in 1989—followed by EMI in 1990, BMG in 1991, Warner and Sony in 1992, and MCA in 1995 (see Chou 2002). With the "invasion" of the six multinational corporations, most of the local record companies in Taiwan were either absorbed by the majors or they went out of business. Once in Taiwan, these majors created "sub-labels" for the pop music market in Taiwan, creating more competition for the embattled local record companies. The majors seemed to favor the names of their sub-labels in commercials more than their corporate names, obscuring the non-Taiwanese interests responsible for those advertised products. Among the few survivors, Rock Records would become the most successful local company, one that was able to compete with these international music companies (Chou, 2002).

The report of Taiwan Music Industry Survey (Taiwan Executive Yuan 2010) lays out changes and developments occurring after the late 1990s. In that report, the music industry was divided into seven departments. Though the total gross output of the industry dropped from $33.8 billion new Taiwan dollars in 2004 to $31.4 billion in 2008, which is a 7.2% decrease, some of the departments in the industry actually grew in that period, including the department of performance. The departments of music entertainment and KTV[11] (or "karaoke TV," see Moskowitz 2009: 10) entertainment

[11] This is similar to karaoke, but a KTV is usually divided into separated private rooms.

dropped the most in terms of gross output—with decreases of 25.99% and 34.46%, respectively—while the departments of performance, agent, and event curating increased the most—growing 74.45%, 70.75%, and 68.76%, respectively. The growth in performance in the 2000s suggested that live-music could be a new direction for the Taiwanese music industry in the coming years, which is consistent with what Young and Collins (2010) suggested in their study in Australia, where live performance has become one of the growing areas in that nation's music industry.

The Music Scene in Taipei: Live House and Band Sound

The rising prominence of live-music in the Taiwanese popular music industry has occurred alongside other notable developments. In the late 1990s, "band sound" rose as a new fashion in the pop music industry (Jian 2002: 191-192). Before then, pop music artists in Taiwan were mainly "idols" or singers who recorded their ballad-oriented songs in studios—resembling the "crooners" that dominated US popular music in the mid-1900s (see Dowd et al. 2005: 84; Dowd 2013a). After certain types of live-concert musicians enjoyed some success, more and more bands emerged and mainstream music companies began to release these band sound albums. Besides the rise of band sound, the pop songs produced in the late 1990s included more musical elements and genres than in previous years—such as rock, jazz, and R&B—rather than only focusing on the ballads associated with singers.

As the largest city in Taiwan—with record labels, live houses (clubs presenting live-music), festivals, and more than 20 FM radio stations (Taiwan National Communications Commission 2014)—Taipei has certainly been important for the

development of the national music industry, and it has the most vibrant live-music scene in Taiwan. Almost all of the record labels in Taiwan have their main offices in Taipei—including international music companies like Sony Music and Avex Taiwan, local companies like Rock Records and Wind Music, as well as such indie labels as Taiwan Colors Music and White Wabbit Records. Besides record companies, Taiwanese performance rights organizations are also based in Taipei, such as Music Copyright Society of Chinese Taipei (MUST) and the Association of Music Workers in Taiwan.

Similar to the situation in Atlanta, music venues have also played an important role in the flourishing of Taipei's live-music scene. For instance, The Wall—a music club in the area known as Gong Guan—books bands from across Taiwan, as well as from North America, Europe and Japan. In 2010, for example, more than 45 foreign artists from more than 120 different countries played at The Wall—including Album Leaf from the US, These New Puritans from the UK, and Kings of Convenience from Norway (Cahoon 2010). Also in Gong Guan is a smaller café / "live house," the Witch House, that has provided a venue at which acoustic and folk musicians have performed. Both aspiring "indie" bands and more established singers (e.g., Chen Chi "Cheer" Chen, Xuan "Deserts" Chang) all have played at the Witch House (Chang 2007; Wang 2009; Ma 2011). Music festivals are also constantly held in Taipei; the two major ones are Formoz Festival and Hohaiyan Rock Festival, with both presenting local and international acts. Besides the "infrastructure" of the music scene such as record companies, music venues, and festivals, many musical talents are from or tied to Taipei. For instance, pop music singers Jay Chou, Jolin Tsai, and Hui-mei Chang (A-Mei) are not only famous and commercially successful in the Taiwanese music market but also are successful in other

Chinese communities, such as China (PRC), Hong Kong, and Singapore, if not other areas in Asia (Jennings 2007; Fung 2008; Lin 2009; Huang 2011).

Despite the similarities of Atlanta and Taipei, the two cities have some important differences. First, Taipei is more central to the Taiwanese music industry than Atlanta is for the US music industry. Taipei is the leader of Taiwan in the music industry—as music industry related firms (e.g., production of music content, music publishing, and retail stores for music products) are clustered in Taipei (Lin 2014). In the US, the popular music industry is more dominated by New York City, Los Angeles, and Nashville (Scott 2000; Florida and Jackson 2010; Florida et al. 2010)—with Atlanta only more recently coming to prominence in this regard (Miller 2008). Meanwhile, Taipei is operating in a popular music industry that is relatively newer than the US popular music industry. For instance, in Taiwan, a vibrant supply of local recordings came decades after they did in the US—where local recordings date back to the early 1900s and especially enjoyed a boom after the Great Depression (Dowd 2003). Likewise, intellectual properties were resolved much later in Taiwan than in the U.S.—where intellectual property rights were notably addressed via ASCAP in the early 1900s (Dowd 2003). Furthermore, the number of bands in the US exploded in the 1950s with rock'n'roll and, especially, in the 1960s with the Beatles (Dowd 2013a), whereas that explosion came much later for Taiwan.

Finally, Taipei is in a popular music industry that has occupied a less central position in the global music industry than had the US industry in which Atlanta is based. As mentioned above, the major international record companies "invaded" Taiwan in the late 1980s, and that led to a downturn of local companies. That gives some credence to the "cultural imperialism" perspective which argues that the US / UK dominate the music

business, as does the English language in this "cultural world system" (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997; de Swaan 2001). Some empirical findings give further credence to those arguments. Regarding language, in the mid- to late twentieth century, almost all of the hit songs in the U.S. were sung in English despite coming from such nations as Sweden (Dowd 2013a). That stands in contrast with those English-language recordings that made their way into Taiwan across the decades (see above). Indeed, compared to the flood of US music flowing into Taiwan (see Gold 1993; Lin 2009), none of the 22,560 mainstream hits during 1940 to 1990 were from Taiwan (Dowd 2013a). Meanwhile, according to the 1992 sales of phonograms, the US, as the largest market in the world, took 31% of the global market share with sales of $8,866 billion, while the market of Taiwan was much smaller, as it was ranked at number 326 on that list (Burnett 1996). With this context in mind, we can now turn to the live-music scenes themselves.

The Ecology of the Atlanta and Taipei Music Scenes: The Data Sources

In order to give the contours of the live-music scenes in Atlanta and Taipei, it is preferable to include as many music venues as possible in the data, if not complete listings. Since neither Atlanta nor Taipei has a publicly available listing of all live-music venues operating in the respective cities, I decided to construct the listings myself. In the process of putting together a list of venues in the two cities, I was also able to gather information on the live appearances that took place in each of the venues—including the names of those appearing, the dates and times of their appearances, their associated ticket prices, as well as how the musicians were categorized by local media in terms of genre. A number of measures and outcomes used in my research were derived from the listings

information I gathered, which will be further explained below and in the subsequent chapters.

In searching for how to compile these listings, I found that both cities had similar information sources: free weekly newspapers that devoted considerable attention to detailing, among other things, the time and place of concerts in the metropolitan areas. Those weekly papers were different from traditional, daily newspapers in that they are much more focused on "lifestyle" and "entertainment" matters than upon breaking news, as well as being free of charge. While both weekly papers were central to my data gathering efforts, I also supplemented them with information from additional sources.

The major data for this chapter, and for the entire dissertation, were collected by using these free weekly newspapers in Atlanta (*Creative Loafing*) and Taipei (*Pots Weekly*) as the main information sources. For Atlanta, the dataset was collected via the information included in the *Soundmenu* section of *Creative Loafing*—which published the lists of performances offered by the music venues themselves—and it was supplemented by information from stories mentioning local music venues in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the major daily newspaper in the Atlanta metropolitan area. The entertainment lists, as the first step of data collection, were entered into the dataset by coding information listed in the 52 issues of *Creative Loafing* during 2012. For Taipei, the data were gathered from the "gig" lists of 2012 included in the *Pots Choices'* music section in *Pots Weekly*, and the data were supplemented by information on a music website hosted in Taiwan (*iNDIEVOX*),[12] as well as several venues' official websites and

[12] http://www.indievox.com/; Information on performances were gathered by searching events in 2012 that were listed on the ticket sale page on this website: http://www.indievox.com/event/past/.

Facebook pages.[13] The live performance lists were entered into the Taipei dataset by coding information listed in the 51 issues of *Pots Weekly* and other sources[14] in 2012. The "coded" information included such things as venue name and location and the performing acts featured at those venues.

Though some content of the two weekly newspapers was available online (which would have facilitated data entry), the entertainment lists provided online were usually shorter than the ones printed in the physical issues. Thus, in order to compile more complete listings, the data were entered manually from each physical issue of the two weekly newspapers—since there was no readily available way to "automate" this data gathering process. Furthermore, additional manual work was needed in terms of "disambiguation" of the information contained in these weekly newspapers (see Dowd, Ryan and Tai 2014). Among the venues listed, for instance, I needed to ensure that permutations of venue names were not treated as distinct venues (e.g., Emory Performing Arts Studio vs. Emory Performing Arts Studio, Burlington Road Building). This disambiguation process was much more complicated when dealing with band names. For example, a given band can be presented in several slightly different ways (e.g., "dinos

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[13] *Bobwundaye*'s website: http://bobwundaye.blogspot.com/.
Forum Auditorium's website: http://www.musforum.com.tw/.
La Caja de Musica's website: http://taipeicjm.blogspot.com/.
Vicious Circle's website: http://www.chaospunk.com/.
*A*Bar*'s *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/Abar25816506.
Amigo Livehouse's *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/Amigo37621999.
Anhe 65's *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/ANHE65.
Marsalis Home Taipei's *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/marsalishome.
Re.'s *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/ReformStage.
The Can's *Facebook* page: https://www.facebook.com/thecan.tw.

[14] The record of performances from sources other than the *Pots Weekly* does not offer a genre classification.

boys", "dino boys", and "dino's boys"); thus, it was necessary to ensure that these variations were not coded as different bands. Since even one single digit of difference in two spellings is treated as distinct entities by the programming languages that I used to match the names, I also had to disambiguate all the various spellings in the data sources—including misspellings, articles (e.g., "a", "an", "the"), symbols (e.g., "abby gogo" vs. "abby go-go") and blank spaces (e.g., "aku you" vs. "akuyou"). Because many of the bands listed were aspiring ones, this disambiguation process also involved considerable searching on the Internet to find the correct band names. This process was also done in two different languages, as the information was listed in English for Atlanta and the lists were in either Chinese or English for Taipei; consequently, for the Taipei data, I also had to disambiguate the identical band names listed in the two languages.

The information sources for my data made possible the collection of important measures addressing both the venues in each city and the performing acts appearing there. One of them remained the same for each venue in my dataset: the physical location. That measure allows me to map the distribution of the venues across the metropolitan areas of both cities. While "place" figures prominently in the scenes literature—think of local, translocal, and virtual as the three ways to divide the concept of "scene" (Straw 1991; Peterson and Bennett 2004)— "time" sometimes is lurking in that literature but is still important. Scholars have emphasized the "fluidity" of scenes, whereby some people participate in them sporadically (Bennett 2004). For instance, as Lauraine Leblanc (1999) reveals in her book focusing on female punks, many "want-to-be" punks are often involved in scene activities only on weekends and evenings, while on weekdays, they remain employed in some other sectors such as service and construction.

Likewise, scenes scholarship reveals that some times are more active than others for both musicians and fans, with the weekend figuring prominently. For example, Bennett's (1997) study of the pub rock scene suggests that playing gigs can be a weekend job for some musicians. Others show that raves can be a "weekend culture" for the majority of party participants (Goulding et al. 2002) or for binge drinking (i.e., the "big night out") at nightclubs or dance bars, which normally happens on a Friday or Saturday night (Roberts 2013). Some recent research, in turn, shows how the "infrastructure" of clubs and venues can also play a role in this temporality. For instance, a study in the UK (Shaw 2013) shows the interplay of time and space by examining a project in Newcastle that sought to encourage people to stay longer at night in the city centre, where they could spend time in places for shopping, drinking, and other activities. Another study in Australia (Gallan 2013) also addresses the role of the cultural infrastructure in creating a night-time economy; these places can include mainstream nightlife spaces such as pubs and bars, as well as alternative spaces, such as those associated with "fringe fashion and music" (Gallan 2013: 2). Therefore, I also address the frequency of performances in both cities in terms of days of the week and month.

Two other important aspects of music scenes that I am able to assess via measures are the genres ascribed to performing acts and the costs of their respective concerts. That information, in turn, allowed me to access the genres and prices most frequently associated with a given live-music venue. Genres have played a central role in the scenes literature because they tend to be the anchors of particular scenes. Hence, music scenes have formed around such genres as blues in Chicago (Grazian 2004), country music in Nashville (Peterson 1997) and jazz in New Orleans (Dowd and Pinheiro 2013). Likewise,

Lena and Peterson's (2008) article on culture classification notes that genres tend to have their own audiences, supporters and venues. Consequently, in order to see the full ecology of live-music scenes in Atlanta and Taipei, we should look at the range of genres being performed and heard in each city. Of course, what constitutes a given genre is often debated, but the use of genres is still widespread (see Roy and Dowd 2010). In fact, the weekly papers serving as my information sources employed "genres" regularly when listing appearances by performers. In Atlanta, *Creative Loafing* detailed the genre of the listed acts by categorizing them into seven genre classifications: Big List (i.e., those acts listed in the first section of the entertainment list column), pop/rock, hip-hop/soul, blues/jazz, folk/country, electronic/DJ, and world/classical. In Taipei, the live-music acts were categorized into three genres in *Pots Weekly*—rock/electronic, jazz/classical, and events (i.e., music related activities such as festivals and talks).

The last measure that my constructed datasets allow is ticket price. Pricing is suggested as a factor, among others, that can determine concert and live performance attendance. For example, Toma and Meads (2007) find that increasing ticket prices are negatively associated with attendance at concert performances of mid-sized symphony orchestras. Borgonovi (2007) also indicates that price control helps to increase overall participation in live performances. Based on information in *Creative Loafing*, I was able to classify the ticket prices of performances into five categories: low (less than $5), medium (more than $5 and less than $10), high (more than $10 and less than $25), upper (more than $25), and "unknown." Using information supplied in *Pots Weekly*, I was likewise able to break ticket prices of performances into five categories. The prices were listed there in the currency of the New Taiwanese Dollar. For the sake of comparison,

they were converted into US Dollars by using the yearly average currency exchange rate of 2012 provided by the Internal Revenue Service.[15] The five price categories are as follows: low (less than $4.32), medium ($4.33-9.72), high ($9.73-$17.22), upper (more than $17.23) and "unknown." With these data and measures in hand, we can now examine the ecologies of the two live-music scenes.

The Live-Music Scenes in Atlanta and Taipei, 2012

The Number of Live-Music Venues, Appearances and Musical Acts

A fundamental aspect of the ecology of live-music scene is the number of venues and musicians involved. In Atlanta, where I documented more than 11,000 appearances by performers in 2012, there was a total of 175 live-music venues presenting performances during that year, with 5,531 unique performing "acts" (e.g., bands, soloists) found on their stages. The difference between the number of appearances and the number of "unique" acts results from the fact some acts had multiple appearances in 2012. In Taipei, where I documented more than 4,700 appearances, a total of 145 venues presented live-music performances in 2012, with 2,467 unique performing acts gracing their stages. Table 2-A lists the "Top 10" venues in each city in terms of the number of performance, and Appendices 2-A and 2-B at the end of this chapter provide, in alphabetical order, the total list of venues for each city. As seen in Table 2-A, some venues featured a multitude of shows in 2012, with the number of appearances by musical acts even exceeding the number of days in that year. If we define the "size" of a

[15] http://www.irs.gov/Individuals/International-Taxpayers/Yearly-Average-Currency-Exchange-Rates.

scene by the amount of live-music acts per year, then the Taipei scene is roughly half the size of Atlanta's, as there were about 11,000 appearances in Atlanta and 4,700 appearances in Taipei in 2012—and roughly 5,500 versus 2,500 performing acts, respectively. However, if we define the scene in terms of the number of venues, the supply in the two cities is more similar, with 175 clubs presenting live-music in Atlanta and 145 in Taipei. Given the numbers of acts and venues in the two cities, it is clear that, on average, live-music venues in Atlanta were arranging more appearances and performers than were those in Taipei.

Live-music in small venues can be very different from that occurring only in large-scale venues that focus on superstars. On the one hand, there is a substantial difference in ticket prices—with the superstars charging exorbitant prices (see Black et al. 2007; Holt 2010). On the other hand, large-scale venues tend to focus on a few (well-known) performing acts, while smaller venues focus on large numbers of the "little-knowns." As a result, smaller venues deal with musicians making little money and having little fame (see Dowd and Pinheiro 2013). Also, small-scale venues and events (e.g., festivals) tend to feature more diversity in performing acts, with none towering over the others in terms of the sheer number of performances; those acts with the "most" performances are often not that far away from those with only one performance (see Dowd 2013b; Dowd forthcoming). The 2012 "Top 10" musicians in terms of their appearances in Atlanta and Taipei are listed in Table 2-B. The two cities differ in that musical acts at the top of the list in Atlanta had many more appearances than those at the top in Taipei—with DJ Tabone featured far more often than any other musician in both cities. Note that, in Taipei, even the most featured musicians only performed seventeen

times in 2012. Nevertheless, we see a lot of "one-timers" in both cities during 2012, with 4,003 acts only appearing once in Atlanta and 1,658 acts only performing once in Taipei. In fact, a given musical act only performed, on average, two times in Atlanta and 1.9 times in Taipei in that year. Both scenes, then, are marked by a flurry of musicians moving through the venues.

The Placement of Live-Music Venues

As "place" has long been a concern for music scenes proponents, as I discussed above, it is helpful to see how these music venues were situated across their respective metropolitan areas in 2012. Figure 2-A maps the location of Atlanta venues included in the entertainment lists of *Creative Loafing* during 2012. We can see that most of the venues clustered around the heart of the metro Atlanta area, with just a few of them located in other such cities as Athens and Union Point. If we take a closer look, as shown in Figure 2-B, we find that many of the venues were inside the "Perimeter"—the geographical area marked by Interstate 285, which forms a circle of sorts in which suburban areas are outside that circle. Figure 2-B allows us to visualize the venues inside the Perimeter in a more detailed fashion, with those having the most appearances colored differently. There, I break the scope of the "ITP" (inside the Perimeter) area of Atlanta into two parts, as the two pictures in Figure 2-C show. In the area south of the junction of Interstate 75 and Interstate 85, the neighborhoods where many venues nestled in 2012 were Westside/Home Park, Downtown Atlanta, Midtown, Old Fourth Ward, Poncey-Highland, Little Five Points, East Atlanta, Downtown Decatur, and the area around the Piedmont Park. Note that the most "active" live-music venues in terms of appearances

were all located in the southern part. The rest of the venues inside the Perimeter are plotted on the upper picture of Figure 2-C, which shows that fewer venues were sparsely spread out in the area north of where Interstate 75 and Interstate 85 split—with a couple of venues located close to each other in the area of Buckhead.

Figure 2-D maps the live-music venues in Taipei, and it also provides a closer look at their locations in the second map of the figure. My data sources provided information on venues in the metro Taipei area, which includes Taipei City and New Taipei City. However, only a few of the venues were located in New Taipei City in 2012. Similar to the live-music scene in Atlanta, most of the venues in Taipei clustered in the heart of the city. In particular, the top three districts home to the most venues were Jhongjheng, Da-an, and Xinyi District. Figure 2-E presents the venues with the top ten places that had the most appearances colored differently. A good number of them were spread along Roosevelt Road, in the previously mentioned Gong Guan area, where the National University of Taiwan is located. This area is where college students and young people like to go to shop, eat, and hang out with friends; it is also where a number of well-known live-music venues were located in 2012, as discussed above.

The Temporality of the Live-Music Scenes

Previous scholarship shows that fans, musicians and the commercial infrastructure organize their participation in scenes in a temporal fashion, and I find that live-music venues in the two cities do so as well. Figure 2-F shows that there was much more live music available for Atlanta listeners on the weekends than on the weekdays, which is what we would expect given research on temporal patterns in the punk (Leblanc 1999)

and rave (Goulding et al. 2002) scenes. Two weekend days (Friday and Saturday) accounted for over 20% of the Atlanta shows, with Thursdays accounting for 19%. In total, about 60% of the live-music shows in Atlanta happened from Thursday through Saturday. Weekends figured prominently in Taipei, as well. Figure 2-G shows that two weekend days had the highest numbers—with around 24% of shows happening on Fridays and 30% on Saturdays. Very few shows occurred in Taipei on Mondays and Tuesdays—with those days only having 3.5% and 4.4% of the total shows, respectively. Both cities thus had higher amounts of live-music performances occurring on weekends rather than on weekdays. Given the behavior patterns of youth, as the main population of concert-goers, and other regulars of nightlife spaces suggested by previous studies (see Goulding et al. 2002; Roberts 2013), the venues may be shaping "big nights out" (Roberts 2013) by arranging special events with more acts or scheduling bands more regularly on weekends—as some venues do not usually present live music on weekdays. However, there were more shows on Wednesdays than on Thursdays in Taipei, while in Atlanta, shows on Thursdays were much more numerous than those on Wednesdays. The "long" weekends may be at play in Atlanta, with Thursday launching it for some. In Taiwan, Wednesday is called a "little weekend" and, thus, there is this atmosphere encouraging people to go out with friends on Wednesday, as well as the weekends. As I observed, several venues in Taipei sometimes promoted their Wednesday shows by using language such as "special night of little weekend" while providing special-priced drinks or such.

The music scenes literature tends not to talk of time in terms of months. However, it is instructive to consider if there are broader temporal patterns. Figure 2-H displays the

monthly number of live-music acts appearing in Atlanta during 2012,[16] in which we can find that the Atlanta venues presented the most live acts in October. Two summer months (July and August) had high amounts as well, while two winter months (January and February) had the least number of appearances by musical acts; moreover, June, September, and December had relatively small numbers of appearances in Atlanta venues. As for Taipei, Figure 2-I reveals that two winter-months (January and February) and one summer month (July) had the fewest appearances throughout the year, while September, December, and March had the three highest number of appearances by performing acts. September and December each accounted for over 10% of the shows, while January and February accounted only for less than 4% and 7% of the shows, respectively. Thus, the distribution of appearance across the 12 months look a bit more distinctive for the two cities than does the distribution across the days of the week, with July among the months with the most appearances in Atlanta but among the months with the fewest appearances in Taipei. As July is the first month of summer vacation in Taiwan—when many college students in Taipei either go back to their hometown or visit other cities for vacation—this could account for the low number of shows in that month. Although two winter months (January and February) had low numbers of shows in both cities, January had an extremely low number for Taipei when compared to its other months. This may due to the fact that the Chinese New Year vacation, when everything is usually closed for five days, fell in January during 2012. Overall, Atlanta has less

[16] The sample size of this figure is 8,325 appearances. The number is smaller because those acts regularly featured in a certain venue were described in *Creative Loafing* in such ways as "Every Thursday" without providing information regarding the actual month. Since these appearances were usually regular ones across the year, they are not likely to be a reason for the changing distribution of acts by month shown in Figure 2-H.

monthly variation than Taipei does, which reveals that its live-music scene was more often "open for business" throughout the year than was Taipei.

The Musical Genres of Acts Appearing in the Two Live-Music Scenes

A direct comparison is made difficult with regards to music genres because the two weekly papers serving as my main sources of data employed different genre classification schemes, with Atlanta having more categories than Taipei. As a result, I focus on points of overlap between their schemes. Most of the acts appearing in Atlanta venues were categorized by *Creative Loafing* as being pop/rock, with more than 4,700 appearances accounting for about 42% of the total, as shown in Figure 2-J. The genre classification of electronic/DJ also had a fairly large number of shows in Atlanta—almost 2,400 appearances by performing acts fell into this genre, which secured 21% of the total displayed in Figure 2-J. Meanwhile, the genres of blues/jazz and folk/country shared a similar proportion of appearances by performing acts—about 1,300 (12%) and 1,000 (9%) were labeled by *Creative Loafing* as constituting those two genres, respectively. Although, as noted above, Atlanta is called the "hip-hop's center of gravity"—that genre figures slightly in terms of 2012's live appearances. Figure 2-K reveals that Taipei shows defined by *Pots Weekly* as rock/electronic were much more common than were shows for the other two genres—with more than 3,000 occurring for rock/electronic appearances, which made up about 73% of the total in the year. In contrast, only about 16% of the shows were defined as jazz/classical and only around 11% were music events (i.e., festivals and talks regarding music).

Though music genres were broken down by the local weekly papers into different categories, both live-music scenes most frequently featured "rock" shows in comparison to all other genres (i.e., pop/rock for Atlanta and rock/electronic for Taipei). Note how that emphasis on "rock" in both scenes resonates with Regev's (2011) argument about the worldwide dissemination of "pop-rock" (i.e., a genre based on electric music instruments with "sonic expression"—particularly the electric guitar and bass), which began as Anglo-American pop-rock but has since spread to South America, the Mid-East and Asia. In fact, the emergence of "band sound" in Taiwan described above could be seen as an example of that spread. The substantial number of "electronic" or "EDM" (electronic dance music) shows in both scenes matches another global trend—the spread of what was originally an underground music found in North America and Europe. As both Hesmondhalgh (1998) and Anderson (2009) have described, EDM started off in the underground but then became commercialized, and it has since traveled to other countries such as the Netherlands, Hong Kong, and China with some subgenres (e.g., "Cantopop electronic dance music") derived from EDM. (Hitters and van de Kamp 2010; Chew 2009). Though EDM is seen as declining in the case of Philadelphia (Anderson 2009) and is considered by some to be rarely performed lively by its creators (Fraser 2012), it seems to be doing fine in Taipei and Atlanta in terms of sheer numbers, according to the live-music listings in 2012—at least among "legitimate" commercial venues rather than impromptu raves.

Classical music and jazz are among the earlier genres to globalize, and they continued to occur in both Atlanta and Taipei during 2012. As early as the 1800s, classical music from various countries was circulating across the Atlantic and has grown

more global in its circulation during the 1900s (Schmutz and Dowd 2014). Meanwhile, according to Phillips's (2011) study on jazz recordings in the early to mid-1900s, jazz enjoyed a quick global diffusion to at least 67 cities worldwide, such as Chicago, London, Milan, Moscow, Oslo, and Sydney, just to name a few. Comparisons of these genres in my data are complicated by the fact that Atlanta presentations are classified in a way that combines jazz and blues, while the classification in Taipei combines jazz and classical music. From Dowd's (2003) research, we know that jazz was once popular in the US but it eventually got pushed aside by rock, R&B, etc.; from Grazian's (2004) research, we know that blues clubs can be quite popular in the US. Meanwhile, US sales figures show that both jazz and classical are small in terms of consumer demand (see Recording Industry Association of America 2008), and audience research shows that jazz has joined classical in terms of being common among high-status folks attending live music (see DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004). Given the findings and facts regarding these genres, classical is obviously small among Atlanta venues and "jazz" may be small if the "blues" were accounting for most of the "blues/jazz" appearances in 2012. Yet, it is quite striking to find that jazz/classical is much more prevalent in Taipei during 2012, especially when compared to Atlanta.

The Ticket-Pricing of Musical Acts Appearing in Both Live-Music Scenes

Unlike the genre classifications, ticket prices are easily compared across the two live-music scenes, especially as I have cast them in US currency. However, the comparison for ticket prices is complicated by the fact that many appearances by performing acts have an "unknown" price—especially in Atlanta. Consequently, the

results here need to be cautiously interpreted. Figure 2-L presents the distribution of ticket prices for live-music acts appearing in Atlanta. Most of their appearances were priced at the medium level—more than 3,000, which accounted for about 28% of the total number of appearances in that live-music scene. About the same number of appearances fell into the low and high price levels—around 2,300 were priced below five dollars and another 2,300 acts cost the audience 10 to 25 dollars. Only 6.5% of appearances by performing acts were pricy (costing 25 dollars or more) in 2012, according to the information contained in *Creative Loafing*. Note that the "unknown" prices were second most common in my Atlanta dataset, as more than 2,500 appearances were not listed with a price in the weekly newspaper. Figure 2-M presents the ticket price distribution of appearances by performing acts in Taipei, as reported in *Pots Weekly*. First, over 2,000 of these appearances were priced at the high level (higher than $9.72 and less than $17.22), which comprised over 45% of the total amount that year. Almost 900 appearances fell into the medium price level (between $4.32 and $9.72), which made up about 19% of the shows; and almost 700 appearances by performing acts in Taipei were priced at the upper level (higher than $17.22), which consisted of almost 15% of the total. The lowest ticket price level had the least number of appearances—only 319 (6.79%) had cost less than $4.32. The "unknowns" made up 13.77% of the total appearances. Differences between the two live-music scenes are more obvious for ticket price distributions than for genre distributions—at least for those with "known" ticket prices: the high price level contained an extremely high proportion of appearances by performing acts in Taipei, while the upper price level included the lowest percentage of those in Atlanta.

We can use Figures 2-N and 2-O to look further into the "unknown" ticket prices. Figure 2-N presents the distribution of ticket prices across the seven genres documented in the Atlanta live-music scene. A large portion of appearances in both the Big List and world/classical categories were priced at the upper level, while a large number of electronic/DJ appearances were priced at the low level. Appearances by performing acts in the other four genres were mostly priced in the range of $5 to $25 (i.e., medium or high level). As Figure 2-N presents, "unknown" ticket prices in Atlanta were the most plentiful in the least expensive genres of electronic/DJ, blues/jazz, and pop/rock. There were very few unknowns for the most expensive genre of classical music—only 21 classical appearances were not reported with price—while more than 1,000 electronic/DJ shows were unknown in terms of price. Consequently, I suspect that the unknowns in Atlanta would likely be towards the cheap rather than the costly live performances. The "unknown" prices in Taipei can also be inspected by comparing the ticket prices of performing act appearances across the three documented genres. Indeed, Figure 2-O makes it clear that appearances by performing acts in jazz and classical were priced more toward the higher end (i.e., costing more than 9.72 dollars), while appearances in the other two genres fell more towards the middle (i.e., prices between $4.32 and $17.22). As Taipei did not have as large a supply of low ticket prices as did Atlanta, the unknowns would likely be among the medium (event) to high prices. By observing the scene while collecting data in Taipei, it appeared to me that those restaurants providing regular, and sometimes free, live music for their dine-in customers tended not to report price—and these venues were not the usual spaces considered as "professional" music venues by participants in the scene (see Chapter Three). Given the distribution of ticket prices

across genres in the two cities, we can now have more confidence in the point that Taipei's live-music scene is more expensive overall than Atlanta's in terms of what it costs audiences to attend—at least for the places that focus more on music than other items of business, such as serving food.

Classifying Live-Music Venues in Terms of Genre and Price

The previous information is interesting in its own right, as it tells us about the types and costs of music being presented in both scenes. However, we can also use that information to cast light on the venues themselves—the places where this live-music occurred in 2012. Doing so allows me to depict the "infrastructure" of these live-music scenes by attending to the genres that the venues most typically presented and the prices that they most typically charged during that year. In other words, I am able to show the various "niches" (see Bruggeman et al. 2012) that venues occupied in terms of the intersection of musical styles and costs. Musical "genre" is a good niche element to consider. Keith Negus (1998), for instance, has shown that those in the music business use "genre" as a conventional way to organize and make sense of the musical supply, while Sara Cohen (2012) has shown that local musicians often map their city in terms of genre-specific venues. Not all live music venues are necessarily genre-specific; for instance, Gallan (2012) has shown that a venue can focus on local acts instead of a particular genre. Nevertheless, it is common for live-music venues to emphasize a specific genre and to draw a particular clientele in the process. For instance, Purcell and Graham (2005) have shown distinct patron characteristics for particular clubs classified by genres (e.g., black patrons for Reggae-Rap clubs vs. whites for other clubs), with the

segregation between those attending clubs of different musical genres mentioned by Finnegan (2007), as well. Furthermore, DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004) have confirmed that different genres are associated with different audiences.

Ticket prices are also an important niche element because, on the one hand, that pricing is a good way to distinguish between those venues addressing amateur / local musicians versus those addressing professionals / superstars in the absence of systematic information regarding the size and emphasis of those venues (e.g., live music primarily vs. dinner with some live music; see Webster 2011; Johansson and Bell 2014). On the other hand, the studies regarding ticket cost that I mentioned above have shown that cost is likewise associated with different audiences (see Toma and Meads 2007). For instance, some people have to save up for months for more expensive (superstar) tickets, given the significant increase of ticket prices in the mid-1990s (see Holt 2010).

Table 2-C displays the two important niche elements for live-music venues in Atlanta—genre and ticket price. The following points are key. First, the average ticket price for a given venue was calculated by using the mean (i.e., the average) of *all* ticket prices for performing acts appearing at that venue; for a given venue, its average ticket price was labeled as "unknown" if the ticket prices of acts appearing at that venue were *never* listed in *Creative Loafing* throughout the year. Thus, as we see in Table 2-C, 30 venues never revealed their prices in that publication during 2012. The rest of the four categories (low, medium, high, and upper) were based upon the average ticket price. Each of the two higher price levels accounts for roughly 20% of the venues, with the medium price venues being the smallest group and the low price level comprising the largest group of venues. Resonating with the above discussion regarding the relative

inexpensiveness of the Atlanta live-music scene, Table 2-C shows that roughly 24% of the Atlanta venues often priced their live-music performances for five dollars or less in 2012, compared to the 20% that usually set their ticket prices at more than 25 dollars. Second, the genre of each venue was obtained by using the mode (i.e., the most frequently occurring) genre for *all* the acts that made an appearance at that venue. If a given venue had multiple modes of genre in 2012, then its genre was coded as "missing." As Table 2-C shows, pop-rock and electronic/DJ (which have been broadly popular genres around the world—see Regev [2011] for pop/rock and Chew [2009] as well as Hitters and van de Kamp [2010] for EDM) lead the way in the Atlanta live-music scene, with blues venues close behind—which are likewise popular in other parts of the country (see Grazian 2004). Meanwhile, two genres with notable associations with Atlanta are not as numerous in terms of venues: Atlanta was nearly the capital of early country music before performers and record companies made Nashville the capital (Peterson 1997) and hip hop has flurried of late in Atlanta (see Miller 2008)—but there were fewer venues for those two genres than for classical music in 2012.

In general, I derived the niche elements for Taipei venues in a similar fashion to how I did so for Atlanta venues. There were some slight differences though. First, the average ticket price for a given Taipei venue was labeled as "unknown" if the prices for the performing acts it featured were never listed in *Pots Weekly*, as well as in supplemental sources that I used to collect the data during that year. Table 2-D shows that ticket-pricing information was not listed for 19 of the Taipei venues. Second, the prices listed in Table 2-D have been converted into US dollars, as described above. While the ticket-prices associated with the appearance of performing acts in Taipei tended towards

the high end (see above), the venues themselves were more evenly distributed across: 32 venues belonged to the upper price group (with average ticket price higher than $17.23), 41 of them were defined as high price venues ($9.73-$17.22), 22 venues fell into the medium price group ($4.33-$9.72), and 31 venues belonged to the low ticket price group ($0-$4.32) in 2012. Finally, while genre designations were coded similarly for Taipei venues by using modes (as done for Atlanta venues), the Taipei live-music scene had fewer genre categories to consider in 2012, at least in terms of those designated by *Pots Weekly* (but see Chapter Three). Table 2-D reveals 61 venues that dealt primarily in rock/electronic, 54 venues of jazz/classical, and 17 venues of event (e.g., festivals, talks regarding music) in Taipei during 2012. Taipei venues are similar to Atlanta ones in terms of the prevalence of rock/electronic—but possibly quite different in terms of classical. It is hard to say if classical (or jazz) was indeed so much pronounced in Taipei than in Atlanta; with the given information, it is not clear if the Taipei venues were mostly dealing with "jazz" or mostly dealing with "classical."

If we consider the information of venues' average ticket price and genre together, we can plot the distribution of venues across distinctive niches, as Figure 2-P does for the Atlanta live-music scene. The upper price level is the realm of a near-majority of Big List venues and world/classical music venues—13 of the 32 venues labeled as Big List venues belonged to the upper ticket price group, and 6 of the 16 world/classical music venues were categorized as upper price venues. None of the electronic/DJ venues were listed as upper price venues in 2012; instead, low price level venues comprised the majority of those mainly presenting electronic/DJ acts. The distribution of pop/rock venues in terms of ticket price is similar to the electronic/DJ genre ones—most of the venues presenting

pop/rock music priced their shows more at lower price levels, with 22 out of 41 pop/rock venues typically charging $10 or less per ticket. Venues mostly presenting hip-hop/soul and blues/jazz music were distributed almost evenly across the four average ticket price levels in 2012, while in the genre of folk/country, more venues belonged to the group of high price than other ticket level groups. As for the distribution of unknown price, more than half of the venues (16 of the 30 unknowns) that did not report price were the ones that mostly featured EDM acts, while none of the hi-hop/soul venues failed to report price.

The three-genre classifications limit the number of niches I can consider for venues in Taipei; nevertheless, we can still see distinct niches even within such broad classifications. Figure 2-Q shows that, in the Taipei live-music scene of 2012, the high price level group had the most venues focusing on the genres of rock/electronic and jazz/classical in 2012. The next most numerous niches in each of those genres diverged: among rock/electronic venues, "second place" was claimed by those with upper price level tickets; in contrast, among jazz/classical venues, second place went to those with low price levels. The event venue group had the most venues that did not report their price for their music events. Even with such broad classifications as "rock/electronic" and "jazz/classical," the Taipei live-music scene of 2012 had differentiations within each of these genres—with different price niches likely connected to different audiences, as suggested by previous scholarship on tickets/attendance. Also, if the Taiwanese live-music scene was more expensive than the Atlanta one for audiences (see above), its rock/electronic venues were behind that pricing difference much more than classical/jazz venues because the latter were almost evenly split between low and high price levels,

with medium and upper nearly tied for second place. This distribution of world/classical was somewhat similar in Atlanta of 2012, with low *and* upper price levels as the two most frequent ones. This can be because, on the one hand, we know that classical music tends to be associated with affluent audiences (see DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004). But, on the other hand, it also tends to be oriented more towards art and education than to profit—with the low priced venues in both scenes likely addressing an educational mission (see Dowd 2011).

Finally, the geographical distribution based on the two niche elements can be visualized. In general, Taipei venues in various niches were located close to each other. In contrast, there were some "segregation" patterns among Atlanta venues in terms of price and genre. Figure 2-R and Figure 2-S present the distribution of venues in Atlanta and Taipei, with those of higher price levels given a lighter color. We can see that upper and high price level venues tended to locate in Downtown and Midtown Atlanta in 2012, while we do not see an obvious pattern in Taipei regarding ticket price. Similarly, in Taipei, live-music venues featuring the same genres do not seem to locate in the same districts (see Figure 2-T). However, in Atlanta (see Figure 2-U), we can see that Downtown and West Midtown had more Big List venues, while pop/rock venues tended to locate in Little Five Points, East Atlanta, and along Ponce de Leon Avenue; also, Old Fourth Ward and the east side of Midtown had relatively more electronic/DJ venues. As discussed above, different venue types (e.g., genres) attract distinctive audiences with particular characteristics, and this may account for difference between the live-music scenes regarding the location of venues. That patterning can be more obvious in cities (e.g., Atlanta) with residential segregation based upon race (Keating 2001), possibly

leading to the various niche elements (genre and ticket price) clumping in parts of the metro area rather than being distributed uniformly across it. Meanwhile, in cities with high density and intense mixed use (residential and commercial) (Tu and Lin 2008), and where residents have better access to public transportation that spans the metro area, live-music venues with different niche elements may be more likely to reside next to each other (e.g., Taipei).

