

The Prestige Economy of a London Orchestra



Francesca Carpos

University of London

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Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

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Declaration of Own Work

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Dated: October 2017

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Musicians are some of the most driven, courageous people on the face of the earth. They deal with more day-to-day rejection in one year than most people do in a lifetime. Every day they face the financial challenge of living a freelance lifestyle, the disrespect of people who think they should get real jobs, and their own fear that they'll never work again. (David Ackert, L.A. Times)

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Abstract

This study is an insider's examination into an orchestral world, using the theoretical framework of a prestige economy as a way to understand perceptions of orchestral musicians within their orchestral context. I bridge the theoretical notion of a prestige economy to the empirical research, and examine some of the very complex ways that orchestral musicians strategize in order to gain work. Thus, the theoretical context for this study comprises the orchestra, orchestral musicians, and the theoretical framework of the prestige economy.

The focus of the empirical research is a symphony orchestra involving one hundred and twelve musicians. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews in London during the period 2012–2015. The thematic analysis of the data evolved through an inductive series of interchanges between data and existing theory to 'develop theoretical propositions or explanations out of the data' (Mason, 1996: 137). In addition, the inductive process through the pilot study actuated triangulation in the main study, bringing into focus not only the views of orchestral musicians but also the orchestral fixers who employ them. Consequently, the building of prestige in this context can be viewed as a socially ordered practice, and therefore I review sociological literature concerned with the process of social construction, encompassing notions of capital and theories of social interaction.

At the conclusion of this study the research identifies some arguably contentious aspects, including the notion that the more prestige that is granted, the more it grants. An explanation is that since reciprocity is self-perpetuating, prestige also self-perpetuates through reciprocal interactions through networks. It seems that when prestige is discussed the notion of inequality is generally omitted. Thus, an intended outcome is to draw attention to the vulnerabilities and tensions of a professional orchestral life, by offering a helpful theoretical focus in which to explore ways that musicians perceive their roles and positions in their orchestral community. I argue that the orchestra is a propitious research setting to effectuate the theoretical model of a prestige economy, and suggest that the notion of a prestige economy framework both answers and exposes questions of more than one theoretical gap in the literature. This study not only contributes to the literature regarding the sociology of musicians in the context of their orchestral world, but also to other sociological studies of work and occupations.

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Chapter 1- Rationale and Key Elements of the Study

The Prestige Economy- introductory overview

In this study, I examine social, economic and symbolic forms of exchange within a group of orchestral musicians in their entrepreneurial economy, and I explore the extent to which one can view prestige as a commodity. The theoretical framework of a prestige economy will be discussed later in the study; however, in this brief introductory overview I introduce the concept of a prestige economy (Bascom and Herskovits, 1948; English, 2005; Blackmore, 2015) as a theoretical means to illuminate aspects of the working lives of orchestral players and their interrelationships. The implication is that notions of a prestige economy ‘captures the complex underlying processes of a system inextricably bound-up with conferral’ (Bascom, 1948). I argue that this is a helpful theory because regardless of the instrument they play, musicians are part of a team; each musician performs a musical and social role through a discourse of subtle musical co-operation that defines their relationship with other musicians in the team. The musicians express shifting individual identities and at the same time establish a group identity. I suggest that consideration of prestige offers a helpful focus to explore what the musicians ‘prize highly’, and I propose that the theoretical concept of a prestige economy may illuminate ways that the musicians negotiate their roles and positions in their orchestral community.

Rationale- It’s not what-you-know, but who-you-know

As a professional orchestral bassoon player working in London orchestras for over thirty years, my wide-ranging orchestral experience has made me question aspects of orchestral life. In this rationale I explain why I am using theoretical perspectives of prestige to explore a variety of issues concerning the lives of professional orchestral musicians. In my experience as a musician I have noticed that members of any orchestra seem to have the same set of aspirations: to try to please the orchestral management, conductors and peers, whilst also taking care to protect their own reputation.

Whether I work with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra in London, the Russian Philharmonic Orchestra or the Symphony Orchestra of India, my observations have shown that prestige is granted to orchestral musicians who are perceived to excel. Yet importantly, prestige is also often granted to musicians who are perceived not to excel as such but who 'know the right people', or enjoy the right networks, and fit the role of a person who excels. Thousands of musicians graduate from conservatories and universities each year with only a small percentage of professional orchestral positions available; and as Lebrecht observes, in spite of musicians achieving the highest playing standard, 'what makes a star in classical music remains an enigma to the musicians' (Lebrecht, 1997: 263). At this very high professional level technical skill is not the issue, rather, the argument is that prestige is not necessarily granted to the 'best'.

My argument is supported in the research of Ginsburgh and Van Ours, who studied the effects of the ranking of experts in the Queen Elizabeth Piano Competition. This international music competition is considered 'the best and most demanding in the world' (Ginsburgh and Van Ours, 2003: 2). Empirical data was collected between 1952 and 1991, and the conclusion was that the method of choosing the prizewinner was independent from the participants' inherent musical ability. The research findings showed that musicians who performed at the beginning of the competition had a lower probability of being ranked in the top group, whereas those who performed later on had an increased chance. The findings indicated that although it pays to do well in the competition, the order and timing of the performer's appearance in the competition also has an influence. The prizewinners are not necessarily chosen because of their musical ability but also because of the 'peculiarities of the ranking procedure' (Ginsburgh and Van Ours, 2003: 290).

Furthermore, the suggestion is that winning the Queen Elizabeth competition has a 'significant impact on later success irrespective of the finalist's true quality' (Ginsburgh and Van Ours, 2003: 13). For example, the winners have opportunities for their work to be recorded, plus competition winners are viewed highly by critics. Positive publicity not only has an impact on their future career but ultimately their economic outcome. Thus, if the prizewinners are not chosen solely because of their musical ability this sheds doubt on the notion of fully objective judgements about who deserves the greater prestige; yet one could argue that prestige clearly increases opportunities in creating more prestige.

As will be shown in chapter 5, Hughes offers a way of understanding how prestige-building is circular: i.e. the kind of person you are, and the kind of role you have, and the way

others see you makes a difference to your status. This in turn affects how you see the world, how you behave, how others treat you and how much prestige is afforded to you in a 'chronic fight for status' (Hughes, 1993: 345). For a musician, if skill is not the only reason why people achieve prestige in a world where 'how you look' and 'how you fit in' matters, a wider prestige perspective becomes helpful for exploring identities and practices; promoting ways of thinking about situations that are difficult to describe otherwise.

Summary

In summary, this research aims to get to the heart of one group of orchestral musicians by considering how prestige operates at numerous levels, in particular the relationship between the individuals and their orchestral world. A central feature of this study is consideration of the concept of a 'Prestige Economy' (Bascom and Herskovits, 1948; English, 2005; Blackmore and Kandiko, 2011, Blackmore, 2016) as a framework for illuminating perceptions of the musicians in their orchestral world. Ways of understanding the nature of an individual's interaction with others is explored through the lens of this theory. Recent and continuing work on prestige in academic life (Blackmore and Kandiko, 2012; Blackmore, 2016) has demonstrated that the lens of a prestige economy may allow insight into the vulnerabilities, inequalities and tensions of social life. The notion is that because prestige is a driver for excellence, it can possibly foster self-interested and excluding behavior. Thus, in the unfolding and evaluating of this study I consider whether a consequence of prestige can be observed in differing social privileges; thus inequality for people without prestige.

Notes on terminology

In the following section, I informally deliberate on the quiddity of the word prestige and problematize the notion of prestige and its surrounding concepts. I briefly consider some of the colloquial uses of similar terms, since 'meanings are not fixed objects of any sort; they are fuzzy, flexible and open to adjustment' (Eikmeyer and Rieser, 1981: 135). The following section provides the reader with a brief discussion in relation to terminology concerning prestige solely for the purpose of navigating the central argument. In chapter 3, I draw from the literature to explore these complex issues concerning prestige in greater depth.

Prestige

One of the reasons that prestige is not easy to characterize is because the word prestige is in widespread colloquial use. To complicate matters there are many related prestige-type terms with meanings that are not necessarily agreed upon. Blackmore suggests that 'some prestige items are relatively explicit in that they exist tangibly in the world. These might include formal rank, job titles, awards and salaries' (Blackmore, 2016: 39). One could suggest that since prestige is generally linked with explicit signs of distinction, excellence and success, the presence of it is likely to generate exclusions, because for someone to have prestige 'needs' others not to have it. Certain aspects of prestige are fixed, for example, the extent of one's inherited family background i.e. wealth or fame. This is an unchangeable part of social hierarchy, and whilst opportunities such as these are not equally available to everyone, other opportunities of prestige-building are. For example, by attending certain schools or universities, or by choosing certain occupations, a person's prestige can shift and can lead to social mobility. This brings motivations for strategic manipulation and underhandedness. Goffman proposes that where prestige is concerned, some 'strategic secrets' are used as manipulative devices to 'conceal or underplay' in order to 'confuse' or to 'mislead' (Goffman, 1969: 143). Further, Blackmore describes the way that 'prestige changes the item in an individual's perception' (Blackmore, 2016: 45).

A group of people must have a spoken or unspoken agreement that something is valued highly, and enough people need to share the same values for something to be prestigious. Therefore, prestige undoubtedly has a social component and in some way requires interaction. In its most simple definition, people who value something highly accord prestige. Yet, it seems that the word prestige has unique meanings. For example, prestige cannot be described undesirably, i.e. good reputation/bad reputation, fame/infamy, high status/low status and high standing/low standing. A person or object either has prestige or does not. Thus, we find that there is no simple definition; the word prestige has unique implications, it is multifaceted, and it is obtained by displaying attributes that 'others' do not have. Hughes brings the suggestion that 'there goes with prestige a tendency to preserve a front which hides the inside of things; a front of names, of indirection, of secrecy' (sic) (Hughes, 1984: 342). These ideas come together if we consider that the word prestige has its origins in the Latin term 'praestigium', meaning a delusion or trick.

Reputation

I argue that having a good reputation does not necessarily give you prestige. For example, it is possible to have a good reputation for always being on time, however being on time is not in itself prestigious. Blackmore proposes that 'a good reputation has an air of solidity and worth' (Blackmore, 2016: 4), and whereas having a good reputation is central to prestige, prestige is more than 'good reputation'. This is because something needs to be of the highest reputation in order to achieve a level of prestige, and therefore prestige is an asset that is arguably beyond reputation. Prestige could perhaps be considered as a 'binary', since although there are degrees of it, in that some people have more prestige than others, nevertheless you either have prestige or you do not. I would suggest that conversely, reputation is on a scale, or spectrum and everybody can have a good reputation, but to have prestige you need others not to have it. Thus, I suggest that having a good reputation is central to prestige but not necessarily the other way around. This contentious perspective is a central argument that I debate throughout the study.

Those who hold a prestigious role may not necessarily have a good reputation owing to unpopular actions. In addition, someone with a bad reputation can have prestige if their bad reputation is respected or admired by their audience; it then becomes a good reputation. Although this sounds contradictory, central to my proposal is that people make value judgements specific to whatever it is that is being valued. For example, people may consider a principal orchestral violinist prestigious, but the violinist may have a bad reputation for displaying antisocial behavior and being temperamental. Thus, prestige can be seen to be held in one area but not others.

Power

In his empirical work concerning social control Ross proposes that 'the location of power is prestige' (Ross, 1916: 78), and yet Bierstedt's view is that power and prestige are independent of one another, that power can occur without prestige and prestige without power. Bierstedt's argument is supported by the example, that Albert Einstein 'has prestige but no power in any significant sociological sense of the word; a policeman has power, but little prestige' (Bierstedt, 1950: 731). However, I would suggest that power refers to the person or item that possesses prestige, and that Einstein's prestige *does* bring him power.

Fame

In agreement with Ferris and according to theorists (Boorstin, 1961; Lowenthal, 1961; Monaco, 1978; Braudy, 1986 and 1997) 'fame does not necessarily mean that one possesses more talent, skill, intelligence or other gifts than the average person, it merely means that one has been more successfully packaged, promoted, and thrust upon by the hungry masses' (Ferris, 2007: 381). Fame is about being widely known but does not always involve prestige. A clear example of something being famous without being prestigious would perhaps be the Nissan Micra car, which is well known without necessarily possessing a cachet.

Status and standing

On first consideration status and prestige appear similar, however I argue that prestige serves a different function. I turn to Linton's view that status is 'a position in a social system, such as child or parent. Status refers to what a person is' (Linton, 1936: VIII). If status refers to what a person is, then 'marital status' or 'status symbol' are good examples of this.

I further suggest that status and standing are directed towards social stratification and hierarchy, only describing the possessor of prestige if they are 'high' status and 'high' standing. For example, one could argue that it is possible to be high status with little prestige, e.g. a government minister who is perceived to be inefficient. Prestige is attached to the high status role of being the government minister, but the reputation of being inefficient is mediated through social interaction.

Gravitas

A person with gravitas could be seen to have experience, depth of character, wisdom and serious credibility. The Roman virtue 'gravitas' describes a trait or quality of presenting oneself with a weight of authority. However, the word gravitas, just like the word prestige is arguably a perception. Gravitas does not have to be earned. Someone can enter a room and be perceived to have gravitas. Gravitas is about the way people look or behave by the way they replicate a weight of experience or expertise. As Goffman reminds us, 'often the real secret behind the mystery is that there really is no mystery; the real problem is to prevent the audience from learning this too' (Goffman, 1959: 61). Thus, a person can seem to have gravitas without having prestige; gravitas is an outward display of prestige, yet without necessarily having prestige.

The London orchestra- introductory overview

Very few London orchestras employ musicians on permanent contracts with a full-time salary. The only orchestras that do employ musicians with permanent contracts and full-time salaries are the BBC Concert Orchestra, the BBC Symphony Orchestra, the English National Opera and the Royal Opera House. Significantly, over thirty London orchestras are currently considered either self-governing or freelance, illustrating how widespread the London freelance practice is. Consequently, the majority of orchestral musicians in London are freelance with little guarantee of future employment; and even the four salaried orchestras hire extra freelance musicians for larger orchestral works, and 'for times when some of the regular players are not working' (Davis, 2004: 186).

The following London orchestras are either self-governing or freelance:

London Philharmonic Orchestra, London Symphony Orchestra, Philharmonia, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, Carl Rosa Opera, D'Oyly Carte, English National Ballet, Academy of St Martin in the Fields, Britten Sinfonia, City of London Sinfonia, English Chamber Orchestra, English Classical Players, London Mozart Players, London Pro Arte, New London Orchestra, Orchestra of St John's, Academy of Ancient Music, English Baroque Soloists, English Concert, London Handel Orchestra, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, The Orchestra of The Sixteen, London Sinfonietta, Nash Ensemble, Johann Strauss Gala Orchestra, Mozart Festival Orchestra and London Concert Orchestra.

(Association of British Orchestras, www.abo.org, 2017).

Cottrell considers that London is unquestionably one of the busiest musical centres in the world, additionally proposing that 'it is often thought of by those musicians who work in it to be the musical capital of the world' (Cottrell, 2004: 8). Consequently, the ultimate professional goal of many classically trained musicians is to acquire employment in a prestigious orchestra in London; and yet attaining a full-time orchestral position is extremely competitive because the marketplace is oversaturated with outstanding performers. As is shown in this study, the reality for a London orchestral musician is a portfolio lifestyle embedded in self-employment, with an insecure sense of job security and an irregular schedule. Davis proposes that 'musicians' fees can often be so diminutive that they feel they have to play back-to-back sessions six or seven days a week. This is not a matter of greed, but of necessity' (Davis, 2004: 186).

The Fixer

Particular to London is the way that the majority of orchestral players find themselves working on a freelance basis. The orchestral manager, more often known as a fixer, is the contractor who books musicians for a concert, and the fixer's role is to ensure that there is an orchestra. The fixer generally books a core of players who make up the orchestra but will also probably need to hire 'extras'; large orchestral works require more players than the core orchestra, and under these circumstances the fixer has to find the players to cover the additional parts. Additionally, if a musician is unwell for a concert the fixer will need to find a replacement. Orchestral fixers rely on their list of names that have been gathered over time and of the Diary services, for example, the Musicians' Answering Service (<http://maslink.co.uk>.2017), which book players on behalf of the fixers. Fixers are integral to the verbal contract between orchestral management and the musicians.

The orchestral context

In Brodsky's study of symphony orchestra musicians, it is suggested that outsiders misunderstand the orchestral musician's lifestyle, since few researchers are able to penetrate group barriers and gain the confidence of orchestra members. Brodsky's research shows that 'compared with other occupational groups and professional organizations, little is known about symphony players' (Brodsky, 2006: 674). The empirical basis of his claim is an interview study among symphony orchestra players. In the study, fifty-four British symphony orchestra musicians from fourteen performance organizations were interviewed eight times over ten months, at four major concert halls across North-West England. The interviews followed mood-changing treatments, such as muscle relaxation, imagery and massage, and their narratives were examined using qualitative analysis. The musicians viewed their appointment to a symphony orchestra as the height of a lifelong ambition, and a means by which they could work with like-minded people. Brodsky asked, 'why do musicians want to perform on stage to begin with?' and he claimed, 'they do it because they can, and for most musicians, there is no alternative', suggesting that the motivations of musicians choosing to work in a symphony orchestra is centered on their lifelong passion for music and music performance (Brodsky, 2006: 687).

Orchestral work, like any other profession has advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, orchestral members have the opportunity to perform superlative music on a regular basis among a community of accomplished musicians; yet, although orchestral playing, tours and recording may provide fulfilling experiences, even a self-governing orchestra may bring little job satisfaction. As Flanagan suggests, 'the number of musicians and the mix of instruments used by an orchestra are determined by symphonic composers and can only be altered by limiting the range of music that an orchestra performs' (Flanagan, 2012: 69). This is decided by dozens of administrative personnel engaged in managing concert production, and by the conductor who determines musical decisions, and the artistic director and advisory committee who decide on the subtle implications of concert programming. Meanwhile, 'much of the time that musicians spend practicing to maintain their skills is off-the-job' (Flanagan, 2012: 80).

We will later learn that the possibility of career advancement for an orchestral musician is uncertain since principal players are likely to retain their jobs for many years, bringing few opportunities for promotion. As a result, musicians can become frustrated with the intrinsic bureaucracy and lack of opportunity to shine, in particular the non-principal players. A symphony orchestra may have between fifty and one hundred and twenty musicians, and therefore with a large number of the orchestral players competing for work this is likely to stimulate rivalry amongst colleagues for resources and recognition. As there are far more musicians than employment opportunities available, one can understand the motivation for why being seen to have a good reputation is essential, and an understanding of what is prestigious becomes significant.

Cultural system and social order

This study focuses on the idea of prestige as an aid to analysis. I will argue that reputation systems motivate people in similar ways to monetary economies, for example, just as the fear of losing money can be reason to take preventative measures, so can a fear of loss of reputation. Thus, from an economic perspective with social and economic incentives, I will suggest that it is likely that a reputation system in some way involves strategic manipulation of capital, where having a good reputation brings advantages, and ultimately prestige brings further advantages, such as being noticed, respected and a greater likelihood of being offered work. Consequently, there is a prima facie likelihood that if the musicians are in a position where they have to compete with

one another for work, it becomes clear that there are motivations for prestige-gaining within the system of which that gaining has to take place. As Blackmore proposes, I suggest that the notion of prestige 'is particularly useful in examining why individuals do what they do in an organizational setting where prestige operates at other levels, for example, at those of the team, department and organization' (Blackmore, 2016: 15).

Kingsbury presents a helpful discussion concerning the cultural system and social order in the context of a music conservatory, focusing on the Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory to examine the criteria used in evaluating music and musicians in music education systems (Kingsbury, 2001: 60). His investigation involves 'social action on the one hand and cultural form on the other' (2001: 143). His hypothesis is that the negotiation of social identity involves reciprocity in some way, and he proposes that 'when one asks what it is that conservatory students and teachers are talking about when they refer to music, the music itself, or the actual music, one answer is that to a considerable extent they're talking about each other' (2001: 158). An overview of Kingsbury's argument is that 'an evaluation of music is almost always an evaluation of social action or a comment on social ranking' (Kingsbury, 2001: 165). For example, he suggests that aesthetic judgements made about performances also involve judgements about the performer, and conversely that evaluations about the performer embody 'underlying esthetic statements about musical performance' (sic) (2001: 143). One could suggest that Kingsbury's study highlights the complex nature of music-making through the study of culture.

Aims of the study

My aim for this study is to provide insight into the 'social world' of orchestral musicians in one case study orchestra from a prestige economy viewpoint. The significance of the term 'social world' refers to an orchestra, which in addition to its function as an institution also has its own social culture. Clearly orchestral musicians have social and cultural continuities extending beyond the orchestral boundaries; however, in this study I regard the orchestra as a distinct society since there is consistency and continuity in its cultural practice. Thus, I define 'social world' in the sociological sense, as encompassing the ways of life of the individuals and groups in their human relationships, within a boundary of distinctive culture and institution. I consider the notion of prestige as a theoretical means to enhance understanding of the empirical data, and apart from considering the empirical data of one orchestra, I intend this study to be useful in

shedding light on the complexity of the orchestral world more generally.

I ask the reader to assent that the orchestral participants in my study have excellent technical skill and expertise and are highly accomplished musicians, since the participating orchestra is considered to be 'world-class'. 'Technical virtuosity and accuracy is perhaps the most highly valued skill amongst musicians' (Papageorgi, 2007: 28). Therefore, I suggest that whatever the views of the participants, there is a taken-for-granted mutual unspoken respect for each person's high technical skill. However, I point out that although the research in this study is not skill-oriented, I ask the reader to assume that skill is 'a given'.

The orchestral world is 'easily misconceived by outsiders' (Brodsky, 2006: 673) and it is clear that widespread untheorized views are numerous. For example, Sternbach (1995) suggests that orchestral musicians are perceived to be glamorous and Westby (1960) proposes that orchestral musicians suffer from their problematic social position; Dunsby (2002) considers that there are painstaking demands made on musicians (in Brodsky, 2006: 674) and as an orchestral musician myself, my aim is to reach a reliable and systematic understanding. This study is a critical and reflexive sociological undertaking of the practices of orchestral musicians through my insider's perspective. Researcher reflexivity is a key aspect in this study and is central to the methodological position taken.

The aim of the empirical investigation is not only to examine the orchestral musicians and their interactions in their social context, but additionally the perceptions of the orchestral managers who hire the musicians for work. As described previously, these are known as 'orchestra fixers' or more simply, 'fixers'. Encompassing the views of fixers brings an additional multi-perspective case-study approach through triangulated qualitative research.

This study is situated within the field of sociology of music and I aim to draw out implications from the empirical data gleaned from a review of the literature relating to the world of the orchestra. My research is underpinned by personal experience, and through a wide range of texts, histories, analyses, academic articles and journals, interviews from academic sources and through an iterative process. I apply thematic analysis as a 'flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 5). I aim for my rigorous thematic approach to facilitate a systematic account of the analysis, and to be of interest to sociologists, sociologists of music, ethnomusicologists, music educators, to those interested in various orchestral perspectives, and to those with a particular interest in notions of prestige.

Research question

In what way does the theoretical lens of a prestige economy provide insight into the social world of orchestral musicians?

Structure of the study

In chapter 1, I provide an introductory background to the study and present the main elements and aims. I set out the research question and problematize some concerns for orchestral musicians, such as the necessity to fit in socially and musically for their future employment whilst striving to realize their aspirations. In particular, I have set out a research question to help understand why, as Merriam suggests, each musician ‘must stand out more sharply than others’ (Merriam, 1992: 124).

In chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, I turn to the literature, which provides a thorough framework for the discussion of key issues of the study. I critically analyze the appropriate studies, identifying areas of controversy in the literature, and shape questions that need further research. I consider the orchestral context, the theoretical framework of a prestige economy, the concept of capital exchange and the theoretical field of social interaction. By systematically engaging with the literature, I identify features perceived to carry prestige for musicians working in a London orchestra. I look to relevant, appropriate, and useful literature, whilst reflecting on the research question. The literature review was undertaken before, during and after the data gathering, therefore, each chapter has complex inter-connective literature. The literature review is presented in four chapters:

- 2) The Orchestra as a System- and Orchestral Musicians (Context)
- 3) The Prestige Economy (Theoretical framework)
- 4) Capital, Habitus, Field and Prestige (Concept)
- 5) Social Interaction and the Negotiation of Status (Theoretical field)

In chapter 2, I consider both, the context of a symphony orchestra as a system, and the musicians who work in that system. I argue that through the literature we find motivations for musicians to seek personal advantage through the possession of prestige. For example, the more prestige a musician is considered to have, the more likely to be hired by a prestigious

orchestra. Questions are raised in the context of how the orchestral organization and the musicians both appear to be in an economy of prestige, and how financial insecurity for the orchestra has a direct impact on the musicians.

In chapter 3, definitions of prestige and the prestige economy theoretical framework are debated, and in particular, how prestige is transacted within the context of one symphony orchestra. My argument is that prestige provides a currency for trading and for displaying higher social positioning, and this influences how 'others' see one another. I suggest that the acquisition of prestige can be seen as part of a trading process of achieving and maintaining advantage in the world; thus, prestige can be considered as an economy.

In chapter 4, I draw upon a rich variety of theoretical sociological concepts of Bourdieu. I examine the literature concerning the complex process of capital exchange, in particular symbolic, social and cultural capital, and consider the tensions in this context. An argument for drawing on the literature of Bourdieu is the suitability of his vocabulary referring to forms of capital. My argument is that prestige is what capital, or more specifically, cultural and symbolic capital leads to. I suggest that that cultural and symbolic capital would be nothing without prestige, and my argument is that the process or currency that brings about prestige is through reputation-building, and that reputation-building through strategizing is one of the main features of prestige. Issues raised from the literature are concerned with reputation-building, strategizing and prestige-seeking behaviors.

In chapter 5, the theoretical literature concerning social interaction is drawn from the sociological perspectives of 'The Sociological Eye Selected Papers' (Hughes, 1993). This posthumous 1993 edition includes an introduction and commentary by David Riesman and Howard S. Becker, and will be used as a main point of discussion throughout this study in relation to the process of interaction between individuals in relation to their work. Key ideas of Hughes will be explored in some depth. Through this literature, I consider how orchestral musicians reinforce their conception of themselves as musicians, and their group identity. The orchestra is clearly divided into orchestral sections and Hughes' observation of in-groups and out-groups raises questions about what social behavior within a work setting such as this helps to conceal.