Conclusions

Contributors to the music scenes literature have routinely emphasized the importance of "place." In fact, they distinguish between three types of place: local, translocal and virtual (see Peterson and Bennett 2005). In focusing on music venues in two cities, I have emphatically highlighted the "local." In fact, Gallan (2012) notes that venues are a "fixed" part of a scene's local infrastructure—and, in contrast to the raves described by Anderson (2009) or the occasional warehouse concerts described by Fraser (2012), live-music venues are entities that have a more permanent location. Even in dealing with such clearly "local" entities as live-music venues, we still see evidence of the translocal, if not the virtual. After all, in both live-music scenes, despite being on different sides of the world, they overlap considerably in terms of certain musical genres—especially rock and EDM. To some, that could suggest a type of cultural imperialism—partly given the history described above, where the Taiwanese popular music industry emerged relatively late and was "invaded" by multinational record companies from North America, and Europe (as well as Japan).

In the world system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1991), for example, culture is seen as a battleground in which the struggle is driven by material interests. Culture helps reproduce the system in which the elite minority controls the majority, so that the process of cultural construction is a feature of hegemonic control. World culture contains both the ideology of the elite (liberal tenets) and the ideology of the repressed (anti-system movements). Wallerstein (1974) considers the world as a system in which inequality exists between core countries, semi-peripheral countries, and peripheral countries. Through the global commodity chain, the inequality is reinforced. Core countries, with their extensive economic capital, are capable of developing industrialized industries and, thus, capable of creating high revenues and of re-inserting those revenues to develop further their industries. In the global context, core countries set their manufacturing departments (e.g. factories) in semi-peripheral or peripheral countries, which allows them to exploits the latter's natural resources or cheap labor—but these core nations retain their headquarters and marketing departments, for such efforts require highly skilled laborers. As a result, in this system, most of the capital flows back to the core countries, as the commodities produced in the periphery are largely consumed in the cores at prices higher than the cost of production. Ulf Hannerz (1991) has described the homogenization that can flow from this exchange between the core and the periphery—one "involving the high-tech culture of the metropolis, with powerful organizational backing, facing a defenseless, small-scale folk culture" (Hannerz 1991:108). The "metropolis" has high levels of capital and technology, while the small-scale folk cultures in the periphery lack both and, in turn, cannot resist the invasion from the center—such as when multinational record corporations from North American and Europe set up

operations in the Taiwanese music industry. This results in a one-way flow from the center to the periphery. Western culture becomes world culture, and local, non-Western culture becomes diminished—as when musical genres emanating from the US and other core nations (e.g., rock, electronic dance music, jazz) become prominent fixtures in the live-music scene of Taipei.

The transnational/virtual flows of genres from the US to Taiwan need not be seen as imperialism, however. Regev (2011), for example, sees "pop-rock" as a "model" of genres that has diffused globally. Originating in the US and the UK, it has been seized upon by various nations and, in the process, has resulted in new and diverse variants that combine local aspects with the global model—or what Hannerz (1992) calls "creolization"—thereby leading to growing diversity rather than growing homogeneity worldwide. Thus, the "rock/electronic" music that is so prominent in the Taipei live-music scene is not necessarily one and the same with that being performed in the Atlanta live-music scene. As mentioned above, sub-genres that have been doing well in the Chinese linguistic market (including Taiwan) such as Cantopop and Cantopop EDM—which can carry various elements from Euro-American, Japanese, Mandarin, and Korean music (see Chew 2009; Chu and Leung 2014)—do not sound the same as pop/rock or EDM in Atlanta and other Anglo-American areas. While some have argued that Hong Kong's "loss of hybridity" resulted in the decline of its own Cantopop, they have also pointed to the rise of Mandapop in the mid- to late 1990s (Chu and Leung 2014). Indeed, in Taiwan, Mandapop (or Mandarin popular songs) can include elements such as American style, country, rock, as well as "moody and folk"—especially those sung by singers promoted by music agencies (see Lin 2009).

Also, we cannot lose sight of the fact that in the comparison of Taipei and Atlanta—and, by extension, the position of the Taiwanese music industry relative to the US industry—that Taipei and Taiwan have become regional powerhouses in their own right by contributing to the Asian music market and by sometimes challenging the multinationals. Taiwan has been considered as the center of the Chinese music industry (Martin 2003) and has been attracting financial resources as well as singers from China and Southeast Asia to its music market (Y. Wang 2009). In fact, in 1999, Taiwan was the second largest music market in Asia (Japan was the biggest one) (Huang 2002); in 2009, it was in fourth place in Asia in terms of recorded music sales (in physical formats; International Federation of the Phonographic Industry 2010). In the recent development of digital music, Taiwan has also offered a major digital music service (KKBOX) in Asia (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry 2012).

While some might view the "places" in this chapter as sites of cultural imperialism (with Taipei the victim of musical homogenization), and others might view them as sites of creolization (with Taipei a source of musical diversity), music scene proponents would likely point to other differences and commonalities. Nationally central, yet globally recent, Taipei's 2012 live-music scene was less active than Atlanta's scene in terms of the number of appearances—encompassing fewer performing acts overall and fewer busy days and months than Atlanta. Meanwhile, Atlanta which is only recently becoming a major contributor to its own national music industry (see Miller 2008; Florida et al. 2010; Johansson and Bell 2014) was a less expensive scene overall in 2012 than was Taipei's. Yet, as for commonalities, both live-music scenes were marked by

multiple niches that allowed each scene to address both amateur and professional musicians, both unknowns and superstars, and the varied tastes of audience segments.

In addressing the ecology of the music venues in both scenes, I have emphasized the "infrastructure" of the music scenes—the organizations that provide important sites at which scene activities unfold (see Gallan 2012; Dowd forthcoming). In doing so, I have obviously not dealt with a common concern of the music scenes literature: the ways in which each place has attained its own musical identities (Baker, Bennett and Homan 2009). However, given the relative inattention to music venues in the sociological literature, as well as the tendency of music scenes scholarship to address scenes devoted to one genre, my efforts in this chapter have provided a notable complement. Yet, in the current chapter, I have not addressed an important aspect of the ecologies of both live-music scenes: that is, the connections that exist between live-music venues in Taipei and Atlanta, respectively. I turn to this issue in the next chapters.

Table 2-A. The "Top 10" Live-Music Venues in Atlanta and Taipei (in Terms of 2012 Performance Numbers)

Atlanta Venues	Number of Appearances	Taipei Venues	Number of Appearances
Masquerade	1165	The Wall	547
529	944	Riverside Music Cafe	486
The Earl	718	Revolver	378
Star Bar	542	Pipe	355
Smith's Olde Bar	503	Legacy Taipei	295
The Drunken Unicorn	497	Underworld	252
Eddie's Attic	430	Treellage	230
Quad @ spring4th complex	409	Riverside Live House	229
Apache Cafe	287	National Recital Hall	198
Northside Tavern	287	National Concert Hall	163

Table 2-B. The "Top 10" Performing Acts in Atlanta and Taipei (in Terms of 2010 Performance Numbers)

Performing Acts in Atlanta	Number of Appearances	Performing Acts in Taipei	Number of Appearances
DJ Tabone	122	The Sign of Human (記號士)	17
The Larry Griffith Band	67	88 Balaz (八十八顆芭樂籽)	17
The Shadows	51	Manic Sheep	16
The Breeze Kings	43	Roxymoron (羅西是魔人)	15
Nathan Nelson & Blonju	42	Guntzepaula (槍擊潑辣)	14
Al Smith	42	Sleeping Brain (眠腦)	14
Donna Hopkins	39	Hi Jack	13
Joe Gransden	39	Renascimento (文藝復興)	13
Tony Bryant	38	Oli (杭士琁)	13
Justin Chesarek	37	Miss Banana (香蕉小姐)	12

Figure 2-A. Map of Atlanta Music Venues: The Full Picture

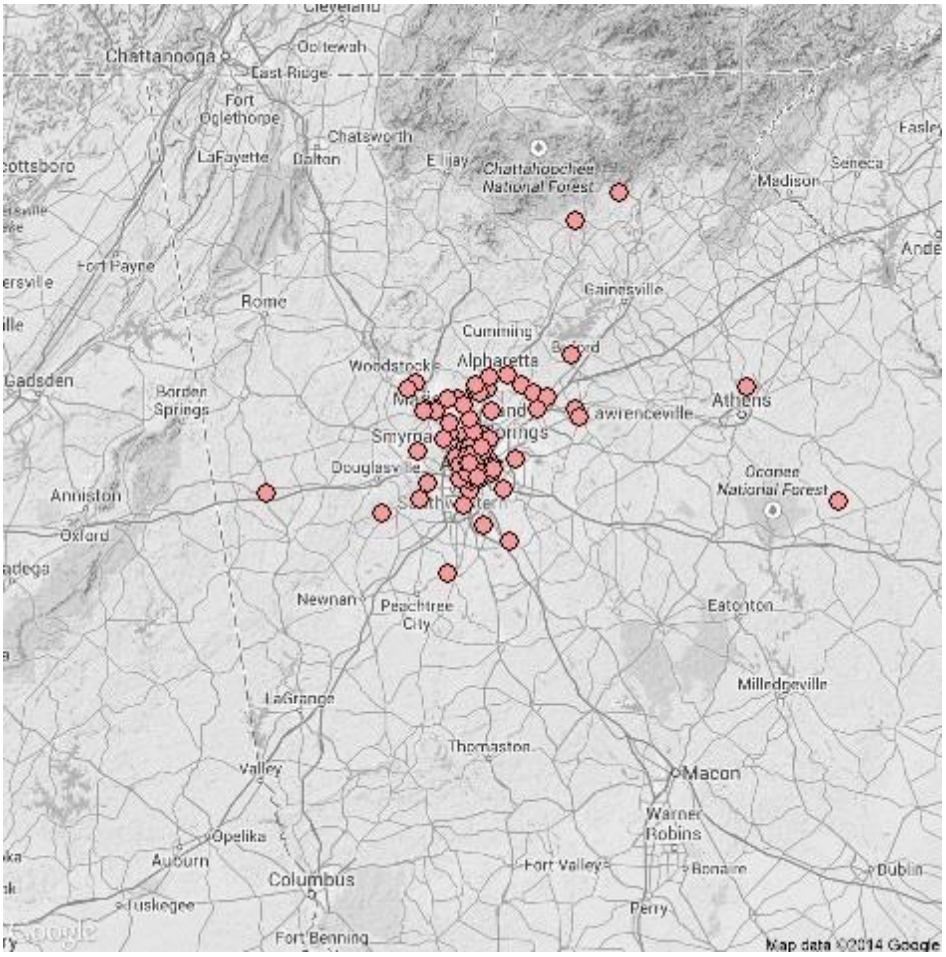


Figure 2-B. Map of Atlanta Music Venues: Inside the Perimeter, with the Top 10 Venues in Terms of Appearances

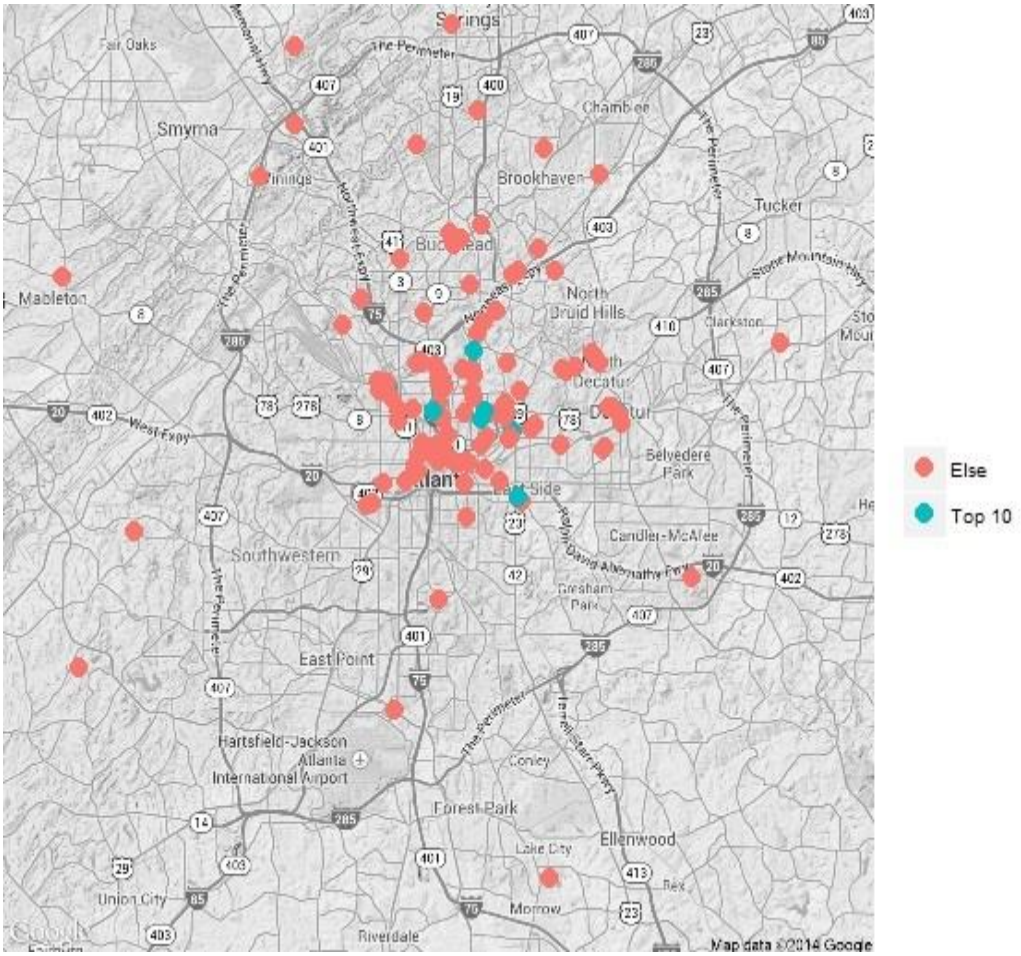


Figure 2-C. Map of Atlanta Music Venues: Inside the Perimeter (North and South), with the Top 10 Venues in Terms of Appearances

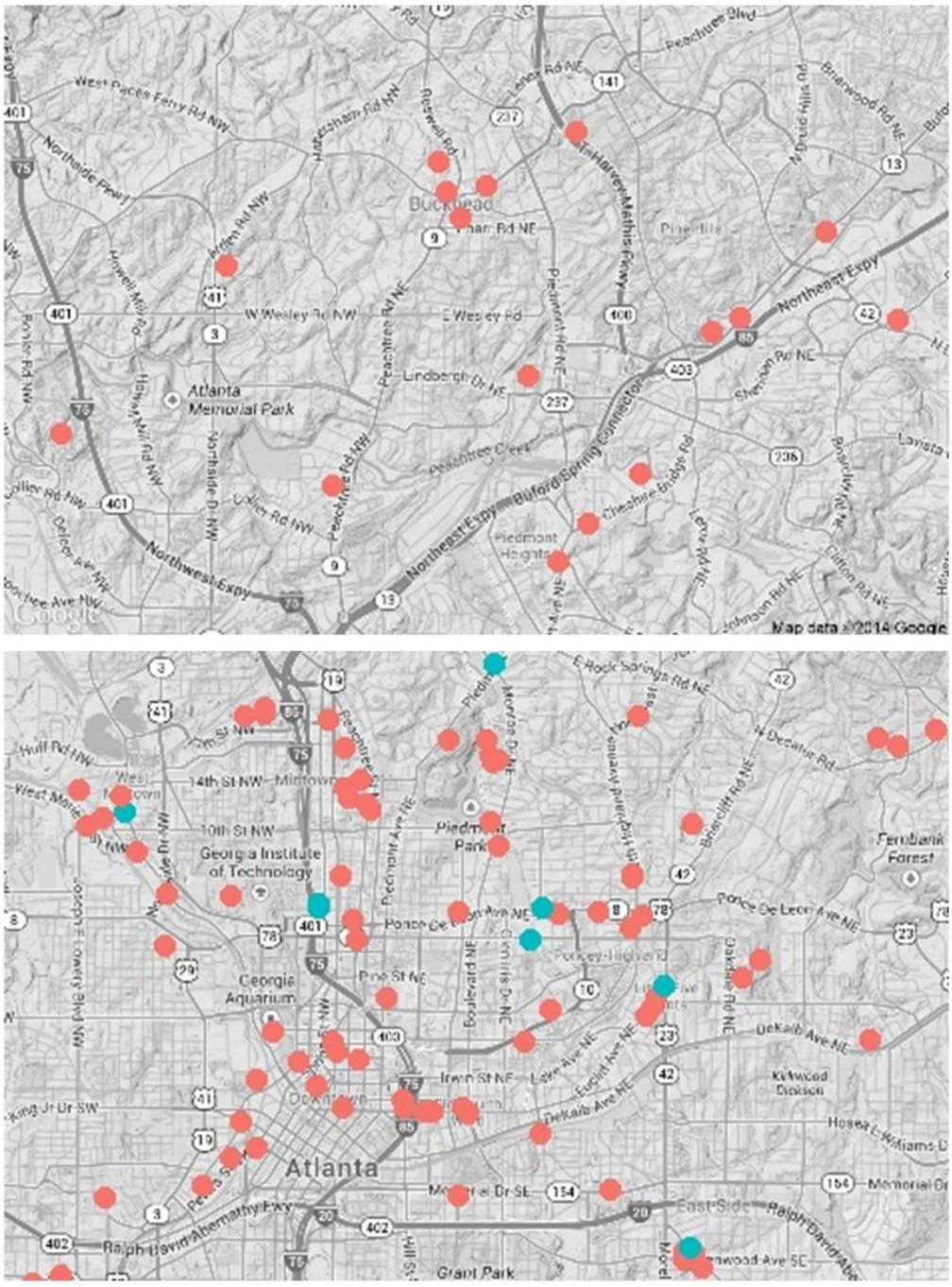


Figure 2-D. Map of Taipei Music Venues: The Full Picture and a Closer Look

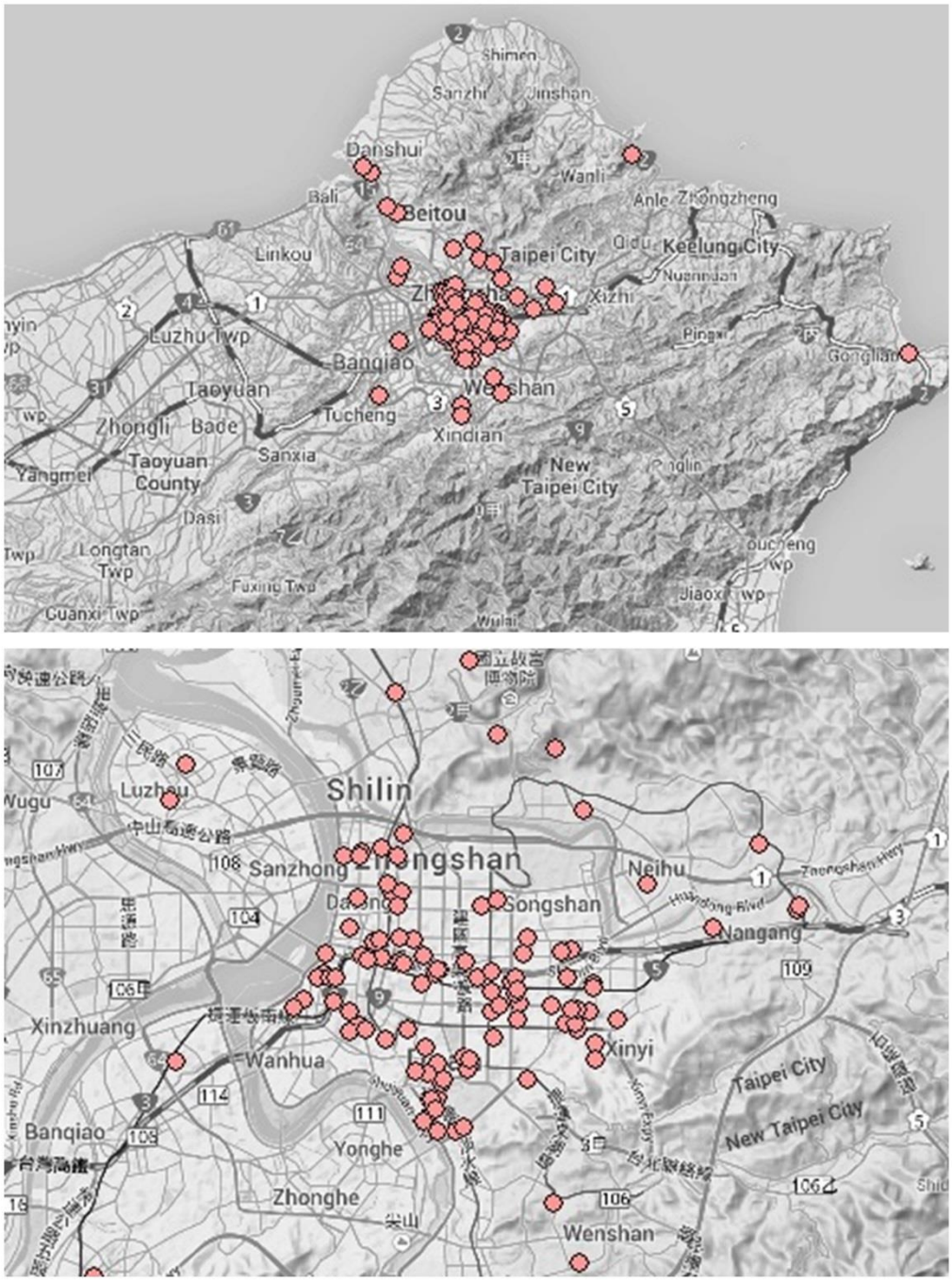


Figure 2-E. Map of Taipei Music Venues: The Top 10 Venues in Terms of Appearances

Figure 2-F. Atlanta: Number of Live-Music Appearance by Weekday

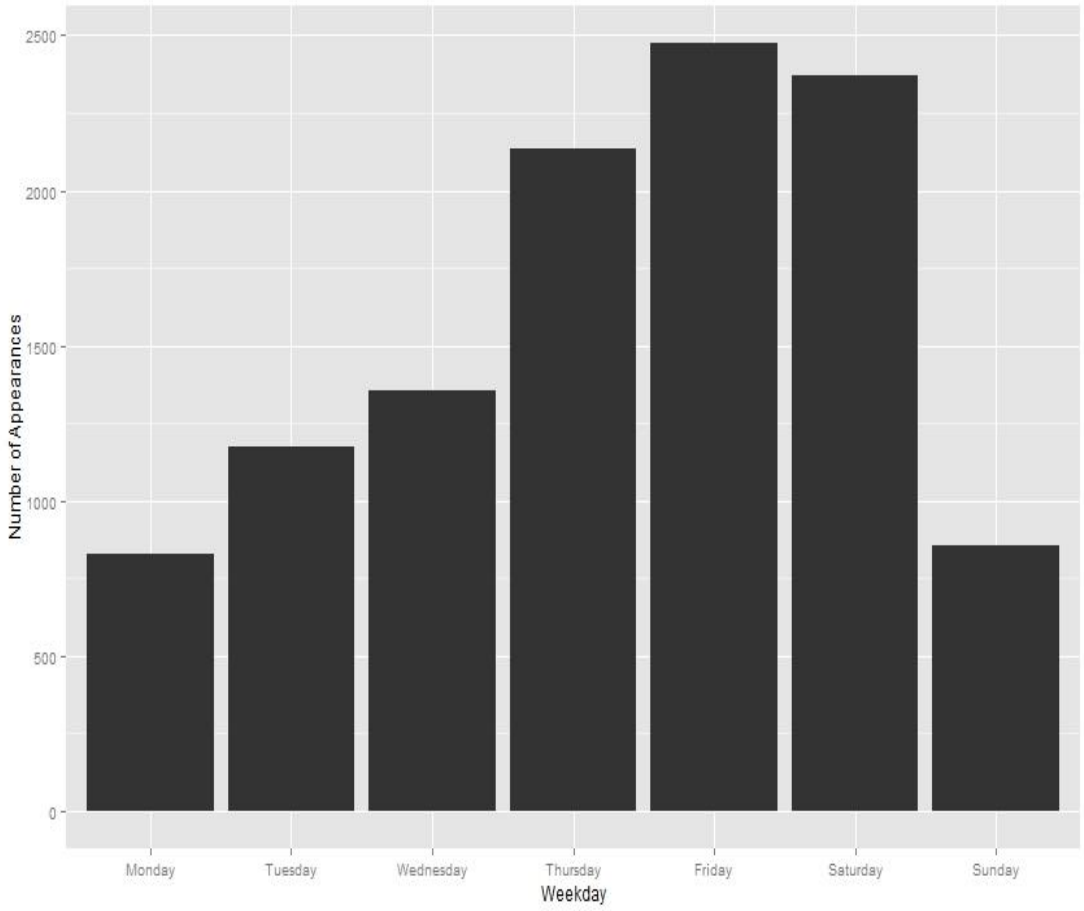


Figure 2-G. Taipei: Number of Live-Music Appearance by Weekday

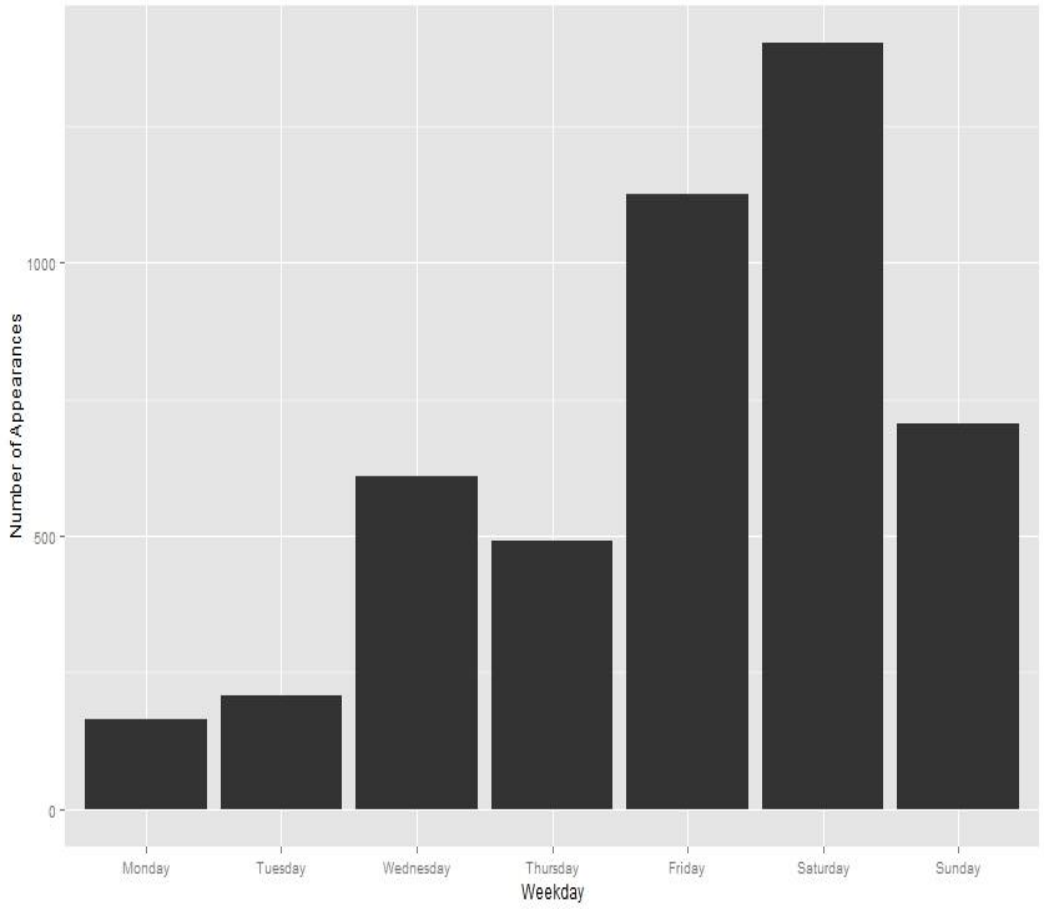


Figure 2-H. Atlanta: Number of Live-Music Appearance by Month

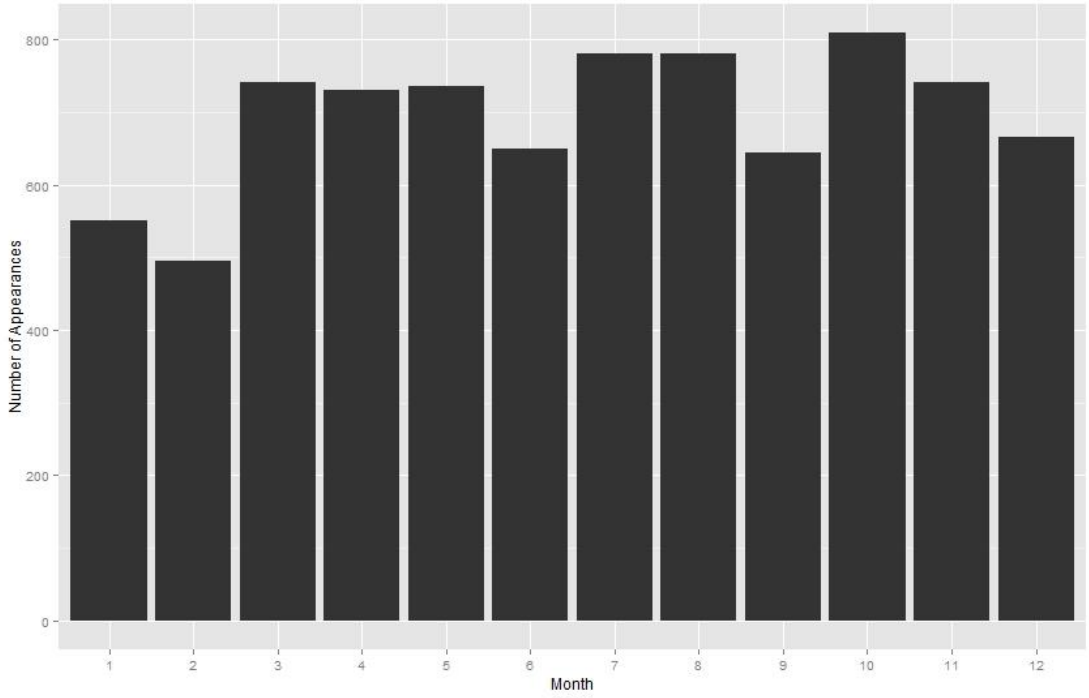


Figure 2-I. Taipei: Number of Live-Music Appearance by Month

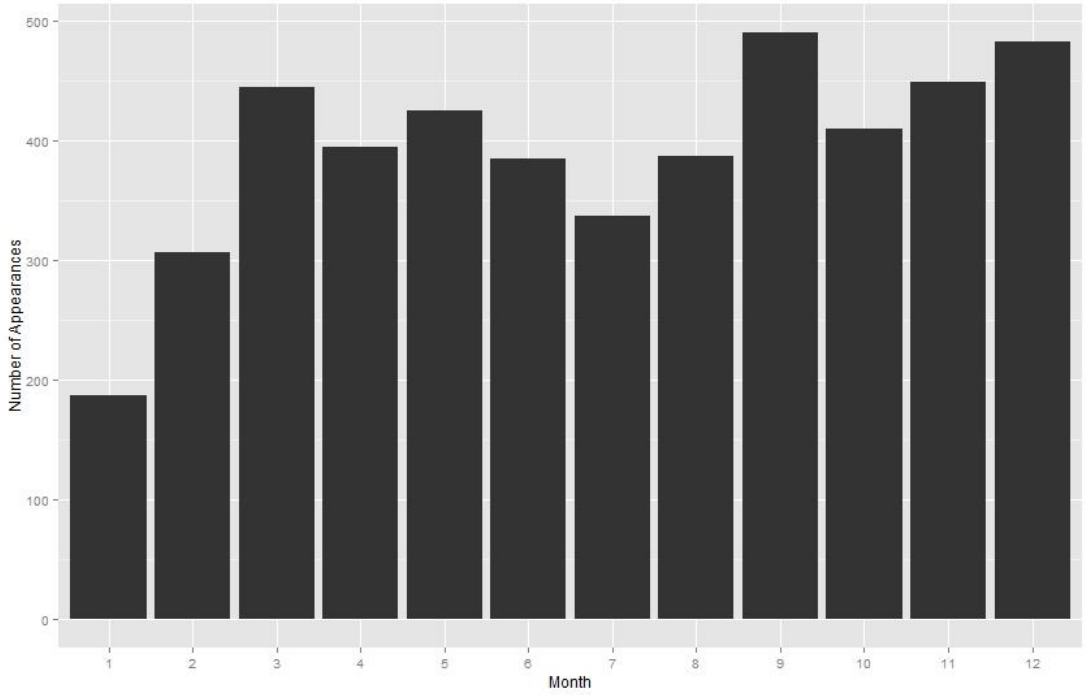


Figure 2-J. Atlanta: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Genre

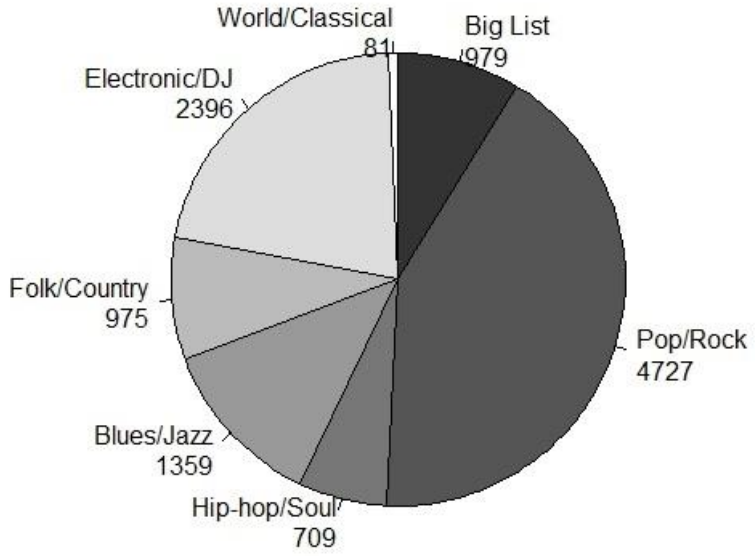


Figure 2-K. Taipei: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Genre

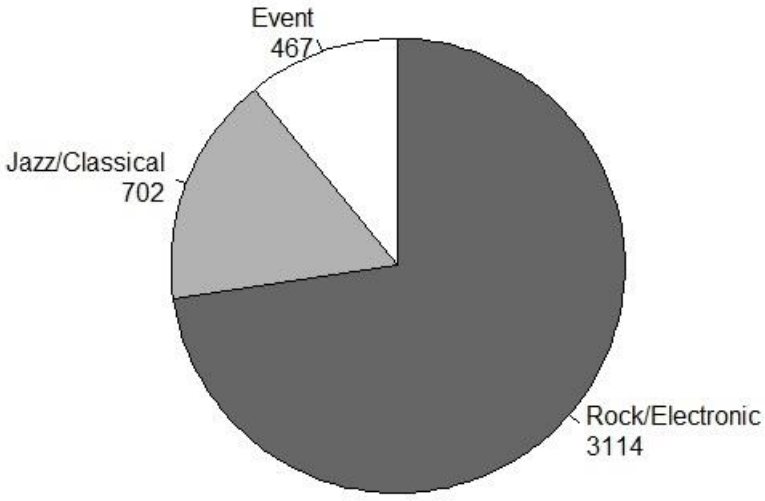


Figure 2-L. Atlanta: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Ticket Price Level

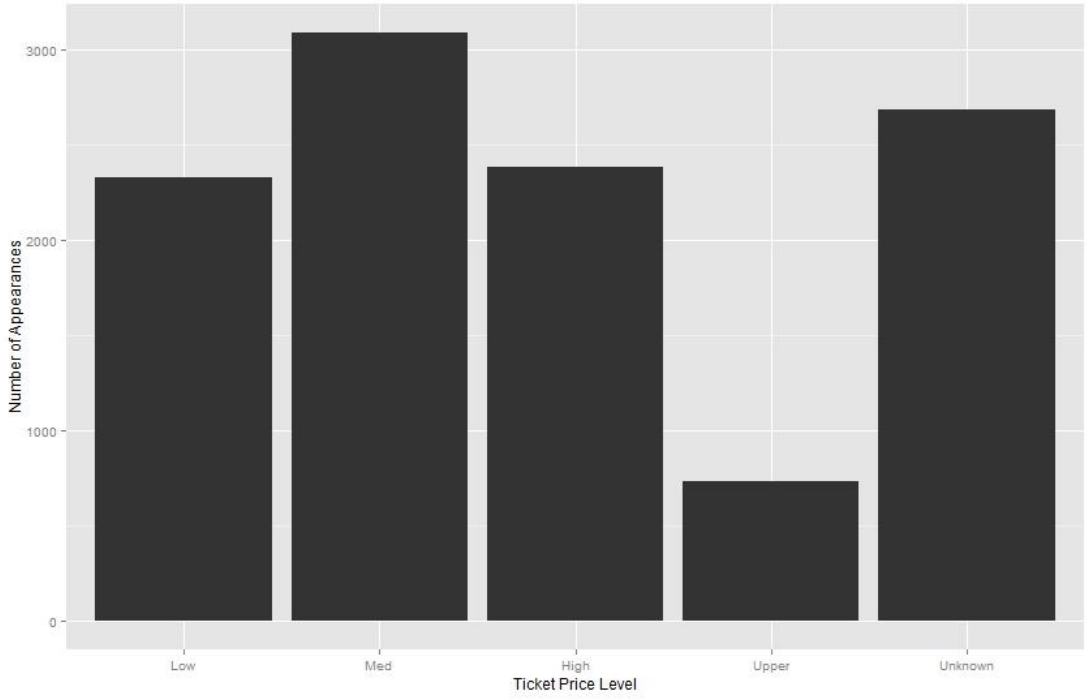


Figure 2-M. Taipei: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Ticket Price Level

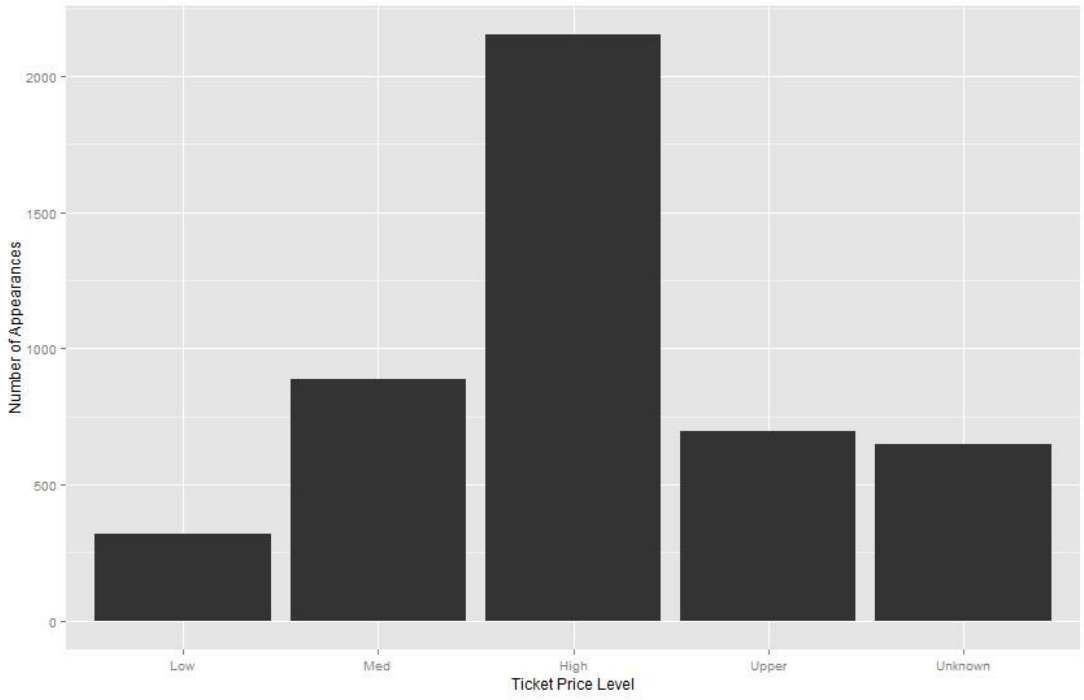


Figure 2-N. Atlanta: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Ticket Price and Genre

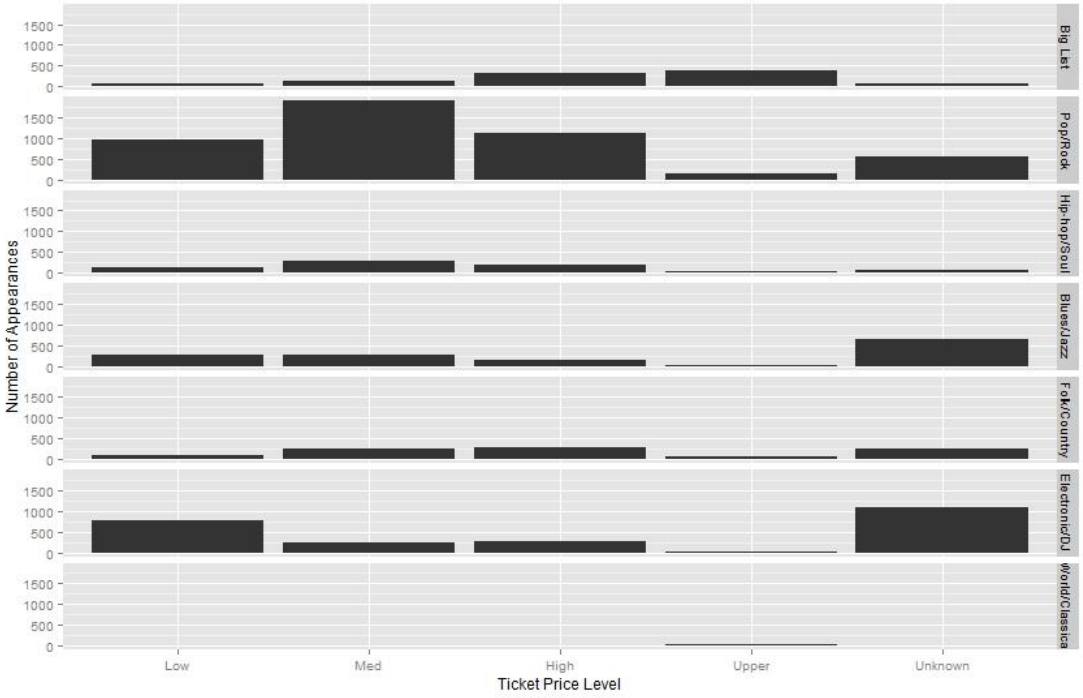


Figure 2-O. Taipei: Number of Live-Music Appearances by Ticket Price and Genre

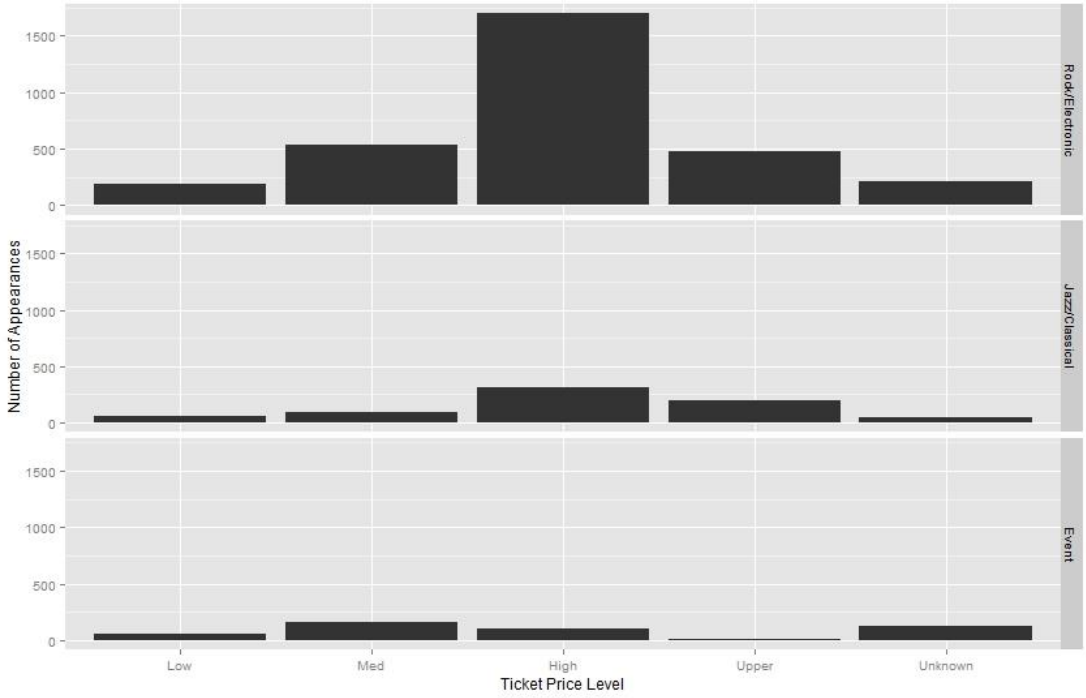


Table 2-C. Niche Elements of Live-Music Venues in Atlanta

	Average Ticket Price			**Venue Genre**	
	Count	Percent		Count	Percent
Upper ($25+)	36	20.57%	Big List	32	18.71%
High ($11-$24)	35	20.00%	Pop/Rock	41	23.98%
Med ($6-$10)	32	18.29%	Hip-hop/Soul	7	4.09%
Low ($0-$5)	42	24.00%	Blues/Jazz	29	16.96%
Unknown	30	17.14%	Folk/Country	11	6.43%
			Electronic/DJ	35	20.47%
			World/Classical	16	9.36%
Total	175		Total	171	

Table 2-D. Niche Elements of Live-Music Venues in Taipei

	Average Ticket Price			**Venue Genre**	
	Count	Percent		Count	Percent
Upper ($17.23+)	32	22.07%	Rock/Electronic	61	46.21%
High ($9.73-$17.22)	41	28.28%	Jazz/Classical	54	40.91%
Med ($4.33-$9.72)	22	15.17%	Event	17	12.88%
Low ($0-$4.32)	31	21.38%			
Unknown	19	13.10%			
Total	145		Total	132	

Figure 2-P. The Niches of Atlanta Live-Music Venues: Average Ticket Price Level and Genre

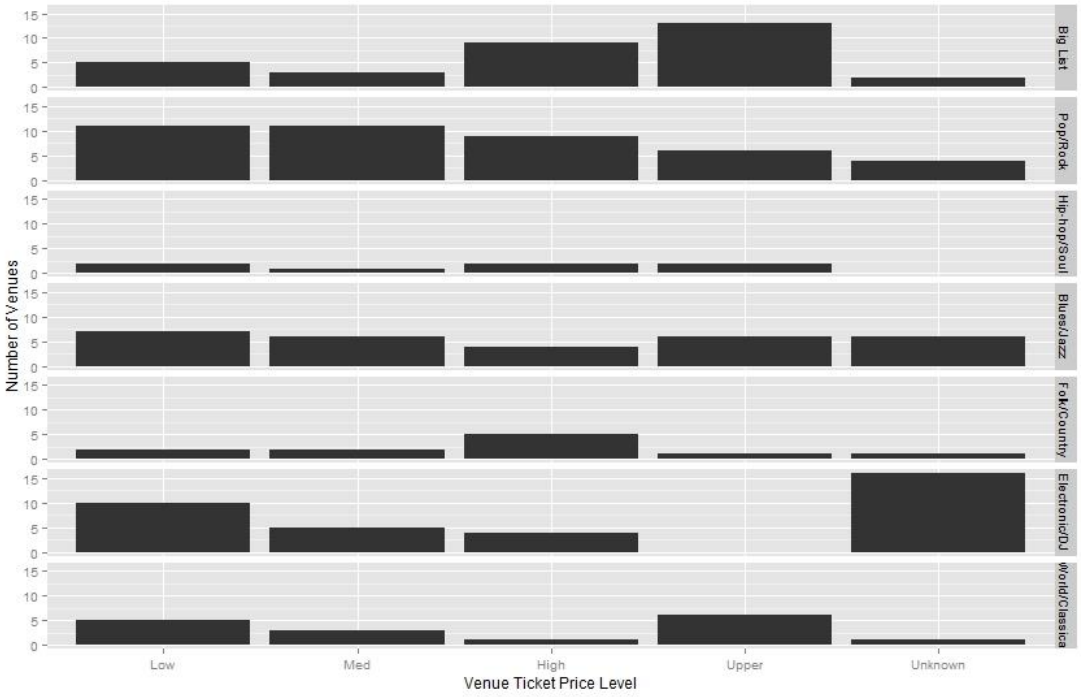


Figure 2-Q. The Niches of Taipei Live-Music Venues: Average Ticket Price Level and Genre

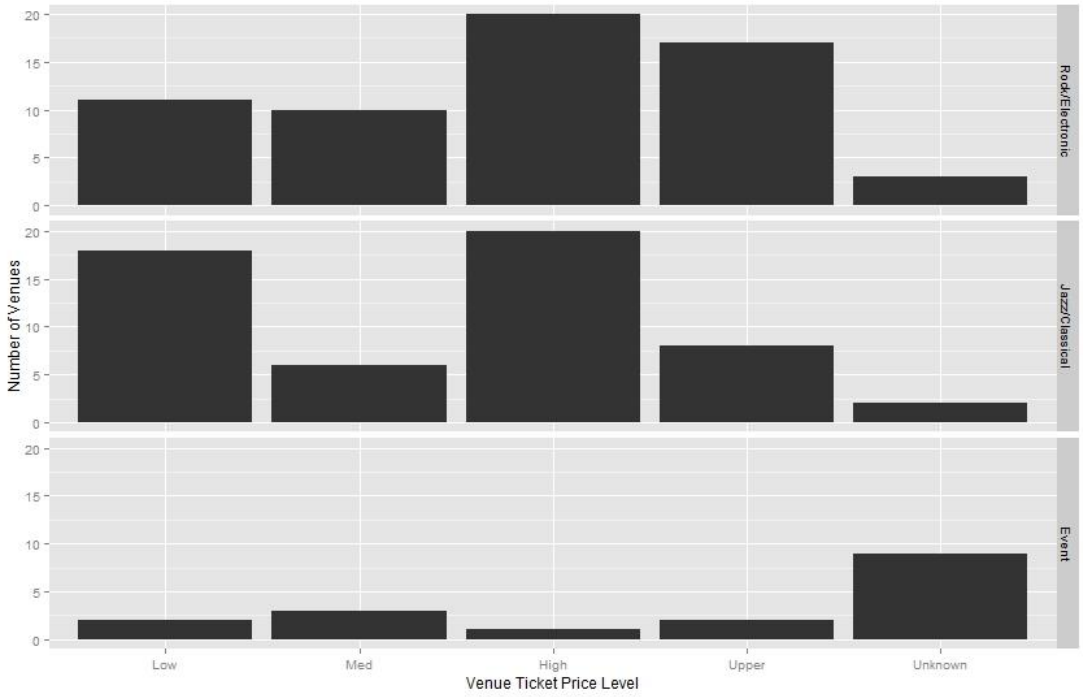


Figure 2-R. Map of Atlanta Live-Music Venues: Average Ticket Price Level

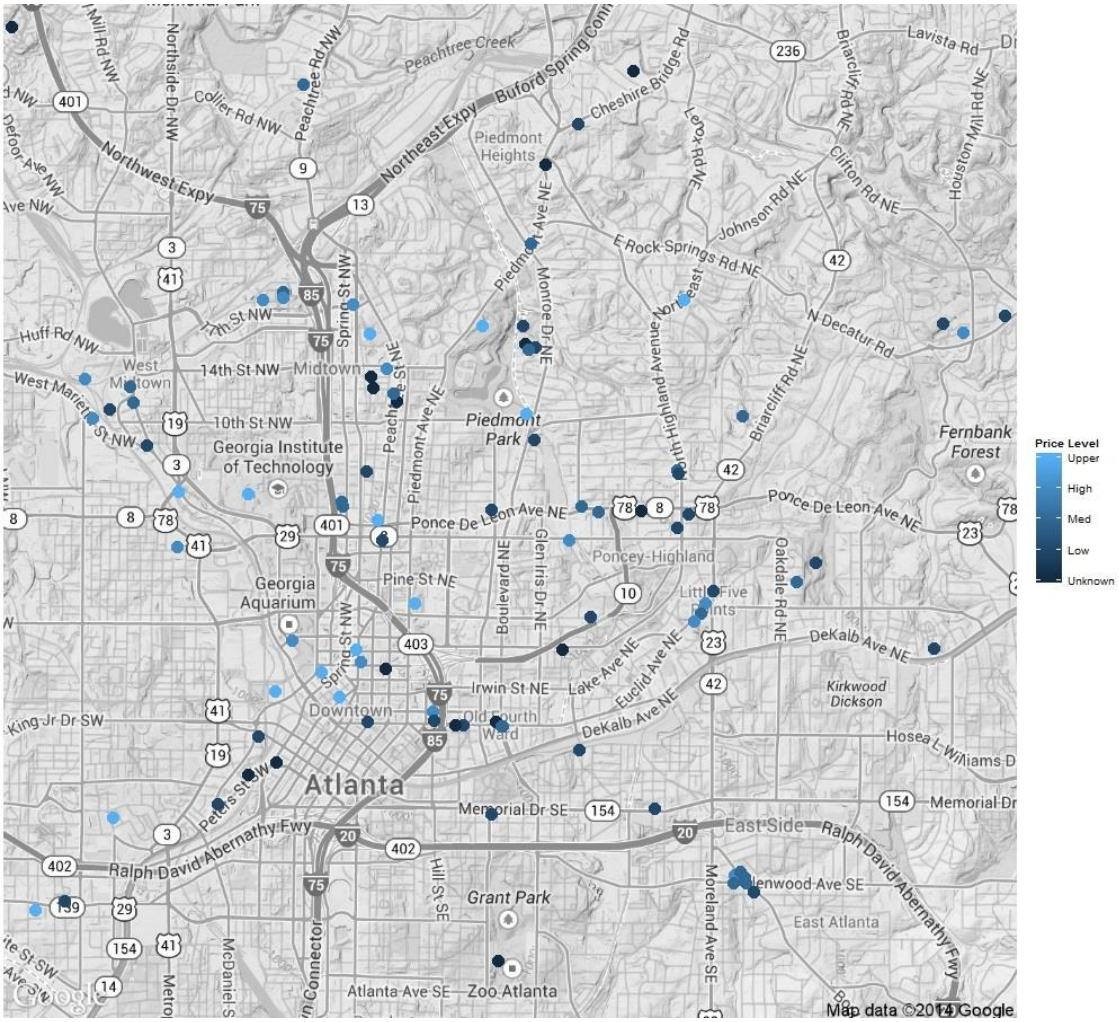


Figure 2-S. Map of Taipei Live-Music Venues: Average Ticket Price Level

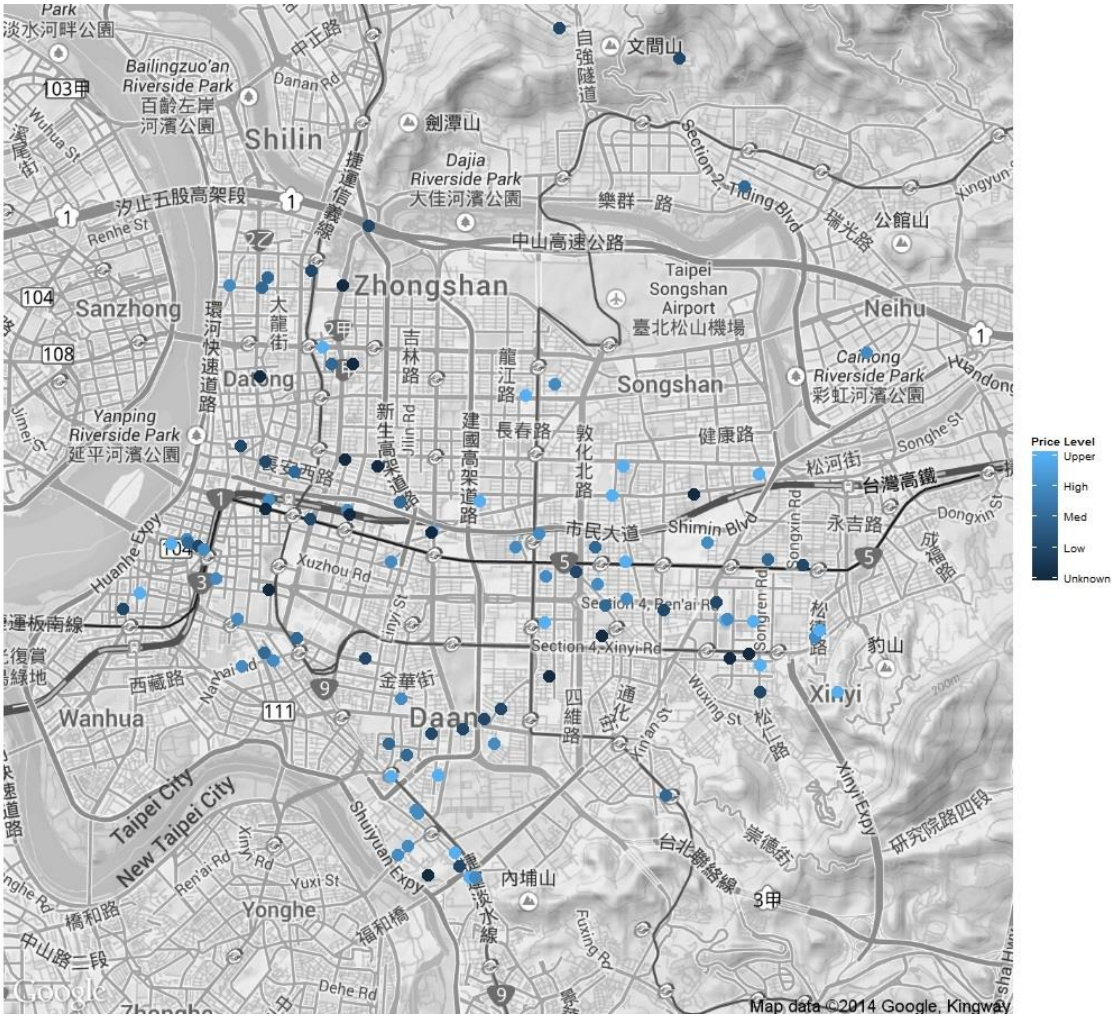


Figure 2-T. Map of Atlanta Live-Music Venues: Genre

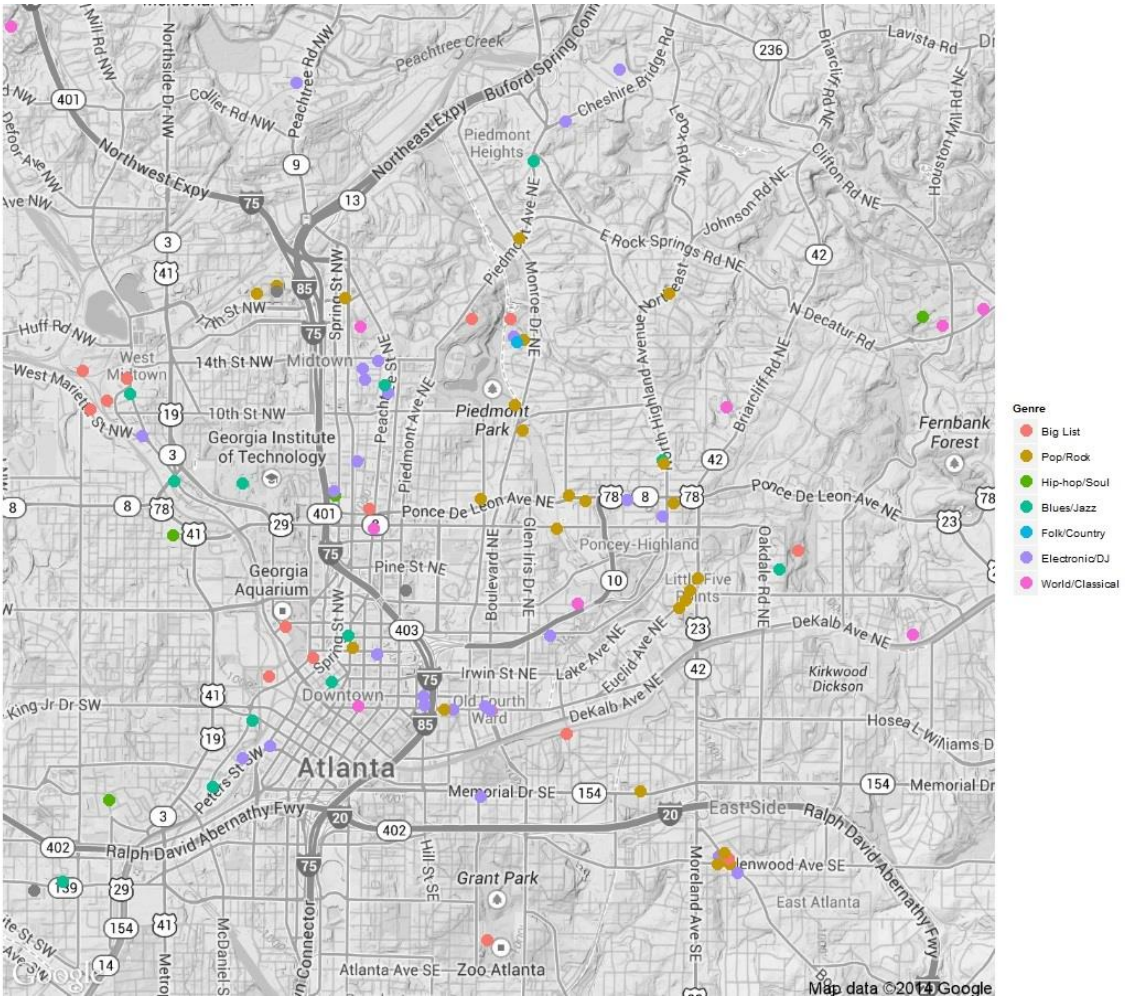
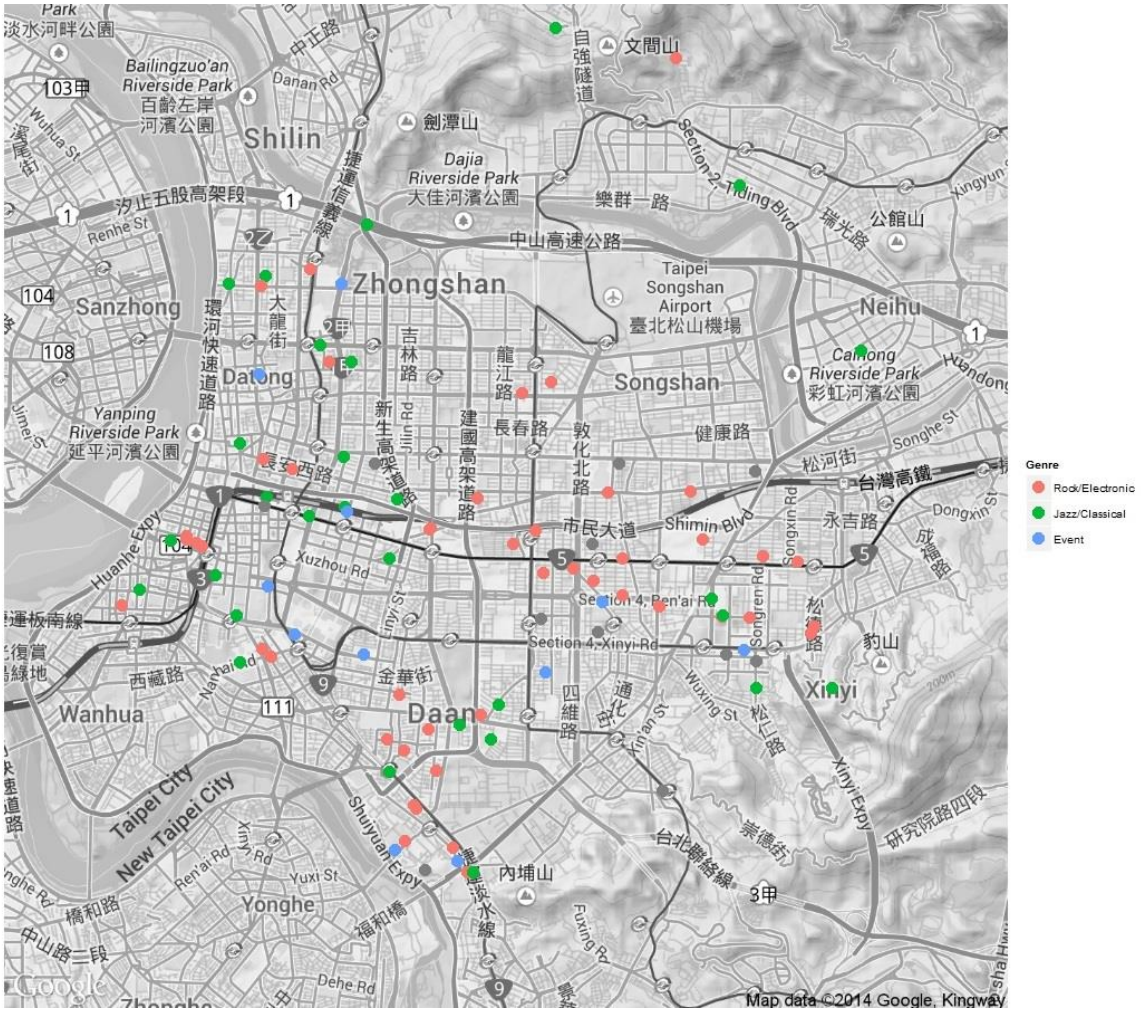


Figure 2-U. Map of Taipei Live-Music Venues: Genre



Appendix 2-A. Live-Music Venues Included in the Atlanta Dataset, 2012

10 High	Estoria	Red Clay Theatre
200 Peachtree	Fado Irish Pub	Red Light Cafe
37Mmain	Fat Matt's Rib Shack	Ri Ra Irish Pub
529	Ferst Center for the Arts	Rialto Center for the Arts
595 North Event Venue and Lounge	First Existentialist Congregation	Riverside Park
Aaron's Amphitheatre	Footprints Cafe	Rosebud
Academy Theatre	Fox Theatre	Rush Lounge
Acoustix	Fulton County Library Central Branch	Schwartz Center for Performing Arts
Agnes Scott College Presser Hall Gaines Chapel	Grant Park	Sledge Lounge
Andrew's Upstairs	Graveyard Tavern	Smith's Olde Bar
Apache Cafe	Halo Lounge	Southern Ground Amphitheater
Apres Diem	Hard Rock Cafe	Southwest Arts Center
Asylum	Harmony Park	Space 2
Atlanta Botanical Garden	Historic Fourth Ward Skatepark	Spanish Harlem
Atlanta Symphony Hall	Horizons School Theatre	Star Bar
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Chorus	Howell Park	Steve's Live Music
Atlantic Station	Icon Lounge	Studio 281
Aurora Theatre	Joe's Coffee	Suite Spot
Avatar Events Group	Jungle Club	Tabernacle
Bailey Performance Center	Kavarna	Terminal West
Beep Beep Gallery	King Plow Arts Center	The 120 Tavern and Music Hall
Bhojanic	Knights of Columbus Hall	The Arena at Gwinnett Center
Big Tex Cantina	Kopleff Recital Hall	The Atrium
Blind Willie's	Leopard Lounge	The Basement
Boisfeuillet Jones Atlanta Civic Center	Life Nightclub	The Buckhead Theatre
Bouckaert Park	Little Five Points	The Chocolate Bar
Buckhead Theatre	Loca Luna	The Crimson Moon Cafe
Callanwolde Fine Arts Center	Loews Atlanta Hotel	The Drunken Unicorn
Candler Park	Londzell's Jazz and Blues Cafe	The Earl
Cannon Chapel at Emory University	Mable House Barnes Amphitheatre	The Five Spot
Capozzi's New York Pizza	Marcus Jewish Community Center	The Georgia Rib Company
Centennial Olympic Park	Masquerade	The Goat Farm

Center Stage
Chastain Park Amphitheater
Churchill Grounds Jazz Cafe
Clayton State University
Clermont Lounge
Cloud IX
Cobb Energy Performing Arts Centre
Compound
Conant Performing Arts Center
Connect Lounge
Cosmolava
Criminal Records
Dark Horse Tavern
Darwin's Blues
Dixie Tavern
Druid Hills Baptist Church
Durhamtown Plantation Resort
Earl Smith Strand Theatre
East Andrews
East Atlanta Village
Eastside Lounge
Eddie's Attic
El Bar
Elliott Street Pub
Emerson Concert Hall
Emory Performing Arts Studio
Episcopal Church of the Atonement
Meehan's Public House
Memorial Terrace
Mill Town Music Hall
Mingles Martini Bar and Grill
MJQ Concourse
Morehouse College
Moya
Noni's Bar and Deli
North Atlanta High Center for the Arts
North Avenue Presbyterian Church
Northside Tavern
Octane Coffee
Olde Towne Tavern
Opera Nightclub
Orange Twin Conservation Community
P'cheen
Padriac's
Park Tavern
Peachtree Tavern
Philips Arena
Piedmont Park
Poem 88
Porter Sanford Performing Arts Center
Printhouse
Quad @ Spring4th Complex
Ragamuffin Music Hall
The Highland Inn Ballroom Lounge
The Highlander
The Iris
The Loft
The Music Room
The Nest
The Reserve at Cafe Circa
The Shelter
The Solarium
The Sound Table
The Swallow at the Hollow
The Velvet Note
The Wren's Nest
Theatre in the Square
Tin Roof Cantina
Tongue and Groove Nightclub
Twain's Billiards and Tap
Variety Playhouse
Velvet Underground
Verizon Wireless Amphitheatre
Vinyl
Wild Bill's
Wolf Creek Amphitheatre
Wonderroot
Woodruff Arts Center
Zuffy's Place

Appendix 2-B. Live-Music Venues Included in the Taipei Dataset, 2012

123 photo gallery	Riverside Live House	四維公園
A Bar	Riverside Music Cafe	永樂市場
A House	Roxy Mini	甘泉藝文沙龍
ATT Show Box	Roxy Rocker	光點華山
Amigo Livehouse	Sappho de Base	成家營地
Anhe 65	Shelter	西門紅樓二樓劇場
Artco Classique	Somebody Cafe	西門誠品
Artco de Cafe	Songshan Cultural and Creative Park	周末派現場
Arthere Cafe	Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall	周末派會場
Association of Vocal Artist	TICC	東吳大學松怡廳
Blue Note	TRiP	東吳大學城區部
Bobwundaye	Taipei Arena	法藍瓷音樂餐廳
Boss Play Live House	Taipei Cultural Center	肥頭音樂
CafART	Taipei Zhongshan Hall	阿帕 808
City Cafe	Taiwan Classical Music Society	信義學堂
Club O2 Taipei	The Can	南海劇場
Dadaocheng Theater	The Wall	南港展覽館
Drop Coffee House	Treellage	牯嶺街小劇場
Forum Auditorium	Underworld	剝皮寮老街
Fulong Beach	Vicious Circle	浮洲親民公園
G6 Night Club	Witch House	留聲跡藝文工坊
Gabee	小樹咖啡	國立中正文化中心
Goodchos	中油國光會議廳	國立台北藝術大學展演藝術中心音樂廳
Happy World Riverside Pool	中華古琴學會	國立台灣大學藝文中心
Huashan 1914 Creative Park	中影八德大樓	基督教浸信會懷恩堂
Inst.TaipeiPhilharmonicOrchestra	介壽公園	淡水文化園區
Japan Box	公館水岸廣場	淡水休閒農場
KHS Hall	文山運動中心	華山大草原
Kafka on the Shore	台北大學育樂館	華夏展演中心
La Caja de Musica	台北巴赫廳	新北市立圖書館淡水分館
Legacy Taipei	台北市內湖區花開朵朵演藝廳	新北市政府文化局演藝廳
Live Comedy Club	台北市立美術館	新北市藝文中心演藝廳

Luxy	台北市立教育大學藝術館演奏廳	新光摩天大樓
Marsalis Home Taipei	台北市老松國小	新舞台
MiCasa	台北市法主公廟	誠品信義店
MoCA Taipei	台北市客家文化主題公園	誠品敦南店
NTU Sports Center	台北市親子劇場	雍和台北園區
Nangang Bottle Cap Factory	台北花博公園	夢響演奏廳
Nanhai Gallery	台北南港 101	碧潭東岸廣場
Nankang Software Park	台北故事館	齊東街日式宿舍
National Concert Hall	台北神召會	噪音咖啡館
National Experimental Theater	台北國際藝術村	學學文創志業
National Recital Hall	台北國際藝術村百里廳	錢穆故居
Neo Studio	台北國際藝術村餐坊	龍生公園
Party Taiwan	台北教育大學雨賢廳	雙連長老教會
Performing Arts School 36	台北萬里白宮行館	雙溪碼頭俱樂部
Pipe	台泥大樓士敏廳	寶藏巖國際藝術村
Re.	台鐵演藝廳	
Revolver	台灣工銀總部一樓音樂廳	

CHAPTER THREE

GATEKEEPER DECISIONS AND CONNECTIONS IN THE TAIPEI LIVE-MUSIC SCENE

The Embeddedness of Organizations: Interdependence and Connections

Decisions and Uncertainty

Organizational and economic sociology can be seen as a reaction against a particular view of actors common in neo-classical economics: one that sees economic actors as being "human calculators" who have a wide range of detailed information at their disposal and, after sifting through that information, decide upon the best course of action in the marketplace (see Dowd and Dobbin 1997). The nature of decision-making within organizations is one reason that sociologists react against that view. Decisions do not occur in a singular, isolated fashion in organizations. They can be so common that organizational actors develop routines for making decisions—routines that can be interactive, as well as sources of conflict. Furthermore, there are temporal elements as well: current decisions may be shaped by past decisions, and these current decisions may be occurring simultaneously as multiple organizational actors grapple with their own respective concerns (March 1991; Pugh and Hickson 2007; Shapira 2002). Organizational decision-making thus can be plentiful, but it can also be wide ranging. The latter occurs because, to use a distinction posed by organizational ecologists, there are decisions addressing both "core" features of a given organization (e.g., its mission) as well its "peripheral" features (see Carroll and Hannan 1995). Yet, the gathering of information requires time and effort, as does evaluation of that information. Consequently, organizational actors are limited in how much information they can gather

and in how much time they can spend weighing that information (March 1991; Pugh and Hickson 2007). Given that, sociologists and others have often emphasized that organizational actors do not display the hyper rationality associated with the "human calculator," but rather that organizational actors display "bounded rationality" (basing their decisions on limited information) if not even "arationality" (basing decisions on little to no information and / or evaluation; see Dowd 2011). Not surprisingly, these scholars have likewise emphasized the "uncertainty" that organizational actors face in their daily operations. That makes sense because—in commercial industries—many organizations fail, often doing so quickly (see Carroll and Hannan 1995). However, uncertainty may be more pressing for some organizations than for others: given their resources and standing, large organizations can likely afford more mistaken decisions than their small counterparts (see Mellahi and Wilkinson 2004).

Whereas uncertainty is common in many industries, some scholars observe that is especially pronounced for those organizations operating in media industries, those dealing with music, TV shows, magazines, and other "aesthetic" products. Here again, information and decision-making play roles in this uncertainty. As Hirsch (1972) famously argued, the demand for "aesthetic" goods can be "faddish"—shifting abruptly as audiences grow tired of particular types. Some media organizations deal with this volatile demand by relying on hunches and assumptions about what their particular audience wants, such as radio programmers relying on their intuition regarding listeners' preferences (Ahlkvist and Faulkner 2002). In contrast, other media organizations (especially large ones) have turned to market research and the like to gather quantitative measures of audience demand; yet, those data do not necessarily lead to successful

decisions regarding what audiences want in the short and long term (Bielby and Bielby 1994; Negus 1999; Ahlkvist and Faulkner 2002). That is one reason that many aesthetic products are commercial failures. In 2002, for example, "30,000 CDs were released, but more than 83% sold less than 1,000 copies; only 404 sold more than 100,000 copies" (Black et al. 2007: 154).

While media organizations of all sizes are dealing with uncertainty regarding the audience demand for content that forms the "core" of their mission, they are also simultaneously making decisions about "non-content" matters, as well as about the occasional seismic shifts occurring in their business environment. Concert venues and concert promoters, for instance, not only deal with which performers to put on stage, but they also must deal with things like liquor licenses, noise restrictions, and safety issues (Webster 2011). The day-to-day uncertainty that media organizations face is occasionally marked by uncertainty stemming from major disruptions to their business. Such disruptions have included, for example: (a) radio's impact on the early recording industry, where free radio airplay of recordings forced record firms to alter their strategies substantially (Dowd 2003); (b) TV's impact on the film industry, where film studios saw their audiences drawn away from cinemas to home viewing in large numbers (Baumann 2001); (c) and online music's impact on the current music business, where record firms had to adjust by entering digital distribution channels, such as iTunes (Arditi 2014). Not surprisingly, then, failure is commonplace among media organizations as well (see Dowd 2004; Gallan 2012). In fact, concert venues are deemed by some to be "ephemeral" (Johansson and Bell 2014: 317), as the range of a city's concert venues can change dramatically from one year to the next.

Connections and Interdependence

Sociologists and others also reacted against the "human calculator" view because it tends to treat actors as somewhat "atomized" and asocial—more isolated than connected when pursuing economic activity (see Dowd and Dobbin 1997). Those scholars emphasizing the "embeddedness" of economic actors do so because the decisions of those actors are greatly shaped by the presence of others. As Dacin et al. (1999: 320) write, "Definitions of embeddedness took shape in opposition to the stylized conceptions of market features in neoclassical economics in which market transactions are, by definition, strictly, rational, faceless and independent." A number of theoretical approaches emphasize the interdependence (rather than independence) of economic actors (e.g., organizations). For example, organizational ecology has long argued that the viability of a given organization is shaped by the presence of other organizations similarly involved in the same business (those sharing a core mission) and similarly located in the same specific niche. The total numbers of these "others" provide legitimation that the business and niche are worthy of consumer attention and investment (i.e., resources), and these "others" also provide competition for such resources (see Carroll and Hannan 1995; Bruggeman et al. 2012). Organizational ecologists also have pointed to "collective rationality," which refers to "situations involving multiple actors where actions are highly contingent on the past and anticipated actions of other actors" (Carroll and Hannan 1995: 7). Likewise, neo-institutionalists have long argued how such collective rationality can lead to much similarity ("isomorphism") among organizations in particular lines of business. Organizations can make similar decisions about their structure and strategies given the (a) common regulations they face ("coercive

isomorphism"), (b) the common worldviews among the similarly-trained executives who run them ("normative isomorphism"), and (c) the imitation that occurs when uncertainty is especially pronounced ("mimetic isomorphism"). In the process, neo-institutionalists have likewise acknowledged the "connectedness" and "cliques" occurring among economic actors (see DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Mizruchi and Fein 1999). Other research has focused especially on those very connections between economic actors, providing the opposite of "faceless" decisions and transactions in the marketplace. In fact, social connections within and across organizations have not hindered economic activity, but rather, have played important roles in the rise of modern capitalist economies in the US and East Asia (see Hamilton and Biggart 1988; Roy 1997; Dowd and Dobbin 1997; Dobbin and Dowd 2000).