Chapter 6 sets out the method of actualizing the research, including the pilot study survey design, main study interview design and analysis. In this chapter I describe the data set involving the one hundred and twelve musicians who perform in one professional London symphony orchestra; and additionally, forty-five orchestral fixers. The method of collecting and analyzing the data is clarified, including explanations concerning the interview questions derived from the research question and from issues originating from the literature, specifically concerning the nature of the musicians' lives from a prestige perspective.

In chapter 7, I describe the methodology employed, in terms of the research design, and theoretical and analytical practice. I consider my methodological positioning and reflect on the rigorous and theoretical strengths and weaknesses in this study. Since the participants in the data collection process are my colleagues, I consider some of the advantages and disadvantages that this brings.

Chapter 8. In this chapter, I analyze the data of the individual musicians and the musician as part of a group. The argument presents in two sections, and is built on the core premise that a musician's freelance work is complex because membership to a particular orchestra is transitory. I consider how competitive relationships may lead to discrimination by the underpinning of alliances and rivalries.

Chapter 9. The key argument throughout this data analysis chapter is that the nature of career-building for the musicians is a complex process. I consider how the data gathered 'about' and 'from' the fixers bring important implications, illuminating ways that the orchestral musicians are dependent not only on themselves but on other people and a wide range of factors.

In Chapter 10, I examine whether the theoretical lens of a prestige economy enables understanding of how this particular group of musicians negotiate their various and changing roles. The orchestra bestows prestige on certain activities and not others, and the musicians have a constant feeling of future obligation. Giving back in kind enables the musicians to trade favors, cultivating reciprocal networks and continuing relationships. Musicians are concerned about recognition, reputation and their standing in the eyes of others. It is not good enough to do something well. It has to be known that one has done it well and indeed better than anyone else.

Summary of the structure of the study

In this chapter, I have set the stage for the study; proposing that life as a professional orchestral musician is inherently competitive, with a ‘huge supply of well-trained classical musicians seeking employment’ (Flanagan, 2012: 89). If the number of well-trained musicians who are seeking work in orchestras exceeds the number of positions available, this brings an incentive for musicians to concern themselves with reputation-building and to present themselves as high value. Enhancing their positions through reputation-building plays an important part in the way that musicians interact, and at the very heart of this is prestige. Prestige can be seen to occur ‘partly through an interaction with others’ (Blackmore, 2016: 20), and therefore this study seeks to consider the role that prestige plays in the lives of individual musicians within their orchestral context. It may be helpful to think of the orchestral context through a range of metaphors:

‘As an organization, an orchestra exists within an exceptionally complex context of stakeholders with diverse and conflicting interests that need to be dealt with for the organization to survive. Internally, the orchestra is characterized by highly specialized tasks executed collectively and with exceptional simultaneity, requiring particularly stable and predictable working frames and trustful working relations between individuals’ (Brettell-Grip, 2009: 1).

Mechanistic aspects of titles, roles, and budgets signal the orchestral context, however this study is concerned with a holistic view of prestige which is actively sought and negotiated through social means. The research question will be reviewed, and links between the research question and conceptual theoretical framework will be made. A detailed discussion of the findings is presented, including whether the idea of a prestige economy provides a means of illuminating the interaction between the individual musician and their social context. I consider the limitations, implications and unique features of the study, with suggestions for further research followed by concluding comments, where I consider the important findings arising from the study in relation to the research question.

Chapter 2- The Orchestra as a System- and Orchestral Musicians

(Context)

Introduction

In this chapter I look to the literature concerning the orchestral context and depict a picture of the orchestra in general terms. First, by reflecting on the symphony orchestra as a 'system' and second by considering some of the 'highly-skilled group of musicians who are at the apex of the professional music pyramid' who work within that system (Cottrell, 2004: 104). Thus, this chapter is divided into two sections.

In the first section, I will look to the literature concerning the symphony orchestra and examine why struggling symphony orchestras need to compete with one another for donations from businesses, arts patrons and philanthropic organizations. In particular, why orchestras need to appear to be worthwhile investments for funding organizations, and how prestige may be seen to be the resource used to ameliorate this problem.

In the second section, I will examine how the literature can illuminate experiences of musicians who work in the orchestral system, and in particular, how the relationship between individuals and their social circumstances have been theorized.

The orchestra as a system

As will be shown in the following chapter, most orchestras face extreme financial challenges and as a result tend to program the same repertoire repeatedly along with other money-saving strategies, which include cutting back on their seasons, reducing pay to musicians, and decreasing their forces. 'The audience at a fine symphony concert might be surprised to learn that no more than half the costs of the concert are payments to the musicians, conductor and guest soloist(s) that they observe on the stage' (Flanagan, 2012: 35).

Brodsky proposes that 'the symphony orchestra is arguably the most significant artistic organization in Western cultures today. Initially established in the mid-nineteenth century, symphony orchestras have provided steady employment for thousands of musicians for over 170 years' (Brodsky, 2006: 673). In this section, I consider the musicians as the team necessary for the functioning of an orchestral organization, whose members are 'a model of

interdependency' (Shaw, 2004: 11). Consideration of Bernard's account of an organization as a 'system' enables us to consider the musicians accomplishing the common purpose of being part of the orchestra, co-operating as 'purely functional aspects, as phases of co-operation' (Bernard, 1938: 16). I take Bernard's idea forward in chapter five through the examination of Hughes' notion of historic institutions. However, in this chapter I look to Bernard's view and additionally Mangham's notion that a system is a 'product of thousands of pieces of individual behavior' (Mangham, 1988: 4). Mangham's central argument is that identities, roles and goals make up a system, and I draw from that literature to consider the notion of musicians as facets within a system in the context of the symphony orchestra, along with the notion of identity in more general terms.

In first consideration of the orchestra as a system, one could consider that those in an organization simultaneously and interactively construct knowledge within their environment since 'the mind acquires knowledge about its surroundings' (Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977: 606). Ramnarine's notion is that the orchestra is a 'microcosm of society', which I consider a useful metaphor for this study to explore relationships of 'the social world in miniature' (Ramnarine, 2012: 327). Faulkner proposes that the orchestra is simply an 'exemplary model of collective action' (Faulkner, 1973: 56). Yet it is Small's (1994) view of the orchestra as an economic model of enterprise that I turn to. Small proposes that the orchestra creates a product (the concert) by marketing it to customers (the audience) under the direction of a tycoon (the conductor). The goal for a symphony orchestra is to 'present orchestra concerts in a dedicated space, on consideration of a paid ticket' (Holoman, 2012: 1). These references suggest an industrialized society where groups of individuals are connected into a system, under the 'superior authority of the conductor' (Small, 1994: 60–1). From an interactionist's perspective we can view the orchestra as a 'joint or collective action of a group or organization' (Mangham, 188: 47) and 'an enterprise of complexity' (Holoman, 2012: 17). Individual musicians influence the local and wider context and can shape structures, but are also shaped by them. For example, the conductor's work 'lies in granting his people permission to get the job done' (Shaw, 2004: 11) whilst additionally 'other non-players have duties to perform' (Davis, 2004: 187).

Non-players include the organizational artistic leadership and decision-making of a symphony orchestra, which includes:

The executive board, orchestral management, stage management, sound technicians, recording producers, librarians, audition assistants, fixers, scheduling and recruitment staff, education and community projects staff coordinators; administrators, legal and accounting personnel, box office managers, music hirers, stagehands, roadies, piano/organ tuners, office-space staff, insurance agents, advertising and marketing teams, fundraising teams, travel and touring personnel, and so forth.

As Cottrell describes, 'symphony orchestras may have upwards of 80 players' (Cottrell, 2004: 109) and Bahn, and Hahn, and Trueman clarify that 'although the basic orchestra sections within an orchestra are fairly commonly known, the specific hierarchy of musicians is perhaps less well known' (Bahn, and Hahn, and Trueman, 2001: 2). Principal players of each section are paid slightly more than the other members of the section because of the added responsibilities associated with the role. For example, it is common for a principal percussionist to be paid 25% more than the other members of the section.

String Section: Leader, Co-leader, Principal 2nd violin, Violins, Principal viola, Violas, Principal Cello, Cellos, Principal Double Bass and Double Basses.

Woodwind Section: 1st Flute, 2nd Flute, Piccolo, 1st Oboe, 2nd Oboe, Cor Anglais, 1st Clarinet, 2nd Clarinet, Bass Clarinet, 1st Bassoon, 2nd Bassoon and Contrabassoon.

Brass Section: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and bumper French Horns, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and bumper Trumpets, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and Bass Trombones, and Tuba.

The string players who are not section leaders are known as rank and file.

The Co-leader has a job with specific responsibilities, i.e. tuning the orchestra.

The principal oboist plays the tuning note 'A' to the whole orchestra.

Percussion Section: The principal percussionist has the responsibility for deciding which members of the section will play what instruments. For example, The 1812 Overture by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky needs timpani and snare drum, bass drum, cymbals, tambourine, triangle, bells and cannons.

Certain instruments can be grouped together, and are easily played by one player. For example, player 1 can play both the snare drum and the tambourine, player 2 can play the cymbals, player 3 can play the bass drum and player 4 can play the triangle and the bells. It is sometimes necessary for two percussion players to play the same instrument at different times in a piece (e.g. Samuel Barber's *Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance*), in which case there will be more than one principal percussionist being paid a principal's fee.

In order to perform 'the repertoire that forms the backbone of orchestral work' (Gilling, 2014: 111) there are a wide variety of 'extra' orchestral instrumentalists needed, such as Eb clarinet, saxophone and various other wind, brass and percussion instruments, orchestral keyboards such as celeste, harpsichord, organ, and harp; these musicians are known as 'extras'.

The wage agreements of salary-paying orchestras do not tend to be publicly available but it is possible to purchase their annual financial statements. The majority of London orchestras who employ musicians on a freelance basis subscribe to the pay agreement of the Association of British Orchestras (<http://www.abo.org.uk/>, 2017). This provides the minimum basic rates that individual orchestras may exceed if they wish. Under the guidelines of the ABO freelance agreement musicians get paid a flat rate for a concert plus rehearsal, half-rate for extra rehearsals and doubling fees for those who play more than one instrument, such as flute and piccolo. In addition, there are various allowances for expenses such as travel, congestion charge, subsistence, instrument portage and so on.

Orchestras secure income by maximizing their assets and cautiously managing budgets, increasing the variety of repertoire and negotiating private sponsorship such as bequests. In addition, income is generated from ticket sales, broadcasting fees, royalties, foreign tours and recordings. Sometimes 'project funding' or 'flexible funding' from local authorities may be available. Cottrell suggests that 'funding to the orchestras and opera houses seems perpetually cut back, and audiences appear increasingly difficult to attract for anything except the most popular events involving the most highly promoted (and expensive) conductors and soloists' (Cottrell, 2004: 192). Turning to funding and economic issues in the following section, I consider a range of fund-raising strategies including non-performance income from government subsidies, philanthropy and other financial support.

Funding

Ander (2000) points to a key aspect in the shift of professional orchestras from the end of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century, when a tendency emerged for players to specialize on one single instrument rather than to play several, as was previously the norm. Orchestras prior to the second half of the nineteenth century were entirely funded by wealthy patrons both in Europe and in the United States, such as 'the Queen's Hall Orchestra Promenade Concerts from 1895- 1930' (Langley, 2007: 35) which were sponsored by the banking industry. However, since then 'the nature of patronage has changed' (Flanagan, 2012: 144). Lebrecht gives the example that in 1992 the Arts Council of Great Britain engaged one hundred and seventy-five Arts Council employees to distribute one hundred and ninety-four million pounds (Lebrecht, 1997: 191).

Symphony orchestras face intense competition for funding from a variety of sources and this has led to major economic challenges. The need to compete with other orchestras for donations from businesses, arts patrons, and philanthropic organizations means that they are driven by the need to appear to be worthwhile investments for funding organizations; and yet the ways in which funding organizations consider how to assess an orchestra for sponsorship are not straightforward. Competition between performing arts organizations for donations brings into question 'idiosyncratic decision making about which qualities should be assessed' (Flanagan, 2012: 121). For example, audiences, critics, musicologists, arts organizations and funding bodies assess varying aspects, such as the quantity of recordings whether downloaded or sold, the extensiveness of repertoire offered by orchestras, the quantity of concerts performed, tours undertaken, critiques and reviews, and to what extent orchestras are visually innovative or educational.

Thus, Flanagan suggests that the reason each orchestra needs their institution to be considered to be of the highest possible standing internationally, is because their orchestral boards will be bidding for funding from sponsors worldwide creating 'competition between performing arts organizations for donations' (Flanagan, 2012: 121). Meanwhile, this competition also creates economic challenges for many smaller orchestras encountering serious financial hardship, because the sponsors seek out the best orchestras to affiliate themselves; 'rich men like to back winners' (Lebrecht, 1997: 396) and therefore the orchestras need to gain an advantage over one another. Thus, it is important to recognize that prestige drives this

funding aspect of the orchestral world, which, as we will see later in this chapter, inevitably leads to repercussions for the musicians.

Economic challenges

Orchestras are 'not-for-profit organizations', which although broadly speaking means that their purpose is not to make a profit and may seem self-explanatory, not-for-profit organizations are likely to face particular economic challenges, which Schwenk (1990) suggests is because the purpose of the organization is not to make a profit but to concentrate efforts elsewhere. Lebrecht proposes that 'knowing there is no possibility of profits in classical music, they concentrate their efforts in minimizing losses' (Lebrecht, 1997: 192). It is clear that orchestras face economic challenges and are 'surely in crisis' (Holoman, 2012: 17). Guest soloists, music directors and principal guest conductors demand huge economic resources, and whilst putting their prestigious stamp on an orchestra this makes orchestras expensive to fund. Cottrell describes how 'in recent years, the London orchestras particularly, in a bid to halt decline in audience numbers for their London concerts, have examined various ways in which these concerts might be made more attractive' (Cottrell, 2004: 167).

Specific economic challenges are influenced by the structure of the music industry that is 'rattling under the forces of technological change' owing to 'increased competition, rapidly shifting public tastes and the globalization of music' (Lathrop, 2003: 3). Lathrop describes the way that 'free' downloading of recordings on the internet has decreased live-concert audience size, contributing to economic challenges in terms of fewer tickets purchased for live orchestral performances. In recent years, the income from orchestral recordings has also declined as record labels have suffered from the technological development of Napster (Lathrop 2003, Kusek and Gerd 2005).

In 1988, the British copyright system introduced rights for performers through the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/48/contents). However, contractual arrangements have barely altered since the introduction of these rights owing to the complicated nature of technological developments and the exploitation by digital service providers like Spotify and YouTube. Since then, vast computer-generated libraries of tens of millions of tracks are accessible by leading P2P exchanges, resulting in far fewer CD titles recorded and sold, thus economic challenges for orchestras. As Lebrecht describes, 'Eighty CDs of Beethoven's fifth symphony meant that there is no incentive to record such masterpieces ever again' (Lebrecht, 1997: 397). It is easy to understand why the digital

distribution of music, whether legal or not, is so appealing to its users since the internet offer of P2P file sharing programs is completely free for exchanging music, video and other files over the internet. However, this development of technologies affect music distribution and promotion, enabling listeners to choose from a considerable selection of music online, and to copy them to personal hard drives (www.thepicky.com, accessed online February 2017). This has obvious repercussions for orchestras because since the mid-1920s, recordings have been a steady and substantial source of income for symphony orchestras. The effect of an abrupt change of direction on the economics of the orchestral business has been devastating' (Morisson, 2004: 233). For example, soundtrack recordings are outsourced to lower-wage countries and are threatened by a variety of internal influences, including competition from inside the industry. These include pressure from 'undercutting' by Eastern European orchestras' (Doulton, Forrester and Lloyd, 2002) where 'composers of commercial music are sometimes expected to do their work without pay' (Davis, 2004: 186) or for an 'honorarium or desultory wage' (Holoman, 2012: 18). Further, Davis suggests that 'in times of financial difficulty, the usual pattern is for orchestras to shorten their seasons and scale back productions'. This increases the extent to which many smaller orchestras are likely to appear to be in serious financial difficulty and until then people who go to concerts are 'probably not aware of the instability and financial vulnerability of orchestras' (Davis, 2004: 185).

Competition for financial support results in many orchestras, composers and musicians worldwide experiencing severe financial hardship, and while few orchestras run financial surpluses, the majority run deficits. In order to examine why this might be, Flanagan analyzed fifty symphony orchestras over nineteen years in the United States, examining concert performance revenues from ticket sales and broadcasts, noting that 'since 1989, a dozen significant U.S. symphony orchestras ceased operations' (Flanagan, 2012: 85). Flanagan's analysis established that 'no symphony orchestra earns enough from performances to cover its performance expenses' (Flanagan, 2012: 6). Flanagan claims that 'the revenues collected from concert ticket sales, broadcasting and recordings have fallen short of the expenses of presenting orchestra concerts, for over a century' (Flanagan, 2012: 16).

There has been no shortage of debate concerning the demise of classical music and the threat of external influences, including changes in music education, changes in the broadcasting and recording industries, pressures of multiculturalism and diversity, the dominance of pop culture and urban economic development. Cottrell proposes that classical music must compete 'for

its slice of the ever-diminishing public subsidy pie' (Cottrell, 2004: 192). The need to deal with accountability is fundamental in every organization's struggle to survive. When external demands must be fulfilled in order to receive necessary funding the organization continuously has to adapt internal processes and outputs to meet those demands. For example, Brettel-Grip's (2009) study of a British chamber orchestra finds that external accountabilities influence an organization's identity, its funding and future possible directions. Furthermore, many orchestras are vulnerable to 'planned mergers, financial deficits, or even bankruptcy' (www.parliament.uk, accessed online February 2017).

At the heart of this debate is the notion that orchestras themselves are unclear about their own missions, and the very nature of orchestral repertoire may be seen to be outdated and therefore contribute to the economic challenge. For example, it could be argued that only the very wealthy are able to afford the highest level of performance inside opera houses and this is 'kept alive by corporate funds' (Lebrecht, 1997: 396). Holoman explains that 'the orchestral repertoire necessarily pivots around Beethoven and Brahms, since the orchestra itself is defined by their work and, conversely, their work in terms of its pursuit of the symphonic ideal' (Holoman, 2012: 76). Bourdieu's proposition is that 'bourgeois musical taste in classical concerts is linked to social class' (Bourdieu, 1984: 19), since classical concert-going is an activity of the upper and middle classes whereas 'popular' music is made for the masses' (Bourdieu, 1984: 16). This idea links Martin's view that social stratification and musical styles involve 'prestigious patterns of cultural consumption' (Martin, 2006: 84). Digital technologies can enable listeners to digitally step into studio-mixing processes at a global level (Ramnarine, 2012: 332) and yet Holoman doubts whether 'the iPod and the internet put the orchestra on everybody's playlists' (Holoman, 2012: 17).

Orchestras vary in size and wealth, and their economic health depends on a number of variable factors, such as escalating orchestral and marketing expenditures, the location of the orchestra, the economic circumstances of arts patrons and ticket pricing strategies. Flanagan clarifies that different types of audiences are charged different prices to maximize revenues, labelled by economists as 'price discrimination strategies' (Flanagan, 2012: 49). However, this is not always successful as Lebrecht notes, when 'the central rows are reserved for corporate guests while young music lovers can afford only the remoter regions, leaving them feeling less involved, less enraptured and less likely to return' (Lebrecht, 1997: 25). Undoubtedly, there are demographic challenges about who is financially able, or willing to be

included in classical music concert-going, with clear 'cultural barriers sustained through high ticket prices' (Blackmore, 2016), especially for London where traffic and parking discourage audiences from attending concerts, adding to reasons why orchestras playing to halls 'that are habitually half-empty' (Lebrecht, 1997: xiii).

The orchestra- conclusion

Having examined the literature concerning the ways orchestras compete with one another for funding, I conclude that there is much to be learned about prestige in this context. The orchestra clearly exists in a world of limited resources and, whilst it needs to compete for its place artistically, it is essential to 'target certain sectors of the population and bring in new audiences' (Ramnarine, 2012: 330). New audiences help sustain an increasingly competitive music sector, where the costly market of conductors, soloists, and musicians needs to be maintained. As Brettel-Grip suggests, 'it is the money and resources that provide stability and sets an orchestra on a course of ever-increasing excellence' (Brettel-Grip, 2009: 5). The decisions of repertoire chosen by the orchestral management are vital if orchestras are to preserve the classical musical tradition, and yet with demands of fundraising and organizational development, the orchestral management finds it necessary to allow its commercial interests to undermine artistic goals. Prestige clearly influences the orchestral context, insofar as the prosperity of an orchestra is likely to create an impact on the working conditions and experiences of the professional orchestral musicians. Poor ticket sales directly affect the musicians whose livelihood depends on the orchestras attracting an audience. It is in this highly competitive context that prestige can be seen to be a key factor in the commercial operations of orchestras and of musicians.

Orchestral Musicians

Having used the term 'professional', I now turn to the literature to consider what the term professional might mean in the orchestral context. For example, how the professional expertise of the orchestral musician may be distinct from any other expertise, grounded in its own specific technical knowledge and professional practice. I then look to the literature surrounding issues of orchestral professionalism in terms of prestige. In summation, I consider the literature surrounding issues of orchestral musicians concerning their professional world, and 'the culture in which musicians live and participate' (Service, 2012: 275).

Being a professional

When reflecting on what is meant by a professional, I argue that it is important to acknowledge that although musicians have had extensive training in playing their musical instrument, they are not trained in other aspects of being a professional musician. In chapter 5 I draw from Hughes (1993) and his notion that that professional identity derives from, and is embodied in the occupation and its organization and through social interaction as an evolving process. However, here I turn to the more static view of Davis, who states that 'If you are curious about taking up a career in an orchestra, it is imperative for you to understand how the profession works' (Davis, 2006: 4). As an abstract, the concept of 'being a professional' is problematic and complicated to define, for example, Dall'Alba believes that learning to be a professional 'not only includes knowledge and skills, but also entails the development of professional ways of being in interplay with prevailing traditions of practice' (Dall'Alba, 2009: 73). Certainly, one could argue that for musicians there is an ever-changing interplay with prevailing traditions of practice, especially for those who are self-employed; thus, Eraut's valid point is that all of the professions 'are a group of occupations, the boundary of which is ill-defined' (Eraut, 1994: 1). In consequence, I would agree with Cottrell, who suggests that the concept of professional is 'thorny' (Cottrell, 2004: 9). Martin, prefers the notion that work consists of tasks that must be accomplished in order for it to be performed, and in the everyday sense, 'people make their living by doing it' (Martin, 1995: 206). Orchestral musicians make their living by being musicians, yet with the shared and collective action of the whole orchestral group. Thus, I suggest that we can view musicians as being separate whilst also intertwining.

Professional musicians do not have full control over entry to and exit from their profession, and there is no recognized method of promotion through the ranks. Therefore, although professional musicians have to act in a highly professional way, their position as a professional is uncertain. The process of employment for a London professional orchestral musician requires colleagues to pass a judgement, either through an audition or by word of mouth. The skill is not simply a matter of playing a musical instrument well, for example, 'the panel is looking to see what you communicate when you first walk into the audition room or onto the stage; assuredness, generosity of character and a philosophical attitude influence the outcomes of the audition' (Legge, 1990: 3). Goffman's view is that 'professionalism' is about the way the task is performed and not necessarily the

‘characteristics of the performer’ (Goffman, 1959: 83). However, arguably for orchestral musicians the characteristics of the performer are vital. For example, after an audition, several of the successful candidates will be chosen for a probationary trial period, and eventually one musician is decided upon out of perhaps four or five. As Flanagan explains, a professional musician needs to develop skills specific for each orchestra, for example, ‘accommodating personal performance style to the style of the orchestra’s particular mix of musicians and the regular conductor’ (Flanagan, 20012: 65). Each orchestra is looking for the musician who best fits in, and whilst Flanagan believes that ‘the design of audition procedures influences the extent to which merit triumphs over favoritism in the selection of professional musicians’ (Flanagan, 2012: 65), however, I would suggest that the empirical data suggests otherwise.

In order to play professionally in an orchestra, musicians are expected to ‘develop ensemble-specific skills’ (Flanagan, 2012: 65) performing at the highest levels of achievement in technique, tone quality, rhythm, intonation, articulation, artistry etc., and are assessed in concert situations as well as orchestral auditions. Davis claims that if you ask any section leader, and especially the woodwind principals, to list the commonest problems, those emphasized will be blending, use of vibrato, care of note endings, intonation, articulation, rhythmical ensemble skill and dynamics, and he proposes that professional musicians are ‘intolerant towards those who haven’t a clue’ (Davis, 2006: 111). As a consequence, Davis alleges that ‘worrying is a major problem for musicians. It is possible to worry all day long about the problems and stresses of orchestral life’ (Davis, 2006: 118). He claims that musicians are required to work on improving their technical facility for the whole of their professional lives, and anxiety is a nervous reaction to the tensions of performing. He explains that in his experience there are outstanding musicians who take beta-blockers to help them ‘steady their nerves’, and he suggests that ‘there is no data on the percentage of players who use them, because ‘few people are willing to admit that they need drugs to perform’ (Davis, 2006: 125). Additionally, there are constantly new musical demands required from the musicians: ideas, repertoire, and ways of doing things, where professional musicians in London ‘can be called upon to perform in many different musical styles’ (Cottrell, 2004: 53). Therefore, in order to achieve the very high level of skills of being capable of playing flawlessly, the musician will be spending many hours dedicated to practice.

Professional orchestral musicians working in London may be regarded as relatively poorly paid taking into account the high cost of housing, the length of training, lack of job

security, and unsocial hours. The average rank and file orchestral string player earns approximately £40,000 per annum (Musicians' Union, 2017), and as we have learned there is no explicit code of conduct in the variety of ways a musician is hired. In the case of the freelance musician there is rarely an audition process, rather there will be a range of strong implicit trust-based invitations, and 'their name is added to the orchestral manager's list as to when the musician should be booked' (Flanagan, 2012: 205). The musician will be telephoned and 'booked' for work informally by a fixer, without a contract, and paid by the three-hour session. As Flanagan points out, this encourages musicians to work many sessions in a day in order to maintain financial security, if for no other reason than to prevent someone else encroaching on the work, since 'the dominating feature of the labor market for professional symphony musicians is the huge supply of well-trained classical musicians seeking employment' (Flanagan, 2012: 89). Thus, musicians need to build a reputation over time with orchestral managers, and many musicians join a diary service, which spreads the word to fixers. Davis explains that the diary service acts as an intermediary, by 'letting fixers know whether you may be able to accept work' (Davis, 2004: 218).