Research on cultural industries (i.e., those centered around media and the arts) has also shown the importance of connections occurring across organizations. The art worlds approach is well known for stressing a particular type of "collective rationality" occurring in these industries—the shared conventions that inform the particular genre(s) at the heart of a given cultural industry. Those conventions not only enable the creation of cultural objects, they also make possible interaction occurring between all the art world participants, including the creators of the cultural objects themselves and the organizations that make such cultural objects available to the broader public (see Becker 1982; Gilmore 1987, 1988). The art worlds approach also points to frequent contact and connections that span individuals and organizations operating in a given cultural industry (Becker 1982). Research on gatekeepers who decide what cultural objects to feature likewise abounds with contacts and connections. For instance, such gatekeepers as

publishing editors and talent scouts routinely rely on agents, friends, critics, and colleagues in other countries to help with their decision making (Franssen and Kuipers 2013; Friedman 2014). Of course, such contacts and conversations are sometimes structured within a given culture industry—as when talent buyers operating in the same niche (originals clubs) are more likely to talk with each other than with those working in a different niche (originals clubs vs. covers clubs) (Foster et al. 2011). In other words, "social capital" within a given cultural industry is likely patterned rather than random (Godart and Mears 2009; Dowd and Pinheiro 2013).

Gatekeepers in the Taipei Live-Music Scene

The emphasis on "embeddedness" has led scholars to delve into the context of the cases they are investigating. Even when paying attention to generalizations their case studies allow, they also are mindful of the uniqueness and particularities of their respective cases (see Roy 1997; Dobbin and Dowd 2000; Uzzi 1997). Attention to the particularities is especially needed and helpful when considering the case of live-music venues in general and particularly those in Taipei. I say this for two broad reasons. First, as mentioned in Chapter Two, live-music venues have not been the frequent cases of study in the social sciences (see Webster 2011). Apart from a few examples like Grazian (2005) on Chicago blues clubs, Webster (2011) on live music in the UK, and Gallan (2012) on music venues in Australia, the overall level of inattention is surprising. For example, studies of classical music overwhelmingly focus on the performing arts orchestras (e.g., symphony orchestras, opera houses) rather than the venues at which those organizations perform (see for example, Kim and Jensen 2011; Dowd and Kelly

2012). That matters because those organizations and venues are oftentimes distinct entities; for instance, the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra is housed at the Woodruff Arts Center along with three other organizations: the High Museum of Art, the Atlanta College of Art, and the Alliance Theater Company (Glynn 2000). Likewise, studies of popular music by economists and others are now paying attention to the "price discrimination" that live-music venues employ (i.e., "selling essentially the same product or service to different customers at different prices," also known as "multi-tier pricing" [Eckard and Smith 2012: 463])—but even these studies are relatively few in numbers: the impact of price discrimination has only been examined in four studies of the performing arts (see Courty and Pagliero 2012; Eckard and Smith 2012).[17] Consequently, much remains to be learned about the day-to-day operations of live-music venues—especially if what Webster (2011: 14) says is true: "Each local live music ecology is unique…" Second, attention to the particularities of the Taipei case is especially important given the dearth of scholarly literature on popular music and scenes in East Asia, particularly English-language scholarship (Shin et al. 2013). Even the exceptions to the lack of English-language study of East Asia—Taiwan in particular—are either dated (e.g., Yang 1994) or not focusing on popular music as a "market" or business (e.g. Taylor 2004).

In the light of such inattention to live-music venues, especially those in East Asia, like other embeddedness proponents, I use this chapter to dig into the specifics of the Taipei scene. While the material discussed above provides me with sensitizing concepts, I nonetheless take an inductive approach to the case—allowing patterns of the live-music

[17] While I am aware of "price discrimination," the data I employ (ticket pricing listed in weekly newspapers) do not allow me to assess it.

scene to emerge from the data. As noted in Chapter One, that also makes sense given the theoretical and methodological approaches I have relied upon. In particular, I focus below on how key gatekeepers in the Taipei live-music scene (bookers) make their decisions about the musicians to feature and the connections that they establish when making those decisions

Data and Methods

I use three sets of data to get at the particularities of the Taipei live-music scene. One dataset has already been discussed in the previous chapter—the entertainment lists addressing the total number of appearances by musical acts among all Taipei live-music venues in 2012. As will be discussed below, I added important measures to that dataset, which enabled me to see the extent to which social capital is indeed patterned in Taipei. The other data sources involved an organizational survey of a sub-set of live-music venues in Taipei, on the one hand, and intensive interviews with a sample of Taipei bookers who worked at those venues, on the other hand. The combination of these three sets of data allowed me to gather information on the decision-making of these venues—those organizations that are at the core of the live-music scene and provide its infrastructure (see Chapter Two)—and to gather information regarding the roles of media coverage and the Internet in Taipei's live-music scene. More importantly, the sets of data helped me assess how social capital plays a role in the decision making of these gatekeeping personnel (bookers) and their organizations (venues).

Survey Data

Following the example of Foster et al. (2011), I used both survey questions and interview questions when studying live-music venues that operate in a particular urban setting. The survey was conducted in March and April of 2013. To specify which venues would be targeted for the survey, I first tracked the performance lists included in four issues of *Pots Weekly* in 2012; doing so provided me with the names of establishments that had presented live music in Taipei. Then, I supplemented the list of venues identified in *Pots Weekly* by talking to several band members and frequent concertgoers, so as to acquire knowledge about additional venues involved in the Taipei live-music scene. Ultimately, I ended up with a list of 39 venues to contact. Note that I devised this short list of venues while also constructing the entertainment-list dataset featured in Chapter Two. That dataset ultimately identified 145 live-music venues in Taipei—but did so well after I had completed the surveys. This survey—like the interviews—should be seen as being useful for discovering insights into the process of decision making by bookers rather than for being a statistically representative sample (see Snow, Morrill, and Anderson 2003).

The survey itself had 18 questions. Those questions addressed a range of factors that I considered to be relevant for the case at hand. Some of the questions got at "standard" aspects of organizations, such as their age and size; some of the questions addressed the decision making involving "core" issues of musical content (such as which bands to book), as well "non-content" issues involving daily operation. Then, influenced especially by Foster et al. (2011), I devised a range of questions that addressed whom bookers consulted when deciding upon which bands to feature. Finally, some of the

questions dealt with the uncertainties of reaching the audience via press coverage and via the Internet. The entire survey questionnaire is offered in Appendix 3-A at the end of this chapter.[18]

The execution of the survey involved several steps. First, I posted the survey questionnaire online by using the software Qualtrics. I chose to have an online version rather than a paper one as the main form of the survey because my observations informed me that most of the participants in the live-music scene—including the staff working at the venues—were frequent internet users, who were comfortable with, and even preferred to be contacted via, the Internet. Having an online survey can also reduce the work on the respondents' side, as they do not need an extra step of sending back the questionnaire. I then contacted the 39 live-music venues that I had identified by email or Facebook message. That communication included a link to access the survey, and it requested that the person in charge of selecting and scheduling performances for their venue (i.e., "the bookers")—the personnel that Foster et al. (2011) labeled as "talent buyers"—be the ones who completed the survey. I contacted several of the venues by phone to encourage participation in the survey. I also visited several that I was not able to reach via email/Facebook or telephone, so as to drop off and later collect a hard copy of the survey questionnaire. All in all, each of the 39 venues was contacted by me at least three times.

Twenty-four of the 39 venues responded to the survey, which is a response rate of 61%. Those 24 venues are listed in Table 3-A. Response rates tend to be lower for organizational surveys than for surveys of individuals. As Baruch and Holtom (2008)

[18] The original survey was in both Mandarin and English, the English version was only provided for one venue. I present the Mandarin version in Appendix 3-A and the English version in Appendix 3-B.

have indicated, based upon 463 published studies, the average response rate of individual survey is around 52%, while the rate for organization is about 35%. Since 35% to 45% rates of response are typical for organizational surveys (see Dobbin et al. 1993; Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 1994), the response rate of my survey compares quite favorably with other studies. However, note that none of the giant live-music venues in Taipei participated in the survey, such as Taipei Arena. This is not surprising, as we would expect that the bureaucracy associated with large size would make those venues less likely to respond to survey requests (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 1994). In fact, it was difficult to gather the contact information for these giant venues, let alone getting them to respond to my requests.

Thus, the survey results that follow are more likely applicable to live-music venues in Taipei that are not gigantic but that, nonetheless, are the most numerous in that city. Moreover, the results also allow readers to make sense of the scene with self-reported data from venues themselves. Given the small number of venues involved in the survey (24), I relied on descriptive statistics to assess patterns in what they reported.

Interview Data

The survey of live-music venues provided me with a way to recruit "bookers" for intensive interviewing. These interviewees were recruited from those bookers who completed the survey. Sixteen of the survey respondents were contacted for an interview after I received their completed questionnaire. The rest of them were not invited for the interview due to the limited time of my fieldwork in Taipei. Ultimately, I interviewed eight bookers during March and April of 2013.

I was especially eager to do these interviews because their responses would provide details that cannot be unveiled simply by statistical analysis—be it the descriptive statistics associated with the organizational survey or the network analysis applied to the entertainment-list data. While many of my interview topics overlapped with those addressed by the survey, thereby helping me flesh out those survey responses, some of my interview topics went a step further. For instance, following Foster et al. (2011), I had them engage in a "pile-sorting task": the interviewed bookers were asked to sort cards representing venues into piles according to how similar they deemed the venues to be. In the process, I was able to see the subtleties involved in their classification of live music and venues—including their nuanced view of genres. The interview guide that I employed is found in Appendix 3-C at the end of the chapter. The interviews were conducted in places of the interviewees' choosing (the venues they worked for or public spaces such as coffee shops); one of the interviewee wrote her answers responding to my interview guide and sent them to me via email. The in-person interviews ranged from 40 to 70 minutes. All of them were conducted in Mandarin and were recorded with notes taken. The interviews were analyzed by reviewing the notes and the recorded contents to construct summaries for each of them.

Entertainment-List Data

I have already discussed the gathering and construction of the entertainment-list dataset in the previous chapter. Some of the measures associated with that dataset will be utilized below, but so will some new measures. First of all, this chapter emphasizes the "connections" (or social capital) occurring among bookers and their venues. My outcome

of interest for this third dataset, then, is the extent to which each and every pair of venues in Taipei shared one or more performing acts in 2012, with such sharing an indication of booking relations between venues. Thus, drawing from the entertainment lists in 2012, which provided information on venues and the performing acts that each presented that year, I am able to lay out the scene as a network, with the venues linked by the performers. Given common terms in network analysis, we can describe the venues as "nodes" and the ties formed by sharing performers as "edges" (Pinheiro 2011). Creating that measure required the construction of a 145 X 145 matrix (the number of "nodes" or venues in the dataset) and then counting the number of ties (in continuous fashion) between each pair of venues.

I am not only interested in the connections between venues, but also whether those connections are patterned in some way. A logical starting point would be to consider the "homophily" occurring among the venues, drawing on the common insight that "birds of a feather flock together" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Network analysis of individuals has shown that ties are common among those who are alike; in other words, homophily refers to "the tendency for people to interact more with their own kind" (Borgatti and Foster 2003). Foster and colleagues (2011) showed that similarly positioned organizations sometimes form connections with each other—as when Boston clubs devoted to original music consulted with each other about which bands to schedule. I get at such homophily in the Taipei scene by drawing upon the two niche elements used in the previous chapter: price level and genre.

The homophily of price is measured by the similarity of average ticket prices among the 145 venues in the observed network. As described in the previous chapter, the

average ticket prices[19] were calculated by taking the mean ticket price for all the performing acts featured at a given venue in 2012. I divided the average ticket prices into four levels—upper level ($17.22 or more, the highest quartile of venues' average prices), high level (higher than $9.72 and less than $17.22, the second quartile), medium level (higher than $4.32 and less than $9.72, the third quartile), low level (less than $4.32, the lowest quartile)—as well as "unknown," with the latter occurring when ticket prices of a given venue's acts were never listed in *Pots Weekly* or in other sources of the data throughout the year of 2012. If two venues are both scaled in the same price range defined above, then this dyad of venues has similarity in terms of price. If we turn this variable into adjacency matrices with 145 venues, we can get five 145x145 symmetrical matrices representing the five scales of price homophily. In the cells of matrices, a "1" indicates a pair of venues that are both scaled in the same price level and a "0" indicates otherwise. For instance, in my Taipei dataset, venue #3 (A House) and venue #14 (CafART) were both at the high level of price in 2012; consequently, in the matrix of high price relation, the cells of column 3/row 14 and column14/row3 were both coded as "1."

Genre homophily is measured by the similarity of venues in terms of their most featured musical genre. To reiterate from the previous chapter, the performing acts listed in *Pots Weekly* were categorized in 2012 into three sub-sections in the *Pots Choices* section: rock/electronic, jazz/classical, and events. I took those three categories as being

[19] The ticket prices are reported in the currency of New Taiwanese Dollar in the original data sources and are translated into U.S. Dollars by using the 2012 yearly average currency exchange rate ($30.85) provided by the IRS: http://www.irs.gov/Individuals/International-Taxpayers/Yearly-Average-Currency-Exchange-Rates.

the music genre of each performing act featured at a given venue. Then, I defined the genre of each *venue* by taking the mode genre (i.e., the most numerically common) of all the acts it featured in 2012. The genre of the venues is thus coded in terms of the three classifications offered in the weekly newspaper. If a venue had multiple modes of genres, then the genre of the venue is "missing."[20] Also "missing" are the genres for those venues for which all of their information came from sources other than the *Pots Weekly*. This homophily variable can be represented by three adjacency matrices, with each of them indicating one of the three genres. The cells in the matrices are coded as "1" for pairs of venues that are the same genres and as "0" otherwise. For example, in the dataset, as venues #31 (Legacy Taipei) and #47 (Pipe) were both rock/electronic venues in 2012, then in the matrix of rock/electronic genre relation, the cells of column 31/row 47 and column 47/row 31 were both coded as "1."

The patterning of connections among Taipei venues may also be shaped by the emergent structure of the network itself. Two network statistics are often used to measure network structure (configuration): GWESP and GWDSP involving the statistics of "alternating *k*-triangle" and "alternating *k*-twopath," respectively (see Snijders et al. 2006; Hunter 2007; Hunter et al. 2008; Wimmer and Lewis 2010). The statistic of "geometrically weighted edge-wise shared partner" (GWESP) can explain the tendency of two connected nodes also sharing one or more nodes and, thus, to generate highly clustered areas in a network. For instance, this tendency happens when two friends (e.g., Max and Emile) also become friends with each other's friends (e.g., when Karl—who is

[20] Three venues are missing a genres designation due to multiple modes; they are G6 Night Club, TICC, and Taipei Arena.

friends with Max—also becomes Emile's friend), thereby creating a triangle of connections. Indeed, GWESP can be used to measure transitivity (closed triangles) and overlapping triangles, as a *k*-triangle refers to "a set of *k* distinct triangles that share a common edge" (Hunter 2007: 223). On the other hand, GWDSP (geometrically weighted dyad-wise shared partner) can handle the tendency of the may or may not connected nodes to share several partners. In other words, it is similar to the concept of GWESP—only that it deals with triangles that may or may not be closed (e.g., when Emil does not become friends with Karl). When controlling for GWESP, GWDSP can measure the accumulation of open triangles—that is, situations in which two actors who are not tied to each other nonetheless have more than one shared node in common; that is, when used with GWESP, it "can be thought of as *k*-triangles without base" (Robins et al. 2007b). These two measures were generated using the ergm package for R (R Development Core Team 2007), which is part of the statnet suite for statistical network analysis (Handcock et al. 2003).

Network Analysis Method

Many well-known measures, such as density and centrality, allow researchers to descriptively depict their observed networks. However, we usually rely on some other explanatory methods to know more about the complex relationships within and beyond the observed networks. In this chapter, for example, descriptive statistics can tell us which venues are connected in terms of presenting the same performing acts, as well as to what extent they are connected, but we need to apply other statistical models to see the covariance between the attributes of the venues (e.g., genre homophily among the

venues) and how they are linked to each other (e.g., closed triangles). To take this network analysis a step further, then, I go beyond descriptive statistics by fitting exponential random graph (ERG) models to my entertainment-list data drawn from Taipei. By doing so, I will be able to quantitatively estimate the parameters and respond to my research questions more specifically—particularly the patterning of social capital among those venues.

Exponential random graph models (ERGMs, or the p* family of models) represent a general class of models based in exponential family theory as a framework for specifying the probability of distribution underlying a set of random networks (Butts et al. 2014). In practice, within the framework of ERGMs, one can use an observed network (i.e., the sample), with the statistics of the network, to estimate the parameters of the population, using maximum likelihood or other estimation methods. ERGMs provide a realistic way to conduct network studies with my self-gathered empirical data, for they do not assume the independence of dyads. For social network analysis, many statistical models are constructed and applied while assuming dyadic independence; this assumption means whether or not a tie in a certain dyad (e.g., *ij* dyad) is formed does not depend on the presence or absence of a tie in any other dyad. However, this assumption is very likely to be violated when working with real-world social networks; for example, as already noted, two people are more likely to become friends if they have several other common friends (i.e., triadic effects). Exponential random graph models can be used to overcome this violation, for they "model non-independence among dyads by including parameters for structural features that capture hypothesized dependencies among ties" (Faust and Skvoretz 2002: 274).

In this chapter, I begin by observing the structure of the shared-booking relationship among venues in the Taipei live-music scene of 2012—i.e., whether and how the venues were linked by booking the same bands (e.g., two of the venues were linked as a dyad, three of them were connected as a triangle, etc.). Then, a probability distribution of connecting structures (how the nodes were connected) can be constructed by the set of all possible structures while considering their related probabilities; we can then, in turn, see where the observed network is located within this distribution. This is done by assuming that the network is stochastically generated and the formation of the connections can be altered by whether or not other ties or attributes of nodes are present. Depending on the purpose of research, various dependence assumptions (e.g., Bernoulli graphs and Markov random graphs) and methods of statistical estimations (e.g., pseudo-likelihood and MCMCMLE-Markov chain Monte Carlo maximum likelihood estimation) can be selected to use when fitting ERG models.

In short, ERGMs can be applied to my research in order to know the probability of the observed network happening—specifically, how the forming of the network, in terms of overlapping band-booking, is caused by price, genre, and network structures (configurations). The estimation of parameters can be used to tell whether the observed structure of network is more or less likely to happen than random. Also, the assumptions of ERGMs allow us to detect if the structure of network is shaped by elements associated with nodes or ties. For instance, I will be able to assess whether and how the social process of band booking similarity is related to the presence or absence of ties (e.g., whether two unlinked venues are tied to a third venue). Therefore, ERG models allow me to consider in-group preferences on all aspects of differentiation measured in this

research (i.e., price, genre) at the same time, while also permitting me to take balancing mechanisms (i.e., triadic closure, in this case) into account.

A brief introduction of the statistical framework of ERG models is given below (Robins et al. 2007a, 2007b; Goodreau et al. 2008; Wimmer and Lewis 2010). When applying ERG models, the possible ties among actors in a network are seen as random variables, and the general form of the model is shaped by assumptions regarding the dependencies among these variables. This approach can be used to detect the regularities, while considering the randomness, involved in the process of tie formation. A basic maximum likelihood approach is adopted in ERG modeling: considering the distribution of possible networks associated with various aspects of a model, and selecting the aspects that maximize the probability of forming the observed network.

ERG models can be represented in the following form:

$$prob(\boldsymbol{Y} = y) = \left(\frac{1}{k}\right) exp\left[\sum_{A} \eta_A \, g_A(y)\right]$$

Y is the random set of relations (edges and non-edges) with *y* the matrix of observed relations (a particular given set of relations). Let *i* and *j* be distinct members of a set of N of *n* nodes, where each edge is a random variable Y_{ij}; $Y_{ij} = 1$ if there is a tie present between *i* and *j*, and it equals 0 otherwise. The observed value of the variable Y_{ij} is indicated as y_{ij}. The model in the above formula thus indicates the probability of observing a set of network relations *y* as a function of other variables.

A dependence assumption, which is related to the term "configuration," is proposed in ERG modeling. A configuration is a subset of possible ties, a structural formation of interest; it can be, for instance, a single tie, a reciprocated tie (in a directed

network), a transitive triad (triangle) or a star (expansiveness/popularity). Each statistic and parameter in a model corresponds to a configuration. In the formula provided above, the statistic $g_a(y)$ corresponds to configuration A; $g_a(y) = 1$ if the configuration is presented in the network, and it equals 0 otherwise. Each statistic is associated with a parameter η_A, which represents the importance of configuration A to the network. The value *k* is a constant of normalization.

The formula above represents the probability of an entire network graph. To show the probability of the formation of a single tie (Y_{ij}) depending on the condition of the rest of the network (Y_{ij}^c), the model can be considered in an alternative form:

$$logit\ prob\left(Y_{ij}\middle|Y_{ij}^c\right) = \sum_A \eta_A \delta g_A\,(y)$$

When Yij is toggled from 0 to 1, let $\delta g_A(y)$ be the amount of the change of g-statistics, then the parameter η_A is the amount of change in log-odds of a particular tie being formed if the present of this tie increases the corresponding statistic by 1 (Goodreau, Kitts, and Morris 2009; Wimmer and Lewis 2010). For instance, if configuration A is a triangle, then η_A indicates the amount of change in log-odds of a tie being formed that would make exactly one triangle a triadic closure. Thus, with all other configurations in the model controlled for, a positive coefficient in a model indicates that the observed network has more of configuration A than random, and a negative coefficient tells us that the network of interest presents fewer configuration A than one would expect simply by chance. With that said, let us turn to the Taipei scene itself.

The Taipei Scene in Action

The Range of Surveyed Venues

Given the relative inattention among sociologists and other scholars to music venues and to East Asian music scenes, as discussed above, the survey of Taipei music venues and interviews with booking agents can cast light on their business and concerns, thereby giving context to the network analysis that follows. We can start by considering the "age" of the surveyed venues. In their study of the US context, Johansson and Bell (2014) suggested that live-music venues have short life-spans—a suggestion that resonates with much research in organizational ecology (Carroll and Hannan 1995), especially research finding that new organizations are "susceptible to failure because they lack resources, experiences and connections" (Dobbin and Dowd 2002: 641). While I did not track the founding and failure of all live-music venues ever operating in Taipei, my survey shows that few of these venues operating in 2012 were long-lived. Among those organizations participating in the survey, most of them were relatively new—19 out of 23 venues had been operating for ten years or less. Hence, only four of them had been in business for more than a decade—with those being EZ5 (founded in 1991), Forum Auditorium (1996), Riverside Music Café (2000), and Witch House (1994). This survey result regarding the "age" of venues is consistent with what I observed when visiting the music venues in Taipei. Apart from those venues affiliated with the government (e.g., the National Concert Hall, founded in 1987), only a few of the venues among those *not* participating in the survey were long-lived ones—such as Blue Note (founded in 1974; Hong 2012) and Underworld (established in 1996).[21]

[21] Underworld was closed in June of 2013 (Kuo 2013).

In the previous chapter, I drew on systematically available information to differentiate Taipei live-music venues by way of average ticket prices. That measure could possibly be seen as a proxy for venue size. For example, the largest music venues in Europe and the US (which are also those venues often featuring superstars) have enjoyed the largest revenue growth in recent years, as well as the highest revenues, when compared to smaller venues (see Holt 2010; Courty and Pagliero 2012). The survey allowed me to get more directly at the size of the Taipei venues in two ways. The first is a measure traditionally used to measure the size of organizations of all types—the number of employees (see Baron et al. 1986, for instance). The total number of employees, including both full-time and part-time workers, was relatively small for the surveyed venues in Taipei during 2012. It ranged from 2 to 36 for those venues represented in the survey. Figure 3-B describes this range. Most of the surveyed venues (19 out of 22 responded venues) in 2012 had 10 or less full-time employees, with only three venues exceeding that number. Two of the surveyed venues had not hired any part-time employees, but the other venues made use of those workers—with 19 venues (out of 23 responding to this survey question) having at least one part-time employee and two venues having more than 10 part-timers among their staff. Yet, even when adding full-time and part-time employees together, six of the surveyed venues had a staff of but 5 or less workers in 2012, and 17 of these venues had a staff of 10 or less workers; only five of the surveyed venues paid more than 10 people to work for them on a full-time or part-time basis. Remember, that the surveyed venues do not include the largest ones operating in the Taipei live-music scene. Hence, the results in 3-B likely veer towards the small ones. In terms of employees, then, the surveyed venues in Taipei are more towards the

grassroots size of operation than the large-scale associated with mammoth arenas. This measure of size (number of employees) maps on to average ticket prices of venues that I derived from the concert list data of Taipei. Figure 3-C presents the distribution of venues with five levels of average ticket price divided by smaller venues (with 1-10 in total number of employees) and larger ones (with 11 or more employees). It shows that smaller venues tend to be associated with lower tickets and larger ones in the survey are associated with higher tickets—as 10 out of 17 smaller venues fell in the low to medium ticket price levels ($9.72 or less), while three out of four larger venues often priced their show at high or upper level ($9.73 or more). This suggests, then, that ticket price is indeed a good proxy for venue size—at least for the live-music scene in Taipei.

The second measure for assessing size is one particular to venues—seating capacity (see Courty and Pagliero 2012). Figure 3-D shows that, in 2012, most of the surveyed venues were midsized in terms of seating capacity, with only a few being relatively small or big. Specifically, about 35% of the venues could seat 51 to 100 people, and another 35% of them could seat 101 to 500 people. Around 17% of the venues were small spaces that could only hold audiences of 50 people or less, while 13% of them were large spaces with capacities for seating more than 500 people. As it turns out, the small venues (those with 50 seats or less) were businesses not primarily devoted to live-music—such as coffee shops (e.g., Artco de Café, Somebody Café) and restaurants (e.g., Bobwundaye) that usually arranged shows only on the weekends or that arranged shows for a few days a week or even few days a month. The big spaces were the venues (those with capacity of more than 500 people) that focused primarily on presenting music performances; in 2012, they were Neo Studio, Riverside Live House, and The Wall Live

House. Figure 3-E shows that all of the four small venues (in terms of seating capacity) often priced their live music at a relatively lower cost (medium level, $4.33-$9.72), while all the big venues tended to have higher ticket prices (high or upper level, $9.73 or more)—with those venues in the middle (51-500 seats) distributed across the price levels more evenly. Also, the correlation coefficient between the total number of employees among surveyed venues and the seating capacity of surveyed venues is 0.71, which indicates the similarity of these two size measurements. Here again, we find evidence that the "ticket price" measure used in Chapter Two (and in the network analysis to follow) provides a fairly good proxy for the size of live-music venues.

If the survey results suggest a distinction among those Taipei venues that made live music a "core" mission for their business and those that did not, then the interviewed bookers moved beyond that suggestion by explicitly making such a distinction, as well as other ones. They made this first distinction by invoking the term of "live house." They usually defined a live house as a "professional" music venue that considers the presentation of live, original or "indie" music to be its main operational goal—what could be called their "core" mission. As a staff handling band booking at her venue said: "...this category [of venues] is the so called live house, they actively schedule indie bands to perform." These venues are also deemed to be doing things more than raising profits. As another booker told me: "…if you're just scheduling the same bands to perform, then you're not a live house, you're just like buying performances…it's just business." They contrasted these live houses with other types of venues. Those falling outside the live music category included venues that mainly present singers copying popular songs—such as done at nightclubs, dance clubs, restaurants and coffee shops. Thus, these booking

agents invoked a distinction similar to the ones found by Foster et al. (2011) among bookers in Boston—those venues featuring original music versus those venues featuring "covers." The bookers in Taipei also distinguished "live house" venues from those venues that occasionally (rather than regularly) offered music. The latter include "cultural and creative spaces" that also hold some events or activities other than music performance—which are also businesses that receive funding from the government and thus work closely with the Ministry of Culture. The interviewed bookers also compared and contrasted venues in terms of their size, referring to how big the spaces are, which is similar to the capacity measure used in my survey. Other salient distinctions that the interviewed bookers occasionally made revolved around whether or not venues have "in-house" bands that make regular appearances; whether or not the venues have a more local (versus foreign) audience, and whether or not the venues sell alcohol. Therefore, Taipei booking agents drew more distinctions among music venues than did their counterparts in Boston (Foster et al. 2011).

The Decisions Confronting Live-Music Venues

The mention of alcohol above leads to an important point. Venues face numerous decisions when providing live music to audiences (whether or not doing so is their core mission)—decisions that are not limited to the music and musicians featured on their stages (Grazian 2005; Webster 2011; Gallan 2012). For instance, a study of booking agents in Australia found that they often needed, not only to make creative decisions regarding music and bands, but also to manage their venues as pubs or drinking spaces (Gallan 2012). We can get a sense of such decisions by considering the income sources

and operation costs that the surveyed venues rated as important. Table 3-B reveals that, in terms of income sources, the surveyed venues rated three income sources as being considerably important: the sale of tickets, drinks, and food. Around 40% of the responding venues rated tickets and drinks as "very important" in terms of securing revenues, and 40% rated food as an important generator of money. Only three of the surveyed venues considered tickets and/or food as unimportant income sources, and none of them considered selling drinks as unimportant. This is similar to what previous studies found in Australia (Gallan 2012) and the UK (Webster 2011), as music venues are often run as pubs serving drinks and their revenues come from a variety of things including bar takings and catering. While some research suggests that concert-related merchandise (e.g., T-shirts) is an important element for music festivals (Cummings 2006; Dowd forthcoming), the sale of such merchandise was somewhat less important to live-music venues in 2012: only four of the surveyed venues ranked it as very important or important, about half of them ranked it as moderately important or of little importance, and five of them indicated that the sale of merchandise is unimportant. Among the income sources considered by the surveyed venues, donations were the least important in 2012. Only five of the Taipei venues viewed them as having little importance, and about 50% viewed donations as having no importance at all. Although donations play critical roles for organizations involved in the performing arts (e.g., orchestras) and visual arts (e.g., museums) (DiMaggio 2006), they play much a less crucial role for live-music venues in Taipei. Other income sources that surveyed venues regarded as important were the monies obtained through the rental of space and through funding obtained from the government or from other organizations.

Table 3-B also reveals the range of decisions that confront live-music venues by considering operational costs that they found pressing in 2012. Among the five types of operational costs listed in the survey questionnaire, three of them were more important for the venues than are the others. About 80% of the surveyed venues indicated that payment both to employees and to bands, as well as investment in sound equipment, were very important or important costs, while none of the surveyed venues considered those operational costs as having little or no importance. While US organizations in the performing arts have grappled with labor costs that can have a substantial impact on their operations (see Blau 1989; DiMaggio 2006), and while large-scale concert venues in Europe and the US have had to deal with the exploding costs of "superstar" musicians (Kreuger 2005; Black et al. 2007; Holt 2010), the results here reveal that live-music venues in Taipei had to negotiate both those labor and musician costs while also dealing with the physical technology needed for the concerts occurring within their walls. As a group, the surveyed venues found less pressing the costs of marketing and other equipment. Half of them respondents rated marketing as very important or important. As for how the venues actually promoted their shows in 2012, the means of marketing mentioned by the interviewed bookers include producing free magazines associated with the venues, providing concert information to music or arts oriented magazines or websites, and selling tickets on company-owned tickets sales websites—these are similar to "venue-generated publicity" (e.g., season brochures), "media-generated publicity" (e.g., media previews), and "ticket agent-generated publicity" (e.g., customers information) used by promoters in the UK for publicizing live music shows (Webster 2011). Meanwhile, 38% of the surveyed venues in Taipei ranked the cost of other

equipment as very important or important. One of the surveyed venues noted that electricity and water constitute pressing costs. In sum, it would be a mistake to treat live-music venues in Taipei (and elsewhere) as being involved in a singular effort—with their decision-making focused solely upon which musicians to feature. Instead, decisions regarding featured musicians were made alongside decisions about other matters.

Live-Music Venues and the Booking of Talent

Previous research shows that, in general, gatekeepers face uncertainty when selecting *which* creators and cultural objects they should provide to audiences: they may have predictions about which creators will draw an audience, but they will only have definitive knowledge after the fact (see Hirsch 1972; Bielby and Bielby 1994; Negus 1999). Previous research also shows that bookers, on the one hand, deal with such uncertainty by inspecting which bands have done well in the past in terms of drawing audiences, turning to publicly available data on ticket sales (Johansson and Bell 2014) and, on the other hand, by consulting with others regarding which bands to feature (Foster et al. 2011). I am interested in the latter because it reveals the interdependence of economic actors (rather than their isolation) and it reveals the role of social capital—"the resources (i.e., information) that flow from a network of relations" (Dowd and Pinheiro 2013: 434). Table 3-C summarizes the types of actors consulted by bookers at the surveyed venues. It shows that, in 2012, most of these bookers (20 of 24) talked to colleagues at their respective venues when deciding which performing acts to select and book. Yet that consultation was not limited to those with whom bookers worked. In fact, the sum of the types of actors that bookers consulted *beyond* their respective venues

(7+18+6+6=37) exceeded the number of bookers who turned to their colleagues for advice. When considering these "external" actors individually, the most common type of actor the surveyed bookers consulted were the band members who performed at their venues—with the number of bookers turning to these actors nearly the same as the number of those who turn to their colleagues (18 versus 20, respectively). This is similar to what Foster and colleagues (2011) find occurring among "cover clubs" in Boston, where booking agents at those clubs often talked to band members regarding other bands to schedule. The next most common actors consulted were people who worked for other venues, with 7 of the 24 surveyed bookers doing so. This is similar to what bookers at the "original" clubs in Boston tend to do when making creative decisions (Foster et al. 2011). Rounding out the types of actors consulted in 2012 were the audience members frequenting the venues at which bookers work and the "other" types of actors. The latter included friends who are musicians, those at music associations, musicians from other countries, as well as those bands wishing to perform in their venues. While Table 3-C details the types of actors consulted, Table 3-D describes the total number of those types consulted by each of the bookers at the surveyed venues. The consultation network of the surveyed venues ranged from one type of actor to four, with most of them (13 of 24) relying on four types of actors as informants in terms of scheduling bands and musicians. This points to the connections and interdependence that often lies behind organizational decision-making.

As noted above, the gathering of information can involve much time and effort. In other words, frequent consultation regarding each and every performance to schedule would likely be difficult for bookers at live-music venues. Moreover, it takes a while to

compile a network of actors outside one's own organization; for instance, Dutch editors who had been working in the literary field as "veterans" were more likely than their younger counterparts to have friends working in foreign fields (e.g., editors in other countries) whom they could consult when choosing books and authors to feature (Franssen and Kuipers 2013). Consequently, it is instructive to examine which type of actor is most commonly consulted. Table 3-C shows that convenience plays a role: the most commonly consulted actors in 2012 were those found within the booker's venue—be they workplace colleagues (listed by 15 of the surveyed booking agents) or musicians who had come through those venues (listed by six). Nonetheless, two of the surveyed venues consulted most often with other venues when selecting bands and musicians for their own stages. While the venues that usually consulted people at their workplace (i.e., their colleagues or musicians who came to perform) were heterogeneous in terms of age and size, the two venues relying on upon other venues for consultation as their major informants were relatively small (with seats of 150 or less), young (five-year old or less), and those venues usually featured original music rather than "copy" or "cover" music, to use Foster and colleagues' (2011) language. One of these two venues' booker mentioned in an interview with me that she mostly consulted her "friends" in the scene because she knows them from having worked at another live-music venue that was more established in the scene than her current one; thus, her experience had given way to inter-organizational connections, which resonates with what occurs for the Dutch editors mentioned above (Franssen and Kuipers 2013). Interestingly enough, while frequent audience members might seem a convenient source of information, none of the surveyed venues reported them as being the most commonly consulted this type of actor. Perhaps

their approach is similar to what Ahlkvist and Faulkner (2002) found for those gatekeepers at commercial radio stations that relied upon their intuitions about the audience rather than seeking direct information about them.

Sometimes live-music venues deal with booking decisions not by consultation but by contracting with another party to make those decisions for them—a booking "agent." Hiring an external company to handle bands-booking may orient a live-music towards a different audience: a case study in Australia revealed that outsourcing the scheduling of bands to a non-local booking agency moved the venue away from its emphasis on "local" and "original" music, thereby losing those audience members who once frequently attended the venue (Gallan 2012). Other scholars have noted the growing influence and economic power of such booking agents in US and Europe, such that international concert promoters (e.g., Live Nation) have taken on key role in the concert industry, especially with regards to the promotion and scheduling of stars at giant venues (Black et al. 2007; Holt 2010). Yet, at least in Taipei, these booking agents have had a limited role among the surveyed venues. As of 2012, sixteen of them had never contracted with an agent to handle the scheduling of shows at their venues (see Table 3-C). Of the 8 venues that have paid agents for help with band booking, only 2 had done so on a regular basis. Consultation in the decision-making process was more the norm in 2012 than was relying upon others to make that decision. Still, these "external" booking agents represent yet another type of connection that allows live-music venues to operate.

If the survey results revealed the connections involved when bookers schedule the bands and musicians appearing at their venues, then the interviewees revealed some of their motivations—which were often based on a mixture of aesthetic and economic

factors. These bookers talked of "habits" involving how and why they schedule bands and musicians for their respective venues. In that regard, their habits call to mind the "bounded rationality" that economic actors employ, whereby the range of all possible information is narrowed considerably when making decisions (Pugh and Hickson 2007). Most of the bookers I interviewed said that they preferred to schedule a variety of bands on their respective stages rather than repeatedly scheduling the same ones—yet their reasons for doing so were varied. Several of them mentioned that they pursued this variety to keep things "fresh" for the audience: they think it is boring for the audience, and even for themselves, to see a few bands regularly performing at their venues. As a booker told me: "[I schedule] different bands, I get bored if I keep getting the same bands…since it [this venue] is a space of art and cultural, [we] hope that a variety of things can happen here." This variety could also help in terms of audience building. One of the interviewed bookers mentioned that if he, for example, scheduled two bands with distinctly different styles on the same night, then the audience would get to know something new—music that they usually would not hear on their own. This variety, then, would be a way of "activating" the live-music scene. Of course, what counts as "variety" and as being "fresh" can differ among the bookers. One of the interviewed bookers reported her venue had a house band, which included a band member who worked for the venue, that regularly played every Sunday; however, the venue planned to have a new in-house band every three months, thereby introducing variety in installments. This approach to "freshness" likely resulted from this venue's particular circumstance: The booker and her colleagues decided to offer regular shows because they would like for customers to think of their establishment, which mostly does other things such as serving

coffee and food and holding other cultural events, as a place where people could also go for live music.

While some bookers emphasized the audience when speaking of their scheduling "habits," others emphasized the bands. A few of the interviewed bookers mentioned that they liked to schedule different bands because their musicians needed the opportunity and visibility. One of these bookers worked at a venue that the other interviewed bookers deemed to be a "legendary" place; she said that she liked to let many bands, even the "newbies," have at least one performance at her venue, as long as the band have enough "original" material to play for a 40-minute set. She did so because she believed her venue is "supposed" to provide a stage for bands that write and play their own songs. Yet some of the bookers working at less than legendary venues had some challenges in terms of bands. For instance, one of the interviewees worked in a fairly new venue, which was also located in a peripheral area of Taipei, and thus she had issues with getting bands to perform there. She stated that scheduling different bands was a way of building relationship with band members; even if some of the bands she approached were not willing to perform in her venue, they would nevertheless become aware of its existence. For those bands that did perform at her venue, if she thought their first show was good, then she would schedule them again in the following month. For her, scheduling the same bands was a way of cultivating relationships with them. Musical variety, musical freshness, and musical opportunity—these were factors that figured in the scheduling habits of the interviewed bookers. These "aesthetic" factors are also ones that are not handled well by thinking of bookers as simply being "human calculators" fixated on costs.