Davis considers that 'an accumulation of wealth has not usually been part of the equation for the intellectual and gifted musician' (Davis, 2004: 185). A professional orchestral musician working at a London concert hall tends to rehearse from 2.30pm-5.30pm and perform in the concert at 7.30pm, earning on average £101.75 (<http://www.abo.org.uk/>, 2017). The fee is a set rate of pay negotiated by the Musicians' Union and is the same fee whether the musician is just at the beginning of a musical career or has had many years' experience. Thus, we see that although there is regulation of payment by the Musicians' Union, this is not a regulated profession.

In sum, it seems that being paid for work reinforces a musician's self-image as a professional musician and preserves a sense of group identity of being professional musicians. This differentiates the group of musicians from the rest of society; sharing a range of ideas, resources, documents, routines, vocabulary and symbols, and further, setting the professional musicians from the non-professionals. Yet, in returning to the question of what is meant as a professional musician, Hughes simply suggests that 'Professionals profess. They profess to know better than others, the nature of certain matters' (Hughes, 1993: 375).

The management of identity

Brettell-Grip describes the way that, unlike other professionals, musicians have been trained since they were young, suggesting ‘the tradition of playing in an orchestra, the rules and routines of the orchestra, its repertoire, as well as the instrumental skill, are all taught in a long and devoted musical education, often beginning around the age of six or seven. Sharing that background is an important part of a musician’s identity and it creates a lifestyle’ (Brettell-Grip, 2009: 157). An interesting proposition is that when people project identities for themselves and for each other, they convey ‘an image of who it is they wish to be taken for, in a particular encounter’ (Mangham, 1988: 37). Mangham, with his interactionist stance considers that ‘individuals may be seen as uniquely self-aware beings, who define, designate, evaluate, plan and organize their actions through a process of internal conversations’ (Mangham, 1988: 31). Underlying this argument is the idea that people have a role identity, and people may copy those who have been successful in their role on the grounds that they are likely to have made correct decisions. Thus, the implication is that a person chooses to do what a successful person does because ‘the payoff to him from doing what he does, is greater than the payoff available from any other course of action’ (*sic*) (Mangham, 1988: 31).

‘Identity’ is a concept with a vast amount of surrounding literature, and there are many different ways of approaching its study, along with a wide range of competing definitions. Jorgensen, for example, describes identity as an ‘imaginary construction, an ambiguous, fuzzy, and complex notion that is subjective and objective, individual and collective, normative and descriptive’ (Jorgensen, 2003: 31). However, in this study I prefer to look to the interactionist perspective of identity (chapter 5) to examine what might be meant by ‘the capacity to observe, interpret, construct and direct one’s own behavior’ (Mangham, 1988: 92).

In the view of Elias and Scotson, individuals are not independent of each other, rather ‘the internal opinion of any group with a high deal of cohesion has a profound influence upon its members as a regulating force of their sentiments and their conduct’ (Elias & Scotson, 1994: xxxix). Identities are continually being constructed in the adjustment through discourse, arising through the constant changeability of experience, which Martin describes as ‘the processes of collaborative social interaction’ (Martin, 1995: 160). Like any other conventions, orchestral conventions bind the musicians together through co-operation, and help to facilitate relationships and trust. This is seen, as Davis explains, in the way that ‘each player is continuously making millions of adjustments aurally, visually, emotionally and physically, and

combining their collective talents into one organism' (Davis, 2004: 3).

Musicians may find themselves in competition with colleagues who share common values, for example, the recognition of other people's skill and musical work that is highly valued, in a 'hierarchy of authority among musicians' (Flanagan, 2012: 72). Competition takes many forms (chapters 3 and 4), such as stereotype and factions within the orchestral sections. Reasons for this include the variations of pay scale, as 'musicians playing the same instrument in an orchestra may receive significantly different salaries' (Flanagan, 2012: 71). Interestingly, the 'orchestral managers receive about four times the annual salary of musicians receiving the minimum scale' (Flanagan, 2012: 76).

There is a variety of ways that hierarchical relationships in orchestras have a direct impact on a musician's work, and these will be further examined through the study. However, in the first instance if London orchestras do not remunerate their musicians adequately there are many other non-orchestral sectors enticing high-level professional musicians away from the orchestral world to other professional fields. For example, other performing groups in the United Kingdom and abroad, university and conservatoire positions, other segments of the music industry, and symphony orchestra management positions. Cottrell explains that the 'relatively low incomes most musicians achieve when set against their skill levels and the extensive training they undertake' mean that not only are orchestral musicians required to be more productive overall, but also opportunities need to be cultivated in order to create work. Examples given by Cottrell include an orchestral wind player retraining to be a schoolteacher, and another who 'has retrained to be a lawyer' (Cottrell, 2004: 191). For an orchestral musician there is little financial benefit in working for just one orchestra, since it is possible to accrue additional financial capital by freelancing elsewhere, teaching, examining and by being more productive overall; or as Kemp suggests, musicians take all work that is on offer 'purely for the purpose of making a living' (Kemp, 1996: 183).

In terms of making a living, Odam & Bannan propose that only the musicians operating at the highest level of excellence are offered potential prospects of work such as professorships in London Conservatoires (Odam & Bannan, 2005: 19). Conservatoires are considered 'Centres of Excellence' (Odam & Bannan, 2005: 21) and consequently musicians who are professors in conservatoires are also likely to be considered excellent. In this way, we can see how prestige is explicit in that it is tangible, and can be seen to lead to further prestige, and likely further work opportunities. Prestige appears to play an important part in building more opportunities that

arise from association with prestigious things. Thus in sum, the literature points to the way that professional musicians in the management of their identity are at the same time are managing their reputation, thus their prestige. Inversely, in the management of reputation and prestige, musicians are at the same time managing their identity.

Identity and a psychological perspective of stereotype

One could argue that in a study such as this, it could be construed as problematic to overlook the psychological literature concerning identity, since a diverse psychological literature concerns itself specifically with the identity of musicians. For example, Tobaxyk and Downs (1986) suggest that 'personal qualities' affect performance capabilities, insofar as musical expression is a reflection of an individual and unique communication. Dews and Williams (1989) propose that musicians convey their identity according to their feelings of 'self-esteem' concerning their performance capabilities, because the more established the skill, the more confident the player. Additionally, Manturzevska claims that 'the professional development of musicians is strongly influenced by both socio-cultural and biological factors' (Manturzevska, 1990: 112), with the biological factors referring to 'exceptional musical ability and giftedness' (Manturzevska, 1990: 133).

This literature could lead to lead to digressions, however in this section I briefly turn to Kemp's (2006) psychological study concerning stereotypical aspects of orchestral musicians, which, I argue is seminal in the field of my enquiry. Although the idea of stereotyping is in itself contentious in that it has been associated with oversimplifications about groups of people, Schneider argues strongly for its importance. The suggestion is that 'to give up the capacity to form stereotypes we would probably have to give up our capacity to generalize, and that is a trade none of us should be willing to make' (Schneider, 2004: 8).

Kemp's endeavor to investigate personality traits of Western classical instrumental performers comprised a large group of musicians in order to examine 'what kind of people they are' (Kemp, 1996: vii). Kemp proposes that whatever complex technical skills the musicians need to develop, they are driven by their own particular personality predispositions (Kemp, 1996: 33). While these generalizations are questionable, the interest for this study is that Kemp identifies that musicians need to be both independent in order to cope with solitary practice, and yet able to cope with the demands of public performance (Kemp, 1996: 51).

Therefore, I take note from Kemp's proposition that whilst some musicians may be distinctly introverted, there is a boldness, which arises not only from their considerable inner strengths, but also from their sense of independence. Additionally, he suggests that 'specific musical identities are derived from the instrument the musician chooses to play' (Kemp, 1996: 164). For example, orchestral players of strings, woodwind, brass and percussion are seen as having distinctive personality traits that reinforces the stereotypical views that groups of musicians have of each other (Kemp, 1996: 144). Kemp sweepingly claims that orchestral string players are likely to be introvert, brass players extrovert and woodwind players imaginative; suggesting that what emerges from his research is a 'description of the types of personality initially drawn into music' (Kemp, 1996: viii). Furthermore, the self-conception of musician colleagues sometimes refers early music specialists as 'open-toed sandal brigade or the wholemeal bread lot' (Cottrell, 2004: 132).

Hughes also describes members of groups who appear to have combinations of group characteristics as 'stereotypes' (Hughes, 1993: 223) giving the explanation that spoken and unspoken rules are established by members of the group to maintain the well-being of both the individuals and the group (Hughes, 1993: 97). We will see from the empirical data that genuine or fabricated anecdotes are told and retold, underpinning a stereotypical pre-established pattern of joke telling. Cottrell proposes that 'possessing a sense of humor can be a significant component of the stereotypes we construct both of ourselves and of others' (Cottrell, 2004: 132). This sets the scene for the calculated or uncalculated manipulation of true or false concealment of true feelings, because, for example, the people listening to the joke or anecdote-telling may feel obliged to respond with surface agreement which is not necessarily a real agreement, but is used as a social politeness and to avoid conflict.

One could argue that social politeness maintains the well-being of both the individuals and the group through shared experience because individual identities contribute to group identities. Hughes suggests that 'it is in the colleague-group or fellow-worker group that the expectations concerning appropriate auxiliary characteristics are worked most intricately into sentiment and conduct. They become, in fact, the basis of the colleague-group's definition of its common interests, of its informal code, and of selection of those who become the inner fraternity' (Hughes, 1990: 144). The notion of an 'inner fraternity' may explain the vast numbers of websites dedicated to specific musician jokes, singling out particular musicians as objects of ridicule. Becker recognizes that musicians feel 'different

from, and better than, other kinds of people' (Becker, 1973: 86), and yet viola players, banjo players, trombonists and, to an extent, bassists are on the receiving end of mockery such as 'the in-jokes, ironies, jargon, associations, relations, style, and appearance, which an outsider may find it difficult to understand' (Stålhammar, 2006: 127-8).

Interestingly, a sophisticated knowledge is required in order to understand these sorts of musical jokes, which implies that they are based on observations of, and assumptions about, musicians, made by musicians. For example:

Why do viola players put a cloth between their chin and their instrument?

Violas don't have spit valves.

This joke needs the listener to know that viola players are perceived to be not in control of themselves and may dribble; and that brass instruments have spit valves. Thus, clearly musicians need to be able to fit in and 'behave socially in certain well-defined ways, because they are musicians, and their behavior is shaped both by their own self-image and by the expectations and stereotypes of the musicianly role as seen by society at large' (Merriam, 1992: 123). Yet, a symphony orchestra has over one hundred musicians and somehow 'orchestral musicians need to be team players' (Davis, 2004: 15). Therefore, an orchestra involves a community of professional musicians, who need to fit in and be acknowledged as part of the group, 'intentionally or unintentionally creating an impression by the way they express themselves in the presence of others' (Hughes, 1993: 339). For example, percussion instruments have different names in different languages and are referred to by percussionists in their native tongue; i.e. in French, the word for Tambourine is Tambour de Basque, but the word for Field drum is Tambour. Consequently, we see specialist discourse amongst orchestral sectional communities who need to demonstrate to one another that they effortlessly fit in.

In the next section, I shall consider the ways musicians fit in to their orchestral world, and the 'strategies and negotiations they employ' (Cottrell, 2004: 8). Hughes explains that in order for the community to approve of what they do, people take into account what people value, and they 'manage their environment so that what is broadly valued and rewarded becomes normative practice' (Hughes, 1993: 223). Thus, he proposes that an individual is moved to achieve particular things to become the person they wish to be, and this can arguably be seen as the deeply rooted and enduring feature of reputation-building.

Networking and reciprocity

A distinctive aspect of the London orchestral world is that numerous orchestral musicians work for a variety of orchestras. As mentioned previously, the vast majority of London orchestras are either freelance or self-governing. The majority of concerts rely on extra players for large works, and replacement musicians for the unavailable. Therefore, the majority of the musicians work on a freelance basis, which means that orchestral players are continually competing for jobs in the immediate future. Extra players and replacement players (known as deputies or deps) have to adjust and fit in, in highly specialized social and musical environments, with a wide variety of groups for a sophisticated level of music-making.

Cottrell suggests that 'standards are very exacting and, for freelance players, which most musicians are, there is always the underlying fear that too many mistakes may result in lost work' (Cottrell, 2004: 140). The sense of communal identity makes it more straightforward for the extra musicians to fit in and know what to do in. Therefore, taking the assumption that self-identity is shaped by multiple images of who we should be (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) it is likely that with each orchestral performance the extra musicians behave as though they strongly identify with the organization's objectives in the interest of the group. Extras and deps are often defining themselves through their relationship with differing social groups, and this involves what Pratt (1998) calls internalization of the organizations' values and beliefs.

Orchestral work in London is acquired via audition, or through the fixer, or directly or indirectly through personal recommendations. Work is passed on from player to player, and the extras or deps that are chosen are considered by their 'measure of desirability', and their measure of desirability is helpfully described by Cottrell as musical capital, 'which can be accrued throughout a musician's career' (Cottrell, 2004: 66). Furthermore, there is always an unspoken obligation to return the favor to the colleague who is the recommender for work. Heald describes networking as 'cultivating people, currying favor with those who can do you favors in return' (Heald, 1983: 212). Co-operative interactions concerning work are spread through good will and amicability, and always in conjunction with the expectation that the 'giver' will be repaid a value that will balance out over time by having the favor returned. Thus the greater the number and quality of relationships that are made, the steadier the work is likely to be.

It seems that reciprocity is a key contributor to networking for the orchestral musicians in London, since it enables the possessor of various social capital the potential of building the opportunity for work. The deputy relationship groups can become network cliques, passing work from one to another and excluding outsiders. Becker describes people in network cliques as bound together by ties of mutual obligation (Becker, 1963: 104). However, underlying this is the way that people strategically negotiate their personal social networks because as Whitfield proposes, 'making use' of friends, families and other contacts enhances opportunities of getting ahead' (Whitfield, 2012: 70). And yet, as Heald suggests, the most effective networking needs the pretense of informality and happenstance in order to avoid resentment because, he says, successful networking is most successful when it is not obvious; there has to be a pretense of 'discretion and effortlessness' (Heald, 1983: 195). Effortless networking involves having many associations with cliques, which insures that one has many friends who will recommend them to the right people.

The musicians must be adaptable and expert team players, and yet, as has been previously mentioned, 'must stand out more sharply than others' (Merriam, 1992: 124). Musicians need contacts, and networks of families, friends and acquaintances, just like anybody else. Bascom's (1948) anthropological idea that reciprocal gift exchange, of giving something significant to somebody important and receiving something in return, shows how exchange is linked to an economy of prestige. The process of accumulating particular types of capital involving anthropological theories of reciprocity will be discussed later (in chapter 3), but here I consider the way that whilst deriving a network of social relationships to get on well with one's colleagues, at the same time the musicians are competing with one another, establishing which player is more employable than another.

Field (2003) describes ways that people are able to use their own networks, for example by using family connections through kinship. If people share values they are more likely to achieve mutual goals, however just knowing people is not enough if they do not feel obliged to help you. Field proposes that social networks become problematic for some, because although kinship groups 'include and enable', some ensure that others are excluded. Furthermore, the 'connections bring obligations to other people, but by the same token those people then acquire obligations to you' (Field, 2003: 3). This sort of informal networking may lead to people who are intent on cooperating for a particular purpose which they may or may not achieve, 'but find that they have also produced effects

that they had not originally bargained for, and possibly did not desire' (Field, 2003: 95). Consequently, we see how networking can serve many purposes, for example, to avoid frictions, to make oneself well thought of by colleagues in order to be considered for future work, and serving to exclude.

Musicians need to cultivate a system of exchange, which relies on networks and networking with one another, or friends, or family members or other contacts for advancement. Clearly orchestral musicians work as a relatively large team amongst small and large groups of people who come from different backgrounds, and they need to get along with people who may be difficult to get along with. Fromm (1994) describes conventions of sharing and engaging in meaningful, creative and productive activity as the mode of being, so that when each individual group member practices highly specialized tasks they need to work simultaneously and with extreme precision for a common purpose.

The social environment is a complicated world for the 'extras' and deputies, as expectations and understandings of what are normal practices, behaviors and customs in a given context changes from engagement to engagement. For example, as Cottrell points out, there are many situations where the ability to produce unspectacular but efficient performances night after night is essential. He gives the example of 'a touring ballet, where the ability to reproduce the music night after night, without letting than standards slip, is what is required' (Cottrell, 2004: 113).

In sum, the literature points to the way that 'an occupation is not merely a bundle of tasks, but a social role, a part one plays in a drama' (Hughes, 1993: 314). In order to gain advantage, the musicians indicate that they carry attributes that others do not, by discreetly publicizing their abilities, by co-operating within groups and by making it known that they have spare work to offer. As Whitfield describes, 'we filter and spin in the way that we think will best serve our own interests' (Whitfield, 2012: 70), and the relationship between the individual musicians and the orchestral community is significant. Our sense of who we are is influenced by what we think of others and what others think of us, and to be perceived as prestigious is clearly an asset in terms of networking and reciprocal work exchange.

Networking and unequal practice

When considering the nature of the lives of orchestral musicians one must consider those musicians who, for whatever reason, are less likely to be connected or less well-networked than those who have prestige. One could suggest Mangham's proposition that 'we all have a marked degree of self-interest in any activity undertaken: what's in it for me, and how can I maximize my returns, economic, social or whatever' (Mangham, 1988: 5) will create an environment that excludes others. Yet Field suggests that, to some extent, 'adversity can help strengthen bonds particularly among those who face similar experiences of exclusion' (Field, 2003: 87). If those less well-connected become close this bonding unintentionally places limitations on their social mobility, because people rely on their close connections and may be held back in the 'prestige bestowing system' (Hughes, 1993: 306). This could be a cause of inequality because 'the least privileged also tend to have networks which are made up of people in a similar situation to themselves' (Field, 2003: 86).

Arguably therefore, prestige is self-sustaining, or rather, as described by Maffesoli as 'self-perpetuating' through a common set of values, since 'social groups organize their territories and ideologies around the values which are their own' (Maffesoli, 1996; 145). Furthermore, if one agrees with Heald that networking has to 'look as though it is concealed, it is often the lack of naked self-interest which makes a network truly effective' (Heald, 1983: 178). However, I propose that networking is evidently not concealed, because in turning to Becker's (1963) notion that cliques are bound together by ties of mutual obligation, cliques become visible through symbolic capital. For example, an intricate system of codes gives a visible sign of membership to networks, such as named orchestra stickers on instrument cases, conservatoire scarves, lapel badges and cufflinks, etc. Heald argues that 'uniforms such as these' can carry messages, reminding us of the metaphor of a 'net' tying groups of people together, which is likely to have led to the expression, the 'old boy NETWORK' (*sic*) (Heald, 1983: 16).

Verbal symbolic codes including dialect and accents identify cliques in the same network, and are subtle and complex. This can establish 'a special claim to prestige, honour or desirable class position' (Heald, 1983 (cites Goffman: 1959: 25)). Other signs and body language involve ritual, such as the Masonic handshake, which is inexplicit and not acknowledged to a non-member. Heald proposes that a network of male-only privilege, along

with single-sex boy schools such as Eton, enables cliques to remain friends for life with people who may prove influential. This becomes an open-door welcome into an exclusive group 'based on social and economic elitism' to which you owe, and gain loyalty (Heald, 1983: 15). Universities such as Oxford and Cambridge are said to have highly exclusive networks, and although it is difficult to prove this objectively, it is 'what many people believe' (Heald, 1883: 62).

The reliance of reciprocal support for group members 'might be useful as a networking tool in some way, to very specific members of one particular society, and will clearly exclude others' (Heald, 1983: 209). An example of this is 'Freemasonry, although its leaders strenuously deny it, is a secret society'. Yet the members have all sworn 'on pain of death and ghastly mutilation, not to reveal masonic secrets to outsiders; and all of the members of this society are male' (Knight, 1984: 1). There are more than eight thousand lodges in England and Wales, and these groups exclude women. The Incorporated Society of Musicians Lodge no: 2881, for example, was formed for the mutual support of professional musicians in 1882, meeting five times per year at Freemasons Hall, Great Queen Street, London WC2. Founded in 1902, the Lodge restricts membership to professional male musicians (www.musicianslodge, accessed March 2017).

Membership to the Freemasons organization self-perpetuates the same networks, because new members must be proposed by two proposers, who are already Freemasons, and likely to be musician friends or acquaintances of the applicant. Many other exclusive men-only network-assisting clubs offer men the opportunity to do business with other men, and arguably promote self-interest. For example, the following expensive prestigious, elite clubs in London which exclude women and 'which musicians frequent' (Heald, 1983: 187) are: Beefsteak Club; East India Club; Flyfishers' Club; London Sketch Club; The Portland Club; Pratt's Club and White's Club. These networking clubs in London which serve men each have long waiting lists, and achieve membership by finding 'one member to sponsor them and another to second them' (Heald, 1983: 188). Heald suggests that men-only networks, such as the Freemasons or Rotarians, deny that there is an 'an obligation upon the members of the Club that they should do business with each other', (Heald, 1983: 180), however, as connections are essential for success, the implication is there.

Heald explains that women are not able to penetrate the old boys' network, giving the example that although there are splinter Freemasonry lodges for women, Freemasonry does not recognize women and this necessitates women to start rival women's networks, such as

the Order of Women Freemasons (<https://www.owf.org.uk/>). If networks belong to a system of 'who you know', and how you use your acquaintances, this is likely not to be a fair way to prove talent and ability. This arguably does not create opportunity for all, because binding together in this way becomes what Heald describes as 'networks of the oppressors and of the oppressed' (Heald, 1983: 155). His view is that the men who prefer to keep their prestigious elite network intact, 'are apart from anything, misogynistic' (Heald, 1983: 168). They obtain work through people 'having a word' with others and by recommending them (Heald, 1983: 125).

English proposes that an economy of prestige involves complex transactions in a system of symbolic give and take, 'influence-peddling and mutual back-scratching' (English, 2005: 25). In concert hall 'green rooms' male and female musicians prepare for concerts separately in the 'social and cultural contexts' in which they work (Mueller, 2002: 595). Female orchestral musicians spend time getting dressed into performance clothes in female dressing rooms, and this brings consideration to the way that, to some extent, gender is learned in the context of society, and 'is culturally constructed' (Butler, 1999: 9-10). Thus, one can conclude that the male and female identities of orchestral musicians are, in some small part, realized in a separate place from one another.

The social environment of an orchestra, like any other, is vulnerable to unequal practice, and it is further important to note from the literature that there is 'unequal participation of certain demographic categories in the orchestral world as a whole, in particular, orchestral musicians tend to be white' (Holoman, 2012: 22). Black musicians in London orchestras are atypical, in part explained by the school and conservatoire education system, where musical expertise, historically, has been learned 'outside the school day' (Pitts, 2011: 226). One-to-one instrumental teaching during the school day also denies those with 'limited access to instrumental tuition for the economically disadvantaged' (Pitts, 2011:230). It is clear from the literature that amongst other things being economically disadvantaged contributes to a white middle-class bias, in terms of who is given the opportunity to buy an orchestral instrument, pay for instrumental lessons, and ultimately given the opportunity to consider a career as an orchestral musician, and a lack of opportunity for some (Karner, 2007).

A further example of unequal practice is the dominance of English as the spoken language for all rehearsals, and those who speak other languages may be systematically disadvantaged. I have touched on Small's suggestion that classical music concerts celebrate

white upper-middle-class values and are 'as much about the ritual occasion as about the music being performed' (Small, 1987: 6-32). I note that classical music concerts may be driven 'by the wish to serve class interests or protect their special status' (Schon, 2011: 345); and this may also explain in part, why the orchestral musicians who live in a diverse city like London are still more likely to be of white European origin. Arguably, in this respect, the orchestra appears to be a system that rarely changes. Thus in sum, I agree with Bennett's observation that 'in a very real sense, music not only informs the construction of the self, but also the social world in which the self operates' (Bennett, 2000: 195).

Orchestral musicians- conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen some of the ways in which the financial security for the orchestra on one hand, and for professional orchestral musicians on the other, may be in tension. For example, orchestras participate in a market that is likely to have a direct impact on the nature of the types of music played, and therefore the quantity of players required can expand and be reduced, affecting the livelihood of individual musicians. In addition, those musicians considered to be well thought of, with musical capital, or prestige, are likely to be attractive to orchestras and offered enhanced opportunities. Thus, both the orchestras and the musicians themselves can be seen to be in an economy of prestige.

Orchestras need to find ways to afford the high wages capable of attracting big name conductors, soloists, and the finest musicians who require higher-scale salaries with optimum working conditions. It is the expensive superstars, guest soloists, music directors and principal guest conductors, who put their prestigious stamp on an orchestra. Since orchestral organizations are regarded as being in competition with one another, they are inclined to pay their musicians at a higher-scale rate that will prevent them from moving to other orchestras. As we have previously learned, this preserves the artistic quality of the organization and ultimately its fiscal health, because the best-paid orchestras retain the best musicians and have the best product to sell. At the same time, there is a growing supply of freelance classical musicians available for work for the orchestral management to draw on, and this creates a flexible labor market where the positioning of musicians becomes a negotiation amongst one another.

Flanagan's study detailing financial aspects of the orchestras, determines that 'orchestras in most countries face large structural deficits and weakening attendance' (Flanagan, 2012: 185). The availability of 'cheap recording technology for music, and the ways in which music can instantly be shared, sampled, incorporated and reproduced, blur the distinction between artist and audience, question the high art conception of creativity' (Blackmore, 2016: 113). This is likely to have a range of consequences, for example, individuals and groups can rise to prominence quickly, and a prestige driver may be found in the ways that orchestras specifically seek to attract the most outstanding musicians.

It might be argued that what makes an orchestral musician 'the best' is debatable, as it is not always clear what is being assessed. Much research has attempted to get to the core of this problem, for example, research has shown that whilst hours of practice can be a good predictor of expertise, any performance quality is not related to this (Barry and Hallam, 2002; Hallam, 1998; Williamon and Valentine, 2000). For a musician there may be difficulty in identifying what is valued or rewarded, and this makes it problematic to know how to improve one's position. As a consequence, this means that prestige may need to be overtly sought, with musicians pursuing their careers in an environment that encourages a public display of prestige, for example, through social media, prizes and competitions. There becomes a strong motivation and necessity to display one's expertise and professional judgement and 'there are obvious points at which prestige may be formally recognized' (Blackmore, 2016: 32).

In conclusion, since orchestral excellence is inherently competitive, in the pursuit of a professional orchestral career we see that the orchestral organization and the musicians are both in some sort of hierarchical economy of prestige. Associated difficulties lie in knowing what needs to be shown in order to demonstrate high quality. Therefore, in the following chapter I consider wider ideas concerning prestige, and look to the ways that the conception of a prestige economy may provide insight into some of the particular problems that have been presented.

Chapter 3- The Prestige Economy

(Theoretical framework)

Introduction

The focus for this chapter is to look to the literature on prestige, to consider the distinctive features of prestige, and to examine ways in which prestige is mediated through social interaction. Since I argue that prestige is an important referent for career management I shall look at whether conceptualizing prestige in terms of social interaction enables us to examine social motives for the way people do things, and whether this provides insight into the social world of the orchestral musicians participating in this study. This is because although the pursuit of prestige for its own sake can indeed be a motivating factor, it does not always give us a reason as to why people do things. In this chapter, I turn to Turner's view of implicit motivational processes, which operate 'beneath the surface of explicit awareness' (Turner, 1988: 57). In particular, I examine whether the focus on prestige may help to expose some of the hidden aspects of taken-for-granted social practices, and whether prestige may be a critical factor in how people organize their careers in the orchestral world.

The prestige economy framework

Assuming that prestige is generally considered to be connected to reputation, success, distinction, wealth, or achievement which is judged to be prestigious by a group of people, the concept that prestige can be traded within a prestige economy is not new. The term prestige economy is developed from the field of anthropology, and further explored by a number of authors using a sociological approach (for example, Bascom 1948, Herskovits 1948, Val'terovich 2005, Bourdieu 1984, Hughes 1984, English 2005, Blackmore and Kandiko 2011). Using the term prestige economy William Russell Bascom (1948) surveyed the peoples and customs of Ponape in cultural anthropological fieldwork (See Appendix A). He observed that ritually-motivated exchanges were designed to facilitate trust and cooperation in the following ways: by demonstrating generosity; by displaying virtuosity, skill, strength, knowledge and bravery; by the transfer of useful information, and through the possession and exchange of rare and expensive objects. Bascom (1948) suggested that underlying prestige-exchange was the building of economic profit.

Understanding the dynamics of different gift, ceremonial, or prestige exchange systems was a foundational theme in early Pacific anthropology. The term prestige economy describes a collection of beliefs, values and ways of working that represent the things a particular group of people prize highly, which stand outside a financial economy and include transactional actions that cannot be explained in financial terms. Thus, anthropologists such as Bascom considered motivations for prestige-building, with the idea that a prestige economy may illuminate why people are motivated individually and collectively to interact in a system of exchange which is not necessarily bound up with a financial economy. Bascom's empirical study, involving five tribes on a Ponapean Island, examines prestige-building through gift-giving. It became apparent that the 'giver' gained indirect benefit from the transactions, such as cemented social relationships through reciprocity. Bascom observed this informal economic system, concluding that having prestige is a social advantage, which encourages a feeling of obligation for the recipient to reciprocate 'by the degree of generosity he exhibits, as part of the prestige competition, to exchange goods with rivals' (Bascom, 1948: 84).

Thus, Bascom uses the term prestige economy to indicate behavior which is not economically motivated and where actions often accord no tangible benefit to the giver, but result in an unspoken deal-making process of future reciprocal obligation (Bascom, 1948; Herskovits, 1948; Val'terovich, 2005). Whitfield's suggestion is that when a person performs an action with the expectation that an equivalent benefit will be received in return 'the group becomes an arena where favors can be traded', and 'the economy of prestige gives us a reason to care about what others think of us' (Whitfield, 2012: 26). Prestige becomes 'a way of buying your way into a relationship that you hope will pay off in the long run' (Whitfield, 2012: 33). Bascom moreover considers, that when a gift is given, the identity of the giver is usually bound up with the object given, which causes the gift to have a power. Thus, the gift has no need for financial value, since it has its own cultural, symbolic or social capital, and does not need to be based on the financial economy at all.

Prestige exchange is viewed from a variety of theoretical lenses, for example from social exchange paradigms, which span sociology, economics, psychology and political science (Alexander, 1990; Cook, 2000, Coleman, 1986). The notion that giving something to others is a valuable concept because the exchange of resources involves reciprocal rewards (Homans, 1961: 61-63/317-8; Coleman, 1990: 37). Blackmore's perspective of the prestige economy developed through his empirical study of senior academic staff, through a series of projects

exploring aspects of academic life (Blackmore and Kandiko, 2009, 2012 and 2016). Blackmore looked to Henkel (2000) and Trowler and Knight (2000) who examined ways that academic identity is continually informed, formed and reformed as individuals develop over time and interact with others, where ‘...culture is both enacted and constructed, and where personal identity coalesces, and is shaped and re-shaped’ (Trowler and Knight, 2000: 30).

Blackmore examined the process of achieving and maintaining advantage, and considered how the acquisition of prestige is part of this process. His prestige studies demonstrated that what is valued within a group is likely to be highly significant in influencing the individual and group perceptions, and thus the interactive behavior. Blackmore observed that academic staff often spend substantial time on unpaid activities, such as external examining and book reviewing, and he considered that prestige had a part to play. He concluded that an ‘academic identity reflects different kinds of currency’ (Blackmore and Kandiko, 2009, 2012 and 2016). Furthermore, that the currency of academic prestige is developed, recognized and traded through the practice of reciprocity, bringing an explicit expectation of a returned favor in an economy of prestige (Blackmore, 2016) (See Appendix B).

Conceptualizing prestige

Blackmore further points us to the notion of ‘strategizing characteristics attached to the word prestige’ (Blackmore, 2011: 2). He gives the example that some of the ways academic prestige is gained are explicit, such as roles, positions, awards and salaries, which are ways of signaling a person’s position and worth within and outside the academic community. Examples of a prestigious academic, he argues, include: affiliations with specific achievement, recognition, advancement or responsibility, being a prolific writer and focusing on under-examined or important issues, being well-cited, being considered world-famous or a leading expert, theorizing work with radical new ideas, and directly or indirectly bringing funding to the academic institution. However, referring to the notion of a hierarchical prestige economy, Blackmore suggests that in their attempt to build prestige, academics may mistakenly aim for reputation-building rather than prestige-building, and concern themselves with implicit aspects of prestige. For example, competing for prestigious research funding, peer-reviewing for prestigious publishers, external examining at prestigious universities, aiming to teach, research and write well, and endeavoring to demonstrate conceptual clarity.

Blackmore (2008 and 2011) proposes that, in the hope that prestige is nurtured implicitly, an assumption is made that reputation must be cultivated over time. Questions concerning why some people are seen to achieve prestige and others are not has been a constant point of study. Yale law professors, Chua and Rubenfeld (2014) claim that just three factors predict prestige and success. In their study 'The Triple Package', they bring the argument that specific ethnic and religious minority groups, for example Cubans, Jews, and Indians, have accomplished exceptional success because of the possession of a combination of three traits:

- 1) A belief in the superiority of their cultural or ethnic group
- 2) A sense of personal insecurity
- 3) A high degree of impulse control and emotional stability

Chua and Rubenfeld's argument points to the combination of these three factors bringing success; however, I suggest that their study offers no rigorous evidence to support its argument, which appears to be based purely on anecdotal evidence. For example, the study is simply concerned with the empirical narratives of prestigious people, and secondary stereotypical anecdotes concerning success-driving practices. This brings their generalized conclusion that Chinese parents make their children study hard. In argument, I turn to the work of Joshua Hart and Christopher Chabris who claim to have tested this 'Triple Package' theory. Psychologists Hart and Chabris suggest that Chua and Rubenfeld's idea of exceptional attainment achieved through a belief in the superiority of one's cultural or ethnic group is controversial, since the idea offers 'no rigorous quantitative evidence to support its theory' (Hart and Chabris, 2016). Hart and Chabris tested 'The Triple Package' theory in their study titled, 'Does a Triple Package of traits predict success?' They conducted two online surveys of 1,258 adults in the United States, and each participant completed a variety of questionnaires to measure age, sex and parents' levels of education. Personal qualities, cognitive abilities, income, occupation, education and other achievements were noted, such as receiving artistic, athletic or leadership awards. Hart and Chabris analyzed their data quantitatively, which resulted in three findings. First, the more successful the participants the higher their cognitive ability. Second, the more educated the parents, the better their impulse control. Third, the people scoring in the top half of the intelligence test were likely to have parents with college degrees. Additionally, those who had earned fewer awards, made less money, and were less well educated than those scoring above average, had parents who lacked college degrees.

Having analyzed the data, they concluded that there is little evidence for the Triple Package theory, and claim 'not to have found support for any credible account of Chua and Rubenfeld's proposed synergistic trinity of success-engendering personality traits' (Hart and Chabris, 2016: 220). In agreement with Hart and Chabris, I propose that there are aspects of Chua and Rubenfeld's (2014) theory, which do not stand up to direct empirical tests. For example, professors Chua and Rubenfeld's notion of devising a social psychological theory of prestige based on anecdotal evidence. Furthermore, Hart and Chabris' carefully measured counterclaim, that 'a person's intelligence and socioeconomic background and emotional stability is related to greater success, and that this finding is exactly what you would expect from any accepted social science' (Hart and Chabris, 2016: 222) all demonstrate quite clearly that prestige is a point of view, or rather, a social construction. These arguments point to the notion that prestige needs people's values, in order for it to exist.

In its most simple explanation, one could suggest that people who value something highly and who consider it prestigious, accord prestige. Enough people need to share the same values for something to be prestigious, and a group of people must have a spoken or unspoken agreement that something 'is' prestigious and valued highly. Prestige resides in prestigious objects, such as a diamond, a great work of art, or Rolls Royce cars, and when a person has prestige, it is because they are connected to something prestigious. People can also 'borrow' their prestige by being connected with a prestigious person or prestigious role or accolade. For example, by hiring a celebrity conductor, the orchestra will share in the conductor's prestige.

Thus, my central argument is that prestige resides in something tangible, by which I mean both a person's role and in a tangible object. Being more specific, I would suggest that prestige resides in the associations of meaning that a particular community of people give to something tangible. For example, an award or prize, such as the Nobel Prize can of itself 'seem' to be prestigious, because an un-awarded Nobel Prize still has prestige, and the prestige can appear to be an aspect of the prize itself. However, the prize is only recognized to have value because a community has agreed that it has value. Accordingly, if prestige resides in something tangible, then it would explain why people appear to need to portray themselves as being or having an asset, because the more prestige a person has, the more successful they will seem to be, and the more options and the more opportunities they will have.

Occupational prestige

Occupational prestige is a reasonable starting point to consider the prestige economy as a prestige framework in more general terms, since we can consider societal similarities, and the environment of what is valued and rewarded a little better, in particular the way that different occupational roles create differences in privilege (see chapter five). The endeavor for prestige is always competitive because prestige results in social differentiation between those who do, and do not, achieve it, which Treiman suggests is a 'prestige hierarchy' (Treiman, 1977: 6). Interactionists such as Hughes (1993- see chapter five) describe how roles bring status and permissions, and since people have interests in common, they form alliances with the like-minded, and 'cluster together' (Hughes, 1993: 296).

Treiman's proposition is that as organizations are characterized by distinct occupational roles, they inherently give rise to inequalities in privilege and therefore although all societies are unique, they are universally the same (Treiman, 1977: 5). To illustrate this, he gives the example of intellectual or professional roles such as teachers, doctors or lawyers, requiring the greatest skill and knowledge as 'those in a favored position, and in consequence, will enjoy the greatest prestige' (Treiman, 1977: 3). Furthermore, Treiman proposes that all occupational societies have functions to be accomplished, and they all develop similar configurations of occupational roles. Depending on the particular specialization of roles and tasks, differing skills or authority are required which result in fundamental differences in the control of resources. Thus, the power resulting from control over the resources generates special privilege. Since, Treiman argues, power and privilege are valued highly everywhere, the powerful and privileged occupations such as medicine and law are highly regarded in all societies. Consequently, a reason to look to the literature concerning occupational prestige is to recognize that people rank one another with occupational role differentiation, conferring some with more prestige than others.

Blackmore proposes that prestige features throughout human life, and therefore it offers insight into the working of organizations. In his study on prestige in academic life, he proposes that 'individuals usually have a strong sense of a personally derived set of beliefs and values, socially acquired, and reinforced by association with a group that has similar beliefs and values. Thus, relationships between the individual and their principle sources of socialization are significant' (Blackmore, 2016: 50). He gives the example that a community will be strong where it has shared values and approaches but there may be difficulties when

there is a need for change. Blackmore suggests that people have highly developed and often-unconscious beliefs and values, since group prestige-beliefs reinforce views that individuals already hold. Blackmore gives the example, 'The ranking of universities through the publication of league tables has become a major feature of the landscape of higher education' (Blackmore, 2016: 84). He explains that the league tables provide solid measures of quality, and thus offer a currency that enables a prestige economy to flourish, prompting a desire for the possession of those highly visible expressions of prestige.

We can further see how prestige plays a major role in individual and collective ideas about what is valued in university life, for example: books, articles, keynote addresses, Nobel prizes and degree awards. Blackmore (2008) suggests that each of these has features that may thought to be prestigious, having been developed through the attainment of various kinds of capital: social, cultural, economic and symbolic (see chapter four). This borrows heavily from Bourdieu's analysis of organizational life (Blackmore & Wilson, 1995: 223-32), however, Blackmore very precisely suggests that the particular capital that is valued in the academic world includes qualifications, professional networks, expert status, examining, awards, personal recognition, citations, keynote invitations, large grants, leadership of professional groups, membership of expert panels, and teaching awards. These are valued by a community of academics, which Blackmore suggests, 'is the coinage of academic life' (Blackmore, 2015: 43) displaying a competitive edge, marking them out from other products.

Ellis and Keedy Jr (1960) focused their attention on data concerning status, prestige, esteem, and admiration in a large metropolitan university, with the intention of understanding how judgements of others may influence perceptions of prestige. The outcome of the research recognized that a professor's status within a university is determined principally by the prestige they are accorded for their formal position in the university. However, other qualities are deemed appropriate for a given social position, which may significantly influence their opportunity to have gained access to that position in the first place, and it may serve to authenticate the position from the other members of the system. Therefore, for whatever reason, a professor gains esteem, thus prestige, for the professorial role, and interestingly, the role itself holds prestige whether or not there is a professor to fill the role.

I suggest that the notion of occupational prestige is a cogent starting point to consider the prestige economy more generally, since we can consider societal and organization similarities.

For example, Blackmore's assessment on prestige (2008: Appendix B) is particularly valuable for this study because there appear to be components of academia which are comparable to the orchestral world. In both worlds, one's reputation is developed through portfolio work, reputation-building, and the development of achievements by, perhaps, climbing up the career ladder. A large number of academic activities are undertaken for no or little payment, such as peer review and external examining, and 'in academia money is not the strongest motivator but rather comes from interest in the professional context, and in particular, pleasure of the mastery of its knowledge, and intellectual stimulation' (Blackmore 2015). That is not to say that there is no relationship between prestige items and money, because in the long term the possession of prestige may lead to recognition and reward. This might at a later date have a cash value, even though the financial reward is arguably absurdly small in relation to the time and effort involved.

Central to my argument is that since all organizations have hierarchies, people are likely to be concerned with reputation-building and prestige-seeking, and in some organizations such as the academic or orchestral world, money is unlikely to be the sole motivator. In both worlds excellence is inherently competitive and social positioning is an important aspect, as it influences perceptions of achievement or quality and what is held to be prestigious commands respect and admiration. Clearly, the pursuit of prestige, rather than money, is often an important factor in gaining advantage.

Blackmore uses the metaphor of the 'market' and 'economy' to describe the elements of competitive exchange within an organization (Blackmore, 2016: 4). His notion is that the economy of prestige indicates a particular kind of market, in which the things that are traded do not necessarily have to have a direct financial value. Rather, they indicate high value and high standing (Bascom, 1948: 92). However, he proposes that the word prestige can be a pejorative term. Since it carries connotations that by actively seeking prestige one can care more for appearance than for substance. Furthermore, something possessed by all cannot be prestigious since it provides a sense of scarcity. Therefore, one should not assume that prestige is necessarily positive. Blackmore (2014) suggests that because prestige is a driver for excellence it tends to foster self-interested behavior. Consequently, in the next section I will consider these issues by problematizing the prestige model.

Problematizing the prestige economy framework

Arguably, there are problem areas within the theoretical notions of a prestige economy and in the first instance one has to consider where the boundary is, and what is within and what is beyond the boundary. For example, in this study looking to the social world of a particular group of orchestral musicians, the people within their orchestral world include the musicians themselves, the conductor, soloists, orchestral management, etc. and can all be theorized as being their own prestige economy. Furthermore, if we use the term prestige economy to describe a performance we would perhaps include the audience; therefore, it is necessary to be clear about one's choice of focus. Additionally, since not all of those who are in an orchestral prestige economy are necessarily the musicians, for example music critics, agents and orchestral managers, this raises the question of how, theoretically and in practical terms, they are interconnected, since all exist at the same time.

Although the focus on prestige may help to understand some of the hidden aspects of motivation, a concern is that there is a risk of focusing too much upon a single framework, so that a framework may then drive perceptions rather than the reverse. For example, the metaphor of a prestige economy has the potential to make 'accomplishment' a central motivation for the betterment of careers. This assumes that everyone is driven by prestige, and disregards other motivations that people may have for their careers and actions.

One could argue that the notion of a prestige economy is a 'rational choice theory', or 'choice theory' or 'rational action theory', since exchange theories such as these describe the free will 'processes of reciprocal exchange' (Emerson, 1969: 387-9). The notion is that if the choices in some way reward another person, the other person is likely to reciprocate (Holman's, 1961: 54). These types of theory are based on the assumption that individuals are able to make free choices, can take into account available information and can weigh up the costs and benefits, thus choosing the best choice of action (Scott, 2000).

However, in a similar vein to Blackmore (2015), I suggest that prestige activities are not necessarily free choice, because people align with others who make similar choices, and people may inadvertently become part of a community of the like-minded. I argue that the literature concerning interaction is far more helpful for this study, since one could consider exchange theory a more general 'basis of social action' (Cook, 2000: 688). This study concerns itself with the social exchanges that are involved in prestige-building and prestige-exchange for one group of orchestral musicians; in particular, the constraints and exchanges that enable or inhibit social action by which social capital is accumulated and which bring hierarchical stratification.

In the following section, I shall consider how the theoretical lens of prestige may enable the empirical exploration of this.

The orchestral prestige economy

Professional musicians deal with an infinite variety of unpredictable situations in their competitive orchestral world relying on a need for flexible and adaptable practice, and a question one might ask is to what extent prestige plays a part. I would argue that as Whitfield proposes, 'the economy of prestige gives us a reason to care about what others think of us' (Whitfield, 2012: 5).

Orchestral musicians are just one small part in a status hierarchy of the orchestra that includes the composer, arranger, conductor, sound engineer, record company, record producer, music publisher, and very many others. It is likely that the musicians' understanding of what they do in terms of simply earning a living is different from the other perspectives, which may be, for example, rooted in idealistic notions of Western classical music, celebrity artists and great works which mythologize the classical music industry. Martin suggests that the orchestral field is high status in the 'hierarchy of cultural forms' (Martin, 1995: 232), and Bourdieu suggests that 'there is no more classificatory practice than...playing a noble instrument' (Bourdieu, 1984: 18). Consequently, one could view the pomp of orchestras as an indicator of prestige, and yet the musicians themselves may not be high status, since the nature of their work often requires them to take on extra work as teachers, examiners, etc. Therefore, numerous factors play a part in the judgements that signify an orchestral musician's cultural placing in their community, since 'while music itself is highly valued, the social position of those who perform it is rather less exalted' (Martin, 1995: 206).

An orchestral musician most often encounters a nebulous career path, relying on entrepreneurial practices to manage their portfolio career through collegueship and competition, disappointment and survival. Cottrell describes the frustrations of orchestral musicians, where in London 'the insecurity of freelance orchestral playing, the severe work schedules the orchestras must undertake to survive, the continual under funding and so on may all contribute to a general feeling of dissatisfaction' (*sic*) (Cottrell, 2004: 105). Nevertheless, a musician is motivated to continue to practice for hours throughout their career and the single-mindedness of the musician's engagement in the hours spent on isolated

practice would appear to indicate an internal state of drive and energy. On the face of it, prestige appears to play little part in this motivation, however, if their work is seen to be successful it offers a prestige benefit of being able to play with others at a high and expert level, which is, on a personal level more rewarding. Rewards such as large fees often function as extrinsic motivation, and an incentive to build prestige. Orchestral musicians need to take control of their own destiny, being self-directed and 'acquiring complex skills in order to play an instrument, requiring commitment, motivation to practice and a great deal of time' (Kemp, 1999: 244), and ultimately manage their career.

We have seen that orchestras demand huge resources, and it understandable why prestige is crucial in order for an orchestra as an organization to remain financially viable. As with other organizations, orchestras need to retain a good reputation, which is achieved through the acquisition of various capitals, which may then be converted into financial capital (chapter 4). Acquisition of symbolic capital may be an abstract concept, but we shall see in the following chapter that it represents an economic reality when prestige decisions become socially engineered through the formal, traditional and ritualistic. Cottrell reminds us that the 'vast majority of orchestral concerts still adhere to the same format and dress as they had in the nineteenth century' (Cottrell, 2004: 168).

For the individual musicians, it seems that attaining excellent musical skills and learning social rules enables them to negotiate prestige within their orchestral world. In addition, a professional orchestral musician needs the confidence to perform in front of an audience, the self-discipline to work alone and with other musicians, a willingness to spend long hours practicing, and the ability to accept criticism and rejection. Musicians strive for the highest playing standard, and in order to achieve the very high level of skills required by a professional orchestra and to be capable of playing flawlessly, self-motivation is reflected in the determination to practice every day.

The implication is that in certain situations, people feel obliged to show that they are better than the colleagues with whom they share their career. In orchestral terms, not only does this work well for themselves, but also for other members of the orchestras. This is because by gaining personal prestige on one hand through high technical standards, they preserve the good standing of the orchestra as a whole, and as Hughes (1993) suggests, prestige is not necessarily an individual matter. One can assume that joining the music profession presupposes that players already have an income at some level. This is because the

average orchestral musician has spent many years studying technique with one-to-one specialist teachers, and spent much valuable time devoted to practice. 'People who grow up in well-to-do families with economically valuable social ties, are more likely to succeed in the economic marketplace, not merely because they tend to be richer and better educated, but also because they can, and will ply their connections' (Putnam, 2000: 319). Musical instruments are an expensive capital to acquire, and a well-considered instrument is an enviable currency in the orchestral world. Owning such an instrument builds reputation, thus prestige, and as Putnam suggests social capital 'often reinforces social stratification' (Putnam, 2000: 358). In sum, holding prestige can be viewed as a chain of opportunity; whether discussing the organization, or the individuals within the organization, some people seem to be more important than others, because some people are more influential than others, and in some way, prestige is at the heart.

Conclusion

The central idea of this chapter has been to bring to attention some distinctive aspects of prestige, and to propose that 'it is a helpful a frame of reference for considering the motivations for why people may choose to do certain things' (Blackmore. 2016: 12). A prestige-seeking and prestige-driven behavior may be seen to 'play out' in the empirical study, and therefore a prestige focus is worth exploring.

For musicians, there are only so many places available in the highest quality orchestras and consequently orchestral work at this level is inherently competitive. The literature has shown that in order to distinguish themselves from their colleagues and compete for work musicians seek to build a good reputation and to be seen as a valuable asset. As Field states, 'relationships matter' (Field, 2008: 1), and by making networking connections with one another prestige can be traded as part of an economy to enable the sharing of common values, through networking, to build future advantage. People who value something highly, and who share a similar view about what is prestigious accord prestige, and therefore prestige has a social component. However, simply knowing a great deal of people is not enough, rather 'people may sometimes find that options are constrained by the nature of the resources that they can get hold of through their connections' (Field, 2008: 3). This manifests in ways that 'who we know' matters. The basic assumption is that people maintain relationships with the

expectation that doing so will be rewarding (Blau 1968; Homans 1958). Thus, the prestige economy appears to be a useful theory for explaining co-operational exchanges and tactical and strategic social exchanges through the capitalist notion of a currency that can be used to accrue prestige, such as accomplishments, attributes, possessions, money, or gossip, which brings privileges.

I propose, that since prestige 'offers a currency for trading and for displaying higher positioning' (Blackmore, 2016: 11), the existence of a prestige economy framework offers not only theoretical understanding, but also a practical way to enable an individual to achieve particular things and understand the competition. The metaphor of prestige as a currency is a tangible way to consider what is prestigious, who is associated with it, who values it, how prestige is developed, and the various relationships, processes and states of being that are related to it. The acquisition of prestige can be seen as part of a process of achieving and maintaining advantage in the world, and therefore I suggest that prestige has applications in possibly most fields. Young, in his study concerning contemporary music-making looks to 'Blackmore and Carpos and their Bourdieuan system of prestige economies', and focuses on elite groups, and what makes the elite especially valued (Young, 2015: 366). The metaphor of a prestige economy is a means of labelling what it is that people value, and the valuations and transactions that take place. It may be related to a physical possession or to an intellectual accomplishment, or else to knowing somebody with prestige. It may be reflected in titles, salaries, and a range of other visible signs of status, and all of these can be swept up into the single term 'capital'.

An economy, in market terms will generally require a currency, and prestige may come in many forms. Bourdieu (2003) writes of cultural, social, symbolic, academic and economic capital. He also refers to a 'field' where various forms of capital are generated, valued and exchanged, and uses the term 'habitus', to describe a set of ways of thinking, being, and acting that are characteristic of a person in a particular place in a social setting. Thus in the following chapter I turn to these issues, and to the literature concerning capital.

Chapter 4- Capital, Habitus, Field and Prestige

(Concept)

Introduction- Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002)

I suggest that there are many reasons why Bourdieu's work is valuable for consideration in a study, which looks to illuminate prestige issues within the lives of orchestral musicians. Bourdieu's theories of social class and social relationships are at the very centre of prestige, and are firmly grounded in a wide body of sociological research that reflects a range of social issues concerned with capital building and exchange. Bourdieu offers terms that assist in the exploration of prestige through the notion that 'each society has a universal recognition of social practices' (Bourdieu cited in Field, 2003: 6).