Aesthetic factors are especially evident when considering how the interviewed bookers classified venues in the Taipei music scene. In addition to the distinction of "live house" discussed above, almost all the bookers I interviewed mentioned the "style" of music associated with a given venue as influencing how they sorted venues into groups. Previous scholarship shows that big media companies tend to have a more simplistic understanding of musical genres than do their small counterparts and that "outsiders" to a given genre have a more superficial appreciation of it than do "insiders" (Roy and Dowd 2010; Dowd 2013b). The interviewed bookers tended to speak of genres in more sophisticated, rather than simplistic, terms. The traditional "styles" they invoked included pop, jazz, blues, DJ, electronic, metal, and ska. These bookers also came up with several other styles that are less commonly defined as "genres" in scholarly works—such as Chinese style, full band, relaxing, unplugged, "flowery and grassy," Taiwan indie vs. foreign indie, and "band." Thus, these bookers exhibited more nuanced distinctions than those broad genre classifications featured in *Pots Weekly* (i.e., rock/electronic, jazz/classical and event). In other words, while the *Pots Weekly* genre classifications allowed us to compare systematically bands and venues in the previous chapter, there is likely much more musical variety found in the Taipei live-music scene than those three broad classifications would suggest.

Reaching the Audience: Intermediaries and the Internet

After selecting the bands and musicians to feature on their stages, bookers and their venues still faced the task of attracting an audience. That sometimes meant that they had to consider those "intermediaries" that play key roles while standing between

producers (e.g., musicians) and disseminators (e.g., live-music venues), on the one hand, and consumers (e.g., music audiences), on the other hand. “Intermediaries use cultural knowledge to influence behavior and control ‘taste’ and ‘style’, occupying authoritative positions between production and consumption spheres” (Gallan 2012: 39). Critics—particularly those working at newspapers and other periodicals—have historically been an important intermediary for popular music (Schmutz et al. 2010). Classic studies provide some perspective on these intermediaries. First, newspapers and periodicals only have the space and time to address a limited range of material. For example, of the 1,856 organized demonstrations occurring in Washington DC during 1991, only 133 received any mention by the press (McCarthy et al. 1996). Consequently, we should not expect that all of the 4,700 or so shows occurring in the Taipei live-music scene during 2012 would receive any coverage by newspapers, as that would require nearly 13 articles per day. Second, critics, like the periodicals that employ them, are limited in the amount of material that they can review. Summarizing important research on the critical review of literary authors, Janssen (1998: 266) wrote, “In general, only first works brought out by one of the major literary publishers have a chance of receiving a substantial number of reviews…However, for authors whose previous work received scant, negative, or even no attention, there is little hope that it will be any different for the new title they produce.” Interestingly enough, those at surveyed live-music venues were somewhat optimistic about the likelihood of press coverage. Table 3-E indicates that 17 of 24 respondents believed that the music acts presented by their venues were either “very likely” or “likely” to be reviewed or recommended by the media. Six respondents were more cautious, thinking it “unlikely” that shows would be mentioned by newspapers or

magazines. Still, none of the respondents believed that it would be "impossible" for their featured acts to receive any coverage in the press.

Despite this general optimism, those bookers that I interviewed also acknowledged that some types of shows would be more likely to receive media attention that would others. Almost all of the interviewees believed that media attention is overwhelmingly determined by the fame of the musicians rather than by the venue at which they are performing. That is, stars and pop idols will get much media attention no matter where they perform. In that way, the view of these bookers resembles what Janssen (1998) has described above, whereby critical coverage accrues to the well-known and established creators (e.g., authors, musicians). However, some of the interviewed bookers expected that certain types of venues were more likely than others to attract press coverage. When asked what kinds of venues would be more likely to be mentioned in the media, several of the interviewees mentioned two types—those that are "big" and those that are "professional"—because such venues would have cultivated relationships with media personnel. Interestingly enough, one of the interviewed bookers who worked at one of the "big" venues claimed that her venue was not very good at cultivating media relationships because of poor promotion and marketing on its part. Nevertheless, as Janssen (1998) summarized, critical attention often flows to creators (e.g., authors, musicians) associated with large organizations (e.g., publishers, venues), as the latter's size confers some legitimacy on the creator.

The interviewed bookers mentioned another factor that they viewed as shaping press coverage: nationality. On the one hand, half of them thought that foreign performing acts were much more likely to be mentioned by the local press than were

domestic acts. Their perception matches some scholarship on critical coverage of music and other cultural objects—especially given, as noted in the previous chapter, Taiwan's status as a latecomer to the global popular music industry (Janssen et al. 2008; Schmutz and Dowd 2014). While studies show that critical attention to foreign creators has generally risen since the mid-1900s, critics working in nations marked by a less central position in terms of global cultural production have even more of an international orientation. For example, newspaper critics in the Netherlands—which has not historically been a global powerhouse for popular music—were more likely in 2005 to review popular music from abroad (69% of their popular music reviews) than were American critics (15% of their reviews; Janssen et al. 2008). Given such trends, we would expect that critics in Taipei would have an "international orientation" as well. They certainly have had ample opportunity to do so because a large portion of the surveyed venues in Taipei featured foreign artists in 2012. As seen in Table 3-F, one of the live-music venues featured foreign acts every week, while 11 of the 24 venues frequently scheduled foreign music acts (i.e., every month or every other month). In contrast, nine of the venues presented bands from other countries only a few times a year, with only two venues indicating that they never booked any foreign bands or musicians.

On the other hand, some of the interviewed bookers also noted the foreign audience and the local English media found in the Taipei live-music scene, thereby bringing another aspect of "nationality" into the picture. One of the bookers, who worked for a venue that was sorted by the interviewees as being a "nightclub," thought that foreign reporters who wrote for English-language media were more interested in writing stories about the live-music scene than were Taiwanese reporters. Perhaps she felt that

way because she and her staff had built personal relationships with such a reporter, one who was also a member of a band that performed at her venue—which is how the booker and her staff got to know this foreign reporter. Another interviewed booker also mentioned that her venue would make local English-language media aware of foreign bands that were performing at her venue and would provide some of them with free tickets because she viewed their readers as being the more likely audience of live music in Taipei than readers of typical Taiwanese media. In that regard, she was ultimately targeting both foreign consumers in Taipei (i.e., tourists, expatriates), as well as Taiwanese who were perhaps more "cosmopolitan" in their dispositions (e.g., bilinguals; see Chun 2004, 2013).

The interviewed bookers mentioned other factors that would likewise figure in the amount of media attention a given venue would likely receive. The uniqueness of the shows or the venue was commonly considered as a means for getting more media attention. What that "uniqueness" entailed was not the same for all these bookers. Some of them mentioned music-related uniqueness, such as "special" style of music or some types of shows that were "fresh." Their emphasis on musical uniqueness brings to mind research showing that newspaper critics are especially drawn to innovative musical programming—much more than are audiences (Kim and Jensen 2011). In contrast, other bookers used "uniqueness" to refer to aspects of a venue's space that draws media attentions, such as it being a "stylish" restaurant or coffee shop. Finally, some of the interviewed bookers noted how special themes could attract media coverage, such as when they promoted and marketed themselves as part of "indie music spaces" or "nightlife in Taipei." In sum, while the surveyed live-music venues took a rather positive

view about the likelihood of receiving media coverage for their respective shows and venues, the interviewed bookers acknowledged that such coverage is not uniform but, rather, is likely facilitated by a range of factors. Hence, some Taipei live-music venues would have a harder time reaching audiences via these intermediaries than would others.

Of course, there are ways for live-music venues to reach audiences directly, thus bypassing intermediaries; capabilities provided by the Internet have been especially important in that regard. The interviewed bookers pointed to the power of the Internet when they noted that writers on the Web were more likely to address the Taipei live-music scene than were critics and journalists associated with print media. They expected that to be the case especially for those websites devoted to indie music, such as iNDIEVOX and StreetVoice.[22] My observation of those websites, reviews and articles on them found that more were written by "users" and other amateurs than by professional critics. The distinction between website users and professional critics is especially relevant given that, at least according to one study involving motion pictures, reviews by both parties (users vs. professional critics) are not highly correlated in terms of their ranking and appreciation (Dellacrocas et al. 2007).

The survey of Taipei venues especially casts light on how they have used the Internet to help with their business and, in the process, have reached out to potential audiences directly. As Table 3-G reveals, most of the surveyed venues (22 of 24) used the Internet "often" when conducting business in 2012. Only two of the venues had "sometimes" made use of the Internet, while none reported seldom or never using the

[22] This is a website that provides a platform for musicians and music writers to share their works with the public (http://tw.streetvoice.com/).

Internet during the course of everyday business. As for the types of usage, nearly all of the surveyed venues (23 of 24) used the Internet to post schedule of their shows; three-quarters of them use the Internet to communicate with their potential audiences and eventual customers; and nearly one-half used the Internet to sell tickets. Other usages specified in the survey include contacting band members, releasing news, and the broadcasting of live streaming. Furthermore, as far the mode of contact is concerned, the surveyed venues made nearly equal use of *Facebook* and official websites when reaching out to audiences in 2012. Other than those modes of contact, five of the live-music venues had sent out newsletters via web, while only one of them made use of *MySpace* and none employed *Twitter*. As for "other" modes of contact, three of the surveyed venues indicated that they used *GigGuide.tw,*[23] and two of them specified that they use *iNDIEVOX*.[24] Other modes mentioned by the responding venues included blogs, ticket sale websites, and other websites providing information about art and cultural events—such as *Freedom Men Art Networks.*[25] Among these various modes of contact, *Facebook* and official websites were most often used by the surveyed venues. While recent research has demonstrated the ways in which musicians have employed the Internet to expand their audiences (Sargent 2009; Young and Collins 2010; Dowd and Pinheiro 2013), the survey reveals that live-music venues in Taipei had likewise gone online in the course of audience building.

[23] http://www.gigguide.tw/index.php.
[24] http://www.indievox.com/.
[25] http://artnetwork.freedommen.com/.

Not all in the music business have a positive view of the Internet and its capabilities—particularly with regards to "online music" and the disruptions it has caused for some. Record companies for instance have had to deal with challenges regarding access to digital and the related new technologies that allow file-sharing music (i.e., digital "piracy" as phrased by IFPI), such as peer-to-peer software (International Federation of Phonographic Industries 2012; Arditi 2014). Given such challenges, some may consider online music a necessary "evil" for the music business. However, a different view emerged among the Taipei bookers that I interviewed. Not only was the Internet widely utilized by live-music venues in Taipei to augment their businesses in 2012, but the interviewed bookers regarded the recent development of online music, not as an unwelcomed disruption, but as beneficial development that brings more people to live music—and all of these interviewees viewed online music in a positive way. They agreed that online music may indeed erode the sale of recording music products, but they also noted that it allows those people who were not the usual concertgoers to have exposure to new music—given the low to no cost of accessing online music—and, in turn, it may prompt them to become interested in attending live shows. Their view is consistent with a longitudinal study in the US that found evidence of online music hampering record sales while boosting concert revenues—particularly for concerts involving "non-superstar" musicians (Mortimer et al. 2004).

Several of the interviewed bookers echoed that study when they asserted that online music is especially beneficial for "indie music" in Taipei. That is because, in their view, online music made it easier for indie bands and musicians, who are usually considered as being "not so famous," to share their work with the public and, thus, to

help attract fans—fans that then becomes potential customers for live-music venues. A booker also mentioned that many people get to know about new bands or musicians because their *Facebook* friends share them, which indicates that widely used social network websites can help aspiring musicians find their niches (Young and Collins 2010, Dowd and Pinheiro 2013). As Holly Krus (2010) has written, social connections between musicians, venues and fans were important before the rise of the Internet, but in the online era, those connections arguably have become easier to make. In the next section, then, I focus specifically on the connections between the venues themselves in the online music era—thereby calling attention once again to their embeddedness rather than their isolation.

Networking and Social Capital: Connections among Live-Music Venues in Taipei

The survey and interviews of bookers made clear the importance of social capital in the Taipei live-music scene. Bookers and their venues often turned to others when deciding what performing acts to schedule, with those conversations and relationships providing helpful information. Those results suggest that we can assess social capital at the aggregate level by way of a proxy: those performing acts (e.g., bands) that live-music venues share in terms of scheduling. To be sure, that sharing may sometimes be a function of one venue monitoring another, absent of any direct contact between the two. But even then, that is a distant relationship that nonetheless departs from the notion of isolated "human calculators." Yet, as the previous section suggests, those shared bands likely resulted from interactive connections in some fashion—be it consulting peers at other venues, the bands themselves or turning to an independent booking agent.

Furthermore, Foster and colleagues' (2011) research shows that bookers frequently talk with someone, either other bookers or musicians, when making their decisions. Consequently, I use "shared bands" to capture at the aggregate level those conversations and relationships occurring at the interactional level.

Let us begin the examination of the live-music scene as a whole in Taipei by taking a snapshot of the network constructed venues and performing acts—the two major types of actors in that scene, among other actors (e.g. the audience). Drawing from the entertainment lists in 2012, Figure 3-F maps this network, with nodes connected by those performing acts that any pair of venues that both booked at least once in 2012. This network contains 145 nodes (i.e., live-music venues) and 490 edges—where an "edge" is depicted by the lines that show the occurrence of overlapping acts between particular venues, indicating booking relations between those venues. The density of this network is 0.047. Density scores range from 0 to 1, with "0" indicating no connections at all among nodes and "1" indicating complete connection among them all (see Hanneman and Riddle 2005). The density score for the Taipei scene as a whole, then, is quite low, but that is not surprising if connections were mainly occurring among similar venues rather than across all of them. Meanwhile, as Figure 3-F shows, 67 of venues (out of 145) were "isolates" in 2012, having no connections with other venues via shared performing acts—which contributes to the low overall density score. For the network depicted in Figure 3-F, the average degree is 6.76, and the weighted average degree is 34.44. These numbers show that, on average, a venue shared performers with roughly seven other venues in 2012 and had about 34 instances of shared bookings with other venues in that year. Furthermore, the average path length (2.37) and the diameter (6) of Figure 3-F show that a Taipei live-

music venue, on average, needed 2.37 steps to connect to another venue in 2012, in terms of band bookings, and the longest distance between any two of venues was six steps. This resonates with the phrase of "six degrees of separation," which refers to the fact that it often takes six or fewer steps for one actor to reach another by way of shared connections.

Let us then look further into the network of this scene by testing if homophilous venues have a pattern of overlapping bookings (i.e., a proxy for social capital), while also testing if the pattern of overlapping bookings is influenced by the configurations of the network (i.e., how the venues are connected). Table 3-H shows the extent to which two types of homophily occurred in Taipei during 2012, with the number of dyads indicating how many homophilous relations among the 145 venues emerged in terms of each level or category of the two niches. As indicated, homophily in the high price level appeared the most (820 relations), with low and upper price levels in the middle (465 and 496 relations, respectively), and the medium price level as the lowest in terms of price homophilous relations. The table also shows that homophily in rock/electronic genre is the most common one among the venues (1830 relations formed) in terms of genre, with relatively few relations of jazz/classical homophily (1431), and even fewer event homophily relations (136). In short, high price level and rock/electronic genre were the two leading homophilous groups in Taipei, with medium price level and event genre being the two smallest groups in terms of homophily among live-music venues.

Table 3-I reports the ERG Models of the social network analysis, which explain the effects of price homophily, genre homophily, and network structure on band-booking connections among music venues in Taipei. All ERG models were generated using ergm,

the package for R mentioned above. Model 1 considers the effect of price homophily. The coefficient for edges tells us the log-odds of forming a connection that is completely heterogeneous—which, in this model, is when two venues from different price levels both booked the same performing act in 2012. That coefficient is negative (-3.04), revealing that booking connections across price levels are significantly reduced in likelihood. Net of the edges coefficient, the two significant price coefficients indicate that venues belonging to the medium price group are more likely to connect in terms of booking choices with each other (as denoted by the positive coefficient of 1.54), while venues belonging to the low price level are less likely to share similar choice of bands with each other (as denoted by the negative coefficient of -.88). We can interpret the coefficients in a more concrete way: the log-odds of forming a tie that is completely heterogeneous (the two venues of a pair differ from each other in price attribute) is -3.04; the log-odds of a tie that is homogeneous by medium level of price is improved to -1.5 (-3.04 + 1.54 = -1.5), while the log-odds of a tie that is homogeneous by low level of price gets reduced to -3.92 (-3.04 – 0.88 = -3.92). Therefore, considering the coefficients that are statistically significant, it is evident that venues with medium price levels tend to book the same pool of bands, while venues that usually price their shows at low prices are less likely to have booking similarity with each other.

Model 2 focuses attention on genre homophily. The significant and negative coefficient for edges (-3.52) reveals that the likelihood of booking connections is reduced among those venues that are dissimilar in terms of genre. The other significant coefficients indicate that homophily among venues presenting rock/electronic is positively associated with the likelihood of overlapping bookings (1.78), while

homophily among venues presenting jazz/classical is negatively related to the likelihood of sharing bands. The coefficients tell us that the log-odds of forming a tie that are completely heterogeneous is -3.52; the log-odds rises to -1.74 for two venues that are both mostly presenting rock/electronic shows, while the log-odds decreases to -5.18 for those that are both labeled as jazz/classical venues. This model shows that rock/electronic venues tend to have similar choices of bands with each other, while bookers at jazz/classical music venues are less likely to schedule the same performers as their in-group fellow bookers.

Model 3 simultaneously includes the two types of homophily in one model. The effect of genre homophily on booking connections remains almost the same as in Model 2, showing a positive association along the line of rock/electronic genre and a negative relation for the genre of jazz/classical. Though the sign of the coefficient of the genre of event flips from positive to negative, the effect of this item remains non-significant. The influence of price homophily is slightly different in this model than when considering it alone. Compared to Model 1, the improvement in the log-odds of forming a tie among medium price venues remains almost the same, while the effect of the upper price level now becomes significant (-.50) and the coefficient of low price group becomes a bit less significant. Considering the two types of homophily together, we find that the log-odds of forming a tie that is completely heterogeneous is -3.56; the log-odds rises to -1.98 (-3.56 + 1.58) for medium price venues and it also rises to -1.74 for rock/electronic venues (-3.56 + 1.82), while the log-odds of shared booking decreases for homogeneous dyads of upper, high, low price venues, as well as for dyads consisting of two jazz/classical venues.

Model 4 considers the two network structural terms alone. The significant negative coefficient of GWDSP points out that the likelihood of observing non-connected dyads with nodes in common is lower than it would be by chance. Model 5 and Model 6 include attribute terms as well as network structural terms in the analysis. Model 5 considers the two types of homophily along with the triadic closure term (GWESP) in one single model. Compared to Model 3, when adding the GWESP term, the significance of upper price homophily and jazz/classical genre homophily each decreases a bit, and the effect of the event genre changes from negative to positive, though it again remains insignificant. Compared to Model 4, when adding price and genre homophily to the model, the coefficient of triadic closure remains positive but now becomes significant, which indicates that the observed network is highly clustered: we are more likely to find connected dyads with shared nodes in this network than in random networks.

Model 6 is the most comprehensive model for the shared-booking network among live-music venues in Taipei, which considers all the homophily and network structural terms together. Compared to Model 5, when adding the term of open triangles, the effect of upper price homophily on booking similarity becomes insignificant, but the influence of jazz/classical genre homophily becomes even more significant; the coefficient of GWDSP remains negative as it is in Model 4, but the log-odds are slightly enhanced. We also find that the AICs (which measure the goodness of fit of models) becomes significantly smaller for Model 6, which shows that the model-fit is better improved in this comprehensive model than the previous models.

In sum, the ERG models reveal that there are some patterns in terms of connections between live-music venues in Taipei. The most notable pattern is that venues

which are dissimilar in terms of the genres that they mostly featured and / or the prices that typically charged are less likely to schedule the same performing acts, which corresponds to what I argued in Chapter Two: price/genre are two elements that distinguish the niches in which live-music venues operate and, in turn, the distinct audiences they may target. In this chapter, we see that venues with distinct niche elements likewise gravitate to staging different musicians. Another interesting finding is that "homophily" matters but not in uniform fashion. On the one hand, medium price level venues are more likely to overlap in their booking choices, but that homophily ultimately does not matter for venues operating at low, high and upper price levels (see Model 6). Perhaps this lack of overlap is because low price level venues are dealing with the flurry of novice musicians and / or musicians that do not cost much (see Pinheiro and Dowd 2009; Dowd and Pinheiro 2013) and higher price level venues are dealing with the superstars or well-established musicians—who are usually paid better than others (see Holt 2010; Dercrop and Derbaix 2014). On the other hand, rock/electronic venues are likely to overlap in the musicians they feature, while jazz/classical are likely not to do so. Previous research notes that, for popular music in general, there is often a "geographical circuit" that performers follow—both across the country (Johansson and Bell 2014) and within cities (Foster et al. 2011; Cohen 2012). That, when combined with their relatively large supply in Taipei (see Chapter Two) could result in relatively more sharing among rock/electronic venues than in the other venues. Meanwhile, at least in terms of classical music, ensembles (particularly large ones) tend to be much more fixed to place, which would make sharing difficult (see Glynn 2000). Finally, *how* the venues are connected matters even more than the two types of homophily based on commonly defined niches in

music industry (i.e., price and genre), as closing one or more triangles of venues (overlapping triangles) causes highly clustered area with subsets of venues in terms of overlapping band-booking (i.e., "clumps" in the network) (see Robin et al. 2007; Wimmer and Lewis 2010). This may suggest another type of niche generating homophily and not reducible to genre and price.

Conclusions

The sociological emphasis on "embeddedness" has led to an empirical focus on the context in which economic actors are located. Neo-institutionalists and others have demonstrated that the way that economic actors operate can vary dramatically across time (Dobbin and Dowd 2000) and across place (Hamilton and Biggart 1988). While "time" has not always been an emphasis for music scenes proponents (see Chapter Two), they have likewise emphasized that different places can spawn very different music scenes; that is why they speak of distinctive scenes in places like Chicago (Grazian 2005), Austin (Shank 1994), and Liverpool (Cohen 1991).

The importance of this context is clearly demonstrated in this chapter in several ways. We can highlight them by considering "what might have been." First, it might be assumed that live-music venues would be opposed to online music, as online music could serve as a substitute (if not a competitor) for live music. After all, studies have found that recording companies have struggled with declining sales and the need for new business strategies in an online world (see Young and Collins 2010; Marshall 2013; Arditi 2014). However, those struggles have not played out the same way in all music-related industries or in all nations. For instance, the recording industry in Japan was less oriented

towards lawsuits against consumers engaged in "illegal downloading" than the recording industry in the US, as downloading files of music was expensive in Japan due to high fees for accessing the Internet via cell phones—which was the major device by which Japanese consumers accessed the Internet (Condry 2004). Furthermore, in another music-related industry—that dealing with music on mobile phone music (e.g., ringtones, streaming, downloading)—Japan has taken a different approach than has Korea. In Japan, record companies have been the key players in this emergent industry, thereby using the new approach to complement the sales of CDs, whereas in Korea, mobile carriers have become the key players, thereby challenging "offline" music associated with CDs (Lee 2012). Meanwhile, in the live-music scene of Taiwan, there has been not only use of the Internet for marketing and promotion (which is not unusual for a range of industries) but also an open embrace of online music, as the talent buyers in the industry are positive about the impact of online music building (rather than harming) the audience for live music.

Second, we might assume that the live-music scene in Taipei would be based around its domestic performing acts and language. However, the surveyed venues and interviewed bookers pointed to a fair amount of performing acts and languages from abroad in their live-music scene. It might be tempting to view that as "cultural imperialism" as discussed in Chapter Two, but that would overlook the particularities of place and its associated context. On the one hand, Taipei (and Taiwan) could have an international orientation not because it is dominated but because of its "crossroads" situation in which music from the West and from the East flows frequently through it (see Chapter Two, as well as Janssen et al. 2008). In another such "crossroad nation"—the

Netherlands—an appreciation for foreign music is actually a form of distinction (Meuleman and Lubbers forthcoming). On the other hand, we should not overlook the fact that even so-called imperialist nations can have more diversity than assumed. In the US, for instance, the bulk of classical music featured on its stages has come from abroad since the 1800s onward, with opera long featured in foreign languages (see Dowd 2011; McConachie 1988); in more recent times, such examples as the Rock en Espanol scene in Houston (Kotarba, Fackler, and Nowotny 2009) also reveal the variety of languages that can be found in that nation's music scenes. Finally, given the few genre classifications offered by *Pots Weekly* that cast live-music performances in terms of broad and well-known categories, we might assume that the Taipei live-music scene is marked by limited variety. However, the distinctions offered by the bookers themselves were nuanced and were sometimes very specific to what occurs in Taiwan (e.g., band-music). Simultaneously, then, the hybridity demonstrated by Regev (2011)—with local/global combined in unique fashions—and the fine-grained distinctions made by music "insiders" (see the numerous genres and sub-genres in Dowd 2013b; also see McLeod 2001) were represented in the Taiwan live-music scene, as well.

The sociological emphasis on "embeddedness" has also led to an emphasis on the connections that exist between economic actors: connections that do not hinder the marketplace (as some neo-classical economists suggest) but rather enable it to function smoothly (see Uzzi 1997; Dacin et al. 1999). The results of this chapter show that connections do indeed matter for bookers and the venues at which they work. First, frequent decisions regarding an uncertain product (the musicians to feature on their stages) prompt much discussion. As the survey and interviews with bookers at the music

venues revealed during 2012, it happened within the venues (connecting to colleagues / musicians), across the venues (staffs at other venues) and with contracted agents. In fact, many bookers / venues consulted multiple types of actors. While the specifics of whom they consulted are somewhat particular to the industry (live-music) and the setting (Taipei), the range and commonality of such connections resembles that found in British comedy (Friedman 2014), Dutch publishing (Franssen and Kuipers 2013), as well as Boston nightclubs (Foster et al. 2011). Second, the results allow us to see traces of those conversations and consultation in the actual decisions of bookers and their venues—particularly when live-music venues in Taipei were connected in 2012 via common musical acts appearing on their stages. It is striking that those connections at the aggregate level were very likely *not* to occur among venues that were dissimilar in both the genres they usually featured and the prices that they usually charged during that year. This gives credence to a point made in Chapter Two: that the ecology of urban music scenes likely contain multiple niches targeting divergent audiences—an ecology that is missed when considering only a single genre and / or price-range at a time (e.g., the punk scene). Finally, those venues that operated in a similar niche in 2012 did not automatically converge or diverge with each other in terms of scheduling—with convergence (the same performers) more likely happening when consultation / cooperation was frequent and divergence (different performers) more likely happening when uniqueness was valued highly, perhaps associated with pronounced competition. In fact, only medium-priced venues and pop/electronic venues were more likely to have connections via shared performers while jazz/classical venues were less likely to do so. While the reasons why are not clear in this research, those differences do fit with

Bruggeman and colleagues' (2012) point that not all niches are alike, with the presence of niche-partners sometimes beneficial and sometimes a threat.

Note that the art worlds approach is likewise concerned with the context and connections involved in the production and distribution of cultural objects (Becker 1982). As Gilmore (1987, 1988) described (see Chapter One), classical music in New Your City (as the context) is divided into three distinct "niches"—with each niche containing particular types of performance organizations (e.g., big orchestras or smaller ones) and containing a particular connection between those organizations and a particular type of musician (e.g., composers as performers). In a somewhat similar vein, we can likewise describe the live-music scene in Taipei (context) as being divided up in niches that include not only classical music (and jazz) but also rock and electronic dance music. As the results here and in the previous chapter indicate, though, the venues with overlapping niches (price and genre) do not necessarily share geographic areas as is the case for classical music in NYC—yet the most active venues do cluster along a major road in the city (see Chapter Two)—but venues with particular niches (i.e., medium price and rock/electronic music) do connect more than others.

My depiction of the Taipei live-music scene heeds the connections (and lack thereof), but it does not fully capture the competitive jostling among venues that field theory proponents have emphasized. While I get at that indirectly in Taipei via the different price levels found among the venues, I get at it directly in the next chapter by modeling the status-order found among live-music venues in Atlanta.

Table 3-A. The List of Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

A Bar
A House
ATT Show Box
Amigo Live House
Anhe 65
Artco de Cafe
Bobwundaye
EZ5
Forum Auditorium
La Caja de Musica
Marsalis Home Taipei
Neo Studio
Pipe Live House
Re
Revolver
Riverside Live House & Riverside Music Café
Roxy Rocker
Sappho de base
Somebody Café
The Can
The Wall Live House
Treellage The Stage
Vicious Circle Music House
Witch House

Figure 3-A. Location of the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

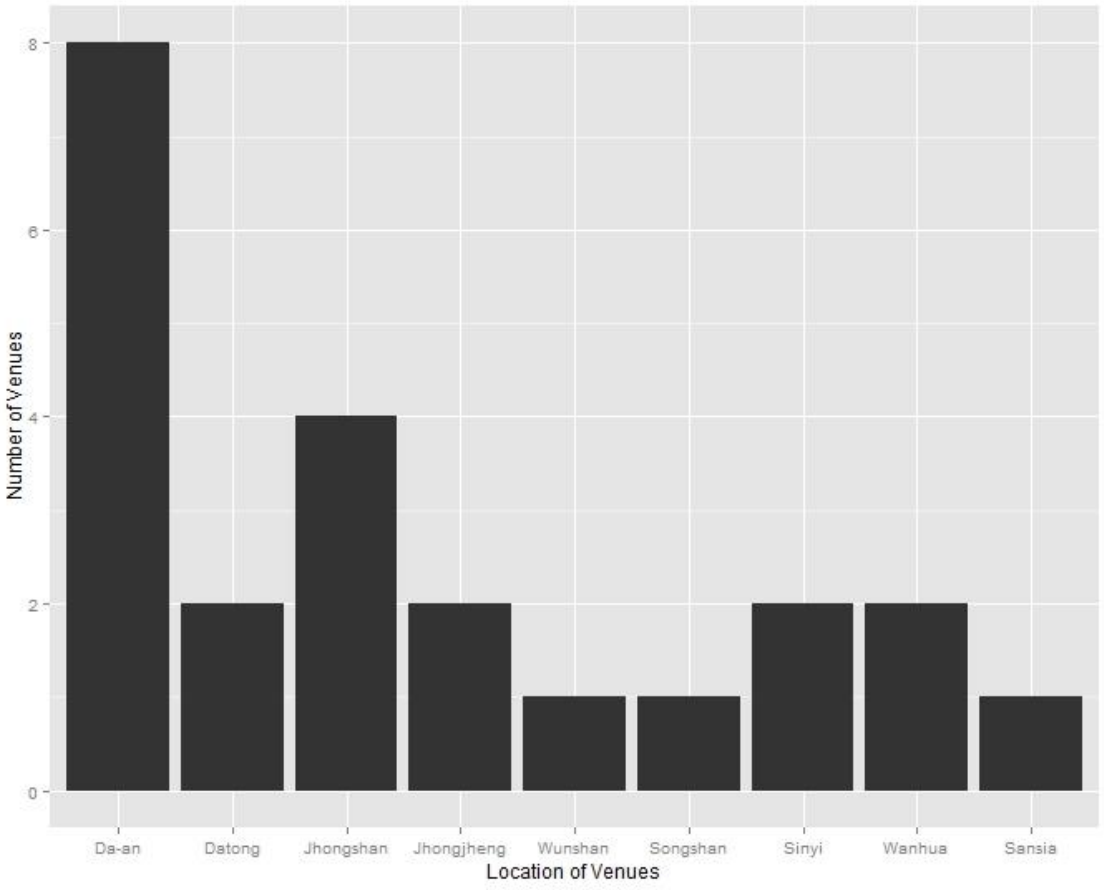


Figure 3-B. Number of Employees among the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

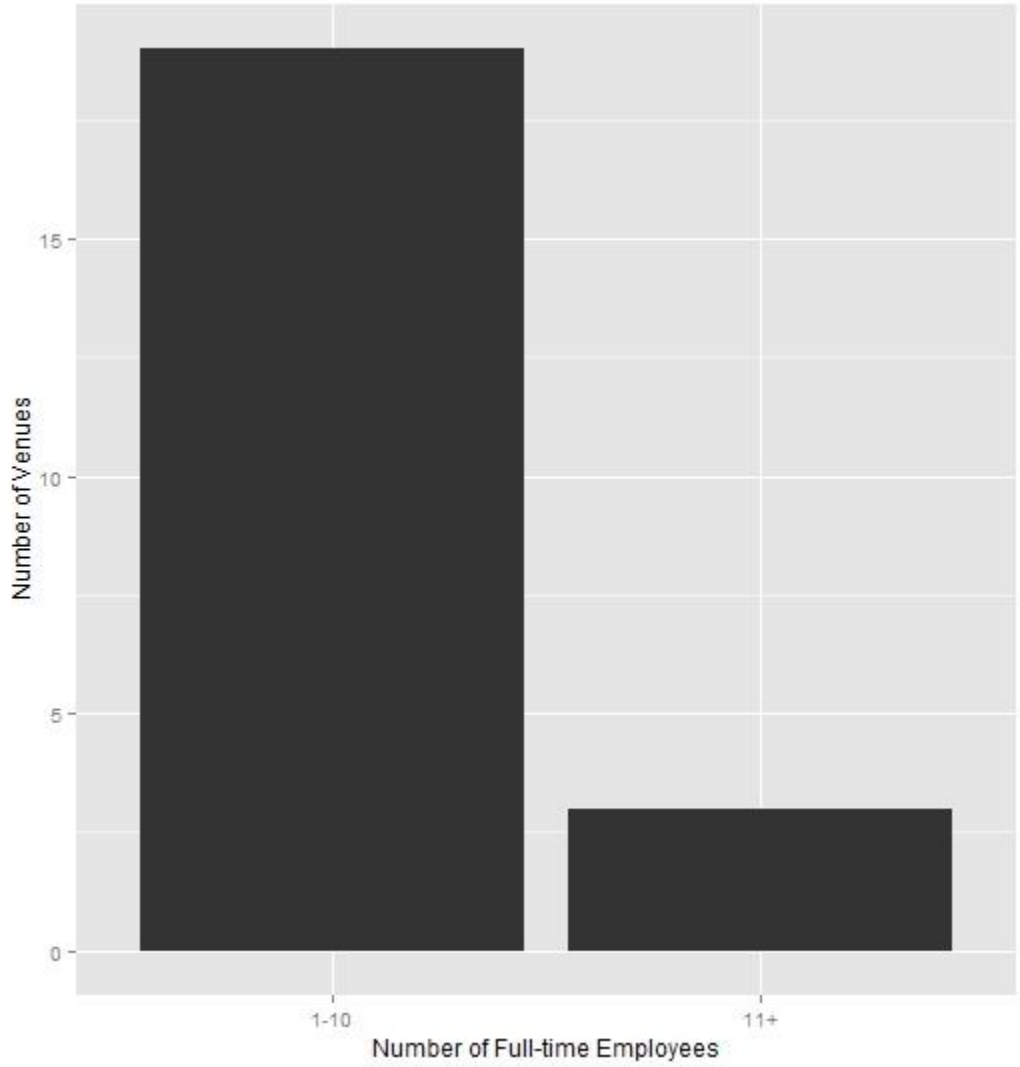


Figure 3-B (continued). Number of Employees among the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

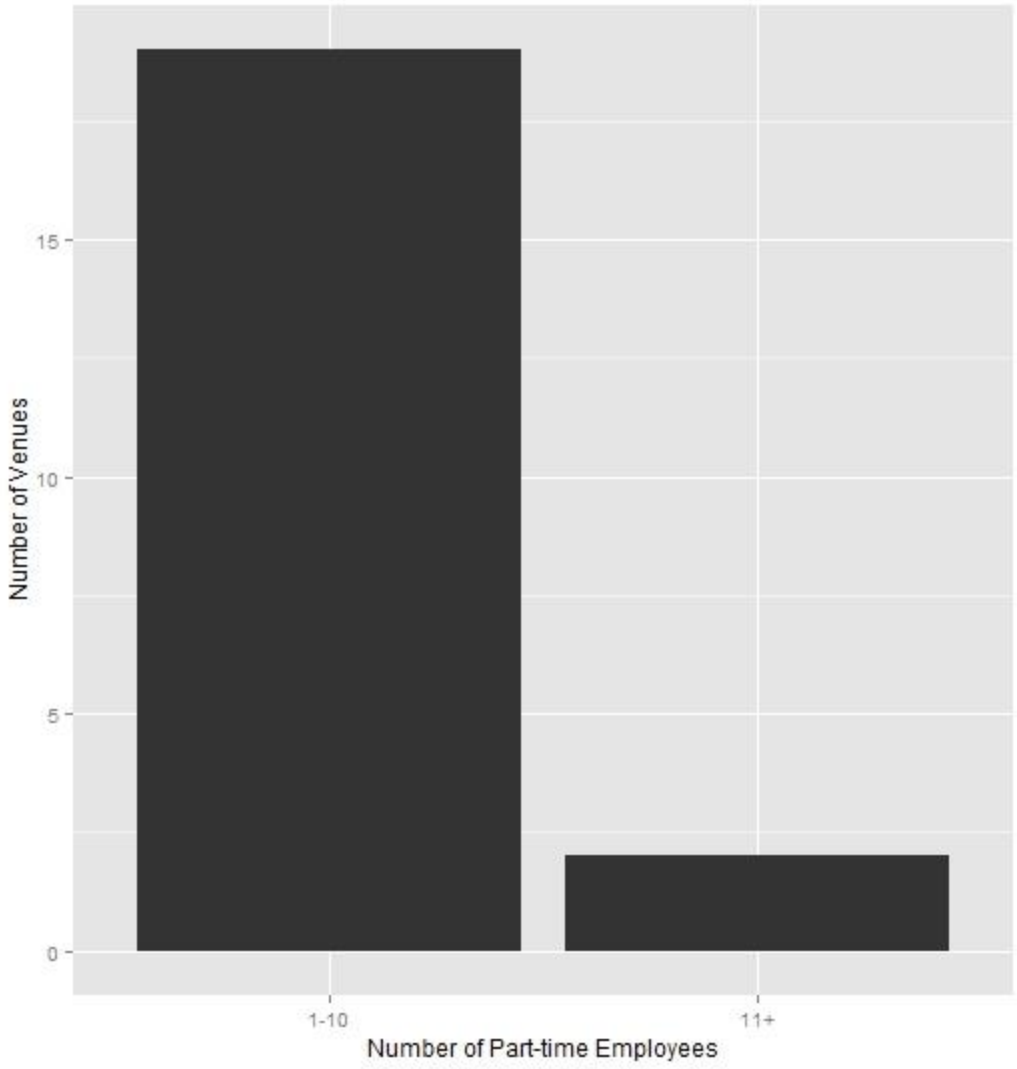


Figure 3-B (continued). Number of Employees among the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