Bourdieu is interested in social values, social identity, and culturally localized ways of doing things 'which members of a group share' (Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 2006: 324). Or as English proposes, Bourdieu is absorbed in the ways that dispositions form the basis of how people do things in their own particular field and 'know one's place' (English, 2005: 364). Bourdieu proposes that shared beliefs cause people to give an asset its value, and he describes this as 'collective recognition' (Bourdieu, 2003: 52).

The previous chapter concentrated on the inherent competitiveness of the workplace in which individuals seek largely personal advantage through the possession of prestige. In this chapter, I examine how prestige is developed through the attainment of various kinds of capital: social, cultural, economic and symbolic. I further interrogate the literature to determine whether some people have increased options and opportunities from the start and whether prestige contributes to exclusion, as it appears that social symbolic and cultural capital remain static and elite. By considering Bourdieu's view that 'capital recasts high cultural involvement as a kind of acquisitiveness' (Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 2006: 325), I seek to examine how people may act when competing for prestige. Furthermore, prestige conceivably holds a tenacious presence since those people who have prestige appear to do their best to maintain it. This might explain why Field proposes that social capital 'can serve negative ends as well as good: and frequently it forms part of a wider structure of systematic inequality' (Field, 2003: 99).

Before presenting the discussion I begin by looking at an overview of definitions of Bourdieu's concepts of 'capital', 'habitus' and 'field' for conceptual clarification and to form a basis for general consideration. This is followed by a discussion referring specifically to the orchestral field, examining the extent to which the notion of a prestige economy can largely be examined through Bourdieu's concept of capital. Here I critically examine the role of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, and consider how various and particular forms of capital are generated, valued and exchanged in the orchestral context. Moreover, I consider the importance of Bourdieu's concepts as a framework for developing the concept of prestige further.

Capital, Habitus and Field

Bourdieu uses the term capital to refer to resources that are 'advantageous in life' (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986: 422; Cuff, Sharrock & Francis, 2006: 328; Field, 2012; Blackmore, 2016). Advantageous resources are assets that can be referred to as economic, social, academic, symbolic or cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986: cited in Navarro 2006: 16). The flexibility of a theoretical concept such as this is that Bourdieu provides a vocabulary for conceptualizing types of capital. In this section, I examine ways that various capital such as social and cultural capital can be seen to be exchanged, borrowed and depleted, and not just for financial profit.

It seems that there is a connection between economic and other capital, in that economic capital can be accumulated as a resource of other forms of capital, which, if desired, can be exchanged for economic capital. Therefore, the useful metaphor of capital points to assets that can be invested, accumulated, and circulated, and can yield growth, and so almost anything which has a value of some kind can be labelled capital. Fullan (2013) writes of professional capital, Cottrell (2005) speaks of musical capital, Blackmore and Kandiko (2011) refer to intellectual capital, and business professionals discuss financial capital. Thus, we see how the term capital can apply to all kinds of situations, and new capitals can readily be invented, generated, valued and exchanged (Bourdieu, 1990: 73). Since almost any capital may be used as currency, and since currency may be seen to be an asset, I would argue that there is likely to be a strong connection between capital and prestige. In particular, I suggest that the concept of cultural and social capital is specifically valuable for this study concerning orchestral musicians, because whilst economic capital has an obvious influence on a musician's lifestyle, cultural capital and social capital bring other motivations for reputation-building. Cultural and social capital is the social structure in which 'all interactions

are reduced to symbolic exchanges' (Bourdieu, 1977: 96). Examples of symbols that have meaning are Freemasonry handshakes, university scarves and school ties, etc. Symbolic exchanges of social capital involve 'everyday games of sociability' such as, tact, dexterity, or savoir-faire (Bourdieu, 1977: 10). The usefulness for this study is the consideration of how people come to understand the rules and norms of their environment, as well as the knowledge and skills required for the kinds of symbolic assumptions that they might hold.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu describes the term 'cultural capital' as a relevant taken-for-granted knowledge of cultural norms in one's social position (Bourdieu, 1977: 197). Bourdieu's notion is that familiarity with the dominant culture in a society leads to various advantages, such as the ability to understand and use 'educated' language. Bourdieu describes this type of advantage as cultural capital. He claims that various social inequalities are legitimated by the educational credentials held by those in dominant positions which makes it problematic for example, for 'lower class pupils to succeed in the education system' (Bourdieu, 1974: 32). The educational system plays a key role in Bourdieu's view, that one's education perpetuates the existing social pattern and maintains the status quo. A reason given is that cultural capital takes the form of educational credentials, and this ultimately leads to occupational success. Bourdieu claims that this becomes self-perpetuating because professional people are likely to be holders of a greater volume of overall capital than unskilled workers at a lower level of the social hierarchy, who are 'deprived of economic and cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 2003: 7). Bourdieu's argument is that the education system assumes itself as the regulator of cultural capital, proposing that 'higher-class individuals maintain their class positions' (Bourdieu, 1990: 73). Thus, cultural capital is unequally distributed according to social class and education, and as Field suggests, cultural capital is the 'exclusive property of elites' who 'move in the same cultural circles' and 'share the same attitudes' (Field, 2008: 2).

In prestige terms, an 'elite' education is a relatively scarce capital, in that not everyone is in the position of attending an elite institution. As shown in the previous chapter, prestige confers a raised status, and the notion of an elite education illuminates the cause and effects of the deep-seated inherent inequality of prestige, since prestige 'cannot be held by all' (Blackmore, 2016: 157).

Furthermore, because cultural capital maintains its cultural value, people who share the same attitudes maintain their dissimilarities with other social groups, and this perpetuates social inequalities. Bourdieu's argument is that whichever social position people belong to, it is likely that they have corresponding similarities in 'taste', uniting them by 'their choices of relationships, possessions, and practices (Bourdieu, 2003: 8). This is because people 'distinguish themselves through taste', with the consequence that one cultural group appear to be more or less worthy than another. Bourdieu's argument is that having comparable education brings shared cultural assets and knowledge, so that the possession of cultural capital varies with social class (Bourdieu, 1992: 167). Here the metaphor of 'capital' involves a currency of 'cultural behaviors and signals', whereby individuals or groups are able to maintain and gain superiority and hierarchy (Robbins, 2000; Jenkins, 1992; Field, 2008). Thus, as Gaventa (2003) proposes, the different classes and class factions are engaged in a symbolic struggle that is not necessarily associated with financial capital. This supports Bourdieu's view, that the accumulation of cultural capital may be used as a resource by an individual or by a group, and that only certain things are available to certain people (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

Social capital

Social scientists often describe social capital in terms of human qualities, such as intimacy and trust (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Jamieson, 1998; Lehmann, 1988; Sztompka, 1999). Bourdieu (1977) considers that social capital can be an asset, and can be used as a currency. He proposes that social capital exchange is accumulated and exchanged through networks of kinship; groups hang-on to it, and manipulate their connections in their own interests (Bourdieu, 1977: 50). The general principle of exchange means that social capital can result in competitiveness if individuals strategize through their relationships to pursue their own self-interest, seeking personal benefit through their networks. Thus, the notion of social capital serves to describe a currency that will create advantage over others through the negotiation and development of networks of social relationships. Advantages are created, and become a means of maintaining superiority and hierarchy (Field, 2008: 18), and some people, as Field suggests, 'choose to work at it' (Field, 2008: 17). Social capital is exchanged through systems of networks, sometimes, but not always, in order to attain some goal. An example of this can be seen in Bourdieu's description

of the world of lawyers and doctors who aim to win the confidence of a clientele in high society with 'a capital of social connections' (Bourdieu 1994: 122).

Networking is about generating social capital, which can be accumulated as a result of an individual's useful and influential relationships with others, and through membership to networks. Bourdieu describes the way that people join clubs, and more specifically, 'golf clubs', in order for business networking (Bourdieu, 1984: 291). People accrue social capital by strategizing, to gain various assets such as a good reputation, in order to further their career (Bourdieu, 1984: 471). Scott suggests that the way that people can accrue social capital is through participation in social worlds and networks, amongst the 'elite men's' clubs' and 'Smoke-filled rooms' 'which are used to transact business' (Scott, 2014: 164). These evocative illustrations denote some ways in which goods and services are networked and exchanged within the inherently competitive nature of organizational life. Networking is a major aspect of social organization, and I argue that understanding the ways in which that networking takes place offers an opportunity to understand how members of groups attain prestige. Later in the chapter I look to Bourdieu's theories concerning cultural capital, and the negotiation and building of social capital, and reciprocal exchange between individuals and groups.

Symbolic capital

In this section, I examine the complex notion of symbolic capital. As has been previously touched upon, symbolic capital represents either material objects or symbolic exchanges, which lead to social recognition, and are thus, easily recognizable by others in or out of a group. Bourdieu proposes that an example of symbolic capital is reciprocal gift exchange. He describes this as an 'economic activity' where the trade of exchange brings 'symbolic and social capital' (Bourdieu, 1977: 171). Thus, symbolic capital is a consequence of other forms of capital, and its exchange is one of the devices which make 'capital go to capital', which Bourdieu calls 'symbolic profit' (Bourdieu, 1977: 173-181). This is because reciprocal gift exchange involves both the exchange of the material gift, whilst also creating a process of symbolic capital exchange. Thus, the capital value can be seen to be in the exchange as well as in the value of the gift. Bourdieu proposes that gift-giving leads to 'sequences of obligatory acts' of reciprocal counter gift-giving (Bourdieu, 1977: 171). His view is that reciprocal exchange is a socially maintained 'good faith economy' (Bourdieu, 1977: 173). He

is interested in 'the 'symbolic investments' which make and maintain relationships, and the way that they set the seal on alliances. As Cottrell suggests, the principle of reciprocal obligation 'of helping those who help you, although largely unspoken, remains a significant issue in the trading of musical engagements between musicians' (Cottrell, 2004: 72). Frequently, orchestral musicians offer work to one another through reciprocal obligation, since offering a colleague some work is likely to prompt some feeling of obligation that the courtesy should be repaid. Issues of reciprocity and social and symbolic capital exchange are at the heart of this study.

Bourdieu has opened the door to a helpful vocabulary concerning capital exchange. For example, Johnson's (1993) notion that 'symbolic capital refers to a degree of accumulated prestige'; Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) write of 'professional capital' in teacher education, describing the experience and expertise of teachers as an asset; Cottrell speaks of 'musical capital' concerning 'something which can be accrued throughout a musician's career' (Cottrell, 2004: 66). Cottrell proposes that 'London's musicians are, on a daily basis, actively engaged in juxtaposing varying amounts of both economic and musical capitals, according to their particular view of themselves as musicians' (Cottrell, 2004: 67). Field suggests that people tend to share common values with other members of their networks that 'may be seen as forming a kind of capital' (Field, 2008:1). Field proposes that the more people you know and the more you share a common out-look with; the richer you are in social capital.

Habitus

Blackmore suggests that 'Bourdieu bridged the individual and the social with the influential term Habitus, describing a system of shared social dispositions and cognitive structures which generates perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Blackmore, 2016: 20, citing Bourdieu, 1984: 279). Concepts of habitus are useful for this study because they illuminate the ways that people share some collective identity with other members of their group. This enables us to consider how people manage their way through a system to benefit themselves, whilst working with others to create a community that sustains the valued activity or way of life. Bourdieu (1984) 'borrows' the term Habitus from philosophy (Aristotle, and Panofsky, 1957). He suggests that people develop their perspectives to become themselves and behave in particular

ways in response to the cultural values of their environment. This is perhaps not only about the individual or about the group, but as Goffman proposes, is conceivably about their work. For example, the job that they are doing expresses 'the characteristics of the task that is performed and not the characteristics of the performer' (Goffman, 1993: 83).

Bourdieu suggests that habitus also involves prior set-dispositions of people, which he describes as 'doxa' (Bourdieu 1984: 471). Doxa are core values, which are both shaped by past events through the absorption of social conditions, as well as being actively taught (Bourdieu 1984: 170). Bourdieu proposes that individual and social memories are socialized into the individuals from a culture in which 'people develop attitudes and dispositions', and he describes this as habitus (Bourdieu 1977: 17). Thus, the values, attitudes and dispositions express the way that people have been actively taught through the historic values of a cultural field. The way of behaving which is essential for the preservation of the group is referred to by Hughes as 'the common front of the profession' (Hughes, 1993: 6). Hughes suggests that to strengthen their solidarity, people use collective words, symbols and collegiality through 'collective behavior' (Hughes, 1993: 6). Thus, people are likely to internalize the society's norms for the benefit of their sense of belonging to the group.

One could argue that Bourdieu and Hughes intersect in their belief that the collective behavior of group members are neither as a result of individuality, nor determined by social structures, rather, created by a kind of interplay between the two over time. As Cuff, Sharrock and Francis describe it, 'the product of social conditions' (Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 2006: 320). Alternatively, perhaps, as Goffman suggests, behaviors and beliefs become part of societal and human memory; for example, he notes that the wearing of a white lab coat at work tends to suggest a particular kind of symbolic relationship and behavior. This brings the advantage, in that 'observers then need only be familiar with a small and hence manageable vocabulary of fronts, and know how to respond to them in order to orient themselves in a wide variety of situations (Goffman, 1996: 36). Concepts of habitus are useful in this example, because the assumption is that if people share some common identity and experience with members of their group, it provides reason for why people favorably tend to engage with a cooperative approach towards their group.

Goffman further proposes that people desire to depict an impression of being trustworthy for their role or position. He claims that a person 'is forced to rely on the good conduct and behavior of his fellows, and they in turn, are forced to rely on him' (Goffman,

1996: 14 and 88). The usefulness of this view for this study is the notion that members of the orchestral group will likely depend on the actions of their colleagues. Furthermore, the notion of habitus also explains why those adapting to the institutional rules become fully absorbed in the statuses or hierarchical positioning that are inscribed in their minds through historic cultural systems. Examples of cultural systems include education, language, and other activities of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1986: 471).

Field

Bourdieu (1984) describes a 'field' as anything that is recognized as a field and has its own forms of cultural practices, and those cultural practices determine whatever constitutes capital within the field'. The cultural practice does not consist of man-made rules, but rather, of ever-changing interactions and practices. Webb, Schirato and Danaher give the example of a field, suggesting that a business that advertises itself as a 'family company' creates an image of being caring and loyal. However, 'in different circumstances, this style of marketing might generate negative capital' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 23). This example that shows that a cultural field does not solely consist of institutional rules, but is 'the interaction between institutions, rules and practices' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 22).

One might consider that a network is an example of a cultural field, where the act of networking is the generation of social capital. In that field it might be necessary to *appear* generous and inclusive in order to achieve some ends, but this may easily change. For example, in some difficult situations, a leader behaving ruthlessly may be appreciated simply because that might offer the best prospect of survival. This opens up the notion that there might be different types of prestige in a field, for example, in good times or bad, safe or dangerous. Thus, cultural fields are changed by time, practices and politics, and more important for this study, 'the subjective hope of profit' (Bourdieu, 2000: 216). Profit is a helpful metaphor when considering cultural field, and I suggest it can be aligned with Bourdieu's own metaphor of a casino, which he uses to describe a field (1984). Using the notion of 'black chips' which represent economic capital, 'blue chips' representing cultural capital, and 'red chips' representing social capital, Bourdieu suggests that the dynamic forces within fields arise out of the struggle of people trying to occupy the dominant positions within the field. Further, Johnson defines the notion of competition within a cultural field, as 'hierarchy of symbolic profit' (Johnson, 2012: 15).

Within a field various forms of capital are generated, valued, and exchanged and may be social, cultural, symbolic, or economic. In practice, it is not usually possible to separate these, for example, a prizewinner will gain cultural capital, financial capital, and symbolic capital. Bourdieu appears not to be overly concerned with a field that comprises of economic capital, preferring 'a field which is rich in capital of high art, such as classical music, and serious literature, 'which have specific cultural and social capital norms and beliefs which are taken for granted' (Alheit, 1996). Navarro proposes that for Bourdieu, a field is a 'cultural position-taking', such as intellectual, religious, educational, cultural, etc. (Navarro 2006: 18). The prestige economy emphasizes the role of symbolic exchange and profit among people within the same field. For example, it may explain a variety of motivations when, for example, an orchestral musician in pursuit of a purely artistic goal is nevertheless grounded by economic necessity.

I suggest that the notion of capital within a field is a valuable concept for this study, partly because it is immediately recognizable and can readily be imagined in terms of prestige-trading and exchange, and partly also because it is such an elastic term. In this rather unclear notion of human identity and interaction, capitals of many kinds can be imagined. Nevertheless, to understand the ways in which prestige economies operate we cannot be satisfied with simple descriptions of the field, or the rules and regulations and procedures that are set in place to govern the setting, or the tools that are developed to measure the products in the market, when considering an orchestra.

Although these are all important and provide a backdrop to the orchestral world, I would argue that these concepts do not necessarily reflect other important aspects of those undertaking highly skilled orchestral work. An orchestral field is not only concerned with capital outputs since musicians are likely to have a strong intrinsic interest, that is to say, they have invested large amounts of time in learning an instrument to a high standard because it gives them satisfaction to do so. Their expertise may be put to work to earn money and/or it may be used to gain prestige, and quite probably both; however, this does not account for the collective aesthetic experience encountered by the orchestral musicians as a group.

Capital, habitus, field and prestige

Having considered some aspects of Bourdieu's terms capital, habitus and field and reviewed them as concepts, I would argue that the notion of capital illuminates essentially capitalist circumstance. For example, I briefly turn to the problematical notion that 'people can exploit their social capital for purposes that are socially and economically perverse' (Field, 2003: 92). Field proposes that by aligning oneself with other people the individual can use their networks to ensure that others are excluded, giving the example that one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter.

Blackmore's view is that capital exchange reveals higher social positioning, and brings 'the opportunity for acquisitiveness and competition' (Blackmore, 2016: 11). As we have learned previously, the opportunity for acquisitiveness and competition is debated by English, who suggests that winning prizes creates opportunities for attracting wealth, fame, and success, and 'the way that tokens of esteem are presented, prestige is gained' (English, 2005: 1). He suggests that artist organizations turn to prize-giving as a way to focus on a particular artist, to transform them into an instant celebrity (English, 2005: 64). The prize becomes a cultural asset where one can 'engage in influence-peddling and mutual back-scratching' (English, 2005: 25). English proposes that with this metaphor, one can observe the relationship between the economy of prestige and the bureaucratic control over the field of art as a 'convergence of the sacred with the profane' (English, 2005: 31). The competitors have the interests of art 'at stake' and yet they are also very likely to experience competitiveness and self-interest (English, 2005: 7). The value of prize-winning is directed toward maximizing the visibility and reputation of the prize-winning competitor, and this kind of prestige likely becomes valuable economically, perhaps leading to fame and money-making opportunities.

English positions himself as 'uncomfortable' with the notion of competition in art where there is a definite winner (English, 2005: 2), because artistic prestige in terms of stardom and success and prize-winning is not concerned with aesthetics. Rather, the capital exchange brings about an inherent conflict, and English proposes that 'awards have become the most ubiquitous and awkwardly indispensable instrument of cultural transaction' (English, 2005: 106). Indeed, the notion of what is considered to be valuable capital is often difficult to define. Bourdieu suggests that people take on board common beliefs from their social groups 'which members of a group share' (Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 2006: 324).

The valuable capital involved in an orchestral musician's career-building involves complex social negotiation in an orchestral field where structures and activities involve work being done skillfully, for motivations including the aesthetic. The inherently skillful nature of orchestral life brings the importance for the musicians to dramatize their work, so that they can be seen to be high quality and their skill can be 'seen and valued' (Goffman, 1996: 41- 43). One could argue that for musicians, performing 'with the collective's sound and style at the forefront of their minds' (Davis, 2006: 89) also requires them to be team players. Yet, the musicians also need to act as free agents in terms of employability. Whatever the profession, Goffman notes that 'someone who has been reconstituted by his learning experience is now set apart from other men' (Goffman, 1996: 55). All orchestral members need to adhere to the bureaucracy that 'ensures that the community has a concrete identity' (Bourdieu, 1994: 15).

Although there is one concrete identity as an orchestral musician, there are two distinct forms of prestige-building in play: bureaucratized prestige-building (when working for a regular orchestra) and enterprise-based prestige-building (when freelance). This is because, as Davis suggests, the wide competitive spectrum of established freelancers 'look upon an orchestra as a live, organic being', adapting to each orchestra, 'every day'. 'Orchestral lists can function like a 'snakes and ladders' board: Many players may be moved down while attempting to climb higher' (Davis, 2006: 205). Freelance musicians will be told 'that everything is just fine no matter what people are thinking, however the only confirmation of your success will be whether you are rebooked' (Davis, 2006: 87).

Thus, as Scott suggests, prestige-building can be seen to be just one of many 'social transactions' (Scott, 2014: 145). If we consider which forms of capital generate prestige, by whom, and for what purpose, and ask who holds social capital, it becomes clear that issues of prestige are not individual matters, but rather social matters that are organized within the habitus through the roles within it. Therefore, I argue that it is not possible to understand issues relating to the field of orchestral prestige without attentiveness to the specific circumstances of the capital, habitus and field within the orchestra as an organization.

Conclusion

It appears that Bourdieu brings a useful vocabulary to consider how people use personal connections and reciprocal networks to develop social capital (Field, 2008: 14; Putnam, 2000: 19; Woolcock, 1998). Blackmore proposes that almost anything can be labelled capital, giving the example that a violinist's ability to play well 'may generate social capital by facilitating connections with others of high standing in the field, or enable participation in performances that have cultural capital, or generate income that is economic capital' (Blackmore, 2016: 26). All of these aspects would be included in terms of the capital involved in a violinist's career, and yet, using the term capital brings difficulties, since, as Blackmore suggests, 'it is not always easy to estimate the presence or possession of capitals that are not material' (Blackmore, 2016: 25). For example, musical excellence is not easily quantifiable and yet it has a prestige function since the social position related to it is inherently competitive. Although, as we have learned from English (2005), music competitions cause much controversy, nevertheless, prize-winning is a key to gaining advantage over others, and this enables non-quantifiable prestige to be seen as something more tangible.

I would conclude with the argument that prestige is a form of symbolic capital which is an asset held to be prestigious by a group. Additionally, if a highly valued prestigious role is being fulfilled one can assume that prestige will be retained. For those who argue that the term prestige is just a substitute word for the term cultural, social or symbolic capital, my argument is that prestige is what cultural, social and symbolic capital lead to. I also suggest that cultural, social and symbolic capital would be nothing without prestige. For example, we have learned that cultural capital can be gained through processes such as education, professional credentials, and networking. These can be developed through capital-building, and with the gain of certain capital comes prestige. One could suggest that prestige is a tangible 'socially and sanctioned honor or esteem' (Leppert and Lincoln, 1989: 5) as well as a 'distinction, eminence, prominence and greatness' (Van Laar and Diepeveen, 2013: 14). Therefore, one could consider that the process or currency that brings about prestige is generated through reputation-building, and that reputation-building through capital-building is one of the main features of prestige. Furthermore, learning from successful high-status people offers access to 'a kind of mobility' (Hughes, 1993: 139) because 'one tends to copy those who have been successful on the grounds that they are likely to have made correct decisions' (Blackmore, 2016: 50).

Chapter 5- Social Interaction and the Negotiation of Status

(Theoretical field)

Introduction: Everett Cherrington Hughes (1897- 1983)

The overall objective of this chapter is to identify an appropriate approach for investigating the research question through an examination of the Social Interactionist perspective. In particular, I turn to the theoretical field of Symbolic Interaction and consider the concepts of Everett Hughes. Hughes contributed to the development of fieldwork as a sociological method in the Chicago School of Sociology, described by Bulmer as ‘the first great flowering of sociology in the United States’ (Bulmer, 1984: 8). Given the pivotal role that Hughes plays in the sociological perspective of data produced by field research, I turn to his work concerned with the ‘patterns of social interaction between individuals and groups within work institutions’ (Hughes, 1993: 15).

Hughes wrote fifty-eight papers focusing on studies of urban social life, which he reviewed in ‘The Sociological Eye’ between 1927 and 1969. Throughout this study, I have cited from both the 1971 and 1993 editions of the *Sociological Eye* (Hughes 1971 and 1993). The posthumous edition has a more straightforward-to-negotiate referencing, and consequently I primarily turn to the 1993 edition. In the papers, Hughes discusses a variety of sociological subjects such as social institutions, careers, work, occupations, professions and research methodology. The papers are based on the empirical studies in which Hughes observed situations or behavior that interested him, developing his own methodology through ‘a combination of official statistics, archives and journals, empirical interviews and systematic observations of the ordinary life of the community’ (Chapoulie, 1987). One could argue that although Hughes’ conversational tone is informal, his approach to examining data, making cross-substantive comparisons and developing general theory is analytically dense, and serves ‘the sociological purpose of producing new ways of thinking about things’ (Becker, in Hughes, 1993: xi). Underpinning the work of Hughes is his interest in the social circumstances of individual people within their community. I would therefore suggest that the concepts introduced by Hughes in the ‘The Sociological Eye’ are relevant and helpful in endeavoring to understand the more general social dynamics of the orchestral musicians in this study.

Symbolic Interaction

Before looking to Hughes, I briefly consider an overview of the Social Interactionist perspective traced from George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) to Herbert Blumer (1900-1987). Blumer devised the term Symbolic Interactionism, and the theory is built around three key premises:

‘The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them . . . The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person, in dealing with the things that he encounters’ (Blumer, 1969: 2).

Bulmer (1984), whose research interests encompass the methodology of social research and the history of the social sciences, proposes that Blumer’s Symbolic Interactionism is an effective methodology to explore social understanding and experiences grounded in empirical work. For example, it is in this context ‘that Park told his students to go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Orchestra Hall, and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research’ (sic) (Bulmer, 1984: 97).

The Symbolic Interactionist principle is that people have certain outlooks, languages and systems of symbolic exchange that are selected ‘through an iterative process of interaction’ (Mangham, 1988: 29). However, it would seem that there are uncertainties amongst theorists, who propose that there are methodological limitations to this form of research paradigm because ‘the Interactionist theory has come to appear as old-fashioned, subjective and methodologically single-minded’ (Plummer, 1991: 24, 26). For example, Denzin, when referring to the Interactionist movement, proposes that ‘many times its death has been announced and its practitioners maligned, but the perspective refuses to die’ (Denzin, 2000: 85). Symbolic Interactionism is criticized for the way that it offers narratives of how the social world operates, for example, Lemert suggests that when people tell stories about their experiences in life, these often appear to be ‘an act of the imagination’ (Lemert, 1997: 14).

Likewise, Hall proposes that Symbolic Interactionists are constantly constructing interpretations about the world, which 'however carefully tested and supported, are in the end, authored' (Hall, 1996: 14). Nevertheless, I would argue qualitative methodologies such as these are effective for examining nuances and theoretical uncertainties in empirical data such as mine, because working arrangements are a delicate balance of negotiations of 'identities, roles and tasks' (Mangham, 1988: 39).

In sum, although the Social Interaction perspective is criticized for being less theoretical and overly empirical I nonetheless turn to the work of Hughes. I argue that his extensive work in organizations and occupational cultures illuminates the ways that 'work experience is so fateful a part of every man's life, that we cannot make much headway as students of society and social psychology without using work as one of our main laboratories' (Hughes, 1993: 303). Additionally, I propose that Hughes' poignant observation of people's work is important for this study since his broad interest in occupations, conventions, collegiality, and tensions at work address theoretical uncertainties. These uncertainties are not necessarily resolved; however, they raise issues such as the negotiation of status, which is of particular interest for this study. Although one could argue that society has changed considerably since Hughes originally published his work, I would suggest that he nevertheless provides an excellent sociological starting point to explore the institutional world.

Institution

The term 'institution' describes the collective behavior within a system (Hughes, 1993: 6). Hughes suggests that we can learn about the nature of society by observing the patterns of interaction that contribute to a 'social whole' (Hughes, 1993: 304). This involves looking at the social roles that people adopt in each particular social institution to 'discover patterns of interaction and mechanisms of control' (Hughes, 1993: 420). Hughes proposes that institutions should be the central object of sociological study, since 'Institutions are but the forms in which the collective behavior and collective action of people are' (*sic*) (Hughes, 1993: 52). Hughes addresses the relationship between the institution and a person's 'self' through the emergent process of constructing a self-conception and image of identity. The work of such researchers as Becker, Dalton, Davis, Geer, Goffman, Gold, Gusfield, Habenstein, Reiss, Solomon, Strauss, and Whyte all bear evidence of Hughes's influence. In particular, Goffman (1959) examines the nature of group dynamics, providing a detailed description and analysis of process and meaning in everyday interaction. He uses the metaphor of a theatre, for

example, to describe collective behavior within an institution, suggesting that people in any institution are like actors on stage, each of them playing a variety of roles. The audiences are the people who observe and react to the performances; the front stage is a place where the audience has expectations of certain performances and the back stage is where individuals can relax and be themselves. In Goffman's metaphor, he refers to a 'region' that contains the furniture, decor, physical layout, and other background items, which supply the scenery and stage props for the human action to be played-out (Goffman, 1969: 32). In broad terms, there is a helpful relationship between Hughes' theory of 'institution' and Bourdieu's theory of 'field', encompassing collective organizational practices, structures and perceptions.

Central to Goffman's idea is that people are constantly managing the impression they create whilst interacting together in an institutional setting. Thus, the particular relevance of interactionist view to this study is that it offers a lens for how orchestral musicians present themselves in certain ways, for example, to give a good impression. Hughes' particular perspective of the institution brings questions as to how institutional roles shape the individual's outlook, and the extent to which roles govern social interaction.

Occupation

I would argue that although Hughes does not bring definitive conclusions, rather he brings ideas with which to enrich one's own thinking. In 'The Sociological Eye' Hughes debates a wide number of occupations such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, soldiers and cleaners. He suggests that people come to a common understanding of what type of person deserves to be in a particular role, how people pursue an occupation and how 'the institution acts as a perspective on the behavior of both the individuals and the group' (Hughes, 1993: 91). He suggests that in the course of a career, a person 'carries on his active life with reference to other people' (*sic*) (Hughes, 1984: 140). Hughes gives helpful examples, such as the formal lawyer who needs to dress elegantly, 'creating an impression of himself in relation to other people' (*sic*) (Hughes, 1993: 132). This, and numerous other examples, shows that individuals are involved in their own, and their collective group advancement. They generate socially accepted qualities and characteristics through what Hughes describes as 'collective conventions' (Hughes, 1993: 184). He suggests that behavior in collaborative work-contexts integrate within a continued 'cultural existence', which is constituted through particular conventions within a given context. 'Human beings so obviously behave in response to the behavior of each other, that what the individual does can be understood only by using the

collectivity as a point of reference' (Hughes, 1993: 5). A useful notion for this study is Hughes' perspective concerning the collective behavior of hierarchical and competitive processes; in particular, how specific roles relate to specific status positions (Hughes, 1993: 13). For example, the specific conventions that arise around work roles in terms of 'how' the role is performed.

Role and status

Hughes' interactionist perspective is that, 'in the social drama of most kinds of work people interact in several established roles' (Hughes, 1993: 302). His argument is that social groups create distinctions between each other, and in this regard he points to the symbols of 'common identity'. He gives the example of lawyers, who need to be seen as 'highly scrupulous and respectable', but need to get along with 'informants, spies and thugs' (Hughes, 1993: 306). The notion is that people have their own shared social views and conceptions of how they, and other people, ought to behave in any given role. Therefore, the negotiation of one's role within an occupation not only involves learning the technical skills of the occupation, but also encompasses the appearance and manner of one's common identity. This concept provides a basis from which to draw out ways of understanding how the orchestral musicians in this study socially construct their social positions in the context of their work.

Goffman suggests that one's social role involves 'the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status' (Goffman, 1969: 27). He cites examples of complex organizations where it would be difficult to give everybody a list of the exact distinctions that they might need in order to validate their role position, and yet they have to maintain the same 'social front' (Goffman, 1969: 37). Thus, when a person takes-on an established role, usually they find that a particular front has already been established, and in order to satisfactorily maintain that role, apart from being required to perform a given task, just as importantly, they will need to uphold the corresponding front, and inevitably 'will find that they must do both' (Goffman, 1969: 37). Furthermore, Goffman suggests that it is useful to dramatize one's work so that it can be seen and valued, and actually visible. He gives an example of the appearance of the coffin as being something visible that is part of the undertaker's service (Goffman, 1969: 41). An example of this in the context of orchestral musicians is the visible dramatized role of each principal of a section. For example, the role brings with it specific permissions, such as the principal oboe player giving the 'A' to tune the whole orchestra at the start of the concert. More generally, section principals have permissions to talk directly with the conductor across the

orchestra during rehearsals. It would not be seen to be acceptable for the musicians who are not playing principal on that occasion, to talk directly to the conductor. This is an example of an unspoken established rule which is not written down, but is socially accepted. This is tangible evidence of how status is attached to a role, why certain musicians may be seen to have additional permissions if their role commands respect.

Hughes' proposition is that a person's role has 'characteristic patterns of expected personal attributes about the kind of person you see yourself, and as the kind of person you are seen to be' (Hughes, 1993: 141). Thus, a role entitlement can become self-reinforcing, so that apart from becoming 'more skillful at the basic activities of the occupation, and also presenting a particular front, additionally, there needs to be involvement of the interactional system' (Hughes, 1993: 295 and 309). Although a role is something tangible, it not only needs to be 'possessed', but also in some way it needs to be displayed with the appropriate conduct, 'coherent, embellished, and well-articulated' (Goffman, 2016: 81). Roles carry with them an illusion to the outside world that the person in a certain role is the best person for the job. Thus, a role-holder must convince others that they are competent, and as a result, they are rewarded with role permissions and status. The possibility of role-permissions and status brings members of an occupation incentives to strategize, for example to construct unspoken hierarchies amongst colleagues, and to project a particular image of themselves in relation to others, in order to be perceived to be 'exclusive and thus superior' (Hughes, 1993: 222).

The advantage of an enhanced role in practical terms is worthwhile, 'rewarded by increase of income, security, and prestige among his fellows' (*sic*) (Hughes, 1993: 296). However, who decides who is a worthwhile candidate for a superior role is an important question. The empirical data clearly shows that the principal players in the orchestral sections are not necessarily considered to be the best players, and yet they must be seen to be the best. However, the question of how an organization such as an orchestra manages its responsibility for the people who seek, and get, a superior role is an important one, since we have learned when looking to the literature, that those who have the most connections tend to use and hold on to them to improve their own positions. Furthermore, since the orchestral principal players have the power to choose who is appointed to their section, and also who is booked for extra-work, they may choose solely for nepotistic and mutual back-scratching reasons. This gives motivations for all musicians (the musicians who are principals, and the

musicians who are not principals) to consider strategic networking, and to manage the impression they give.

Historic organizations and sub-cultures

Hughes refers to historic organizations as professions that present a recognized and strong sense of identity and continuity (Hughes, 1993: 294). The workforce in historic organizations each have specific roles with specific tasks to do, and are relied upon to perform specific activities. Hughes suggests that historic organizations are 'systems of conventions' with 'languages of traditions' (Hughes, 1993: 184). The importance in considering an organization as historic in the context of this study, is that the 'historic institution stays, even when the people leave' (Hughes, 1993: 6). I suggest that the concept of a historic organization is a useful way to view the context of an orchestra, which tends to include different musicians from concert to concert, and yet the orchestra as a whole does not appear to have changed. Although the orchestra has taken more or less the same form over the years it remains recognizable as a standard 19th-century orchestra, and there are clearly physical aspects that help to describe the orchestral field and habitus. For example, the musical instruments serve to define the field since people have a prerequisite understanding for what occurs with the 'props' in an orchestra, and the habitus can be viewed as the 'systems of conventions' with 'languages of traditions' (Hughes, 1993: 184).

The nature of historic culture is that certain things are passed from one generation to another. Hughes gives the example of 'student culture' in his paper 'How Colleges Differ', in order to observe ways that 'students form their own student culture' (Hughes, 1993: 32). From Hughes' perspective, people 'align their actions to one another' and are passed along 'by each succeeding generation as they pass through the same experiences' (Hughes, 1993: 29). He describes the way that the students create a social life in corridors and lounges. In those places they 'work out their particular student culture' (Hughes, 1993: 33), and naturally form groups which 'create little sub-cultures all of their own' (Hughes, 1993: 53). Hughes proposes that sociologists often 'overlook the interesting and significant human collective enterprises of sub-cultures'.

Hughes claims that people learn that there is the 'right way to do things' (Hughes, 1993: 35). He proposes that people's 'conception of themselves is in relation to other people', and if a situation is routine and familiar 'people can readily name the interaction' (Hughes, 1993: 132). However, he is additionally interested in the sorts of routine interaction where people are not actually aware of some types of interaction rather, they simply perform. For example,

one's obligations, skills and personal attributes become merged within the etiquette of the historic organization, and various technical languages are adapted to the roles required. Mangham describes how 'people share common and pre-established meanings of what is expected of them, and they perform more often than not without reflection and deliberation in line with those expectations' (Mangham, 1988: 42). In the context of an orchestra, it may be clear to the musicians that they need to maintain certain conventions, but they may not necessarily be aware of the nuances of the hierarchical and stereotypical subcultures that emerge. In the following section, I consider this further.

License and mandate

Hughes proposes that within an occupation, having 'license' to do something requires a person to display the sorts of characteristics deemed necessary for the role. This brings the person 'unspoken permission to pursue the occupation and associate with its role' (Hughes, 1993: 287). Hughes gives the examples of a security guard, doctor or lawyer who are not regarded as such until employed for their particular position. He suggests that a mandate is the distinction between being the appropriate person to perform a specific role (license) as opposed to 'how' a role should be performed (mandate). Hughes considers that a mandate shapes 'the proper conduct for the occupational domain' (Hughes, 1993: 287). He suggests that the 'right to do a job usually comes along with a right to define how a job should be done' (Hughes, 1993: 287). Thus, one is given particular rights, or license, to carry out particular activities within an occupation, and the desire to be a role-holder brings an incentive for convincing colleagues that one has typical characteristics associated with a role, in order to be accepted by the community as a particular role-holder.

Musicians have to manage themselves as part of social groups and this impacts on their behavioral options and choices, highlighting the transactional nature of orchestral interaction. Although the orchestra needs each musician to be an individual, the emphasis in reality is that everyone has to fit in to create one united performance. Hughes provides perspectives of how characteristics of a role might be created, insofar as the role-holder convinces, and becomes convinced that they have characteristics associated with the role. This brings questions as to whether a person already has those characteristics and for that reason is chosen for the role. Although this notion is examined empirically, Hughes' view is that 'occupational roles serve to demonstrate characteristics of the task, but not necessarily the characteristics of the performer' (Hughes, 1993: 287). In the orchestral context a musician typically tends to be

associated with the instrument that they play, insofar as the conductor will not address the musician by their name but rather by the name of their instrument, calling the musician, for example, 'trumpet' or 'second trumpet'.

We have previously seen that understanding common values in an orchestral community is vital when musicians are performing. For example, the defined occupational roles of freelance or extra musicians facilitate the same action at every rehearsal whatever the orchestra. Having a license to be someone who has characteristics associated with their role shapes the ways in which they believe that they are expected to present themselves as professional people. This notion of license and mandate is supported by Hughes, who says that if people in an occupation have a sense of solidarity they will be entitled to a mandate or permission which will define their collective beliefs within their 'occupational domain' (Hughes, 1993: 287). Hughes, like Bourdieu, describes the way that permissions (or capital) are given 'in exchange for money, goods or services', which are licenses to carry out specific occupational and social activities (Hughes, 1993: 287).

Furthermore, Goffman describes the difficulty for administrators and middle managers who are neither one thing nor the other. He suggests that they start as a member of the team and then find themselves slowly edged into a marginal role 'half in and half out of both camps, a kind of go-between without the protection that go-betweens usually have' (Goffman: 1969: 103). Here I consider that the role of the orchestral fixer is a little like middle management in that the fixers' role has neither license nor mandate to have full rights of being in either the world of the orchestral musician, or the world of the orchestral management.

Social control

People in an organization present themselves in a certain way, positioning themselves in a favorable light, giving a good impression and casting themselves into a 'position of strength' (Mangham, 1988: 38). Individuals who wish to be in control of how others perceive them may rely on cliques and factions, which Hughes believes is common practice and 'encourages inequality and exclusion' (Hughes, 1993: 217). He proposes that all societies have 'in-groups and out-groups' and suggests that it is important to discover how the lines are formed between 'in' and 'out' and 'us' and 'them'. He says that 'one of the best ways of describing a society is to consider it as a network of smaller and larger in-groups and out-groups' (Hughes, 1993: 94). Hughes proposes that people in specific roles in organizations influence the whole workforce. He gives the example of how, in hospitals, doctors impact on what nurses do, and

how, apart from their skill difference, they are chosen for their specifically different characteristics. Hughes is interested in why some people appear to carry entitlement to perform certain roles, and others are overlooked. He suggests that 'individuals within groups have agreements concerning the way that social order and social controls are established' (Hughes, 1993: 223). He suggests that individual role-holders often strategically manipulate the impression they make on others, and describes this as 'social control'. Social control involves, for example, contrived displays of modesty, concealing mistakes, or creating an impression that someone else is overqualified for a role (Hughes, 1993: 67). Hughes suggests that if we view the institution as a cluster of conventions, then sociologists should also pay attention to the 'not quite respectable' phenomena, and the 'anti goings-on in our society' in order to learn about social values (Hughes, 1993: 53).

Dirty work and dirty knowledge

In his paper 'Good people and dirty work' (Hughes, 1993: 87) Hughes discusses the cruelty, murder and the 'social dirty work' carried out by the German S.S. (Hughes, 1993: 88). He questions why 'good people let others get away with dirty actions', and he is interested in the good people and 'their relation to the people who do the dirty work' (Hughes, 1993: 89). He asks whether the German people 'may not have been so good after all' or whether they were simply susceptible to racial superiority (Hughes, 1993: 88). Ultimately, Hughes suggests that there was an 'unwillingness to think about the dirty work done', and this silence would 'threaten the group's conception of itself', and hence its 'solidarity', suggesting that 'common silence allows group fictions to grow' (Hughes, 1993: 91).

Hughes claims that because insiders of a group know their occupation better than outsiders do, and the collectivity are in agreement that individuals who do not fully conform are discredited (Hughes, 1993: 339). It is reasonable to assume that people negotiate their social position in order to influence how others see them, and it is reasonable to assume that their social position itself has an influence on how others see them. Hughes offers the term 'dirty work' in reference to the jobs and tasks that are perceived to be unappealing. In orchestral terms for example, the principal bassoon player may look to playing the cumbersome contrabassoon as an unattractive choice; or for the orchestra' leader, playing at the back desk of the second violin section might be seen as unappealing. Those who hold an unappealing job position and are considered to engage in dirty work, and may be seen to be defective in some way. Hughes' proposition is that because some people deviate from the norm,

when one becomes an expert one must also know how not to be an expert (Hughes, 1993: 288). He gives the example of the priest, who cannot dispense penance without becoming an expert in sin and suggests that being an expert includes ways of doing things that would be inappropriate for those outside the occupation to know (Hughes, 1993: 288). Although in orchestral terms 'someone' needs to be a contrabassoon player, Hughes' suggestion is that the role stigmatizes the workers who perform it, since individuals generally define themselves, and are defined by others partially by what they do. The continued association with roles are difficult to free oneself from, and those who are employed in dirty work are often cast, to some extent as an outsiders, bringing a situation of 'us' versus 'them'.

Conclusion

The importance of Hughes' view is that an institution is 'an ongoing system of activities' driven by traditions that are more often than not led by economic concerns. The disciplinary boundaries of orchestral sections are clearly divided into role-hierarchies within sectional ranks where issues of prestige may be in play. Section principals hold the highest status that grants a license for additional permissions, and therefore the non-principal musicians who would desire the same advantages have reason to present themselves in certain ways and display a good impression.

Hughes leads us to believe that this needs to be visibly dramatized, and he highlights the necessity for an individual to indicate a self-assured social position 'to which he may address his claims to be someone of worth' (*sic*) (Hughes, 1993: 339). Orchestral symbolic capital separates musicians from other people, i.e. non-orchestral musicians working within the orchestra, such as the soloists, conductors and the management. This serves to exclude 'others' thereby reinforcing their group identity, and their conception of themselves as musicians. Therefore, it would seem that by questioning the notion of in-groups and out-groups, we might come to understand some of the complicated social processes in the empirical case study.

In conclusion, the literature of Hughes has shown that some people appear to be more influential in persuading others about their points of view, because 'the opinions of some people seem to be considered more important than others' (Hughes, 1993: 78). Individuals deal with their varying institutional positions by building capital-favors with colleagues, establishing good relationships through a system of preferential treatment and exchanges. Inevitably, those people who make the judgements have to rely on displays, inferences and recommendations, and prestige expresses the competitive advantage that marks people out from their colleagues.

Literature Review- Conclusion

The literature review brings clear descriptions of the present-day London orchestra and its contingencies. Having set a background context for the empirical study, the literature review additionally brings issues of identity in terms of what it means to be a professional orchestral musician. In a sense, the question of why musicians might want prestige is easy to answer, i.e. because through it they can develop a career and gain some economic stability. However, there are perhaps some more interesting questions to ask. For example, who are the people who have successful careers, and why? The literature concerning the acquisition and exchange of capital and the literature incorporating the theoretical field of social interaction has provided a means to examine issues of role, status, and ultimately, for this study, the circumstances in which the orchestral musicians may network for prestige.

I argue that by unpacking these specific issues into manageable components I am able to examine ways that prestige operates at numerous levels. For example, exploring what people value, the way they set about networking, and how networking brings opportunities to be strategic to achieve one's goals. The implication is that people do things because they wish for their employers and colleagues to think highly of them, and the negotiation of this can be considered an economy of prestige.

The next step is to think about how to develop a way of thinking about these issues that will enable the data to be theorized. If the general issues relating to prestige in the form of capital relate to skills, experiences, networks, personality traits, and the development of a career, we could describe this in terms of the ways that musicians sell themselves as a kind of package and how they use that package to develop a career. This relates to the musicians' sense of how best to sell themselves, as compared to the fixers' sense of how musicians can best be sold. The fixers are an interesting body of people as they exert great control over the musicians' career trajectories, and therefore one could ask similar questions about the fixers, for example, how they see the musicians, who they would regard as successful, and how they conceptualize their role. The following chapter provides the focus for the empirical study, turning to issues of actualizing the research to find an appropriate means of investigation.

Chapter 6- Actualizing the research

Introduction

The primary reason for the empirical study is to understand the perspectives of a particular group of orchestral musicians who work in a professional symphony orchestra in London, whilst examining whether the theoretical lens of a prestige economy may provide insight. This chapter serves to provide the reader with background to the empirical study, of how I conceptualized the 'case', and to outline the structure of the data collection and analysis. I describe the composition of the sample, explain how I actualized the research, and discuss my framework for analysis. I outline the structure of the pilot study and the main study, which looks to the views of the musicians, and the third phase of data collection, which looks to the views of orchestral fixers.

In broad terms, I sought a manageable way to gain the perspectives of all orchestral sections of an entire orchestral community of musicians, bringing the widest possible range of instrumentalist perspectives from one orchestra. This study is not a universal generalization about musicians, but rather data collected from one sample group of orchestral musicians who worked together on one particular occasion. Furthermore, I collected interview data from orchestral fixers to broaden the perspective.

Thus, I carried out the empirical research with three sample populations:

A pilot study chamber orchestra of 55 musicians; a main study symphony orchestra of 112 musicians; interviews with 45 orchestral fixers.

For the purpose of this study, I considered all of the orchestral musicians within one professional London orchestra performing together on one particular date to be a participant. I conducted more than two hundred interviews over more than one year, with a sample drawn from professional orchestral musicians well known in their field.

An overview is summarized in table 1 below:

Table 1: Overview of sample groups for the empirical data collection

Methods of data collection	Number of participants
Pilot Study: Questionnaire Survey Cadogan Hall, London, April 2012	55 orchestral musicians given questionnaires. 53 musicians completed them.
Main Study: Semi-structured interviews The Royal Albert Hall, London, January 2013	112 orchestra musicians and 45 orchestral fixers all completed interviews

Pilot study

The purpose of the pilot study was to test the tools of data collection, to assess the ethical issues raised by the research, and to begin the process of gaining access to the orchestral world as a researcher rather than as a musician. This was by means of a pilot study questionnaire, to access responses from orchestral musicians with minimum disruption to their lives, in order to frame questions for the main study. The purpose of the questionnaire was to yield qualitative data by identifying experiences of the musicians. The aim was to inform the direction of the subsequent main study research by structuring a framework of questions and refining the central research question.

Pilot study- research participants

The difference between the pilot study orchestra and the main study orchestra was essentially the size. The pilot study orchestra was a chamber orchestra, and these generally feature fewer instruments and fewer types of instrument than the symphony orchestra used in the main study. For example, the pilot study chamber orchestra did not feature a bass clarinet, piccolo, cor anglais or a contrabassoon, whereas the main study did.

In order to find a case study orchestra for the pilot study I needed to make effective use of my musical contacts. The gatekeeper who enabled me to access the musicians was the

orchestral manager (fixer). I knew the fixer professionally and although I am not a member of the pilot study orchestra I had worked for the orchestra previously on a freelance basis, and am known by the fixer and the majority of musicians. I emailed the following note to the fixer asking permission to distribute a questionnaire to every member of the orchestra:

'I am currently undertaking a PhD at UCL, and am seeking to collect questionnaire data from professional orchestral musicians in order to consider how the orchestral community may be better understood. Having made observations during my own orchestral experiences I am interested in some of the ways in which musicians may be competing for work. I intend to examine the background to orchestral life, exploring some of the tensions for the musicians.'

Having explained the rationale of the research to the orchestral manager, his only constraint involved the timing of the orchestra's schedule. I was immediately offered a suitable date for data collection, and it was agreed that during a rehearsal break I could distribute questionnaires on the music stands of every musician, and after the rehearsal I could collect the completed questionnaires. I was assured by the orchestral fixer that an orchestral rehearsal presented the best prospect for the musicians to fill in the questionnaire at a convenient location for them, and taking as little of their time as possible.

Thus, I distributed questionnaires to fifty-five orchestral musicians at Cadogan Hall, London, in April 2012. In order to protect the identity of the musicians the orchestra shall remain anonymous. Each musician, except two, completed a survey questionnaire, and of the two musicians who chose not to participate, one was a visiting musician from overseas and the other could not spare the time.

Participants and the problems of confidentiality

Having developed the pilot study through my personal connections, I immediately faced the problem of anonymity and confidentiality. Although the orchestral musicians were willing to participate in the pilot study, they were not happy to declare their gender, age, religion or ethnicity. The notion of answering the questions candidly whilst potentially being recognized by others alarmed them, and therefore I agreed not to report any demographic information

apart from their instrument and their orchestral position. Thus, I have not presented the name of the orchestra, nor the names and ages of the participants in this study, as by revealing these details I would compromise their anonymity.

Confidentiality is crucial to the success of this study, which includes questions designed to elicit personal and professional viewpoints about colleagues. However, I did take a male/female head count: thirty-two men and twenty-three women played in the orchestra, and all of the principal players were male except two. The leader of the orchestra was male, and there were no black musicians in the orchestra. This points to the importance of a further debate concerning gender and inequality in the field of the western classical music tradition, and since I am not able to report the gender and other demographic details at an individual level, I am therefore unable to analyze these issues here. However, I suggest that further research concerning issues of gender and ethnic diversity within the orchestral community would be valuable, and I refer to this further in the Methodology chapter: Limitations-inequality; age, gender, race and class.

The following table 2 comprises the pilot study musicians:

Table 2: Participants pilot study

Number of musicians	Instrument group
10	First Violin
8	Second Violin
6	Viola
5	Cello
4	Double bass
2	Flute
2	Oboe
2	Clarinet
2	Bassoon
4	Horn
2	Trumpet
2	Trombone
1	Tuba
3	Timpani and Percussion
2	Harp and Orchestral keyboard

Pilot study- ethical code of conduct

The self-completion pilot questionnaire contained information about the study including my contact details and a request for the participants to give their informed consent. In the introduction, I clarified their rights of withdrawal from the study, their rights to read transcripts and their rights to read the analysis. Although I asked for their name, gender, age, religion and ethnicities, most participants did not respond, and for those who did, I do not disclose their replies in this report. I informed the participants that the names of each participant would remain anonymous not only for this study but also for any other publication or report. I also informed them that the professional code of conduct I adhere to is the British Education Research Association Code of Conduct.

Pilot study- issues and themes

I did not use the pilot study data for analysis in the main study, but rather it would inform the data gathering process for later on. I established the research design through three strands that had emerged through the orchestral and sociological literature and through the theoretical notions of the prestige economy. The emerging themes were loosely organized into issues concerning identity, networking and prestige, and in the following section I describe how these key issues were adapted into survey questions for a systematic, yet flexible, pilot study.