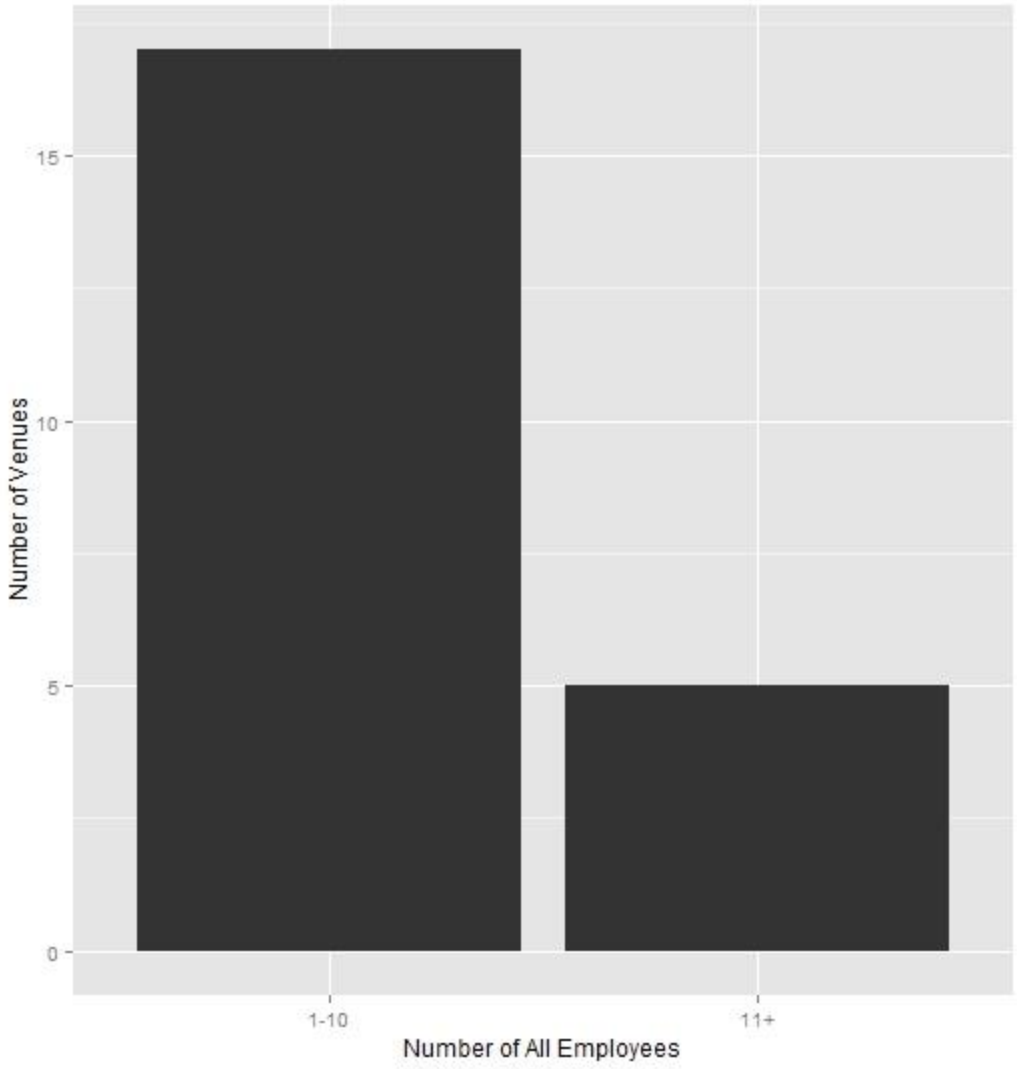


Figure 3-C. Average Ticket Price among the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei (in Terms of the Total Number of Their Employees)

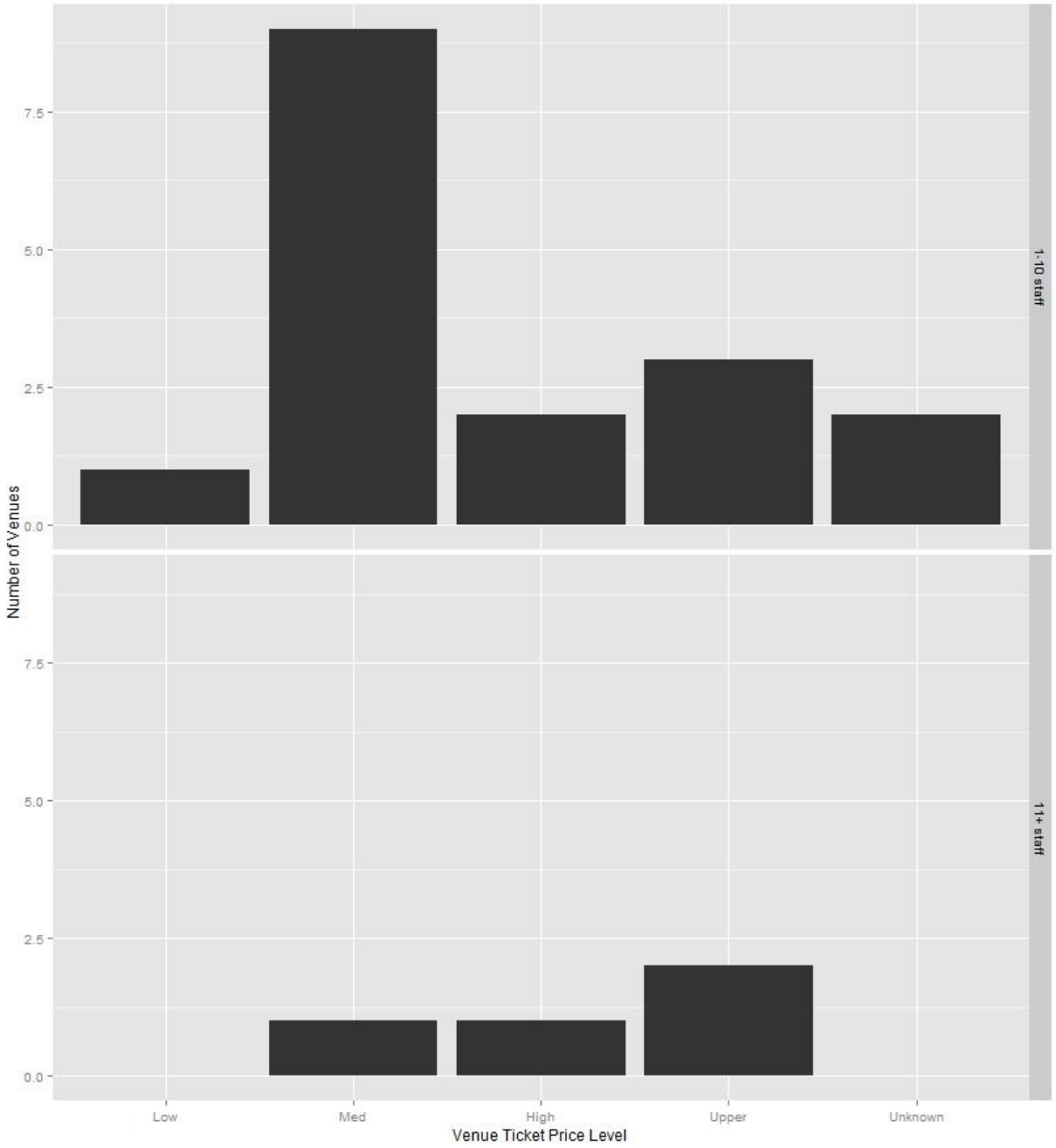


Figure 3-D. The Seating Capacity of Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

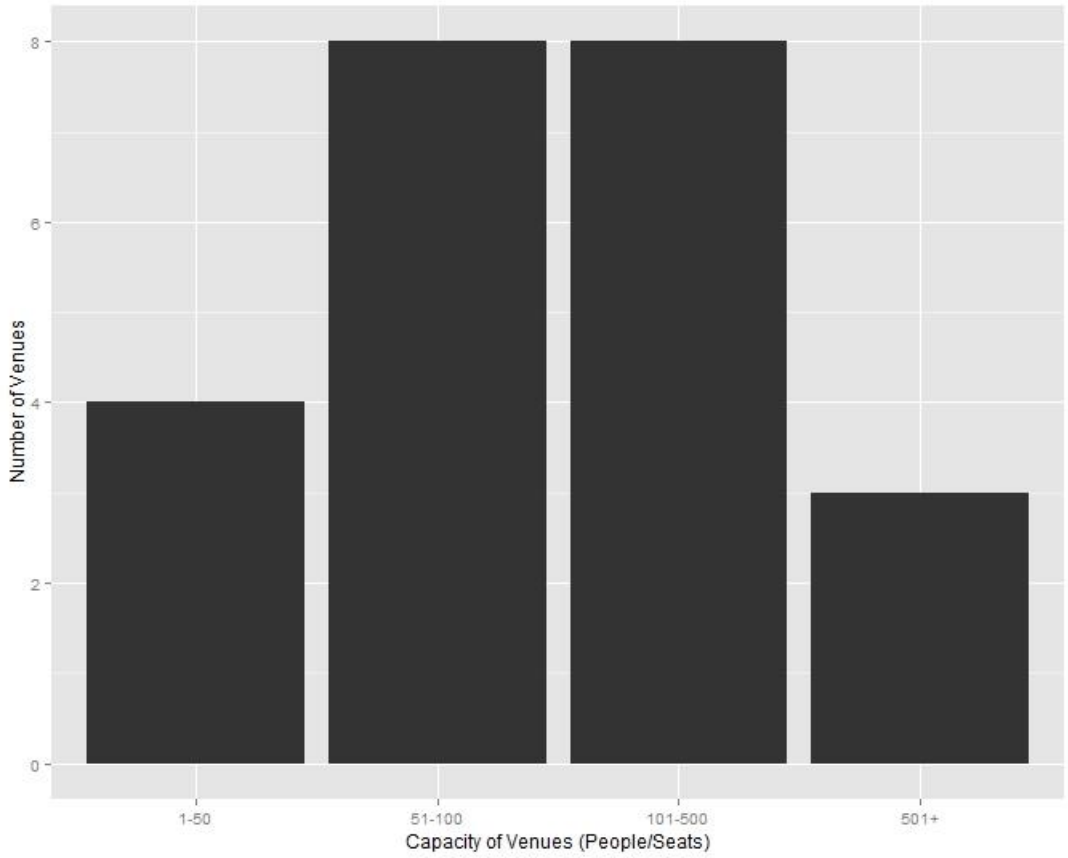


Figure 3-E. Average Ticket Price among the Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei (in Terms of the Total Number of Their Seating Capacity)

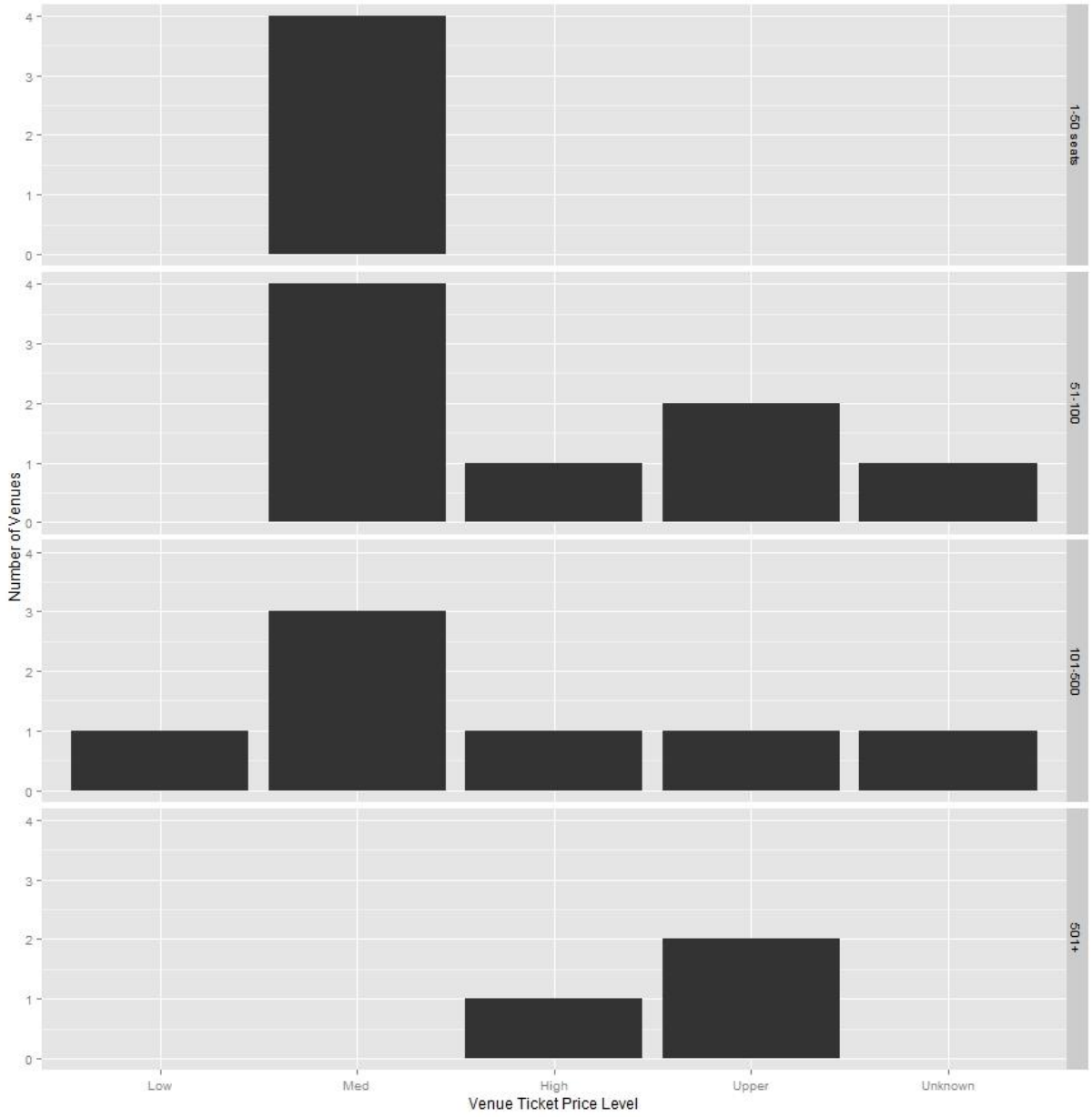


Table 3-B. Importance of Income Sources and Operational Costs among Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

Importance of Income Sources						
	Tickets	Drinks	Food	Venue Merchandise	Donations	Other
Very Important	9	10	2	1	0	3
Important	6	5	10	3	0	3
Moderately Important	2	4	3	4	0	0
Of Little Importance	3	2	3	7	5	0
Unimportant	3	0	3	5	11	0

Importance of Operational Costs						
	Marketing	Employee Payment	Band Payment	Sound Equipment	Other Equipment	Other
Very Important	7	10	9	8	2	0
Important	5	9	9	10	7	1
Moderately Important	5	4	5	5	6	0
Of Little Importance	5	0	0	0	0	0
Unimportant	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3-C. Connections Involved in Booking Bands by Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

	Actors Consulted	Most Often Consulted		Reliance on Agent for Band-Booking
Colleagues	20	15	Often	2
Other Venues	7	2	Sometimes	1
Bands	18	6	Seldom	5
Audiences	6	0	Never	16
Others	6	1		
Total		24	Total	24

Table 3-D. The Number of Actor Types Consulted by Bookers at Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

	Number of Venues
One actor type	3
Two actor types	13
Three actor types	4
Four actor types	4
Total	24

Table 3-E. Perceptions among Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei Regarding Media Coverage

	The Likelihood of Their Featured Acts Being Reviewed
Very Likely	8
Likely	9
Unlikely	6
Impossible	0
No Answer	1
Total	24

Table 3-F. Frequency of Foreign Bands among Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

	Frequency of Foreign Bands Featured at a Given Venue
Every Week	1
Every Month	6
Every two months	5
A few times a year	9
Never	2
No Answer	1
Total	24

Table 3-G. Internet Usage among Surveyed Live-Music Venues in Taipei

	Frequency of Internet Usage for Business		Types of Usage		Mode of Contact		Mode Of Contact Most Often Used
Often	22	Post Schedule	23	Facebook Official	21	Facebook Official	12
Sometimes	2	Communicate	18	Website	20	Website	8
Seldom	0	Sell Tickets	11	Newsletter	5	Newsletter	0
Never	0	Other	5	MySpace	1	Twitter	0
				Twitter	0	MySpace	0
				Other	15	Others	0
						No Answer	4
Total	24					Total	24

Figure 3-F. The Network of Connections (Shared Bands) among All Live-Music Venues in Taipei, 2012

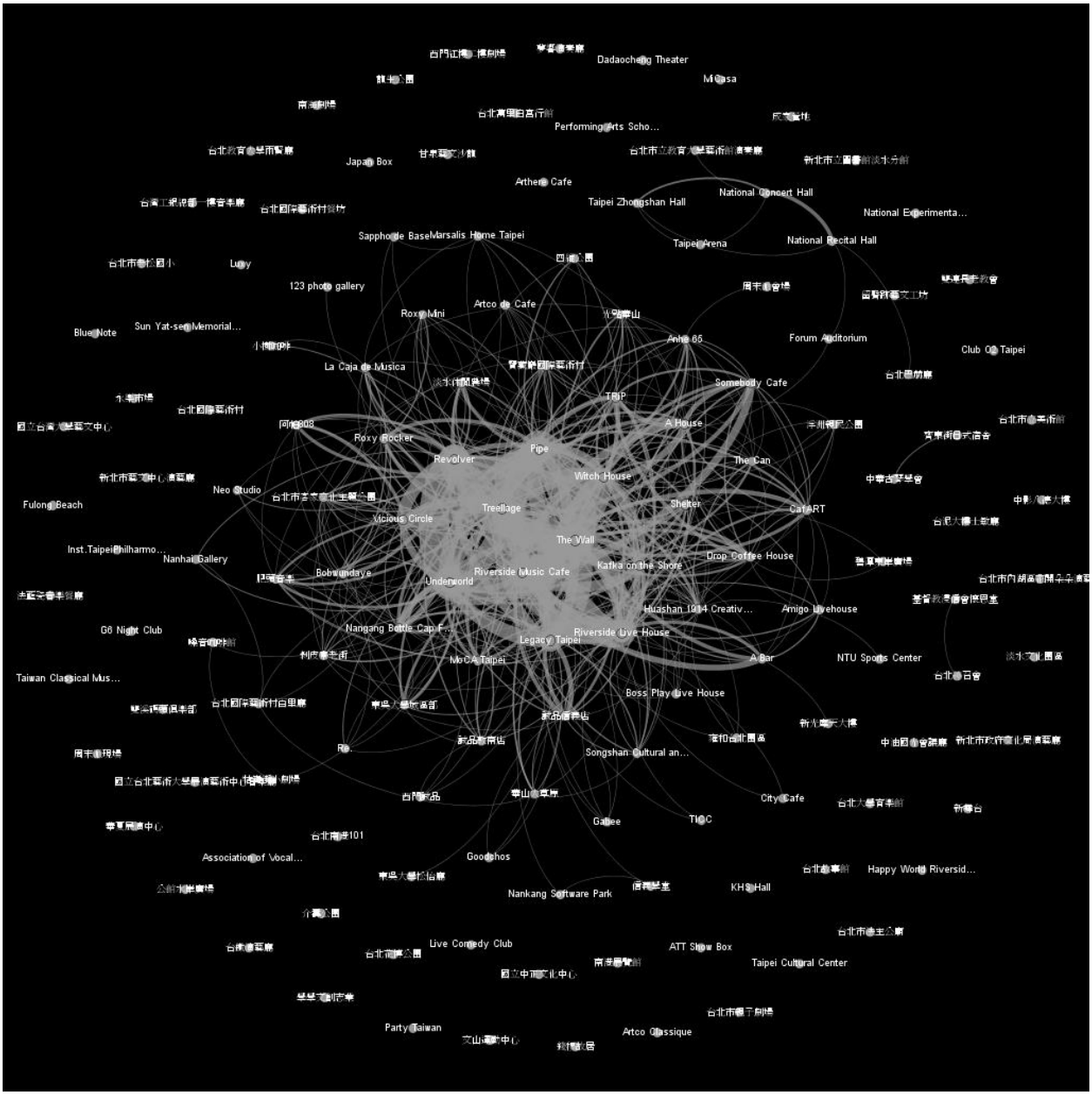


Table 3-H. The Extent of Price and Genre Homophily among All Live-Music Venues in Taipei, 2012

Price Homophily	N of Dyads	Genre Homophily	N of Dyads
Low	465	Rock/Electronic	1830
Medium	231	Jazz/Classical	1431
High	820	Event	136
Upper	496		

Table 3-I. ERG Models: Effects of Price Homophily, Genre Homophily, and Network Structure on Booking Connections among All Live-Music Venues in Taipei, 2012

TERMS	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Edges	-3.04***	-3.52***	-3.56***	-3.50	-6.40***	-4.11***
	(.05)	(.07)	(.08)	(3.18)	(.30)	(.34)
Price Homophily						
Upper Price Level	-.18		-.50**		-.43*	-.40
	(.24)		(.24)		(.25)	(.38)
High Price Level	-.007		-.14		-.14	-.38
	(.18)		(.18)		(.17)	(.26)
Medium Price Level	1.54***		1.58***		1.12***	1.08***
	(.18)		(.19)		(.16)	(.18)
Low Price Level	-.88***		-.64*		-.58*	-.49
	(.34)		(.35)		(.34)	(.52)
Genre Homophily						
Pop/Electronic		1.78***	1.82***		1.08***	.50***
		(.10)	(.10)		(.09)	(.15)
Jazz/Classical		-1.66***	-1.59***		-.80**	-2.16***
		(.36)	(.36)		(.36)	(.49)
Event		.02	-.009		.28	-.22
		(.51)	(.51)		(.48)	(.55)
Structural Terms						
Triadic Closure (GWESP)				2.99	3.13***	3.04***
				(3.17)	(.28)	(.30)
Open triangles (GWDSP)				-.44***		-.24***
				(.05)		(.02)
AIC	3897	3532	3474	3214	3069	2750

Standard errors are in parentheses
$^{***}p < .001$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{+}p < .10$

Appendix 3-A. The Survey Questionnaire Completed by a Subset of Live-Music Venues in Taipei (Mandarin version)

1. 請填寫您所工作的音樂展演場地名稱：_____

2. 作為您的展演場地中主要負責排定表演團體的人員，您通常與誰談論「選擇與排定表演團體的相關事宜」？(可多選)

- ❑ 您所工作的展演場地中的同事
- ❑ 為其他展演場地工作的同業人員
- ❑ 曾在您的展演場地表演的樂團成員
- ❑ 常參與您展演場地所舉辦之表演的觀眾
- ❑ 其他 1 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 2 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 3 (請註明) _____

3. 承上題，您最常與誰談論「選擇與排定表演團體的相關事宜」？(單選)

- ❍ 您所工作的展演場地中的同事
- ❍ 為其他展演場地工作的同業人員
- ❍ 曾在您的展演場地表演的樂團成員
- ❍ 常參與您展演場地所舉辦之表演的觀眾
- ❍ 其他 1 (請註明) _____
- ❍ 其他 2 (請註明) _____
- ❍ 其他 3 (請註明) _____

4. 您的展演場地多常付費請其他經紀人員處理「選擇與排定表演團體的事宜」？

- ❍ 經常
- ❍ 偶爾
- ❍ 很少
- ❍ 從未

5. 您的展演場地多常使用網際網路輔助場地經營事項？

- ❍ 經常
- ❍ 偶爾
- ❍ 很少
- ❍ 從未

6. 承上題，如果您的展演場地有使用網際網路輔助經營，您通常如何使用？(可多選)

- ❑ 公佈表演資訊
- ❑ 售票
- ❑ 與觀眾/顧客交流
- ❑ 其他 1 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 2 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 3 (請註明) _____

7. 您的展演場地最常使用哪種或哪幾種網際網路媒體輔助經營？(可多選)

- ❑ 您的展演場地之官方網站
- ❑ 您的展演場地所發行之電子報
- ❑ Facebook
- ❑ Twitter
- ❑ MySpace
- ❑ 其他 1 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 2 (請註明) _____
- ❑ 其他 3 (請註明) _____

8. 承上題，在您所勾選的網際網路媒體中，您最常使用以輔助經營的是：(單選)

- ❍ 您的展演場地之官方網站
- ❍ 您的展演場地所發行之電子報
- ❍ Facebook
- ❍ Twitter
- ❍ MySpace
- ❍ 其他 1 (請註明) _____
- ❍ 其他 2 (請註明) _____
- ❍ 其他 3 (請註明) _____

9. 請列出您展演場地各項收入來源的重要性：

	完全不重要	不太重要	有些重要	重要	非常重要
門票	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
酒水飲料	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
餐點	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
展演場地之周邊商品	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
捐款	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 1 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 2 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 3 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

10. 請列出您展演場地各項支出的重要性：

	完全不重要	不太重要	有些重要	重要	非常重要
行銷	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
員工薪資	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
表演樂團酬勞	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
音響設備	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他設備	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 1 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 2 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
其他 3 (請註明)_____	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

11. 一般來說，在您的場地舉行的表演受到報章雜誌報導的可能性是？

- ❍ 非常可能
- ❍ 可能
- ❍ 不太可能
- ❍ 不可能

12. 您認為一般來說，台北各音樂展演場地的表演受到報章雜誌報導的可能性，是受到哪些因素的影響？

13. 您的展演場地於何年成立？

14. 您的展演場地位於台北的哪一區？

15. 您的場地最多可容納多少觀眾？(請填寫座位數或人數)

16. 現在您的展演場地有幾位受薪的全職工作人員？

17. 現在您的展演場地有幾位受薪的兼職工作人員？

18. 您的展演場地多常有外國(台灣以外)樂團的演出？

- ❍ 每週
- ❍ 每個月
- ❍ 每兩個月
- ❍ 一年中有幾次
- ❍ 從未

Appendix 3-B. The Survey Questionnaire Completed by a Subset of Live-Music Venues in Taipei

1. Please enter the name of your venue:

2. As a person in charge of band booking for your venue, who do you talk to regarding bands selection and booking? Check ALL that apply.

- ❑ People that work in your venue
- ❑ People that work for other venues
- ❑ Band members who have performed in your venue
- ❑ Frequent audiences of your venue
- ❑ Other 1 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 2 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 3 (Please indicate) _____

3. Of those people you checked, who do you talk to the most often, regarding bands selection and booking?

- ❍ People that work in your venue
- ❍ People that work for other venues
- ❍ Band members who have performed in your venue
- ❍ Frequent audiences of your venue
- ❍ Other 1 (Please indicate) _____
- ❍ Other 2 (Please indicate) _____
- ❍ Other 3 (Please indicate) _____

4. How often does your venue pay any agent to help with bands selection and booking?

- ❍ Often
- ❍ Sometimes
- ❍ Seldom
- ❍ Never

5. How often does your venue use the Internet to help with your business?

- ❍ Often
- ❍ Sometimes
- ❍ Seldom
- ❍ Never

6. If your venue uses the Internet to help with your business, then how do you do so? Check ALL that apply.

- ❑ Post show schedule
- ❑ Sell tickets
- ❑ Communicate with audiences/customers
- ❑ Other 1 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 2 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 3 (Please indicate) _____

7. Which type or types of Internet media does your venue use to help with business? Check ALL that apply.

- ❑ Your venue's official website
- ❑ Your venue's newsletter
- ❑ Facebook
- ❑ Twitter
- ❑ MySpace
- ❑ Other 1 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 2 (Please indicate) _____
- ❑ Other 3 (Please indicate) _____

8. Of those Internet media that you checked, which one does your venue use the most often to help with business?

- ❍ Your venue's official website
- ❍ Your venue's newsletter
- ❍ Facebook
- ❍ Twitter
- ❍ MySpace
- ❍ Other 1 (Please indicate) _____
- ❍ Other 2 (Please indicate) _____
- ❍ Other 3 (Please indicate) _____

9. Please indicate the importance of your venue's income sources:

	Unimportant	Of little importance	Moderately important	Important	Very important
Tickets	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Drinks	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Food	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Venue merchandise	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Donation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 1 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 2 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 3 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

10. Please indicate the importance of your venue's costs:

	Unimportant	Of little importance	Moderately important	Important	Very important
Marketing	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Employee payment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Bands/musicians payment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sound equipment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other equipment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 1 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 2 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other 3 (Please indicate)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

11. What is the likelihood of the acts at your venue being reviewed or recommended by newspapers?

- ❍ Very likely
- ❍ Likely
- ❍ Unlikely
- ❍ Impossible

12. What do you think that shapes the likelihood of the acts at Atlanta venues being reviewed or recommended by newspapers?

13. In what year was your venue founded? [A drop-down menu with choice items of 1930-2013 and "Other" was provided in the original survey]

14. In which neighborhood is your venue located? [A drop-down menu with choice items of 41 official districts in Taipei was provided in the original survey]

15. What is the capacity of your venue? (Please enter number of seats/people in numeric form)

16. How many current full-time paid staff work in your venue? (Please enter number in numeric form)

17. How many current part-time paid staff work in your venue? (Please enter number in numeric form)

18. How often does your venue present bands and musicians from countries other than Taiwan?

- ❍ Every week
- ❍ Every month
- ❍ Every two months
- ❍ a few times an year
- ❍ Never

Appendix 3-C. Interview Guide Used for a Sub-Set of Bookers in the Taipei Music Scene

1. Perceived similarities among venues (pile-sorting task) – a) Please sort cards representing venues into piles according to how similar they are; b) why do you think they are similar?

2. Information exchange – You mentioned, in the survey, that you talk about the selection and booking of bands / musicians with_____, _____, and _____? How often do you talk? When do you talk (what occasions, e.g., after performance, friends gatherings)? How extensive are your conversations?

3. Agent – You mentioned, in the survey, that your venue pays agents to help with bands selection and booking, how do they help with that? Why do you pay agents to deal with band booking rather than doing it on your own?

4. Booking pattern – Do you usually book different bands or book from a pool of bands? Why?

5. Online music – Do you think the live music scene has been changed with the rise of online music and downloading? How has it been changed?

6. You mentioned, in the survey, that the likelihood of the acts at your venue being reviewed or recommended by newspapers is _____. Why do you think it is so?

7. Are other acts at other venues more likely to get newspaper coverage than those acts featured at your venue? Why or why not?

8. What is the likelihood of the albums of bands that have played in each venue reviewed by newspapers? In other words, do you think the likelihood would be different if they have performed in certain venues, and which venues? What affects that likelihood?

CHAPTER FOUR

GATEKEEPING, HOMOPHILY AND STATUS ORDERS AMONG LIVE-MUSIC VENUES IN ATLANTA

Status and Connections in Cultural Production

Embeddededness scholarship has emphasized that economic actors are not isolated and that relationships abound between those actors (Dowd and Dobbin1997; Uzzi 1997). We saw evidence of such relations in the last chapter. When art worlds proponents look at economic actors involved in cultural production, they tend to emphasize the cooperative nature of those relationships (Becker and Pessin 2006). Although art worlds proponents are aware of strife and conflict, they tend to see those relationships as enabling, if not helping, the work of cultural producers.

A stream of scholarship takes a different view of such relationships. When speaking about relationships between individuals, for example, Bourdieu emphasizes how they enable the broader system of inequality. People form relationships with others of similar standing and, in the process, reproduce class divisions (Bourdieu 1984). Subsequent work building on Bourdieu treats relationships as involving "boundary work"—as when affluent individuals select their friends on the basis of their worthiness (and not just the amount of money they possess) and when they note that those who are not their friends lack worthiness in some way (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Such recent work, in many ways, points back to Weber's (1946) original insights about social inequality: One's standing is shaped, in part, by economic resources (e.g., class) and, in part, by the positive evaluations that others make about you (e.g., status).

If individuals are concerned with the worthiness—the status—of their friends, a growing body of research finds that organizations are likewise concerned about the standing of those

organizations to which they are connected. As Podolny and Page (1998: 64) note: "A number of scholars have argued that if an actor's partner in a network form of organization possesses considerable legitimacy or status, then the actor may derive legitimacy or status through the affiliation…This enhanced status, in turn, has positive economic advantages for the organization…" Conversely, low-status organizations may have a hard time connecting with high-status organizations, as the latter may need to avoid the risk of status-reduction that could occur when being connected to organizations that are towards the bottom of the status order (Podolny 1994). The status order not only matters for business in general but also for those businesses involved in cultural production. Godart and Mears' (2009) research offers but one important example of this. They find that fashion models associated with fashion houses of high status are considered as being more desirable—as being "hot" in terms of scheduling for the "cat walk"—with high status houses converging around those models when contracting for upcoming runway shows, while low status fashion houses have difficulty in securing such models for their own shows.

In order to understand how status impinges upon relationships between organizations, it is necessary to gauge what constitutes "status" for those organizations. A common way of doing so is to turn to the evaluations of third parties. Sometimes, these parties explicitly rank a group of organizations and, in the process, lay out a clear status order—such as in the cases of college rankings (Sauder and Espeland 2009) or the Michelin "stars" awarded to restaurants (Lane 2013). However, those exhaustive and clearly delineated rankings are often not available for organizations in particular lines of business. In those instances, scholars turn their attention to information that comes from a third party in another way—such as the amount of media coverage an organization receives. As Schmutz (2009) notes, more media coverage indicates

more legitimacy and status. Indeed, Godart and Mears (2009: 684) employ that very strategy in their own research:

> …we measured a fashion house's status by the number of articles mentioning it at least once in *Vogue* magazine during the four months preceding the Spring/Summer 2007 fashion shows. The measure of status adopted here is not flawless because it represents *Vogue's* specific view on fashion, but it is robust…unlike fields such as academia or sports, there is no official or semi-official prestige ranking of fashion producers, and a proxy is necessary. Therefore, our measure seems reasonable. Using the suggested measure of status, we define three status groups of fashion houses, low (no article, the lowest quartile), medium (up to five articles), and high (five articles and above, the highest quartile).

In this chapter, then, I follow Godart and Mears (2009) and use media coverage to assess the status order of live-music venues in the Atlanta scene. Doing so allows me to advance beyond the previous chapter by considering the status order as another source of homophily. For instance, do high status venues indeed form ties with each other while avoiding low status venues? Likewise, do medium status venues seek to benefit from establishing ties with high status venues? Thus, given the importance of connections for gatekeeping in the field of music and other cultural markets (see Foster et al. 2011), in this chapter, I focus on the role of social ties among bookers at the live-music venues in Atlanta—including ties that occur across organizations with similar (or dissimilar) status. That said, recent development in social network analysis allows researchers not only to look at the attributes of actors (such as their status), but also the structure of how actors are connected. For instance, using data gathered by Facebook pages of a college student cohort, Wimmer and Lewis (2010) unpack the role of racial homogeneity on friendship by examining, for example, the effects of racial homophily, ethnic homophily, microethnic homophily, as well as balancing mechanisms (e.g., the tendency to befriend the friends of friends). By emphasizing the status order operating in this live-music

scene—as well as these balancing mechanisms—I am able to investigate the competitive jostling for position that can occur among live-music venues.

Data and Methods

The data used in this chapter come from the Atlanta entertainment-listing dataset detailed in Chapter Two—the listings offered by the weekly newspaper, *Creative Loafing.* While the logistics of gathering that dataset were discussed in Chapter Two, it bears repeating here that this dataset ultimately revealed 175 live-music venues operating in Atlanta during 2012, with 5,531 performing acts combining for more than 11,000 appearances at these venues. Moreover, those performing acts—and, hence, the venues that featured them—were distributed across a range of ticket price levels and genres. In this chapter, I extend that dataset by constructing a number of sophisticated measures to get at connections between venues, as well as their homophilies in terms of price levels, genres, and status. Some of these measures replicate those used in Chapter Three, but two of these measures are unique to this chapter (those involving status orders gleaned from two types of media coverage).

Dependent Variable: Booking Similarity (Shared-Booking)

The dependent variable for ERG models in this chapter should look familiar, as it is the same one used in Chapter Three—the connections that occurred between live-music venues when they featured the same performing act or acts during 2012. Booking similarity is represented by a 175x175 matrix consisting of booking ties among the 175 Atlanta venues, in which a "1" indicates a pair of venues had booked the same performing act at least once during 2012, while a "0" means that a pair of venues had never shared *any* performing act throughout

that year. The dependent variable for MRQAP models (see explanation below) is almost the same as the one used for ERG models: it is also draws on a 175x175 square matrix, but the cells in this matrix indicate how many times a pair of venues had shared the same performing act(s); in other words, it is a continuous variable representing a weighted network.

Independent Variables: Price, Genre, and Status Homophily

Here again, as in Chapter Three, price homophily (for both ERG models and MRQAP models) is measured by the similarity of average ticket prices among live-music venues. If a pair of Atlanta venues operated at the same price level in 2012, then this dyad is a price homophily attribute. If this variable is represented as matrices constructed by 175x175 venues, then in the "upper homophily" adjacency matrix, for instance, a "1" indicates a pair of venues both with an upper price level of tickets and a "0" indicates otherwise. The average ticket prices were calculated, first, by using the mean ticket prices published for all the performing acts featured at a given venue in 2012, doing so for every venue in the Atlanta database. Then, the average ticket price of each venue was broken down into four categories: upper level ($25 or higher, the highest quartile), high level ($11-$24), medium level ($6-$10), and low level ($0-$5, the lowest quartile). The average prices were labeled as "unknown" if the ticket prices of a given venue's acts were never listed in *Creative Loafing* throughout 2012. Among those 30 venues that did not report the price of their shows in *Creative Loafing*, the majority of them could be identified as two types of business: (1) restaurants, coffee shops or lounge bars that presented live music as a supplement to their business (their shows were usually free for customers who dined in); and (2) public spaces such as parks and libraries, which are usually not seen as key actors in a live-music scene. Also, only six out of the 30 venues with unknown price level presented more than 50

distinct performing acts in 2012. Therefore, these unknown price venues should not be an issue for the analysis below.

Genre homophily is indicated by similarity among Atlanta live-music venues in terms of the genre each most frequently offered during the year. In the *Soundmenu* section of *Creative Loafing*, performing acts were listed in 2012 as belonging to one of six genre categories: pop/rock, hip-hop/soul, blues/jazz, folk/country, electronic/DJ, and world/classical. As detailed in Chapter Two, the genre designation for a given venue in Atlanta was derived by using the mode genre (the most frequently occurring) of all the performing acts it featured in 2012, and this was done for each of the 175 venues in the Atlanta dataset. If a venue had multiple genre modes in that year, then the genre of the venue was coded as "missing."[26] For ERG models, the genre of each venue was thus categorized by using the six categories employed by the weekly newspaper. As in the case of price homophily, the construction of genre homophily involved multiple matrices (in this case, six) constructed by 175x175 venues. A dyad was indicated by "1" if two venues were both categorized as most frequently presenting the same genre in 2012, with "0" indicating otherwise. For MRQAP models, genre homophily was again constructed by way of 175x175 binary matrices, but it was measured in a somewhat different way in these models. The six genre categories were further collapsed into two categories: pop/rock versus everything else. I did this because the pop/rock venues constitute the biggest genre group (with 41 venues in this group, see Chapter Two), thereby allowing me to examine if and how the members of this large group align with their in-group members more than venues outside of their group in terms of booking similarity. In other words, given that the MRQAP models address both homophily

[26] Four venues are missing genre designation due to multiple modes; they are Boisfeuillet Jones Atlanta Civic Center, Printhouse, Ragamuffin Music Hall, and the Wren's Nest.

and heterophily (versus the homophily-only focus of the ERG models), I found it helpful to focus on genres broadly in the MRQAP models.

Following the example of Godart and Mears (2009), I ascertained the status-order of Atlanta live-music venues (and, in turn, the homophily found among similarly ranked venues) by way of media coverage. That coverage—from which I built the status order homophily measures—was assessed in two ways, with one indicating the amount of coverage afforded to Atlanta live-music venues in 2011 and the other addressing the amount of coverage in 2012. First, for the 175 Atlanta venues, I monitored the number of news stories mentioning each one in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (*AJC*) during 2011. I did this by searching on all of the 175 venue names in the newspaper database *LexisNexis*, so as to capture which received any coverage (and, if so, the extent of that coverage) over the course of that year. Four status order groups were then created based off that media coverage: none (no story mentioning the given venue, the lowest quartile), low (up to 3 stories), medium (up to 21 stories), and high (more than 21 stories, the highest quartile). Nine binary variables were next constructed from the pairs of venues in terms of their status of media coverage in the *AJC*—all of them from 175x175 matrices. In the first four matrices (i.e., none-none, low-low, medium-medium and high-high status), a "1" indicates a pair of venue belonging to a same status group in 2011 (none, low, medium or high status, respectively) and a "0" indicates they were of different status groups. In the rest of the six matrices, a "1" indicates a pair of venues that were from two different status groups in 2011 (respectively, none and low, none and medium, none and high, low and medium, low and high, and medium and high) and "0" indicates otherwise. These homophily measures provide a status order flowing from a generalist (rather than specialized, see below) newspaper and a status order that preceded the shows offered by Atlanta venues in 2012.