After the initial review of appropriate literature was undertaken, I formulated questions in relation to ways that the musicians present themselves as professional people. I addressed notions of whether orchestral sections have an obvious identity and to what extent, if any, the musicians might feel a need to adjust their behavior to fit with the group. The questions were specifically concerned with the complex nature of orchestral career building, concerning the cultivation of relationships and reciprocal networks, stereotypical group identity, reputation-building, strategizing, and prestige-seeking behaviors. I established a clear list of questions written in a direct and approachable way to function as an effective way to collect rich data in a relatively short time, and I chose not to use a Lickert-type scale where only a few options are offered for participants to respond. Thus, the initial and provisional framework for the pilot study questionnaire consisted of the following three sets of questions relating to professional identity, networking, and prestige:

Professional identity

What instrument do you play?

Use three words that typically describe players who play this instrument.

How close do these words fit your own character?

Which orchestral sections have the most obvious identity (and in what way?)

Why did you become a professional musician?

How do musicians need to present themselves as professional people?

Networking

I asked what the musicians might mean by the term 'networking' and whether they deliberately network. I formulated questions in relation to the sorts of language they use between themselves, and I pointed to particular terms and expressions specific to the orchestral world. The fact that I am also an orchestral musician means that we share a common vocabulary, and I was interested whether we understood the terms in the same ways:

What do musicians value in their colleagues? For example, do musicians value seniority in the orchestra?

What are the sorts of things that musicians have to do in order to get to the top of the orchestral tree?

What do you mean by the term 'networking'?

Please give examples of how you deliberately network.

What misunderstandings or difficulties do musicians experience in orchestra life?

Why might there be conflicts amongst musicians?

Who buys the tea in orchestral rehearsal tea breaks? In addition, for whom?

Please describe unspoken games or rules.

Who do you tend to spend your time with, during orchestral breaks? ...and why?

What do you understand by these words?

1) Pond life

2) B-team

3) A player down-the-line

Prestige

I intended the following questions to extract wide-spectrum data associated with matters of prestige. I formulated questions to enable the musicians to describe kinds of relationships concerned with reputation.

What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation and / or prestige?

What are the sorts of things that are valued in orchestral life which bring musicians prestige, or a good reputation?

What do you think fixers are looking for in an orchestral musician?

Please give examples of the ways in which some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others do.

Is the basis on which orchestral musicians get paid, fair?

What do you think fixers are looking for in an orchestral musician?

Have you any additional observations?

For a completed pilot study specimen, see Appendix C

Pilot study- analysis

The analysis took place within a few days of the pilot questionnaire survey and many phases of data reduction needed to take place. My approach to reducing the questionnaire data was largely deductive, as I shaped and condensed things through my own interpretation of the literature on orchestral life, the sociology of organizations, of prestige, and through my own extensive pre-existing practice as a professional orchestral musician. It was essential for me to remain open to new implications through patterns emerging through the themes, and it quickly became clear that the most coherent and concise approach would be to use a flexible data analysis since the data spread across many themes. For example, the following is a broad response to a pilot study question:

What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation and / or prestige?

'Musicians need to make people think that they are trustworthy because the better the reputation of a musician the more prestigious and successful they will be, and the more lucky breaks and opportunities they will have. The successful ones can pick the dates they want to do, and do some examining and adjudicating or sit on audition panels. They'll be asked to teach for one of the music colleges, and choose whether or not to do out-of-town dates and touring. The musicians who are seen as a handy person to have around will likely have a good reputation as someone who can be relied on; although players usually choose how they want to be known. At the same time some people might want their colleague's reputations to give the impression of being lowly pond life' (viola player 5).

In the following section, I describe my approach to phases of data reduction, and how I shaped and condensing the substantial amount of data by creating summaries, making links with the literature, and establishing significant categories.

Pilot study- paragraph reduction and code indexes

First, I read the completed questionnaires, and made paraphrases of the participants' responses, reducing each paragraph into a sentence. The following table offers examples:

Table 3: Examples of paragraph reduction

Issues	Paragraph reduction
Teamwork	...fixers prefer to book the musicians that they and other people like working with. ...fixers, like anybody want an easy life. They book players who are good musicians, but also who are good to have around. ...the passion shines through enthusiastic musicians. Enthusiasm breeds popularity, and popularity breeds useful contacts. ...musicians who work together encourage teamwork. On orchestral dates, musicians should concentrate on teamwork. It will make the experience more pleasant for everyone. ...after all, musicians share the same goals. ...musicians should always look to develop the possible weaknesses of others in order to strengthen them and bring out their best. Then you'll have a win-win situation.

Humor	<p>...musicians with a good sense of humor create an enjoyable light atmosphere.</p> <p>...sharing jokes makes you noticeable.</p> <p>...musicians should be looking as if they are having fun.</p> <p>...people who look like they are having a good time will be noticed.</p> <p>...a smile and a joke are a good way of sharing times together.</p>
Being positive	<p>...share successes and learn from the setbacks.</p> <p>...always present a positive attitude.</p> <p>...when things go wrong I admire those who get up, dust themselves down, and start again.</p> <p>...smiling is infectious and it gives colleagues confidence.</p> <p>...greeting people with a smile makes them feel positive and it wins their trust.</p>
Trust	<p>...I have always believed that if you trust and respect the musicians you book they will never let you down.</p>
Taking pride	<p>...taking pride in what you do brings a great source of personal confidence in your own abilities and capabilities, and shows your true worth.</p> <p>...when you know you're proud of what you do you can use that to bring out the best in those around you.</p>
Economy	<p>...people at the top of the ladder help others get up there, and money is not the goal.</p> <p>...prestige is a symptom of success in the world.</p> <p>...musicians tend to forget that their customer is the audience who indirectly pays their wages</p> <p>...if the main objective is to earn a living, then being an orchestral musician isn't the answer!</p> <p>...money and success never are the motivating factor that drives a musician.</p> <p>...satisfaction is never about money.</p>
Charisma	<p>...be careful which dep you choose. Someone with heap-loads of personality will steal your work</p> <p>...find someone prestigious, learn what they do, and do it better.</p> <p>...musicians who are memorable will find themselves having more opportunities to shine.</p> <p>...fixers book people who look special and unique.</p> <p>...they would never admit to this, but they remember someone with personality and remember to book them over and over.</p>
Gossip	<p>...although it is very tempting, musicians should prevent themselves from gossiping.</p> <p>...everyone does it, but gossiping doesn't create a good impression.</p> <p>...all musicians bring their unique personal agenda and judgements into the business. They should be mindful about how their conversations go, and how they may appear.</p> <p>...if they don't value the opinions of others, they may make those around them think they are aloof, and then people whisper behind their backs.</p>
Loyalty	<p>...the players should show a sense of loyalty to the orchestra they work for even if it simply accompanies a choral society.</p> <p>...loyalty is when a musician is willing to go the extra mile.</p>
Resilience	<p>...although musical education, experience and training are important, a musician's level of resilience reflects the players who succeed and those who fail.</p> <p>...the musicians who consider their behavior carefully, who think clearly and behave well, make their own fate and good fortune.</p>
Image	<p>...humorous innuendo, anecdotal story telling makes musicians popular and memorable.</p> <p>...all musicians should tend to take pride in their work.</p> <p>...it is preferable if they take pride in their appearance, and make sure that their long evening concert dresses and Tails are smart.</p> <p>...musicians have to look as if they love what they do, even if they are exhausted and the circumstances are difficult.</p> <p>...they are basically selling themselves, or at least, an image of themselves.</p>

	<p>...it is up to them what impression they make on fixers.</p> <p>...repose and cheerfulness and energy are always welcome in a colleague.</p>
Career	<p>...I would recommend that musicians identify their real strengths. For example, they may be especially suited to running a string quartet, or playing rank and file, or holding solo master class sessions.</p> <p>...musicians seem to believe that they have to work in a large variety of musical areas; however, in my opinion they should diversify less, and focus on more narrow goals.</p> <p>...the musicians with little to prove are humble. The arrogant ones who tell everybody what they are doing are probably the ones with no work.</p> <p>...second players should listen to, and support their section principals. And Principal players should set a good example.</p> <p>...the art of conversation in business consists as much in listening politely, as in talking agreeably.</p>

Once I had reduced the paragraphs into sentences, I then grouped them into issues. I successively added paraphrases of the issues to index cards, and organized them into codes for writing. For example, several codes focused on conceptual areas where the data seemed to be especially rich, such as: Teamwork and trust-(trust), Image and charisma-(c), Career and role-(r), Loyalty, resilience and other traits- (t), Motivation, such as economy-(m), Skill-(s), Prestige-(p), Reputation-(rep). This began to indicate the sorts of conceptual areas where the responses conveyed a consistent representation of issues specific to prestige.

Some responses used the specific term prestige:

‘... musicians who have prestige tend to be, and look different from the majority of musicians. They stand out from the others...’

Some responses indicated ‘prestige’ without using the word:

‘...musicians have to look as if they have kudos and are successful...’

A detailed coding process of each response ‘associated’ with issues of prestige was added to a new index, and new definitions of the notion of prestige were considered, whilst the prestige picture became broader and more vivid. New relevant indexes were constructed specifically concerned with notions of prestige, grouped into the following code colors and terms:

Professional prestige and identity- red
Networking for prestige- blue,
Capital gain and prestige- purple.

Having read and come to be familiar with the data I initially grew concerned that there may be potential for becoming lost in the relatively large quantity. As Bulmer describes, 'the world is a vast sea of potential data in which one would swim aimlessly in perpetuity (or drown) without criteria for selecting and organizing the data' (Bulmer, 1984: 37). However, I concluded that the paraphrasing reductions of the questionnaire data had enabled my decisions as to what 'counted' as a theme, and helped deductively through the analysis to identify some of the helpful conceptual areas, which I used to establish questions for the main study. This was a lengthy process: analyzing the participants' responses, labelling themes, responding to themes inductively from the literature, examining what ideas and conclusions might be drawn, what the implications might be, and what the data is suggesting. At this point, I carefully considered the methodological advantages and disadvantages for analyzing the data by hand rather than turning to qualitative data analysis software tools. This will be discussed in the following Methodology chapter.

Pilot Conclusion

Aims of the pilot study were to learn about the usefulness of the research method, to learn from the analysis, and to consider how my first attempt at analysis informed the ongoing empirical study. I concluded that a case study of one orchestra and its orchestral musicians was a manageable way to gain the perspectives of all sections of an orchestral community. Additionally, I concluded that the questions in the pilot study questionnaire had been appropriate for informing the ongoing empirical study. They had prompted much richer data than had seemed likely at the outset, although it was apparent that I could better tease out a large quantity of interesting data by means of in-depth questioning through interviews, rather than through questionnaires.

The purpose of interviews in the main study would be to bring opportunity for the participants to describe, explain and analyze their experiences of their orchestral world with the flexibility to elaborate. I would use the interviews extensively as a method of data collection essentially

because this is an appropriate method for exploring people's views more deeply than a questionnaire. I would organize the interview questions into starting-point questions specifically identified through issues, which had emerged from the pilot study, such as Teamwork, Humor, Being positive, Trust, Taking pride, Economy, Charisma, Gossip, Loyalty, Resilience, and Image. Categories concerning social capital were further structured into clear parts, incorporating questions with a 'capital' perspective,

- 1) Identity
- 2) Networking
- 3) Capital
- 4) Prestige

Although the questionnaire had been very successful in gathering musicians' perceptions, I considered whether I could triangulate the outcomes with data from another source. While the questionnaire had been very fruitful in gathering a large amount of data from the musicians' perspective, comments such as the following brought the importance of the orchestral fixer to the forefront:

'...musicians basically sell themselves or at least, an image of themselves to the fixers...

'...it is up to each musician what impression they make on fixers...'

References to orchestral fixers made clear that this study could be even richer if I were to triangulate it with data from a fixer perspective. I concluded that the views of orchestral fixers would be a valuable lens because orchestral fixers are the most closely involved in the distribution of work opportunities for the musicians, are intimately involved in orchestras on a day-to-day basis, and are in many cases, current or former players.

Reviewing the research question

The pilot study led me to review and nuance the research question. Although there had been an immense quantity of data arising from the relatively short pilot questionnaire, the responses brought more questions than they answered. I noted which questions in the completed pilot questionnaires yielded useful information, such as the importance of reputation, and the reluctance of musicians to acknowledge that they themselves engage in prestige-seeking behavior, and this led me to refine the empirical research to just one question:

The Main Study research question:

In what way does the theoretical lens of a prestige economy provide insight into the social world of orchestral musicians?

Main Study- Introduction

I designed the pilot study questionnaire to gain a general picture of the musicians in their context encompassing their life and musical background. However, the aim of the main study would be to gain understanding of some of the finer points of the way that orchestral musicians describe their professional practice through their independent, social and collective perspectives, with the notion of prestige as a significant focus.

In this section, I present an account of the empirical case study research, which involved all of the musicians of one professional symphony orchestra. The symphony orchestra chosen for the main study was not the same as the pilot study chamber orchestra. Apart from the difference in size, I chose the main study orchestra because it is a self-governing independent organization, and the musicians have the scope to make some organizational decisions that might prove insightful.

The gatekeeper who enabled me to access the musicians was the orchestral manager (fixer) who offered me the opportunity to approach orchestral musicians for their contact details during a rehearsal at the Albert Hall in London, January 2013, with an invitation for each musician to take part in an interview. Although I collected the contact details from the musicians on one particular date, I conducted the interviews at times convenient for the participants.

Before the start of the rehearsal, I placed a letter on the music stand of each musician, introducing myself as an academic researcher, and describing the purpose of the research. I asked for contact details and requested written permission from each musician who offered to take part in the research. I fully informed the musicians that they were under no obligation to take part in the study.

I introduced issues of my research, clarified their rights to read the transcripts, their rights to read the analysis, and their rights of withdrawal from the study. I explained that approval had been granted by the Institute of Education through the British Educational Research Association guidelines on ethical practice (BERA, 2004), and that there were to be no financial inducements, however, any participants incurring expenses would be reimbursed.

The rehearsal provided an ideal opportunity for the musicians to fill in their contact details in a convenient environment, since musicians always have pencils on their music stands and usually have a spare moment during the rehearsal. I asked each musician to fill in the appropriate section of the letter with a mobile telephone number or an email address. I additionally asked for their name, instrument, gender, age, religion and ethnicity. Thus, I gathered contact details from 112 orchestral musicians working in one professional symphony orchestra on one date in January 2013, and I conducted the interviews between January 2013 and January 2014.

I made initial contact by email or mobile phone after the participants indicated their willingness to participate, having signed their letter. The interviews took place at various times and places, and the duration of most interviews was under an hour and a half. I conducted the interviews in coffee bars, restaurants and the homes of participants.

Main study- Confidentiality

As with the pilot study, I faced the problem of anonymity and confidentiality issues. It was essential to assure the participants that I would treat their data confidentially, that I would not share their personal data with a wider audience, that their identity remain anonymous, and that their private views remain private. The musicians were keen to participate in the study, but they were not happy to declare their name, age, religion or ethnicity. Therefore, I agreed to refer to the participants simply in relation to their instrument and orchestral position.

One could argue that this may compromise the analysis and richness of the findings, for example, no gender issues can be gleaned from the analysis chapter in this study, because in order to guarantee confidentiality to the participants their gender identity has been withheld. Nevertheless, I decided that the ethically correct decision was to protect the anonymity of the musicians at all costs, especially as one could consider the topics in this study to be of a

sensitive nature. For example, as will be shown, the participants disclose information concerning sexual orientation, drug taking, and views about other members of the orchestra. The following table comprises the main study musicians:

Table 4: Participants main study

Number of musicians Total: 112	Instrument group
16	First Violin
16	Second Violin
14	Viola
12	Cello
8	Double bass
4	Flute
1	Piccolo
4	Oboe
1	Cor anglais
4	Clarinet
1	Eb clarinet
1	Bass clarinet
1	Alto saxophone
3	Bassoon
1	Contrabassoon
5	Horn
4	Trumpet
4	Trombone
1	Bass trombone
1	Tuba
6	Timpani and Percussion
4	Harp and Orchestral keyboard

As with the pilot study I did take a male/female head count. Many more men than women play 1st in any section and are known as the principal players. Considering the size of the orchestra and the diverse demographic of London, the lack of black musicians in the orchestra was clearly significant. However, it would be problematic to attempt to oversimplify the reasons for this here. At this point, I simply made note, deciding that these issues remain best to inform subsequent research, since for my empirical study I would be looking at a specific environmental context, as opposed to general social categories. Nevertheless, issues of equality were noteworthy and worthy of further research.

Main study- issues, themes and interview questions

Having found through the pilot data that there was a reluctance of the musicians to acknowledge that they themselves engage in prestige-seeking and reputation-building behavior, this led me to review associated terms of prestige, and draw out relating issues. For example, with terms including: role, status, influence, power relations, social organization, social order, social prestige, symbolic capital, cultural capital, social capital, prize-winning, social achievements, influence, recognition. These terms had notions of prestige attached in some way, and made me consider other issues relating to the ways that the musicians may manage their own careers. These issues all became part of a bigger picture, and I expanded the conceptual focus to draw from the literature on occupations, principally interaction, role and status (Hughes, 1993) along with emergent ideas arising from issues of capital. I clearly needed to group these issues into small succinct issues for in-depth analysis.

I structured the main study interview questions into clear parts:

- Identity
- Networking
- Capital
- Prestige

These groups would be a flexible and interchangeable outline through open-ended semi-structured interviews, and would easily allow the musicians the possibility of straying from one theme to another; expressing their views in their own way, whilst thematic issues could be considered.

Identity

The pilot data confirmed that the musicians had strong views of ways each orchestral section has its own identity, and therefore I formulated questions concerning identity in relation to perceptions of stereotypical character traits:

What instrument/s do you play?

Use three words that typically describe players who play this instrument.

How closely do these words fit your own character?

Which orchestral sections have the most obvious identity (and in what way?)

In what ways do you feel a common identity with your orchestral section?

Networking

In essence, the ability to network may ultimately result in more work, thus, I asked the musicians questions about their networking strategies, and then prompted for their own definitions of 'networking':

What are the sorts of things that musicians have to do to advance their career?

Please give examples of how you deliberately network.

What do you think fixers are looking for in an orchestral musician?

Please define what you mean by the term 'networking'.

Please could you explain what you think the following expression means: It is not 'what' you know, it is 'who' you know.

Capital

I formulated questions concerning issues of capital, since I considered that capital is at the heart of reputation-building and prestige, and issues of capital crisscross over:

What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation/ or prestige?

What are the sorts of things that are valued in orchestral life which give musicians prestige, or a good reputation?

How do musicians need to present themselves as professional people? What do musicians value in their colleagues? For example, do musicians value seniority in the orchestra?

Prestige

I framed questions concerning some particular expressions commonly used in the orchestral workplace. For example, when a symphony orchestra has two or more concerts performing at the same time in different venues the groups of players are known as the 'A team' or the 'B team'. This results in anecdotal joking about the lower class of players in the 'B team', and potentially bullying in the workplace. A further example of this notion is the way that, in my experience, rank and file violinists are termed 'pond life'.

What misunderstandings or difficulties do musicians experience in orchestral life?

Why might there be conflicts amongst musicians?

Please give examples of the ways in which some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others do.

Is the basis on which orchestral musicians get paid, fair?

What do you understand by the words?

- 1) **Pond life**
- 2) **B-team**
- 3) **A player down-the-line**

Main study- the interview

I was genuinely interested in listening and I was not under pressure to take excessive notes since I was recording the interviews. The interviews were semi structured, and I encouraged informality and jokiness. The participants communicated strong views about the orchestral world, and each interview resulted in a relatively large quantity and high quality of data. However, I was constantly aware of my insider role as a musician within the orchestral context. In particular, that I would inevitably frame the interview, and subsequent transcription, and analysis, on my interpretation. I discuss ethical issues of bias later in the Methodology chapter, however I concluded that research as an insider has very many advantages: in gaining access to the research participants, interviewing colleagues who are supportive and helpful, and the benefit to the orchestral world from the research.

Main study- transcription of the interview data

As the principal and only investigator, I transcribed the data myself, and audio-recorded the interviews with each participant's consent. I recorded the interviews on a cassette player using a small mono dictating machine with a built-in microphone, to enable me to transcribe in detail. The cassette recorder proved adequate with the exception of one occasion, where, due to human error, the recording failed to transpire. The cassette recorder was a very straightforward and successful tool for the use of transcribing the interview data. I chose to tape-record the interviews rather than to write notes as this allowed for deliberation rather than immediate analysis, which additionally contributed to a more relaxed and conversational atmosphere. Furthermore, recording the interviews would provide greater accuracy since I could quote verbatim. In order to demonstrate the authenticity of my findings I needed transcripts, which conveyed what the musicians said in their own words and in the order that they said it. Consequently, I first read the complete descriptive interview accounts, and then I transcribed the interview data from oral to written.

For clarity of presentation and for reasons of confidentiality the participants were all assigned aliases; each musician described by their instrument, and their individual position in the orchestral section with an alphabetical letter, for example, 'flute a', 'flute b' 'flute c'. Thus, the letters given were suggestive of their orchestral rank. For example, flute 'a' is the principal flautist in the flute section. Although I described the fixers numerically, for example, 'fixer 12', the numbers given were not suggestive of rank, but simply an identifying title. However, I described the fixers who were also musicians as, for example, 'fixer 12/ trombone 'b'. The letter 'b' is suggestive of their rank in the trombone section.

The initial phase consisted of creating summaries of the interview data, making paraphrases of the content of the interviews, and reducing each paragraph to a sentence. As I expected there were many overlaps of issues, and the sentences did not always fit neatly into categories. Thus, I initially coded the interview data under the broad categories, which I derived both from the literature and from the pilot study. I systematically coded each section of text and my focus was always on prestige. I highlighted each new category in a different color each time I discovered a new issue. I recorded the coded issues onto an index card having established significant categories. For example, colors and terms indexed important definitions: 'Identity'-red, 'Networking'-blue, 'Capital'-purple, 'Power'-green and 'Economy'-brown. Some codes focused on conceptual areas where the data was especially rich: role (r),

traits (t), motivation (m), skill (s), prestige (p), charisma (c), trust (trust), and reputation (rep). I re-organized the index cards into a smaller number of categories by establishing issues, labelling themes, responding to questions from the literature, and asking what ideas and conclusions might be drawn, what the implications are, and what the data is telling us. This was a lengthy process.

The classification of interview data involved a number of processes of data-reduction and conclusion-drawing described by Miles and Huberman (1984) as 'selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the raw data' (Miles and Huberman, 1984: 23). I deleted issues if they did not occur with frequency, and put the coded data into computer folders under code colors and terms, and organized in terms of issues. Transcribing participants' responses was a lengthy process; noting themes responding to themes from the literature, considering the theoretical perspective of a prestige economy, and continually referring to the research question. Additionally, I recorded the process of analysis in a personal diary to reflect on new ideas.

Main study- analysis of the interview data

In the main study, I further developed an interpretive, inductive theory, analyzing the data by means of a thematic approach. My initial conceptual framework presented in the literature review was the starting point for the development of themes in the pilot study, which I further developed through analysis of the main study data. The process identified themes that I continued to revise through an iterative process of analysis, always in consideration of the experiences of the musicians, and the meanings they attach to their experiences. However, the explicit choices of the methods, research question and analytical approach reflects my own assumptions, and therefore taking a reflexive approach is important. I more fully develop these issues in the Methodology chapter.

I designed the interview questions to cultivate ideas concerning professional identity, networking, and prestige. Analyzing the data was not straightforward because although the outlining issues were in the main helpful, they prompted much richer data than had seemed likely at the outset. Initially the developing themes did not make coherent chapters for the presentation of findings. This is because each sentence of interview data seemed to contain numerous topics, which intersected several chapters of the study, for example terms such as: manners, common sense, respect, and integrity.

It became increasingly clear that the viewpoints of the fixers would be helpful. Orchestral fixers are the most closely involved in the distribution of work opportunities for musicians. They are intimately involved in orchestras on a day-to-day basis, and are in many cases, current or former players. I had ready access to a number of fixers, so I could effortlessly draw upon a wider sample group. It seemed to me that this additional sample group would introduce a new variable, and would vastly improve the richness of the data.

Orchestral fixers- Introduction

I sent an email to each orchestral fixer, inviting them to participate in an interview for a research study. The email presented a short introduction about the study, and I was delighted that all of the fixers who I approached agreed to be interviewed.

The interview questions were slightly different from the musicians' questions, additionally asking about the orchestra as an organization: orchestral artistic and institutional planning, audiences, role, status, branding, advertising, reputation, organizational prestige, identity, networking, reciprocity, stereotype, motivation, financial capital and the role of critics. The following is an outline of the fixers' interview:

Orchestral fixers- Research design

As well as 'fixing', what instrument/s do you play?

Do you play professionally?

Use three words that typically describe players who play this instrument.

How do audiences view players of these instruments?

Which orchestral sections have the most obvious identity (and in what way?)

In what ways do you feel a common identity with orchestral musicians?

Why did you become a professional musician/fixer?

Have you any examples of the difficulties of fixing?

What are the sorts of things that musicians have to do in order to impress you as a fixer?

Please give examples of the ways musicians appear to deliberately network in order to please you, the fixer.

Outline some of the main reasons you decide which musicians to fix.

What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation and / or prestige?

What are the sorts of things that are valued in orchestral life, which give musicians prestige, or a good reputation?

What misunderstandings or difficulties do musicians appear to experience in orchestra life?

How do musicians need to present themselves as professional people?

Give examples of why you would choose not to fix a musician.

Why might there be conflicts amongst musicians?

Please give examples of the ways in which some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others do.

Is the basis on which orchestral musicians get paid fair?

What do you understand by these words?

1) Pond life

2) B-team

3) A player down-the-line

In an orchestra, who do people perceive to be authoritative or powerful?

What can you tell me about a connection with orchestral musicians and memberships to clubs and organizations, such as the Freemasons?

Do prejudiced stereotypical views affect orchestral musicians in their working environment?

Have you any additional observations?

Fixer- interviews

The interviews were semi- structured, informal, and mostly completed within one and a half hours, although one fixer's interview was so data-rich that it spanned four hours. I conducted the interviews in concert halls, canteens, restaurants, coffee bars, pubs and bars. Although the participants were not paid, I bought them refreshments or thanked them with a bottle of wine. As with the orchestral musician participants, I recorded the interviews on a cassette player using a small mono dictating machine with a built-in microphone, and transcribed in detail. The

cassette recorder proved a very straightforward tool for the use of transcribing the fixers' interview data.