Second, for the 175 Atlanta venues, I also monitored how many times each venue's performing acts were included in particular portion of *Creative Loafing*—the Big List segment of the Soundmenu section. As mentioned above, the Soundmenu is constructed in seven categories, and The Big List segment is listed as the first section and it is the only section that is not named as a commonly defined music genre; I thus use it to represent the appearances that are highlighted in *Creative Loafing*. This status measurement is obtained by manually tracking the 52 issues of the newspaper in 2012. From that coverage, I was able to designate each venue as "low status" group in 2012 (if its featured acts were never included in the *Big List* segment), a "medium status" group (if its acts were included one to three times throughout that year), or a "high status" group (if its acts were listed four or more times). The three resulting categories were collapsed from quartiles, as the first two lower quartiles were the same (the 25% and the 50% quartiles) and both equal to 0. Status homophily was then indicated by the similarity of a pair of venues in terms of their status group, employing multiple matrices again in the process. For instance, a dyad is of status homophily if both of the venues belonged to one of the same status groups (i.e., low, medium, and high) in terms of CL media coverage in 2012. This second group of status homophily measures thus taps a status order found in a weekly newspaper specializing in lifestyle and entertainment, as well as the status order unfolding during year in which the shows in the dataset took place.

Network Structure: Open Triangle and Triad Closure

As noted in Chapter Three, the connections that live-music venues form could be shaped not just by their attributes but also by the configuration of their network. The variable of triad closure is measured by the GWESP statistic—proposed by Snijders et al. (2006) and further

developed by Hunter (2007), as well as Hunter and Handcock (2006). It is a complex estimate of a "geometrically weighted edge-wise shared partner distribution," which can capture highly clustered areas in a network graph generated by the usual tendency of two connected nodes to share one or more *other* nodes (Wimmer and Lewis 2010). This distribution of counts is an alternative way to count triangles, which is constructed by the shared partner count taken on each edge. This statistic considers the marginal effect of shared node; that is, with each additional shared partner added to the graph, its positive impact on the probability of two actors forming a tie is a declining influence (Goodreau, Kitts, and Morris 2009). This relatively new network specification is considered to be able to achieve a better fit than previous methods (e.g., degree-only models) and to reduce model degeneracy (Goodreau 2007; Hunter et al 2008). The GWDSP (geometrically weighted dyad-wise shared partner), which represents the configuration of an open triangle, is similar to the concept of GWESP, except that it deals with triangles that may or may not be closed. When controlling for GWESP, GWDSP can be seen as stating the situations in which venue A is not linked to venue B, despite the fact that they are both connected to one or more other venues.

Methods

In this chapter, as in the previous chapter, I rely upon well-known measures to describe the network of connections among Atlanta live-music venues (e.g., density) and ERG models to explain patterns in that network. In this chapter, however, I go a step further by employing another type of regression for the analysis of my self-gathered data—QAP regression. QAP regression is relatively more straightforward in its interpretation than are ERG models, but ERG models can deal with the violation of dyadic independence and, thus, can provide explanation of

higher order terms, such as triadic effects (Robins et al. 2007a). Applying and comparing both methods will allow me to assess the robustness of my explanatory (rather than descriptive only) approach to the network found among Atlanta live-music venues in 2012 and to ensure the results are not merely artifacts of the ERG models (see Wimmer and Lewis 2010). Given that I have already discussed in detail ERG models (see Chapter Three), I now turn to a discussion of QAP regression.

Multiple Regression Quadratic Assignment Procedures (QAP, permutation test) is basically the same as multiple linear regression, with this approach taking dyads of observations (i.e., the relationship between actor *i* and actor *j*) as its unit of analysis. The dependent variable in QAP is the presence or absence of a tie between two nodes. Thus, for the 175 live-music venues in Atlanta, I examined how *each* one is paired with *all* others in terms of how much they shared performing act(s) during 2012; those pairs ("dyads") of venues not sharing any acts are coded as "0," those shared one performing act are coded as "1," and those sharing two acts are coded as "2," etc. The independent variables in QAP regression can be attributes of the dyads—such as if a pair of nodes are of the same attribute (e.g., those pairs of live-music venues that both are high status in terms of media coverage). QAP can be an alternative approach to ordinary multiple regression, as QAP regression can help to correct autocorrelation problems in relational data and can enable researchers to compare matrix-format data; it can also be fitted and interpreted like OLS regressions (Krackhardt 1988; Tsai 2002). However, since the unit of analysis in relational data is dyads, the two actors of a dyad cannot be assumed to be independent of one another. For instance, in the data for this chapter, the two venues of a dyad share the same number of bands that they have both booked.

This non-independent nature of relational data can cause the problem of autocorrelation. Consider a simple network model as follows (Krackhardt 1988):

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \epsilon_{ij} \ (i \neq j), \qquad E(\epsilon\epsilon') = \sigma^2 \Omega$$

Then the error terms can be written as follows (Krackhardt 1988):

$$\Omega_{ij.k\ell} = \sigma^2 \begin{matrix} \\ \epsilon_{12} \\ \epsilon_{13} \\ \vdots \\ \epsilon_{n(n-1)} \end{matrix} \begin{pmatrix} \epsilon_{12} & \epsilon_{13} & \cdots & \epsilon_{n(n-1)} \\ 1 & \rho_{12,13} & \cdots & \rho_{12,n(n-1)} \\ \rho_{13,12} & 1 & \cdots & \rho_{13,n(n-1)} \\ \vdots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ \rho_{n(n-1),12} & \rho_{n(n-1),13} & \cdots & 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

Since the observations in network data are assumed to have varying amounts of dependence on one another—that is, the variables are potentially autocorrelated—then the error terms can also be assumed to be autocorrelated. Therefore, if we do an OLS regression with relational data, the standard error of the estimated coefficients is not correctly estimated, given that the error terms are correlated across observations. Usually, observations in the same row or column tend to be positively correlated and the *p*-values can be too optimistic (Simpson 2001). For instance, if venue A in row/column 1 of a matrix has consistently low number of bands that it shares with other venues, then the residuals of venue A tend to be low. The autocorrelation structure of network data can be represented as (Krackhardt 1988):

$$\rho_{ij.kl} = \begin{cases} 1 & if\ i = k\ and\ j = l; (diagonals\ of\ \Omega) \\ \rho_{i,jl} & if\ i = k\ and\ j \neq l; (row\ autocorrelation\ parameters) \\ \rho_{j,ik} & if\ i \neq k\ and\ j = l; (column\ correlation\ parameters) \\ 0 & otherwise \end{cases}$$

Using quadratic assignment procedure in regression is one way to fix the problem of autocorrelation. As a nonparametric statistical algorithm, QAP regresses a dependent variable in a matrix on one or several independent matrices. As the first step in the permutation test, a standard multiple regression is performed across corresponding cells of the dependent and

independent matrices; then, the rows and columns of the dependent variable are randomly scrambled a number of times (i.e., the values in the cells of the independent matrix are randomly reassigned, but values sharing a column/row in the original matrix still share a column/row in the permuted matrix). An empirical sampling distribution can be obtained from repeating the scrambling, and we can then compare the actual coefficient from the standard regression to this empirical distribution (Tsai 2002; Simpson 2001). Therefore, the estimation problem caused by autocorrelation can be handled by using the empirical standard error implied by QAP regression. Also, I use the "double semi-partialing" (DSP) permutation technique (Dekker et al. 2007) to compute parameter estimates' significance level for the QAP models, as it is considered to be robust across a number of autocorrelation and multicollinearity conditions (Dekker et al. 2007; Godart and Mears 2009; Wimmer and Lewis 2010). With this technique described, I now turn to the analysis itself.

Networking and Social Capital: Connections among Live-Music Venues in Atlanta

The analysis in this chapter owes a debt to the previous chapter, as well as replicates and extends that chapter in specific ways. Regarding the "debt," I draw on the previous survey and interview results and, once again, maintain that we can see the connections occurring among live-music venues in terms of "band-sharing" as a proxy at the aggregate level for the conversation and consultation occurring as bookers interact with others—with the connections at both levels representing "social capital." Meanwhile, I am able to inspect once again how price and genre homophily can shape connections in a live-music scene. Regarding the "extension," I also use the Atlanta live-music scene to consider how status homophily can independently matter—thereby bringing directly into the analysis the competitive jostling mentioned above.

I begin by presenting the graph of all the Atlanta live-music venues in the network and providing information derived from descriptive social network analysis statistics. Figure 4-A maps all the music venues in the network—connected by the performing acts (e.g., bands) that any pair of venues both booked at least once in 2012. For instance, venue #4 (529) and venue #17 (Atlantic Station) both presented the Dead Rabbits in 2012, so there is a connection depicted between them in Figure 4-A. This network is formed of 175 nodes (venues) and 406 edges (shared band bookings) between them. Eighty-four out of the 175 nodes were isolates in 2012—having no performing acts in common with the other live-music venues—while another 91 were connected to at least one other venue during that year. The density (i.e., the proportion of actual to possible edges) of this graph is 0.027—with density measuring the extent to which a network is connected, with "1" denoting a completely connected network (see Hanneman and Riddle 2005). In the case of Figure 4-A, the possible number of edges is 15,225, but the actual number of edges is 406.[27] As a result, this observed network is 2.6% connected, compared to a 100% connected situation (i.e., every venue connects to every other venue). As noted in Chapter Three, that low percentage of connection is not surprising if connections among live-music venues were occurring in homophilous fashion, with only similar types of venues booking the same bands in 2012. In network analysis, degree refers to the number of edges incident on a node. The average degree (i.e., average of the degrees over all nodes in the network) of the network in Figure 4-A is 4.64, with 0 as the minimum value and 36 as the maximum in the degree distribution. The weighted average degree is 22.4, which is the average of sums of weights of the edges of nodes. Here, the weight of edges represents how many times that a pair of nodes (venues) booked the

[27] Let n=number of nodes in the network (175 for the Atlanta live-music scene), then the possible number of edges equals n(n-1)/2.

same performing acts in 2012. Therefore, the average degree here tells us that, on average, an Atlanta live-music venue shared booking connections with roughly five other venues in that year, while the weighted average degree shows that an Atlanta venue had approximately 22 instances of shared booking with other venues. Besides the measurements of degrees (number of edges), the "paths" also describe how the network looks. The average path length is 2.467 in Figure 4-A, which tells us that the average number of links that connect one venue to another is about 2.5 steps. The diameter (i.e., the shortest path between the two most distant nodes) of the network is 5—that is, the longest distance between any two venues in this network is five steps—with five, rather than, six degrees of separation common among Atlanta live-music venues in terms of shared booking.

We can add to this descriptive "big picture" by also detailing the amount of homophily occurring in Atlanta's live-music scene. With that in mind, we can then examine how various types of homophily may account for the shared bookings (i.e., social capital) among live-music venues in Atlanta during 2012. Table 4-A shows the extent to which price and genre homophily occurred in the Atlanta scene that year. Low price homophily is the largest group in terms of price level, with 861 dyads of venues that were both categorized in the low price level that year. The number of dyads for the other price homophily groups range from 496 to 630. The distribution of groups in terms of genre homophily is less uniform compared to price homophily. The largest group is pop/rock homophily with 820 dyads, while the smallest group (hip-hop/soul homophily) only has 21 dyads of venues that both frequently presented this genre in 2012. Table 4-B presents information on a new type of homophily considered in this dissertation—that occurring among venues of various status groups. The left-side shows the extent of such homophily in terms of the status order depicted in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (*AJC*), while

the right-side shows the extent in terms of the status order depicted in *Creative Loafing* (*CL*). As indicated in the table, the largest homophily groups in terms of status are those with no or low status, with 1,326 dyads of venues that are both "none-status" in terms of AJC coverage, and 6,105 pairs of venues that are both low-status in terms of CL coverage. The medium status homophily is the smallest group for both types of status, with only 325 dyads for the CL status order and 741 dyads for the AJC status order. Compared to medium homophily, homophily happened more often among those venues mentioned the most by the two media sources, with 903 dyads of venues for AJC coverage and 703 dyads for CL coverage.

I now move beyond this descriptive picture by using two statistical methods to see how the three types of homophily (i.e., price, genre, status) might shape booking similarity among live-music venues in Atlanta, thereby revealing any patterns among these connections.

Correlation and Regression of QAP: Homophily and Heterophily[28]

Recall that, in the QAP approach, we compare each and every pair of Atlanta venues in the dataset, so as to see whether or not they shared a performing act in 2012 (booking similarity, the dependent variable) and the particular attributes they displayed in 2012 (the independent variables)—such as whether a dyad of venues were similar in 2012 in terms of average ticket price level (e.g., upper-upper) or were dissimilar (e.g., lower-upper). Table 4-C and Table 4-D report the QAP correlation coefficients of booking similarity among Atlanta music venues and the homophilies (and "heterophilies") of ticket price and genre found among these venues. In looking at the column of correlations to the far-left of Table 4-C, we see that none of the ticket

[28] The permutation tests in this research were conducted using the social network analysis package UCINET.

homophilies are significantly correlated with booking similarity (i.e., low-low, high-high, upper-upper). However, two of the price heterophilies (i.e., groups with dyads involving connections *across* different ticket price levels) are significant: the medium-high price group is positively correlated with booking similarity, while the low-upper price group is negatively correlated. One interpretation of those correlations would be that mid-priced venues in Atlanta were more capable of imitating their high-priced venues in terms of 2012 scheduling than were low-priced venues.[29] The remaining correlations that are significant in Table 4-C reveal that various homophilous groups and various heterophilous groups are all negatively related to each other. That is in keeping with a live-music scene that is divided into distinctive niches. The homophilous group of pop-rock dyads is positively correlated with the dependent variable. This is in keeping with the "birds of a feather" idea.[30]

Table 4-E and Table 4-F present the correlation coefficients of booking similarity and the two status orders depicted in media coverage.[31] For the status order indicated by AJC coverage in the previous year, among the nine status groups, high-high status and mid-high status are positively correlated with booking similarity, while none-none status, none-low status, and none-high status are negatively correlated with booking similarity. The status order indicated by CL coverage in the current years shows a similar pattern of correlation, with the high-high status positively correlated with booking similarity, while lower status groups (i.e., low-low status and low-medium status) are negatively correlated with the dependent variable. Both measures of status order (AJC or CL*)* therefore suggest an interesting pattern in terms of correlation: Atlanta

[29] The medium-medium price homophily omitted in Table 4-C is the reference category in the QAP regression.
[30] The pop/rock-else group omitted in Table 4-D is the reference group for genre homophily.
[31] The medium-medium status group absent in Table 4-E and Table 4-F is the reference category for both AJC status and CL status.

venues toward the high end of the status order tended to converge with each other in terms of booking the same performing acts in 2012, while those at the bottom of the status order tended to diverge. Of course, we can get at such patterns more definitively via multivariate analysis.

Table 4-G presents the MRQAP models examining the effects of price, genre, and status on the booking similarity found among live-music venues in Atlanta in 2012.[32] Model 1 deals with the influence of ticket pricing levels on the possibility that these venues booked the same pool of bands during that year. Note that homophilous dyads (low-low and high-high) do not show significant effects on booking similarity. However, we do see some significant effects for heterophilous dyads: the modestly significant and positive coefficient of .317 shows that medium-high dyads are positively related to booking similarity. This means that, if one of a pair of Atlanta venues typically charged medium prices ($6 to $10 per ticket) in 2012 and the other venue typically charged high prices ($11 to $24 per ticket), then they were more likely to share bands. The low-medium dyads are also positively related to the extent of booking similarity—but only in slightly significant fashion, as indicated by the .10 level. Thus, while medium-priced venues converged with high-priced venues in 2012, so too did low-priced venues (those typically charging $5 or less) converge with the medium-priced. That could well indicate an emulation process between venues, with the less expensive copying the slightly more expensive (but not the highly expensive).

Model 2 deals with the impact of genre and it shows a stronger effect on booking similarity compared to Model 1 and its focus on ticket price, given the latter model's larger R-squared value and the larger coefficient of pop/rock homophily. The highly significant and

[32] The reference categories of the variables are not included in the table; they are medium-medium price group, rock/pop-else group, medium-medium AJC status group, and medium-medium CL status group.

positive coefficient (1.617) tells us that, if a pair of venues were each categorized as pop/rock venues in 2012, then they were more likely to share bands than were other Atlanta venues. Specifically, the intercept coefficient tells us that if a pair of venues was of a different genre category that year (pop/rock-else, the omitted reference group), then the probability that those two venues shared a band at least once was 8.8 percentage points. Selecting, instead, pairs of venues that were both pop/rock venues in that year, the probability of sharing bands increases from 8.8 to 170 (0.088 + 1.617 = 1.705) percentage points, which indicates the "birds of a feather" situation.

Model 3 and Model 4 in Table 4-G each address the impact of the status order on booking similarity—thereby moving the regression analysis to new terrain when compared to Chapter Three.[33] Model 3 indicates the impact of the status order detailed in the generalist daily newspaper, the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*. On the one hand, high-high status is positively related to booking similarity, because the high-high variable is significant at a .01 level and its coefficient (.055) is positive. In other words, live-music venues in Atlanta with highest status, as revealed by AJC coverage in the previous year, tended to share the same performing acts in 2012. On the other hand, none-none status is negatively related (-.019) to shared booking among venues, albeit its significance is very slight (at the .1 level). To interpret the model in a more concrete way: the intercept coefficient (.036) indicates that, if two venues were of the same status group in 2012 (medium-medium status, the reference group in this model), then the probability that those two venues shared a band at least once was 3.6 percentage points. Selecting pairs of venues that were both of high status during that same year, the probability of

[33] I did not include the two types of status measures (those derived from AJC coverage versus those derived from CL coverage) in the same model because the extent of media coverage in both sources has a 0.45 correlation.

shared booking increases from 3.6 to 9.1 (0.036 + 0.055 = 0.091) percentage points. Meanwhile, Model 4 considers an alternative way of capturing the status order in the Atlanta live-music scene—the status order indicated by the contemporaneous coverage found in *Creative Loafing*, a weekly paper specializing in lifestyle and entertainment. The coefficients show that, among all of the status groups (homophilous or heterophilous), the pairs of venues that both were high status in 2012 were much more likely to share bands than other kinds of pairs (see the 1.975 coefficient). Hence, using two different ways of assessing the status order in the Atlanta live-music scene, we see that the each similarly reveals how high status venues converged in 2012. That is not surprising given the .45 correlation between the extent of coverage in both media sources (see footnote 8). However, the CL-based status measures clearly do a better job in explaining band booking similarity—as indicated by the R-squared statistic of .038, showing that Model 4 explains twice as much of the variance than the AJC-based status measures in Model 3.

Finally, Model 5 and Model 6 in Table 4-G consider all the independent variables in one model. Model 5 includes price, genre, and the status measures based on AJC coverage from the prior year. Compared to Model 2, the effect of genre on booking similarity remains almost the same, even when considering price and status in the same model. Its impact is arguably the most robust in all of the regression analysis: pairs of Atlanta venues that mostly dealt in pop/rock were likely to feature the same bands on their stages in 2012—regardless of their position in the status order or the price that they charged audiences. Meanwhile, the influence of price and status becomes more pronounced in Model 5 than in previous models. Regarding the impact of ticket pricing—net of genre and status effects—upper-upper, low-high, low-upper, medium-upper, and high-upper price dyads now become significant, diverging from Model 1. The direction of the now-significant coefficients effects remains the same—with all of them showing a negative

effect. We can interpret the changes from Model 1 to Model 5 as follows: once we control for the genres that Atlanta venues emphasized in 2012, and once we control for their respective positions in the status order, then we see that both homophilous and heterophilous dyads in terms of price were likely to diverge from each other in terms of programming—with Atlanta venues distinguishing themselves from both similarly and dissimilarly priced counterparts. The one exception was that one revealed in Model 1: medium-priced venues in 2012 still seemed to emulate the programming of high-priced venues. Finally, the high-status effect demonstrated in Model 3 becomes insignificant in Model 5. That is because, rather than treating the status order in isolation, that model examines its impact in tandem with the effects of price and genre. The consequence is that the status order continues to matter for booking similarity. However, it is not high status venues that were likely to share performing acts in 2012, but rather, venues toward the bottom of the status order that were likely *not* to share bands—either when paired in homophilous or heterophilous combinations. As Godart and Mears (2009) found, lower status organizations often have difficulty in drawing the same personnel as their esteemed competitors.

Model 6 in Table 4-G likewise considers the simultaneous impact of price, genre and status—but it differs from Model 5 in using status measures drawn from contemporaneous coverage contained in *Creative Loafing.* Given the highly correlated status orders found in both periodicals (see footnote 3), similarities between Models 5 and 6 are expected. Indeed, the effect of genre remains almost the same (compare the coefficients of 1.570 to 1.516). As is the case in Model 5, we likewise see a number of negative effects emerging in terms of ticket price levels—with venues competitively distinguishing themselves along various price levels with reduced probability of sharing performing acts. Yet, given the greater explanatory power of the CL-derived status order (see above), differences between Models 5 and 6 are also expected. For

example, the apparent emulation between medium and high priced venues (in terms of booking similarity) is rendered insignificant, but that emulation is *now* captured by medium-high status venues, as evidenced by the significant and positive coefficient of .229. Furthermore, dyads of high status venues continue to be significant for the alternative status order measures, as was the case in Model 4. In other words, those Atlanta venues that were the most frequently included in the CL Big section (4+ mentions) over the course of 2012 were also likely to book the same musicians and likely to be imitated by venues receiving slightly less coverage (1 to 3 mentions). Because the CL-derived measures once again offer about twice as much explanatory power as do the AJC-derived measures (compare the R-squared statistics of Models 5 and 6), this final model is the preferred one. Bielby and Bielby (1999) once noted the dynamic in cultural industries where reputation is short-lived and fleeting (e.g., "You're only as good as your last hit"). Perhaps that is why the contemporaneous coverage in *Creative Loafing* better captures the status order than does the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* coverage from the previous year.

ERG Models: Homophiles and Balancing Mechanisms

The results derived from the QAP models are straightforward, as they can be interpreted in a manner similar to OLS regressions. However, they do not serve as the only solution for illustrating how relational formations can be influential in social networks, as they do not deal with structures of the network itself (Dekker et al. 2007). Therefore, I apply the method of ERG modeling, not only to provide a comparison for the effects of venues' attributes (i.e., price, genre and status homophily), but also to consider how the manner in which venues are connected (i.e., network structures) can impinge upon band booking similarity.

Table 4-H reports the ERG models[34] of distinct and combined effects of homophily on booking similarity. In these models, the focus is on the "ties" that occurred every time that a pair of live-music venues in Atlanta both booked the same performing act in 2012—particularly whether the two venues constituting that pair shared similar attributes (i.e., they were "homophilous"). Model 1 indicates the effect of price homophily on booking similarity among live-music venues in Atlanta. The significant and negative coefficient for edges (-3.78) tells us the log-odds of forming a tie that is completely heterogeneous (i.e., two venues of a pair differ from each other in price level). The significant and positive coefficients show that venues belonging to high (.88) and medium price (1.94) groups tended to book the same pool of bands as did their fellow in-group venues in that year, while venues in the low price group tended to have unique choices (compared to each other) when booking bands, as shown by the negative coefficient (1.02) The coefficients can be interpreted in a more specific way: the log-odds of forming a tie that is completely heterogeneous is -3.78; the log-odds of a tie that is homogeneous by high level of price (both the venues belonged to the high price group) is -2.9 (-3.78 + 0.88), the log-odds of a tie that is homogeneous by medium level of price is -1.84 (-3.78 + 1.94), while the log-odds of a tie that is homogeneous by low level of price is -4.8 (-3.78 - 1.02). This model indicates that, in 2012, those Atlanta venues that often priced their shows at high level were more likely to share bands with other high-priced venues, while those low-priced venues tended not to do so. Model 2 shows the effect of genre homophily on band-booking similarity, with significant

[34] All ERG models are generated using the *statnet* package for R (http://www.statnetproject.org/). Pseudo-likelihood estimation is used for models that only include terms assuming dyadic independence (Models 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), while MCMC estimation is required for dyadic dependence models include higher-order terms (Models 6,7,8,9, 10, and 11). Note that, when using this package to fit ERG models to see similarity among nodes, this does not require an omitted reference category for variables (see Butts et al. 2014)

similarity occurring among venues operating in the same genres:[35] the log-odds of a pair of venues from different genres forming a tie is -4.1; the log-odds of a tie with two venues both mainly presenting pop/rock bands rise to -1.79 (-4.10 + 2.31), and the log-odds for venues mainly presenting folk/country is -1.71 (-4.10 + 2.39); the log-odds of a pair of electronic/DJ venues forming a tie also slightly rises to -3.14 (-4.10 + .96). In other words, Atlanta venues that typically featured pop/rock and folk/country on their stages in 2012 were especially likely to have booked the same bands as did their in-group alters, while electronic/DJ venues were somewhat likely to share performing acts in that same year.

The effects of status homophily are addressed by both Model 3 and Model 4 in Table 4-H. Model 3 draws upon the status order indicated by how often Atlanta venues were mentioned in the 2011 news stories of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (*AJC*), the daily newspaper. Model 4 draws upon the status order indicated by how often the venues were selected by *Creative Loafing*, the weekly newspaper, for inclusion in its 2012 *CL Big* segment.[36] On the one hand, looking at Model 3, if a pair of venues were homogeneous in terms of high status flowing from AJC coverage, then the log-odds of the two forming a tie rises from -3.72 to -2.29 (-3.72 + 1.43); if they belonged to the medium status group, then the log-odds slightly increases to -3.27 (-3.72 + .45). However, the log-odds of a tie between two venues with "none status" (i.e., those never mentioned by the *AJC*) decline to -4.98 (-3.72 - 1.26). On the other hand, looking at Model 4, if a pair of venues had high status flowing from frequent mention in *Creative Loafing,* then the log-odds of them forming a tie increases from -3.62 to -1.22 (-3.62 + 2.40); however, if a pair of

[35] I only include four types of genre homophily here, as the rest of the two genre venues (hip-hop/soul and world/classical) do not form any homophilous ties in terms of shared booking relationship.
[36] I do not include the two types of status measures (those derived from *AJC* coverage versus those derived from *CL* coverage) in the same model because the extent of media coverage in both sources has a 0.45 correlation.

venues were homogeneous in terms of low status (no CL mentions), then the log-odds of the tie decrease to -5.42 (-3.62 - 1.80). The two models show a significant and consistent pattern regarding the relationship between the status order and booking similarity. During 2012, Atlanta live-music venues that possessed high status—be it the status flowing from coverage by a generalist newspaper in the previous year or from coverage by a specialist paper in that same year—were more likely to have choices similar to their in-group venues when scheduling musical acts, while those venues at the bottom of the status order were less likely to share similar choices.

Model 5 in Table 4-H concludes the focused consideration of the effects of attribute-based homophily. I only combined the CL status with price and genre in this model (but not the AJC status) because the CL measure made a better fit (see the AIC of Model 3 versus the AIC of Model 4). When combining the three types of homophily in a single model, most of the significant findings from the previous models remain the same in Model 5: various types of homophily continue to raise the likelihood of band booking similarity among Atlanta live-music venues—as noted by the significantly positive coefficients in Model 5—while one type of homophily (that occurring among low-status venues) continues to decrease the likelihood. However, two findings particular to Model 5 should be noticed. First, for price homophily, that occurring among upper price venues now becomes significant and negatively associated with booking similarity, while that occurring among low priced venues becomes insignificant. That is, when considering other aspects of homophily—including venues marked by high status—Atlanta venues that charged the highest prices in 2012 were less likely to overlap in the musicians that they featured. Second, for genre homophily, the 2.11 coefficient indicates that the impact of electronic/DJ homophily on booking similarity becomes stronger in Model 5 than in Model 2

(.96), once controlling for others types of homophily. In sum, Model 5 reveals that various types of homophily work in tandem, with price, genre and status homophily each offering their own contributions when explaining the network of relationships featured in Figure 4-A.

The remaining models in Table 4-H all consider the impact of the network structure (i.e., its configuration) on booking similarity among Atlanta live-music venues. Model 6 considers the effect of open triangle (GWDSP) and triadic closure (GWESP) on booking similarity. The coefficient for edges indicates that, if a pair of venues had no other venues in common, then the log-odds of them forming a tie of shared booking is -7.46. The significantly positive (but very small) coefficient of GWDSP points out that the likelihood of observing non-connected dyads with nodes in common is slightly more likely than it would be by chance. If they have any positive numbers of venues in common, and each of them is in at least one other triangle with each of those venues, then the log-odds of them forming a tie rises to -3.65 (-7.46 + 3.81). In short, the positive GWESP coefficient here means that the more likely a tie between two venues will be formed, when its formation generates more closed triangles.

Models 7, 8, 9, and 10 in Table 4-H each examine attribute-based homophily in combination with this balancing mechanism (e.g., the tendency to befriend those who are friends of friends). Model 7 considers the effect of price homophily and the two network structures. Comparing Model 7 to Model 1, we notice that the homophily coefficients of high, medium, and low price groups are all reduced when the higher-order triadic closure term is included. Specifically, the high price coefficient decreases by 30%, the medium price coefficient decreases by 42%, and the low price coefficient becomes insignificant. Model 8 considers genre homophily along with open triangle and triadic closure. Comparing Model 8 to Model 2, all of the genre coefficients are reduced when GWDSP and GWESP are introduced into the model—pop/rock

coefficient decreases by 45%, blues/jazz coefficient decreases by 60%, folk/country coefficient decreases by 27%, and electronic/DJ decreases by 23%. Both models show that while homophily attributes continue to matter for booking similarity, so too does this important aspect of the network configuration (GWESP).

Model 9 and Model 10 in Table 4-H assess the two types of status homophily along with the effect of the network structures. Comparing Model 9 to Model 3, the significant coefficients of status indicated by *AJC* coverage are all reduced when including open triangle and triadic closure in the model. Specifically, the high status coefficient shrinks by 43%, the medium status coefficient decreases by 29% and becomes less significant, and the none status coefficient decreases by 37% and also becomes less significant in the presence of GWDSP and GWESP. Comparing Model 10 to Model 4, the high status coefficient is reduced by 51%, the medium status coefficient is about three times increased, and the low status coefficient is remained almost the same. Here again, we see the importance of using homophily attributes of live-music venues, as well as the configurations of how they are connected, to analyze similarity in their booking choices.

Model 11 in Table 4-H takes the three attribute-based homophilies and two network structures into account. Considering the better goodness of fit, only CL status is included in this model. Most of the significant effects are consistent with those in Model 5, even in the presence of the two terms of network structure included in Model 11. The smaller value of the AIC (a goodness of fit measure) for Model 11 indicates that, with its consideration of *how* the venues are connected, it reduces more variation than Model 5 does. Note that the effect of triadic closure is the strongest one in terms of magnitude on booking similarity. Because the GWESP coefficient is positive, it shows that a tie between two venues in terms of shared-booking is more

likely to be formed when more closed triangles are generated by that tie's formation. The significant and negative GWDSP coefficient indicates that the chance of observing two non-linked venues with one or more shared partners is smaller than random. This makes sense, as we would expect actors with common nodes to be more likely connected as well.

In sum, Model 11 in Table 4-H shows that, if we consider the musical acts that performed in Atlanta as bridges that connect the gatekeepers (i.e., bookers) at venues, then indeed, more than half of the venues in Atlanta in 2012 were linked to one or several other places where that live music took place. However, who connects to whom is not completely random, as some of the venues were more likely to be tied through bands to other venues. Specifically, some types of Atlanta venues met the expectation of "birds of a feather flock together" in 2012. Live-music venues that presented similar genres of music (excluding those involved in blues/jazz), those marked by high status in terms of contemporaneous media attention, as well as venues that usually priced their shows at the middle of the range ($6 to $10)—all of these venues tended to share a pool of performing acts with their in-group venues in 2012. Nevertheless, not all of the Atlanta venues had similar selection of bands with their in-group partners during that year. Venues who priced their shows at the upper extreme ($25 or more) and venues with low status (those lacking media coverage) in 2012—those were the venues that tended *not* to book bands from the same pool as did their fellow venues belonging to the same classification. Besides showing how the booking choices of live-music venues is shaped and altered by their similar attributes, Model 11 also shows that, in 2012, an Atlanta venue was more likely to have a shared booking relationship with another venue when the two venues had one or more common "friends" in terms of shared booking. It is thus evident that the gatekeeper choices at live-music venues are not only shaped by the homophily occurring among those venues, but also by the

venues to which they were already connected. That is the essence of embeddedness (see Chapter Three).

While I have claimed that Model 11 is my "best" one in Table 4-H, I can actually support that claim by way of new techniques. To examine the extent to which the ERG models actually capture the empirical data, one approach that has been developed relatively recently is to evaluate model fit by comparing the observed network to a large number of networks simulated based on the proposed model (see Goodreau 2007; Hunter et al. 2008). Figure 4-B presents two goodness-of-fit plots produced by 100 simulations of Model 11. I compared these 100 simulated networks (box plots) to the actually observed network (a dark line) drawn from the empirical data. Two structural characteristics of undirected social networks are used to evaluate model fit: the distribution of shared booking ties across venues ("degree") and the number of steps that separate every pair of venues ("minimum geodesic distance"). While Model 11 in Table 4-H illustrates a number of local mechanisms that generate particular shared booking ties among venues, the plots in Figure 4-B compare the global structure of networks simulated based on this model to that of the empirical network.

Figure 4-B shows that, among the two network characteristics, the observed degree is fairly well reproduced by Model 11, as most of the dark line (the empirical data) is inside of the ranges of the box plots. While the simulated distributions depart from the observed network for venues with 2-4 ties, and those with 32-35 ties, the model offers a portrait of the venues with degrees in the middle part of the distribution (5-32 ties) that is consistent with reality (see Figure 4-C). While the other network characteristic is not captured by the model as well as degree, the shape of the distribution for minimum geodesic distance reproduced by the model is very similar to the observed network. Considering these plots in Figure 4-B, along with the Akaike

Information Criterion (AIC) of Model 11 provided in Table 4-H, which drops considerably compared to other models in the table, it is evident that Model 11 produces simulations that come close to the actual observed network. In sum, I am confident about Model 11 being the "best model" and about the patterns it demonstrated for the live-music scene in Atlanta.

Conclusions

Comparing the Social Capital of Atlanta and Taipei

As mentioned earlier, Webster (2011: 14) has stated, "Each local live music ecology is unique…" Yet, the question remains "how unique?" As discussed in Chapter Two, during 2012, the live-music scene in Atlanta was more active than was the scene in Taipei, as there were more performing acts and more appearances by those acts in Atlanta music venues than in Taipei. Atlanta also had more busy days and months than did Taipei, in terms of shows. Moreover, compared to Taipei, Atlanta had a scene that cost less for audiences. In terms of geographical distribution, venues with the same niche element of music genres somewhat clustered in certain Atlanta neighborhoods, while we do not find this genre-based clustering pattern in Taipei in the same year. Nevertheless, the two scenes were similar in that, in both cities, we found venues with a range of niches where both the aspiring musicians and the stars had their stages and where audiences with varied tastes could be served.

With the completion of this chapter, I am now in a position to compare both scenes in terms of their network of shared booking. Consider first a descriptive comparison. The descriptive network statistics show that the two networks were somewhat distinctive in 2012 in terms of the number of nodes and edges—as well as in terms of density, average degree, and weighted average degree. The Atlanta network had more nodes (175 venues vs. 145 venues in

Taipei) but had slightly less links (406 edges vs. 490 edges in Taipei) and, thus, the Atlanta network of shared booking between venues was less dense than was the network in Taipei (with the density being 2.7% in Atlanta and 4.7% in Taipei). On average, venues in Taipei shared musicians with about two more venues and had 12 more instances of shared-booking with other venues than did those in Atlanta, as the average degree was 6.76 in Taipei and 4.64 in Atlanta in 2012, and the weighted average degree was 34 in Taipei versus 22 in Atlanta. However, the two live-music scenes were similar in terms of how far live-music venues were from other in relational terms—as, on average, a venue in both cities needed less than three steps to connect to another venue (average path length) via shared connections that arose from band booking similarity, and the longest distance between any two venues (diameter) was similar for the two cities in 2012 (5 in Atlanta vs. 6 in Taipei).

Furthermore, the two measures of homophily derived from price and genre of the venues allow us to compare the extent of homophily in the two cities and to compare how homophilous actors (venues) aligned that year with their in-group fellows in terms of selecting performers. The two scenes were distinct from each other in terms of the composition of homophilous price groups, as the high-high price group was the biggest one in Taipei during 2012, while the low-low group was the largest one in Atlanta. The composition of genre homophily was relatively similar for the two cities, as the rock/electronic homophilous group contained the most dyads of venues, and the pop/rock and the electronic/DJ groups were also the two biggest groups among other genre-homophilous groups.

Though the extent of price homophily was distinctive in the two cities during 2012, its effect on booking similarity was somewhat similar. In both cities, venues in the low-priced group tended to have unique choices of bands and the venues at middle price levels (medium-medium

homophily in Taipei, medium-medium and high-high in Atlanta) were more likely to share a pool of bands. The effects of genre homophily were somewhat similar in the two scenes, as well. Live-music venues mainly offering pop, rock, and EDM (pop/electronic in Taipei, pop/rock and electronic/DJ in Atlanta) were more likely to converge in booking choices with their fellow in-group venues during that year.

The two network configurations (triad closure and open triangle) also show that, in both scenes, a shared-booking connection was more likely to be formed when the two venues already had node(s) in common in 2012, while it was less likely for a pair of venues with common node(s) to have never shared any band with each other. In short, the two scenes were substantially distinctive in terms of the composition of price homophily itself, but when considering the effect of the two types of homophily and the two network structures on booking behavior patterns, the two live-music scenes looked quite alike in 2012. In other words, despite being located on different sides of the world, social capital at the aggregate level operated similarly in both live-music scenes: connections between these organizations were common (in terms of the performing acts that they shared amongst themselves), with homophilous organizations (at least in terms of price and genre) converging in terms of the bands featured on their stages and already-connected venues becoming more connected, as well.

Comparing Explanatory Approaches to Social Networks

In this dissertation, I fit two different statistical models (MRQAP and ERG models) to my data, so as to analyze the networks in the two cities (with those networks being based upon performing acts shared between live-music venues in the same city). The two models have both been proposed to deal with the structural autocorrelation of relational data in social network

studies and other fields (Dekker et al. 2007). However, MRQAP is usually applied to linear models with continuous dependent variables drawn from network data, and, while ERG models focus on binary network data, they also have the unique ability to model both attributes of those within the network as well as structure of the network itself (e.g., balancing mechanisms). In this chapter dealing with the Atlanta music scene, the two types of models complemented each other, as the results from both show the competitive "jostling" occurring in terms of the status order: live-music venues of one status (as indicated by the extent of media coverage) were not likely to align with those lower in the status order, as both MRQAP and ERG models indicated that high-status homophilous venues in Atlanta tended to share bands with each other during 2012. Meanwhile, the QAP models showed that, for instance, none-status venues (in terms of AJC coverage) were not likely to align with all the other higher status venues—but medium status venues (in terms of CL coverage) were able to align with their high status competitors. This demonstrates the "emulation" process discussed above. In the case of this status order, the middle status venues could somewhat manage to imitate the choices of the high-status actors in the scene, but the venues at the very bottom were less likely to do so.

The analysis of the status order in this chapter also offers lessons for the Taipei case discussed in the previous chapter. Both Chapters Three and Four reveal that homophilies of price and genre mattered for live-music venues in both Taipei and Atlanta, with Chapter Four also revealing that homophilies of status mattered as well in Atlanta. In other words, not only did the niche elements selected by Atlanta live-music venues play a role in how they operated (i.e., the performers they put on stage in 2012), so too did the decisions of third parties (i.e., the local media that favored some live-music over others when covering the live-music scene). The findings for Atlanta venues should give their Taipei counterparts something to think about.

Although Taipei bookers that I surveyed (and some that I interviewed) were optimistic about the likelihood of their venues receiving press coverage, the results of the Atlanta chapter reveal a less optimistic situation: 52 venues among the 175 places did not get any AJC coverage at all in 2011 and 111 venues were not featured in the *CL Big* session in 2012, while only 43 of the Atlanta venues received high amounts of AJC coverage and 38 of them were highlighted more than four times by *Creative Loafing*.

Figure 4-A. The Network of Connections (Shared Bands) among All Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

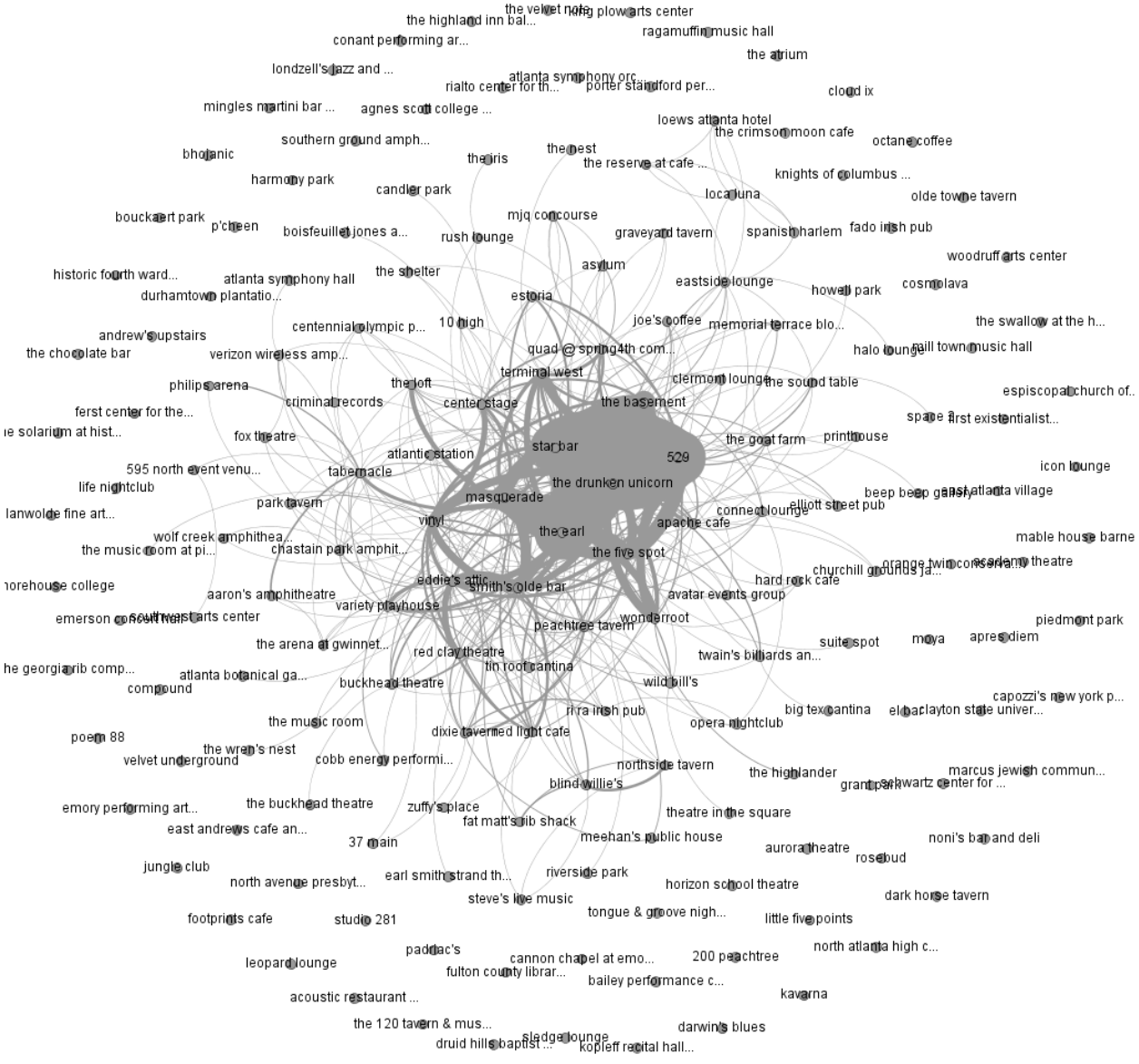


Table 4-A. The Extent of Price and Genre Homophily among All Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

Price Homophily	N of Dyads	Genre Homophily	N of Dyads
Low	861	Pop/Rock	820
Medium	496	Hip-hop/Soul	21
High	595	Blues/Jazz	406
Upper	630	Folk/Country	55
		Electronic/DJ	595
		World/Classical	120

Table 4-B. The Extent of Status Group Homophily among All Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

AJC Homophily	N of Dyads	CL Big Homophily	N of Dyads
None	1326	Low	6105
Low	820	Medium	325
Medium	741	High	703
High	903		

Table 4-C. QAP Correlation of Booking Similarity and Ticket Price Level among Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Booking Similarity	1.00								
2	low-low	-.008	1.00							
3	high-high	.003	-.024**	1.00						
4	upper-upper	-.006	-.025**	-.021**	1.00					
5	low-med	.027	-.053**	-.044**	-.045**	1.00				
6	low-high	-.010	-.056**	-.046**	-.048**	-.102**	1.00			
7	low-upper	-.019**	-.057**	-.047**	-.048**	-.103**	-.109**	1.00		
8	med-high	.040*	-.048**	-.040**	-.041**	-.088**	-.092**	-.094**	1.00	
9	med-upper	-.011	-.049**	-.040**	-.042**	-.089**	-.094**	-.095**	-.081**	1.00
10	high-upper	-.009	-.051**	-.042**	-.044**	-.093**	-.098**	-.100**	-.085**	-.086**

*p < .05, **p < .01

Table 4-D. QAP Correlation of Booking Similarity and Music Genres among Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

		1	2	3
1	Booking Similarity	1.00		
2	pop/rock-pop/rock	.121**	1.00	
3	else-else	-.017	-.122	1.00

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 4-E. QAP Correlation of Booking Similarity and Status (as Indicated by Previous AJC Coverage) among Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Booking Similarity	1.00								
2	none-none	-.038*	1.00							
3	low-low	-.009	-.074**	1.00						
4	high-high	.102**	-.078**	-.060**	1.00					
5	none-low	-.035*	-.125**	-.096**	-.101**	1.00				
6	none-med	-.023	-.121**	-.094**	-.098**	-.158**	1.00			
7	none-high	-.036*	-.128**	-.099**	-.104**	-.167**	-.163**	1.00		
8	low-med	.007	-.106**	-.082**	-.086**	-.138**	-.134**	-.142**	1.00	
9	low-high	.003	-.112**	-.086**	-.091**	-.146**	-.142**	-.150**	-.124**	1.00
10	med-high	.050*	-.109**	-.084**	-.088**	-.142**	-.138**	-.146**	-.121**	-.127**

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 4-F. QAP Correlation of Booking Similarity and Status (as Indicated by Contemporaneous CL Coverage) among Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Booking Similarity	1.00					
2	low-low	-.047**	1.00				
3	high-high	.194**	-.18**	1.00			
4	low-med	-.026*	-.396**	-.106**	1.00		
5	low-high	-.022	-.506**	-.136**	-.299**	1.00	
6	med-high	.013	-.216**	-.058**	-.127**	-.163**	1.00

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 4-G. Effects of Homophily / Heterophily on the Booking Similarity of Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012 (Multiple Regression Quadratic Assignment Procedure)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	.118	.088	0.036	.043	.494	.100
Price						
low-low	-.095				-.138	-.123
	(.246)				(.140)	(.129)
high-high	.050				-.088	-.200*
	(.270)				(.291)	(.039)
upper-upper	-.072				-.244*	-.538***
	(.377)				(.031)	(.001)
low-medium	.195+				.087	.078
	(.069)				(.210)	(.203)
low-high	-.057				-.149+	-.156+
	(.361)				(.080)	(.053)
low-upper	-.114				-.195*	-.211**
	(.135)				(.019)	(.008)
medium-high	.317*				.160+	.052
	(.024)				(.089)	(.302)
medium-upper	-.073				-.215*	-.385***
	(.281)				(.013)	(.001)
high-upper	-.054				-.206*	-.399***
	(.378)				(.019)	(.001)
Genre						
pop/rock-pop/rock		1.617***			1.570***	1.516***
		(.001)			(.001)	(.001)
else-else		-.056			-.030	.019
		(.259)			(.385)	(.375)
Status I (AJC)						
none-none status			-.030+		-.467*	
			(.055)		(.019)	
low-low status			-.016		-.490*	
			(.245)		(.016)	
high-high status			.055**		-.111	
			(.005)		(.249)	
none-low status			-.024		-.480*	
			(.113)		(.015)	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
none-medium status			-.019^{+}		-.456*	
			(.065)		(.013)	
none-high status			-.024		-.440*	
			(.105)		(.015)	
low-medium status			-.006		-.408*	
			(.231)		(.016)	
low-high status			-.009		-.405*	
			(.282)		(.037)	
medium-high status			.013		-.076	
			(.114)		(.185)	
Status II (CL)						
low-low status				-.038		-.089
				(.268)		(.203)
high-high status				1.975***		2.045***
				(.001)		(.001)
low-medium status				-.027		-.057
				(.213)		(.182)
low-high status				.009		-.005
				(.601)		(.370)
medium-high status				.190^{+}		.229*
				(.062)		(.040)
R^2	.003	.030	0.016	.038	.037	.071

Unstandardized coefficients are provided.
P-values are given in parentheses.
N=15,225 dyads among 175 venues.
Significance codes: 0.001***, 0.01**, 0.05*, 0.1^{+}

Table 4-H. ERG Models: Effects of Price Homophily, Genre Homophily, Status Homophily and Network Structure on Booking Connections among All Live-Music Venues in Atlanta, 2012

TERMS	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Edges	-3.78***	-4.10***	-3.72***	-3.62***	-4.28***
	(.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(.07)	(.09)
Price Homophily					
Upper Price Level	.31				-.98***
	(.24)				(.27)
High Price Level	.88***				.66**
	(.19)				(.21)
Medium Price Level	1.94***				2.06***
	(.14)				(.17)
Low Price Level	-1.02**				-.09
	(.38)				(.39)
Genre homophily					
Pop/Rock		2.31***			1.87***
		(.11)			(.13)
Blues/Jazz		-.77			-.03
		(.51)			(.52)
Folk/Country		2.39***			2.89***
		(.32)			(.35)
Electronic/DJ		.96***			2.11***
		(.21)			(.24)
Status Homophily I (AJC)					
High Status			1.43***		
			(.13)		
Medium Status			.45*		
			(.21)		
Low Status			-.13		
			(.25)		
None Status			-1.26***		
			(.34)		
Status Homophily II (CL)					
High Status				2.40***	2.44***
				(.11)	(.13)
Medium Status				-0.36	-.20
				(0.42)	(.43)
Low Status				-1.80***	-1.89***
				(0.21)	(.22)
AIC	3597	3372	3626	3134	2732

Standard errors are in parentheses; $^{***}p < .001$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{+}p < .10$

TERMS	Model 6	Mode 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Edges	-7.46***	-6.51***	-6.44***	-6.43***	-5.11***	-5.60***
	(1.13)	(.25)	(.27)	(.26)	(.28)	(.29)
Price Homophily						
Upper Price Level		.31				-.80*
		(.23)				(.32)
High Price Level		.61***				.38+
		(.12)				(.21)
Medium Price Level		1.12***				1.45***
		(.13)				(.17)
Low Price Level		-.58				.02
		(.38)				(.39)
Genre Homophily						
Pop/Rock			1.28***			1.15***
			(.08)			(.11)
Blues/Jazz			-.30			.10
			(.52)			(.48)
Folk/Country			1.74***			2.03***
			(.22)			(.29)
Electronic/DJ			.74***			1.60***
			(.14)			(.22)
Status Homophily I (AJC)						
High Status				.82***		
				(.13)		
Medium Status				.32+		
				(.17)		
Low Status				-.002		
				(.21)		
No Status				-.80*		
				(.36)		
Status Homophily II (CL)						
High Status					1.18***	1.43***
					(.09)	(.11)
Medium Status					-1.09*	-.58
					(.53)	(.48)
Low Status					-1.81***	-1.67***
					(.27)	(.26)
Network Structure						
Open Triangle (GWDSP)	.02***	-.01	-.03+	-.016	-.13***	-.10***
	(.003)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)

TERMS	Model 6	Mode 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Triadic Closure (GWESP)	3.81***	3.22***	3.16***	3.22***	3.06***	2.88***
	(1.13)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.25)
AIC	3118	2902	2775	2929	2630	2356

Standard errors are in parentheses
$^{***}p < .001,\ ^{**}p < .01,\ ^{*}p < .05,\ ^{+}p < .10$

Figure 4-B. ERG Models: Goodness-of-Fit Plots Generated By Multiple Simulations

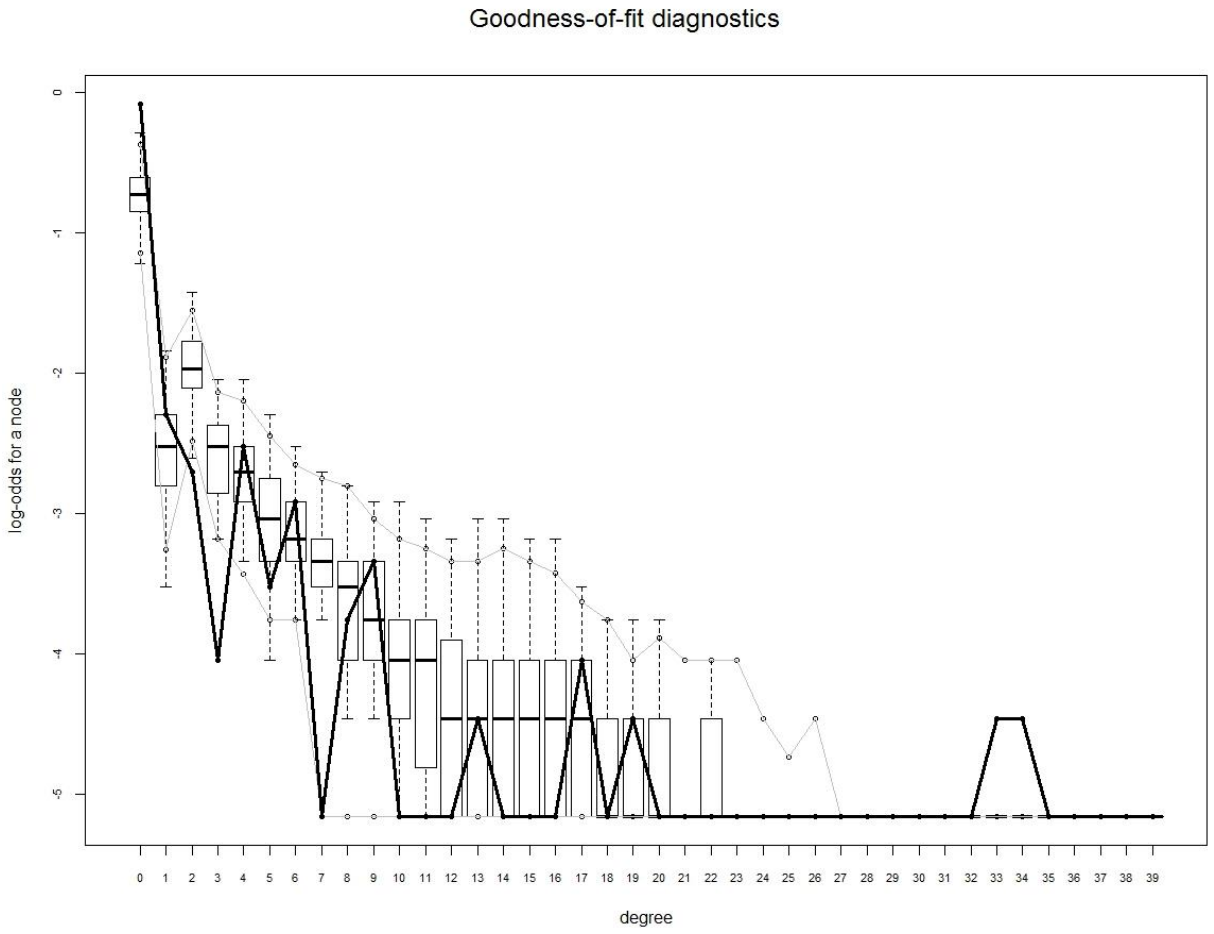


Figure 4-B (continued). ERG Models: Goodness-of-Fit Plots Generated By Multiple Simulations (continued)

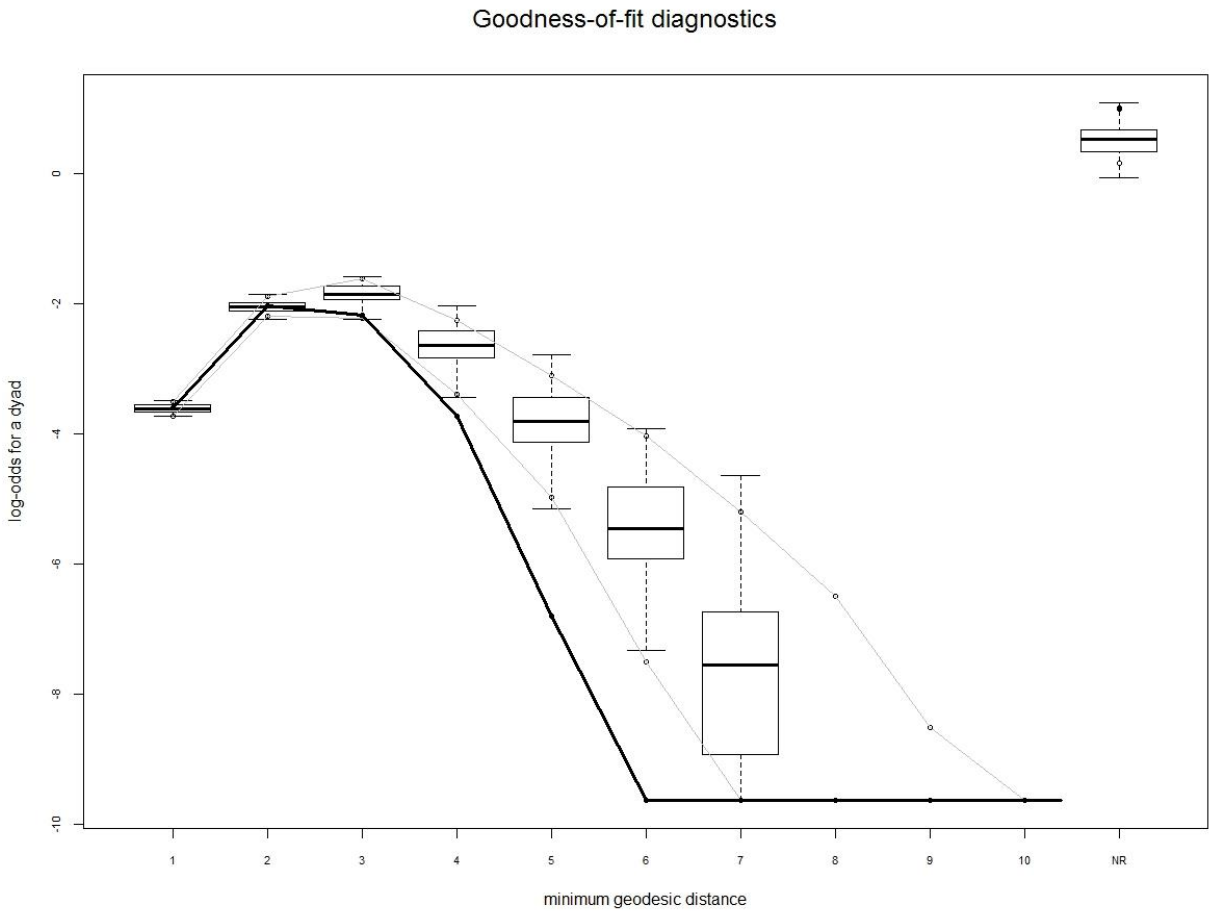
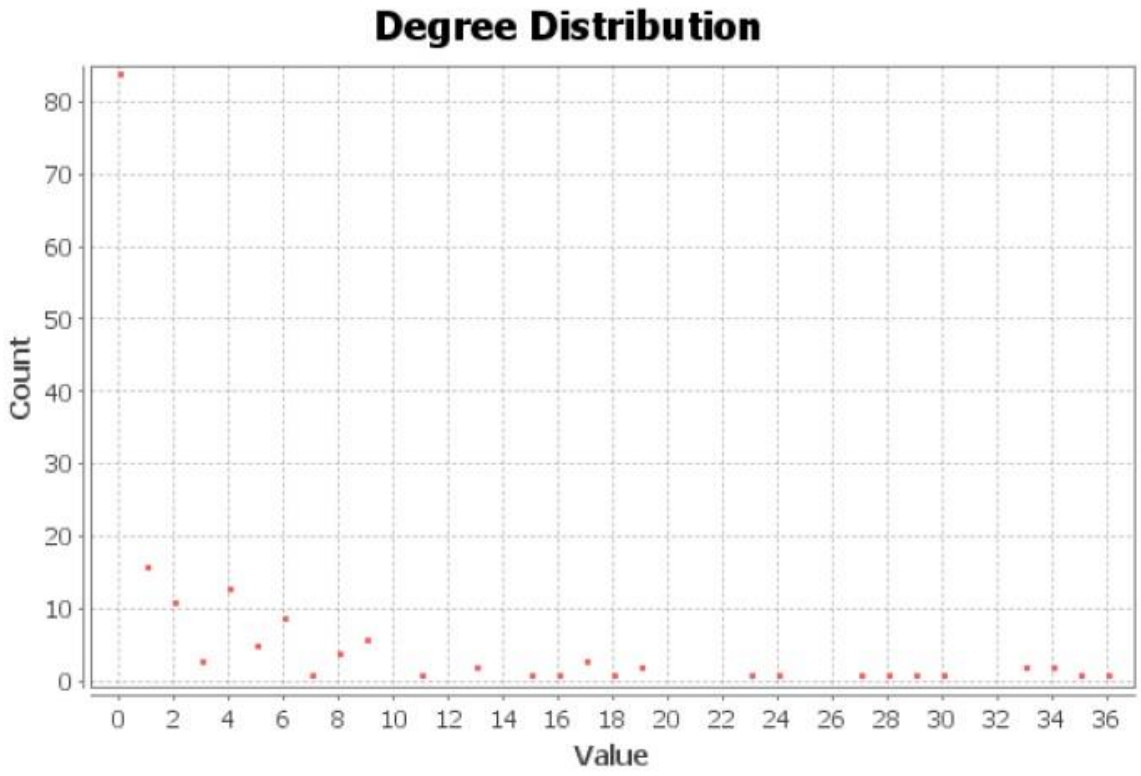


Figure 4-C. The Degree Distribution of the Atlanta-Live Music Venues Network



CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This dissertation was constructed to respond to the three research questions laid out in Chapter One. Those questions are as follows:

(1) How do the live-music scenes of Taipei and Atlanta compare in terms of their respective ecologies?

(2) How do gatekeepers (in this case, bookers at live-music venues) deal with the uncertainty of selecting which musicians to feature on their respective stages and how do their various approaches lead to an accumulation of inter-venue connections (social capital) in both live-music scenes?

(3) Is there a status-order at play in live-music scenes, whereby similarly positioned venues (in terms of local media coverage) gravitate towards similar booking patterns?

The three broad approaches that informed the formation of these research questions are summarized in Table 5-A. In answering the first question regarding the ecologies of live-music in Atlanta and Taipei, I drew upon music scenes scholarship. Contributors to that scholarship have often focused on (a) scenes built around a single musical genre, (b) on scenes in a single place, (c) on audiences and musicians (rather than business actors), (d) on scene participants in a similar economic status, and (e) on how the participants themselves make sense of the scene while imbuing it with meaning (see Cohen 1991; Shank 1994; Leblanc 1999; Grazian 2004; Spring 2004; Crossley 2009; Kruse 2010; Davis 2011). In Chapter Two, I took somewhat of a different approach. I provided observation and analysis of two music scenes by emphasizing businesses (i.e., live-music venues) that operated across a range of genre types and economic

positions. I did so by describing the history and current situation of the music industries in both Taipei and Atlanta, and then by collecting current information regarding—specifically, the 2012 live-music scenes in both cities, including appearances by performing acts at each of the 100-plus venues found in both places.

With this approach, I supplemented the music scenes literature by offering a more structurally oriented perspective, which is usually neglected in this stream of scholarship given its concerns with interaction and meaning (see Straw 1991; Pinheiro and Dowd 2009; Baker et al. 2009). The ecologies of the live-music scenes in Atlanta and Taipei are summarized in Table 5-B. With self-gathered data, I found that, in general, Atlanta had a "healthier" environment for actors participating in the scene than did Taipei in 2012, as there were more music venues offering live-music performances with more busy days and months, and the scene was also more affordable for audiences. It was also healthier in terms of allowing the scene to further thrive, as a stable offering of live-music activities across time could help individual and organizational entrepreneurs avoid loss in slow times. Moreover, a good number of venues with low priced shows can, not only attract more audiences because of affordability, but also provide an infrastructure for aspiring musicians so that they can get experience and exposure before moving on to bigger stages. In response to the first research question that asked about the range of venues and their distribution into distinct niches in the two cities, I found that, although venues in both cities were marked by multiple niches (i.e., from low price level to medium, high, and upper levels, as well as music genres such as rock, EDM, jazz, and classical), the Atlanta scene appeared to be relatively more sustainable, as both little known and famous musicians were more likely to find suitable stages there in 2012, with more venues and more constant live-music activities in that scene than in Taipei's. The relatively favorable situation of the Atlanta live-

music scene is not surprising its longer history, as the scene in Taipei had only emerged around the late 1990s (Jian 2002). Therefore, these ecological findings show the importance of "place"—that where place "*may be"* matters (see Baker et al. 2009), for the ecology of where the scene is located can alter how it was formed and has evolved.

My second research question emphasized the uncertainty that "gatekeepers" face, which is widely discussed in scholarship associated with the art worlds approach (Janssen 1997; Clayman and Reisner 1998; Dowd et al. 2002; Mears 2010). I responded to this question by taking an inductive approach informed by important theoretical concepts and concerns, as I did in the other chapters as well. In particular, I conducted a survey of live-music venues in Taipei and interviewed a subset of Taipei bookers, so as to dig into how they dealt with uncertainty in live-music scene—specifically asking about how they decided which performers to schedule for their venues, the music/non-music decisions that they made, and how they reached the audience via the Internet, etc. The results show that many Taipei "talent buyers" (i.e., bookers) relied on multiple sources of information to select bands, consulting more than one type of actors (e.g., colleagues, musicians, friends, and booking agents) to make this important decision. Thus, while some art world proponents speak of connections in general terms (Crossley 2008), my results were more like recent efforts that speak of connections among gatekeepers in very specific terms (Franssen and Kuipers 2013; Friedman 2014). Indeed, in the Taipei live-music scene, I found that bookers relied on connections occurring within and across live-music venues, and also occasionally with third parties (i.e., contracted booking agents). The connections were also revealed in the communication between venues and audiences, as common use of the Internet in terms of communicating with audiences or customers was revealed by the surveyed venues. While some scholarship has emphasized the way that musicians have relied upon the Internet to

build an audience base (Sargent 2009; Young and Collins 2010; Scott 2012), my research shows that Taipei live-music venues have likewise done so. In fact, unlike some other segments of the broader music industry (Marshall 2013; Arditi 2014), bookers in Taipei viewed the "online music" made possible by the Internet as beneficial to their business and to audience-building in general.

I likewise found that Taipei live-music venues also had to make decisions that were not solely or directly related to music, such as those dealing with important incomes sources (e.g., sale of drinks and food) and major operational costs (e.g., payment to employees and bands, investment in sound equipment). The fact that Taipei venues needed to select musicians for their stages, while also dealing with such non-music issues as labor and equipment costs, as well as making profit from things other than music performances (food and drinks, etc.), remind us that artistic decisions and conventions are also often intertwined with business matters. In that way, my results for Taipei bookers resemble those results found in a few other studies that deal with live-music venues in other places (Foster et al. 2011; Webster 2011; Gallan 2012), thereby suggesting that my Taipei results would extend to the Atlanta live-music scene, as well.

I also got at the uncertainty facing gatekeepers in general (and bookers, in particular) by taking an aggregate view—moving my analytical attention from the connections that occurred for bookers via interaction to those occurring across all live-music venues in a scene in terms of band-booking similarity. Here, I again relied on self-gathered data involving the appearances of performing acts in Taipei and Atlanta, respectively. As discussed in the art worlds literature, gatekeepers are not isolated individuals, but instead, are also part of a collective process of creation and dissemination (Becker 1982; Becker and Pessin 2006; Martin 2006; Roy and Dowd

2010). In this dissertation, I found patterns of conventions and connections that emerged from the band-booking activities of live-music venues in both scenes, as summarized in Table 5-C.

The results of my social network analysis, for example, indicated that live-music venues operating in certain (but not all) similar niches (e.g., high-priced venues, pop-rock venues) tended to converge with their in-group fellows in terms of selecting bands. That pattern played out in both Taipei and Atlanta. This convergence could possibly be seen as reflecting artistic conventions collectively embraced by particular groups of venues. Seen in that light, those actors that tended not to align with homophilous others in terms of booking bands (e.g., low-priced venues) represented the less conventional/more innovative elements in both live-music scenes—or put another way, in both "art worlds." That would be consistent with other scholarship finding that small organizations tend to be the source of diversity and innovation in music and cultural production (Grazian 2004; William 2006; Dowd and Kelly 2012). Continuing in the "art worlds" vein, my results also indicated that live music in both Atlanta and Taipei could be divided into several "sub-worlds" (see Gilmore 1987, 1988), as homophilous venues tended to cluster in certain geographical areas (e.g., pop/rock venues in the Little Five Points neighborhood of Atlanta and the most active venues located along Roosevelt Road in Taipei). Regardless of whether calling such groupings "sub-worlds" or "niches," it was obvious that the live-music scene in both Atlanta and Taipei were marked by a range and variety that would be missed if focusing solely on, say, large venues only (i.e., those in a similar economic position) or a single musical genre. This dissertation thus contributes to music scenes scholarship by adding additional empirical cases but also comparative knowledge of music scenes that span a range of economic positions and musical types.

My third research question focused on the impact of status orders in a live-music scene. That particular question was prompted by field theory scholarship, which shows that relative position and connections of a given actor (be it an individual person or organization) matter greatly (Bourdieu 1993b; Sallas and Zavisca 2007; Emirbayer and Johnson 2008), as well as by recent research showing how organizations of similar status tend to connect while those of dissimilar status do not (Podolny and Page 1998; Godart and Mears 2009). To address this question, I gleaned the status order operating among live-music venues in Atlanta by turning to the coverage of them offered by third parties—a daily newspaper (the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*) and a weekly newspaper (*Creative Loafing*). While each paper provided its own status order, both of their status orders were correlated in a positive and moderate fashion (offering a similar view of the live-music scene). With these two status orders in hand, I could see how status homophily (and heterophily) had an impact upon the booking choices of Atlanta venues in 2012.

As summarized in Table 5-C, I found that higher status venues in Atlanta tended to share a pool of musicians, while the venues at the bottom of this status order (none and low status venues) were less likely to form a shared pool of performers within a status homophilous group. Also, in terms of heterophily, the venues in the middle of the status order could somewhat emulate higher status venues, by occasionally booking the same musical performers as their more esteemed counterparts, while venues at the very bottom were less likely to do so. What is remarkable is that such patterns of status homophily (and heterophily) remained significant in the presence of other types of homophily (those involving price and genre) and even remained significant when controlling for balancing mechanisms (e.g., "common friends"); in other words, the impact of the status order on live-music venues is a robust one. That robustness points to the

inequality addressed in much of the field theory literature: where, within a given setting (i.e., a field), various actors compete for success, but only a few of them come at on top in terms of dominating more resources and opportunities than do others (DiMaggio 1979; Rubtsova and Dowd 2004; Crossley 2009).

Much of field theory is about cultural production (see Anheier et al. 1995; Wainwright and Turner, 2006; Sapiro 2010) For example, one study on the fashion industry and its operation in New York, London, Milan, and Paris (Godart and Mears 2009) also shows that same status actors (fashion houses) tend to align with each other in terms of selecting talent (fashion models). High status fashion houses are known for attracting the "hottest" models (in terms of their market appeal), with low status fashion houses largely unable to emulate their high status counterparts in terms of the models they use in their shows; meanwhile, medium status fashion houses are somewhat able to emulate the high status ones, but they also avoid using the models contracted by low status fashion houses. Hence, it is evident that the competitive jostling induced by the status order is not just a feature of Atlanta and/or live music but also for other settings of cultural production. This insight helps us with regards to the art worlds approach and its emphasis on cooperation—an emphasis that sees the entire system as formed from interaction between actors (Crossley 2009, 2010). The entire live-music scene can be seen as a system that is formed from sub-worlds with different status venues, in which the venues need not only focus on what they want to do in terms of selecting bands, but also focus on what others do when making that same decisions. In other words, this illustrates Becker and Pessin's (2006) point that what actors do is shaped by what others in their art world do. The competitive jostling between venues in different sub-worlds of the scene also leads to various conventions regarding how they deal with uncertainty, as the higher status sub-world is more conventional (venues aligned with each

other when scheduling musicians) while the low status sub-world is more innovative in terms of band booking (venues tending to have unique choices of bands). That pattern resonates with previous studies informed by the art worlds approach (see, for example, Gilmore 1987, 1988; Dowd et al. 2002; Mears 2010), as they also point out the conventions resulting from cooperation and interplay between actors in the sub-worlds of a larger art world.

The three research questions that I addressed in this dissertation not only led to the interesting results summarized in Table 5-C, but also to the implications listed in Table 5-D, with the latter providing me with lessons about the benefits of drawing upon three broad approaches to cultural production. As discussed in Chapter One, while the three approaches share an emphasis on the embeddedness of cultural production markets (see also Sallas and Zavisca 2007; Becker 1982; Pinheiro and Dowd 2009), they differ in several ways. It is thus good to add them together as they all see economic actors as not isolated from each other, yet each of them brings unique insights when considering how markets are shaped by actors and the relationships among them. Field theory points out the importance of inequality associated with capital in a field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1984, 1986, 1993a; Anheier et al. 1995; Sallas and Zavisca 2007). That emphasis prompted me to investigate the status order in the Atlanta live-music scene, which revealed that only a few of the venues were able to receive media attention, which is a resource that they can employ to attract audience. This indicates field theory's emphasis on competition between actors for field resources that are usually held by a few individuals or organizations and, in turn, are thus more likely to succeed then others (DiMaggio 1979; Rubtsova and Dowd 2004; Crossley 2009). The art worlds approach, on the other hand, reminds us that interplay between actors may be seen as competition, but it may also be considered as cooperation and a collective activity that forms the entire "world" (Becker and Pessin 2006; Crossley 2009, 2010). As

discussed above, the competitive jostling between venues with different status also facilitated the emergence of particular cultural assumptions of the sub-worlds of the Atlanta live-music scene. This approach also allows us to examine how the band bookers in venues (as gatekeepers) with various niches and status deal with uncertainty in live-music production and dissemination. As field theory and the art worlds approach complement each other well in terms of offering insights to address two sides of the same coin (emphases on competition or cooperation), music scenes scholarship also supplements this study by directing attention to the ecologies (see Carroll and Hannan 1995; Webster 2011) of the two live-music scenes, which enabled me to compare the similarities and differences found in the production of live music in two cities and, by extension, in two nations.

Although it was useful for me to bring the three approaches together, I found that field theory and the art worlds approach were especially suitable for this present study—a dissertation containing more "numbers" than "thick descriptions" drawn from the self-gathered data—as both approaches were better at providing me with tools by which to paint the "big picture" of that structure involved in a particular section of society (a field or an art world). In contrast, I came away from this project with the view that music scene scholarship may better utilized when more nuanced types of data are available.

It must be noted, however, that I did not exhaust all the lessons to be learned from these approaches. Indeed, the three research questions can be further answered in wider and also more specific ways by way of future research. First, a survey and interviews with Atlanta bookers can inform us about additional similarities and differences found between the two live-music scenes. For instance, the two scenes may be similar in a way that the bookers tend to consult multiple participants, as the cases in Taipei and Boston (Foster et al. 2011) have indicated, yet they may

differ in other ways given that Atlanta's scene is older, bigger, and busier than Taipei's—all of which may lead to expanded variety in terms of band-selection choices (see Dowd and Kelly 2012) and in terms of interactional patterns (see Craig and Dubois 2010). Second, the perceived likelihood of media coverage was measured and addressed for a sub-set of live-music venues in Taipei, but measurement of the *actual* amount of media attention is needed to better study the status order in that particular live-music scene. Taipei's scene, indeed, may be similar to Atlanta's in that only a small number of venues would receive media attention (see Janssen 1997) and that actors with higher status in terms of media coverage tend to share resources with each other but not with others of lower status (Godart and Mears 2009). Moreover, a more qualitative oriented study, such as a content analysis of that media coverage, can add to our knowledge, as some Taipei bookers suggested in interviews that media attention may be stimulated by the music offered at venues (especially for "famous" musicians), as well as by other aspects of the venues (e.g., being a special restaurant, etc.). Hence, just as some research has addressed what types of events and actors are likely to attract media attention (McCarthy 1996; Janssen 1998; Dowd, Ryan and Tai 2014), it would be helpful to link such concerns with the status order that results from that selective attention. While the connections between music venues in terms of shared booking were both illustrated and explained in this dissertation, those connections (as a representation of social capital) can be further examined by turning systematically to other relationships among various actors in the live-music scenes. For example, do the venues, musicians, and even audiences help each other and, if so, how do they do so? Doing so would bring together studies that treat one type of connection in isolation—such as Foster et al. (2011) on bookers and Crossley (2009) on musicians—with those showing how scenes / art worlds are made of connections that are both organizational and individual (see

Godart and Mears 2009; Dowd Ryan and Tai 2014). Finally, as noted in the opening of Chapter Four, organizational research often looks at ties between organizations so as to examine how those ties matter for economic success (Uzzi 1997; Podolny and Page 1998). Future research would be well served, then, by seeing if those well-connected venues in Atlanta and Taipei also are "well-performing" in terms of audiences and revenues.

In sum, this dissertation has contributed to sociological scholarship by empirically demonstrating that markets cannot be reduced to supply and demand and that economic actors are not solely "human calculators." Instead, other elements such as conventions (e.g., booking patterns shared by homophilous venues) and connections among actors (e.g., information exchange and shared booking relationships among venues) also shape how a given market works. Such elements are regular features of markets because economic actors often have limited information and time, and in turn, face uncertainty when making decisions. Markets, then, are not domains set apart from social life, but instead, are domains in which the social and the economic are intertwined (see Polanyi 1957; Dowd 2003; Zelizer 2010), as scholarship associated with "embeddedness" has long demonstrated.

Table 5-A. The Three Broad Approaches and Live-Music Scenes

Field Theory	Art Worlds	The Music Scene Approach
Competition and capitals	Collectivity and conventions	Places and settings
Inequality in live music scenes	Gatekeeping and uncertainty in live-music scenes	The "ecology" of live-music scenes in Taipei and Atlanta

Table 5-B. The Ecologies of the Live-Music Scenes in Atlanta and Taipei

Atlanta	Taipei
Bigger	Smaller
Busier	Less busy days/months
More Affordable	Relatively expensive
Less Connected	A denser network
Genre-based clusters of venues in several neighborhoods	Venues featured different genres sat next to each other

Table 5-C. Selected Findings from Network Analysis in Two Live-Music Scenes

Homophily and Booking Similarity: Atlanta and Taipei • Price homophily and genre homophily mattered in both scenes with similar effects • Venues at middle price levels tended to share bands with their in-group fellows, while low price venues had unique choices • Pop, rock and EDM venues converged
Status Order on Booking Similarity: Atlanta • High status venues tended to share bands with each other, so did medium-high status venues • Venues at the very bottom of the status order tended not to share bands with any others
Network Structures (Triad Closure and Open Triangle): Atlanta and Taipei • Venues with common "friend(s)" were more likely to be connected

Table 5-D. The Implications of the Dissertation Findings

Field Theory • Social capital at the aggregate level operated similarly in the two live-music scenes, despite the distinct "ecologies" • Inequality: The "emulation" and "competitive jostling" in live-music scenes
Art Worlds • Gatekeepers' conventions dealing with uncertainty and forming the live-music world: the shared-booking patterns in the "sub-worlds"
Network Structure • "Birds of a feather flock together"? Yes but not always • A "mutual friend" matters, as well (triad closure)

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