In addition, the virtually universal use of Facebook and other forms of social media created a means of two-way continual communication that was readily available. This made it possible to be relatively open to arrange meetings through Facebook, Messenger, Twitter and email, and an ideal way to contact the fixers. Communications such as this are clearly a convenient and flexibility way to interact with the fixer participants, allowing for electronic communication such as interactive instant messaging whilst they were, for example, in business meetings.

Fixer- conclusion

The purpose of the fixers' interviews was to bring the opportunity to gain some insight into another perspective of the musician's world. I concluded that through the additional interviews I had acquired a view that had brought even more questions, and furthermore, enabled me to identify issues that I could fruitfully explore in the context of the analysis chapters. These were, in particular, issues of interaction, capital, reputation and prestige. I had decided to make prestige a significant focus of the fixers' interviews to probe for detail whilst reappraising my approach to the main study data gathering concerning networking and reputation building. Having heard that the musicians were saying that they benefit by being associated with certain 'prestigious' orchestras, because it gives them 'prestige', I wanted to ask fixers which orchestras they considered prestigious, and why. Additionally, why and how they decided to choose to hire the musicians they chose. I discuss the main thrust of the fixer's contribution later in the analysis chapters.

Method- conclusion

The following is a summary of how I actualized the method of my research:

- The aim of the pilot study questionnaire was to refine the initial issues. I did not use data from the pilot study for the analysis presented later. I typed up, coded and analyzed all answers in the pilot study, and the outcome of the pilot study initiated changes to the main study research design, based on the findings.

- Issues emerging from the pilot study formed the first filter through which I analyzed the data. I converted these into interview questions for the main study.
- I explored open-ended questions in the main study interviews, which required the musician participants and fixer participants to elaborate on their responses.
- Several phases of data reduction took place. In cross-referencing between the notes on literature and interviews, it quickly became clear that the most concise approach in presenting such a large amount of data would be to work through the key themes and topics illuminated by the literature.

I was conscious throughout the process that another researcher would have chosen different methods, issues and different questions. Nevertheless, I considered that, in general, this element of choice is a foremost feature of qualitative research. I concluded that a significant aspect at this point, was that both the pilot and main study sample groups were extremely forthcoming with their views. The indication at this stage was that the interviews and literature were mutually supportive, signifying consistency.

There is clearly a case for undertaking research in this area, and to ask the musicians who they feel accountable to, and for whom it is important to be seen to be prestigious. By asking particular questions with specific foci, this inevitably places some aspects of perceptions and behaviors in the spotlight, and identifies the particular constituents that are seen to be virtuous. The interview questions have therefore been devised in order to help define what is (or is considered to be) prestigious. It could be argued that in any hierarchy there can only be a few winners, so that as some musicians gain in prestige and others less so, this feeds the prestige economy. Whilst a moderate amount of competition may be beneficial, a greater amount may have adverse consequences; becoming a section leader, for example, may have an intrinsic attractiveness because it offers a window on prestige and because it can be used for prestige advantage. However, competition amongst peers can increase inter-institutional rivalry.

I present a detailed discussion of findings later, however, in the next chapter I reflect on the underpinnings of my chosen methods.

Chapter 7- Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I focus on methodological issues that have arisen through my research spanning the last four years, and reflect upon the rationale for adopting the methods I have chosen. I consider methodology as defined by Wellington: the activity of 'choosing, reflecting upon, evaluating and justifying the methods you use' (Wellington, 2000: 22). I argue that there are a number of methodological features of this study, which are significantly rigorous. For example, I consider that the additional perspective of the orchestral fixers brings conceptual rigor and originality, and yet I must be cautious about overstating what the fixers' perspectives appear to convey. Therefore, in this chapter I consider possible gaps in my research by outlining particular features that have emerged from the empirical study in terms of extensiveness, theory and methodology.

Analytical approach

This study is concerned with the interactions and social networks concerned with musical production, and clearly the social organization of musical practice is a fundamental aspect of sociology. However, Green proposes that 'the sociology of music enquires into the meanings of the music which social groups produce' (Green, 2010: 22), and yet this study is concerned with musicians and not the music. Considering that my own researcher identity is as an orchestral player, 'ethnomusicology' seems the most likely description of my essentially insider research into the views and behaviors of my fellow musicians. However, this study does not engage in participant-observation or fieldwork. As with Stock, I consider the central principle of ethnography is the need for the researcher to become an 'insider in the culture, based on sustained observation within the musical culture' (Stock, 2004:17). Duffy, in agreement with Stock suggests that 'it takes time for a researcher to understand the local social structures, institutions and cultural conventions which provide vital context for ethnographic analysis, and fieldwork is an essential part of the process' (Duffy, 2015: 63). Yet clearly, I have not immersed myself in fieldwork within the particular orchestral community that I am researching. Therefore, I propose that this differentiates ethnographic sociology of music research from my study, which

is concerned with the social practice of a group of orchestral musicians. The distinction is equivocal, and since there is a 'diverse palette of research techniques available for investigating music as a form of social behavior' (Davidson, 2004: 58) I propose that my research technique should not be regarded as ethnographic, simply because it does not involve fieldwork. De Nora clarifies her view of a fieldworker:

'The fieldworker attempts to participate in the life of the community in question for a sufficient length of time that he or she wins the trust and respect of those under study, and to discover through the process of familiarization how to ask questions or encourage conversation leading to genuinely meaningful information' (De Nora, 2004: 22).

Although I do have insider knowledge of orchestral life in general, I do not live with these particular participants, observe them at work, see the world through their perspectives, see them in a variety of situations, or witness their relationships amongst themselves. On one hand, I see myself as a bassoonist because that is how I earn my living, and yet I must define myself as a researcher. I identify as part of an orchestral collectivity and at the same time as an academic who 'sees the world through others' eyes'. Thus, I borrow from Bourdieu's description that insider knowledge comprises 'taken-for-granted assumptions which allow us to move comfortably through the social world like fish in water' (Bourdieu, In Fowler, 1996: 11).

As an orchestral musician I am an insider to this study in many respects, and in other respects I am not. My research position is clearly as an insider to the world of orchestral playing, yet I do not work with the case study orchestra specifically. However, I have previously worked with all of the musicians on a freelance basis, but I have no direct connection to this particular research setting. Therefore, in terms of the personal layers of relationships in both fields, I acknowledge that I have both an academic relationship and a collegueship with the participants. Nevertheless, this is not an insider study in observational terms as described previously; my study has no participant observation or fieldwork. I conclude therefore, that since my analytical approach does not involve fieldwork, surveys, observation, social statistics, or historical documents, this study is not, strictly speaking, ethnographic.

One could argue that this study is, to an extent, auto-ethnographic. However, Duncan argues that the essential difference between ethnography and auto-ethnography is that 'in an auto-ethnography the researcher is not trying to become an insider in the research setting; he or she, in fact, IS the insider' (Duncan, 2004: 3). Although I am an insider to the orchestral world

this study is not about an orchestra that I work with, or have ever worked with, and therefore, this is arguably not auto-ethnographical. Additionally, this study does not involve close reflections on my own professional practice, which is the main character of auto-ethnography. Furthermore, if an ethnomusicology study were to be 'based on sustained observation of, and participation within, the culture in question' (Stock, 2004: 19) I would argue that although my study has a musical context this is not a study of people through their music. Furthermore, 'some ethnomusicologists define themselves as any persons from any cultural background, who as outsiders study the musical cultures of the world's societies' (Nettl, 1983:150). Here the researchers are outsiders, and as an orchestral musician, I am not an outsider.

In sum, I am investigating the social organization of musicians who practice musical performance. I consider myself a sociologist of musicians and not an ethnographic fieldworker; or to be more succinct, a sociologist of musicians concerned with qualitative sociological scholarly enquiry. My particular qualitative methodology reflects the nuanced perspectives of the experiences of the participants from my own perspectives as a quasi-insider.

Ultimately, my intention is not to endeavor to find a fixed truth, but instead, to reveal some of the multiple realities of the orchestral musicians of one professional London orchestra. In attempting to understand some of the meanings, I apply thematic analysis, which is a flexible and useful research tool to develop an in-depth account of the data. The working life of the orchestral musicians is clearly complex, and the significance of choosing a qualitative method is to explore 'the intricate, most relevant, and problematic details' (Glaser, 1992: 12).

Limitations- case study

A case study is arguably one of the most flexible of all research designs, as it enables the researcher to retain the holistic characteristics of a setting while investigating empirical events. In considering the limitations of this case study, one has to consider where one draws the boundary and what is within and beyond the boundary. For example, the case study of the participating orchestra is comprised of both salaried musicians and freelance 'extra' musicians. This raises the question of how, theoretically and in practical terms these two groups of musicians are interconnected. It is important to identify these two groups to keep in focus the complexity. The salaried musicians are in a prestige economy centred on the orchestra that employs them, and it may be that the salaried musicians' social and cultural capital is collective

more than it is individual. The freelance players' capital may be much more diffuse, in the sense that it works through a personal network more than a formal organizational structure. Whilst it can be argued that successful freelance musicians can earn more, thus gaining more economic capital, this presumably reflects the less secure nature of the employment. Both the salaried and the freelance musicians can arguably be characterized as having their own prestige economies. Nevertheless, this empirical case study involves one particular group of professional musicians in their context of working together in a symphony orchestra in London. I collected the contact details of the musicians on one unique occasion and consider this orchestra as a 'case', in virtue of it being information-rich, critical, revelatory and unique (Yin, 1993).

One could argue that the focus of the case may change over time through the research process. However, this study involves notions of prestige, a specific area of research, which involves a particular group of orchestral musicians who have specific context-dependent knowledge and specific areas of expertise. Their context-dependent knowledge lies at the core of this study, along with my distinct research focus of prestige. By additionally collecting data from orchestral fixers to ascertain 'collecting the research data via a number of sources' (Creswell, 2005) this case study has a triangulated methodological approach which illuminates a system of action viewed from different perspectives (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg 1991).

Triangulation provides an important way of ensuring the validity of case study research, since viewing the investigation from at least two different points offers the prospect of a more secure, enhanced confidence in the subsequent findings, as discussed by Denzin (1984), Yin (1984), and Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg, (1991). I suggest that a multi-layered point of view is likely to bring greater depth to capture the complexity of this single case. Triangulation is just one way that my qualitative research design can address the bias that undoubtedly pervades the socially dependent nature of this type of qualitative research. Hughes, for example, incorporates 'observations, official statistics, archival material, newspapers and testimonials' as methods of research. These provide a multi layered view, which 'permits field researchers to sustain an objective point of view' (Hughes, 1943: 276).

In sum, I suggest that this case study orchestra provides a backdrop to explore how musicians interact in the subtlest and most complex ways, and I suggest that the notion of a prestige economy is an ideal focus to understand this particular group of orchestral musicians.

Limitations- transcribing the data by hand

Transcribing by hand is a labour-intensive systematic process that involves rigorous rereading and sorting to ensure that all the transcribed material is considered. It is undoubtedly more cumbersome to reduce data and conduct iterative coding by hand, simply because it is laborious, so this was, perhaps, a limitation. Nevertheless, my personal preference was to categorize by hand for the following reasons:

In general, software tools facilitate the process of coding and thus inevitably speed up the coding process. However, I was concerned that this type of coding and retrieval might decontextualize the data, given my particular habits of work. Although computer software facilitates easy comparison of the same themes, the theoretical thinking and analysis were the tasks that needed to be carried out by me, the researcher. Since I was interested in the perspectives of the musicians in their context, rather than as abstract words, my analysis of the pilot study data needed to take consideration of the specific orchestral context in which the themes might arise.

The transcriptions took place within a few days of each interview, and I transcribed the interviews in full (for an example, see Appendix D). Possibly one could argue that using index cards is an old-fashioned and sluggish system; however, I found that having transcribed the interviews from the cassette player I could easily read and listen to the transcriptions, coding and grouping the responses according to common themes, and it felt a straightforward system. In analyzing by hand, I needed to rely on rereading the transcribed data over and over as the context changed. Whereas, using software I would have been able to read the data just once in context during the process of initial coding, and develop a final analysis without ever returning to the fully contextualized data. This would have been less time-consuming, but less thorough.

A benefit in using software is the effortlessness in providing statistics involving proportions of text, and this can be seen to utilize the data more fully than the handwritten approach. However, I decided that using software would lead me to perform types of analysis more suited to quantitative data analysis, for example, by analyzing my qualitative data quantitatively. I considered that this would be at the expense of my preferred conceptual and theoretical descriptions.

Although there is clearly value in both manual and electronic tools in qualitative data

analysis (and I remain open to the advantages of each), I considered that, in general terms, the structure of analysis is a matter of researcher preference. This reflects differences in an individual's preferred approach to information-processing styles. Software programs do not actually 'conduct' the qualitative analysis, they are simply tools to assist in archiving, organizing and retrieving the data; and software does not decide what can be coded, and in what way. Rather, it identifies categorizing patterns. Since software does not tell me how to analyze my data and does not do the analytical thinking for me, I opted to analyze the data by hand, essentially, as I preferred to be flexible in the development of creative solutions for the type of data that was particularly rich in descriptive experiences.

Although software tools would enable me to categorize with speed and efficiency by extracting significant material with ease, I concluded that software programs are just another tool with faults and with benefits. I resolved that the notion of rich description was more flexible, and I determined that it enhanced reflexive modes of thinking. I was therefore happy to reject any methods and tools that would not serve my type of data and my type of problem.

Limitations- insider perspective

The significance of being a professional bassoon-playing researcher is that my research is threaded with the narratives of insider and outsider issues, and these can be pointed to as limitations of this study. For example, one could argue that I present the orchestra in an unrealistically favorable light through my own understanding of what it feels like to be an orchestral musician. The orchestral world is intrinsically familiar to me, and yet as an insider researcher 'the comfortable sense of being 'at home' is a danger signal ... There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual distance' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 90). Nevertheless, rather than a limitation I will examine whether my insider's position as an orchestral musician is a limitation or, in fact a key positive aspect in this study.

The most obvious key positive aspect of being an insider is that I am a 'gatekeeper' with the ready access to a large number of willing participants. In practical terms, a challenge for any researcher like me is to gain access to the people I study. As an insider I have found myself well positioned to make use of my own musical contacts which an outsider does not have access to. For example, as Duffy claims, 'it is easier to gain access to participants as an established member of the community to be studied' (Duffy, 2015: citing Gaunt, 2011). The

benefits of being an insider are that I am completely comfortable interacting musically and socially within an orchestral situation, I have a breadth of musical knowledge, and I share familiar language, culture and discourse. I can understand the relationships that orchestral musicians have with the conductor, the management and each other. I have insight into the orchestral social world, which means I know what questions to ask.

As a respected member of the orchestral community, I have brought a significantly rich quantity and quality of empirical data to this study from more than one hundred well-considered and long-established professional orchestral musicians. This highly skilled group of professional musicians have brought a wide-ranging, independent and collective perspective of those who are successful in the accumulation of capital in the orchestral world. These musicians are required to play at a very high level of musical expertise; they have a proven track record of self-discipline, working alone and with other musicians, spending many hours practicing, and have the ability to accept criticism and rejection. As a bassoon player at this level, these are the qualities that I also have, and therefore I bring different approaches and questions concerning the orchestral profession than an outsider researcher would. However, this is a possible limitation, since my professional knowledge as an orchestral musician is part of how I view the world, and this will inevitably influence the research.

The limitation to having an insider perspective is that I have become privy to certain information that the non-orchestral world has not has access to, and therefore my relationship with my orchestral community influences this investigation, and vice versa. I have experienced things sufficiently that I perceive myself to be certain of them, and as Duncan states, 'there is a place in scholarship for shining the light of research where one stands for attempting to know one's own experience and sharing that knowledge' (Duncan, 2004: 4). Therefore, I recognize that being an insider influences my analytical approach to the research question, the chosen literature, the chosen method, the interview questions, and to the data analyzed. Questions, problems and challenges are recognized through my familiarity as an inside practitioner. Yet DeLyser (2001) and Hewitt-Taylor (2002) emphasize that the researcher's prior knowledge brings assumptions and interpretations of what people mean, and this may lead to misunderstandings.

Outsiders are more easily able to observe events and situations critically (Schuetz, 1944; Wolff, 1950). This is because being familiar with the discourse eliminates the possible benefit of a learning process that an outsider will undergo; which for an outsider may add insights

arising from the learning process. Additionally, it is thought that insiders overlook things that seem predictable and make assumptions without seeking clarification (Hermann, 1989; Rooney, 2000; Sikes and Potts, 2008; Smyth & Holian, 2008).

Although my methodological positioning brings both advantages and disadvantages, nevertheless, I would argue that there is an overwhelming support in the literature for the value of inside research. The participants are my colleagues, speaking the same 'insider language' and understanding the local values (Coghlan, 2003; Herrmann, 1989; Rouney, 2005; Tedlock, 2000). Outsiders cannot produce a valuable research perspective (Lewis, 1973); outsiders take time to understand the cultural conventions and may find it difficult to be immersed in an unfamiliar social setting in which one is a stranger (Brannan, 2011; Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013; Kenny, 2008). In some respects, orchestral musicians are a cohesive group in terms of the many shared understandings embedded in kinship, and I am 'part of the culture and can interpret words and gestures as they do' (Wax, 1971). Being an insider to the orchestral world is useful because I can simply take the orchestral discourse for granted. This means that my insider's perspective and my informal approach during the interviews encourage non-hierarchical easygoing and collaborative relationships. I am able to make use of my own musical knowledge and assess conversational nuances that I am hearing. Morgan (2006) suggests 'the slogans, evocative language, symbols, stories, myths, ceremonies, rituals and patterns of tribal behavior that decorate the surface of organizational life, merely give clues to the existence of a much deeper and all-pervasive system of meaning' (Morgan, 2006: 133). Insiders have a great deal of knowledge, which takes an outsider a long time to acquire (Smyth and Holian, 2008). For example, insiders are familiar with the policies and hierarchies of the organization, along with knowing how to approach people. Therefore, being an insider within the orchestral world means that I need to think less about what words spoken in an interview might mean, and more about what they might reveal about underlying concepts. This lessens the risk of reporting unrepresentative views of the participants.

In conclusion, I acknowledge that although though I am not a member of the specific orchestra I have studied, as a researcher I have made choices about what to research, who the participants will be, what to write, and what theoretical literature to read. Furthermore, I acknowledge that I am potentially influential. So rather than trying to avoid the complexity by trying to separate myself from the participants, I acknowledge my centrality to the research, and conclude that there are strong arguments for both insider and outsider research.

Bias

As a professional orchestral musician working in London, I know nearly every participant in this study personally. Therefore, I can never truly be objective. Everything I have listened to in the interviews has been filtered through personal experience and my own way of seeing the orchestral world. In transcribing data, I have interpreted what the participants may mean; relating it to what I already know and believe. I acknowledge therefore, that a reflexive approach is particularly important.

Reflexivity addresses the distortions or preconceptions researchers unwittingly introduce in their qualitative designs, and it is considered that being reflexive enhances transparency, and encourages trustworthy research (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013; Duneier, 1999; Tracy, 2004). Reflexivity seems a helpful paradigm for the construction of a methodologically rigorous theoretical framework to avoid generating an idiosyncratic interpretation of the research. In the previous section, I have acknowledged that my own experiences have influenced the research, carrying the risk that objectivity may have been compromised. Without intending to, my own identifiable and indefinable interpretations have permeated my explicit choices throughout the study. My particular bias connects to the orchestral musicians' ideological thinking about themselves, through my own ideologies of orchestral practice.

Insider research clearly has an impact on issues of bias and the reliability and validity of the research, and therefore it is 'important to understand how one's subjectivity shapes the investigation and its findings' (Merriam & Simpson, 1995: 98). I have argued that in my view the positive implications of being familiar with orchestral knowledge and of being an orchestral insider outweigh the disadvantages. Nevertheless, 'being the primary instrument for data collection and analysis carries with it a responsibility to identify one's shortcomings and biases that might impact the study'... 'Not to make a qualitative study more objective, but to understand how one's subjectivity shapes the investigation and its findings' (Merriam & Simpson, 1995: 98).

I have needed to question my role as an orchestral musician as well as a developing researcher in order to consider how my subjectivity shapes my research, and my position in relation to it. I am not central to this particular study but I do not stand outside of it either. Yet, being an orchestral musician inevitably colors my understanding of the particular orchestral

world that I am investigating. However, while I am an insider to the world of orchestral musicians, sharing many experiences and points of reference with the participants, I have obligations to the people I am researching, and ethical considerations, such as acknowledging my potential influence. Nevertheless, the musicians already know me as a colleague who plays the bassoon, and therefore I have an opportunity of an excellent landscape for exploring the orchestral setting.

It has been said that being a reflexive researcher requires continual awareness of unintended bias to prevent the potential of misrepresentation of the research outcomes (Alvesson, 2003; Hardy et al., 2001; Holland, 1999; Thomson and Hassencamp, 2008). Clearly it is essential to acknowledge that the researchers' expectation is likely to bring an element of bias since the researcher can never avoid subjectivity, and cannot interpret without bringing their own views; or as Denzin remarks, the 'interpretive research begins and ends with the biography and self of the researcher' (Denzin, 1989: 12). Thus, in this study I have made myself alert to the likelihood that I might make assumptions, or jump to unwarranted conclusions and misinterpretation and potentially influence the participants. However, through awareness and reflexivity I consider that my research model is rigorously systematic, whilst remaining a flexible and suitable mode of enquiry.

Ethics

Ethical approval was granted for this study by the Institute of Education through a nationally recognized ethical review body, BERA (British Education Research Association) with an ethical code of conduct suitable for my research (21/5/2012). This ensured that the ethical procedures of the study would satisfactorily deal with issues of informed consent, confidentiality, rights to privacy, protecting the participants from deception or harm. Denzin and Lincoln advise that 'qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world; their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 103).

Since the introduction of the Data Protection Act (1998), any data collection carries legal implications and anonymity is no longer simply a matter of ethics. Personal data must be anonymized to the extent that it can never be reconstructed to identify the individual. The mechanism to protect the identity of the research participants in this study has been discussed in chapter 6, 'Actualizing the research', which describes how the integral feature of this study

is anonymity through the allocation of pseudonyms. I have not presented the name of the orchestra, nor the names and ages of the participants in this study, as by revealing these details I would compromise their anonymity. In terms of confidentiality, all of the data is anonymous in the final report, and one can attribute nothing back to an individual participant.

I have obtained consent, ensured confidentiality, been aware of the collection of data on sensitive topics, and taken a reflexive stance towards the analysis. I take full responsibility for ensuring appropriate storage and security for all of the study information, including research data and administrative records. Where appropriate, I have made the necessary arrangements to process copyright material lawfully and I will keep the data in a locked cabinet for at least three years after the study. As the sole investigator, I have requested the participants' consent to audio-record their interviews, and have transcribed the data myself. As with Oppenheim, I take the view that 'no harm should come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the research' (Oppenheim, 1992: 83), yet the aim of ethical review is not only to protect participants, but also to protect me, the researcher.

Although I have made great efforts to ensure this study will not cause significant harm to the participants, I note that undertaking insider research can nevertheless be problematic. For example, I recognise that the ethical guidelines are founded in the premise that the research is engaged with participants with whom I have had no prior relationships, yet this is clearly not the case. Gaining privileged information potentially puts me, the researcher, in a position of power over those participants who have a direct influence over my own career, and with whom I shall need to continue in professional relationships after the research.

Limitations- inequality; age, gender, race and class

The scale and complexity of this investigation has required careful attention to define the specific focus of the case study orchestra and its relationship concerning the prestige economy.

Prestige is, by its nature, seen to be excluding. For example, the findings point to ways that prestige is attached to, or associated with, capital resources of networking through important and helpful connections with groups exclusively for men (for example, Freemasonry, <http://www.ugle.org.uk>). In a western classical music culture of old-boy networking and well-established practice, norms are handed down historically. Even though there are many women engaged as orchestral musicians, if the orchestral fixers who hire the musicians are men, the male is the main architect of the orchestra. Additionally, if one considers that men hold

positions of power in terms of orchestral fixing, one must also consider that women may strategize differently as orchestral players, for example, by displaying aspects of their sexuality to enhance their image on the concert platform. It could be suggested that blind auditions are one reason for the increasing proportion of women musicians in orchestras, where musicians audition behind a curtain rather than the traditional means of personal recommendations and contacts. However, whilst symphony orchestras are coerced into gender-blind audition policies for musicians, the same is not true for fixers, nor for highly visible orchestral leadership posts, nor, incidentally, for conductors.

Specific issues that raise concern to me the researcher are highlighted by the orchestra's obvious gendered inequalities; the majority of fixers are male and none are black. It would be problematic to oversimplify the reasons for this. For example, perhaps this particular demographic merely reflects this specific participating orchestra. Yet, if the majority of orchestral fixers who hire the musicians are men, this implies that men hold the positions of power. The magnitude and complexity of these and other findings makes it necessary to place gender issues outside the scope of this thesis. This is because in order to examine the extent to which gender affects the practices of orchestral musicians, one must examine innumerable barriers, such as infrequent family-friendly work practices and maternity leave.

My analysis does not focus on the gendered aspects of work in the orchestral music profession, nor on issues of age, race and class, even though it is considered that the field of classical music is marked by inequalities along the lines of gender, race, and class (Taylor and Littleton, 2012). Rather, this study looks at ways in which orchestral musicians attempt to make sense of and negotiate ongoing inequalities, such as race and gender imbalance. Inequalities in the workplace are social justice issues, and the findings in this study clearly indicate the need for more research. I argue that issues of inequalities in the orchestral music profession belong to the broader research context, and I suggest that this study should be regarded as a starting point for future analysis. This is not to diminish the importance of inequalities as an issue; however, it is to bring awareness to the limitations and gaps in my research.

Validity

In terms of the contentious term 'validity', or what Wolcott (1994) calls 'rigorous subjectivity' my empirical research relies on measuring constructs that are difficult to measure. It initially became clear to me that relatively little material has been written about the cultural practice

of orchestral musicians, and certainly little has been written about orchestral musicians in the context of reputation and prestige. There have been many critical studies of the classical music world and a wide variety of research concerning musicians (for example, Becker, 1973; Bennett, 2008; Bogdan, 2008; Cohen, 1991; Cottrell, 2004; Creech, et al, 2008; DeNora, 2000; Finnegan, 1989; Fournas et al, 1995; Green, 2010; Martin, 1995; and Willis, 1978, etc.). Musicologists are concerned with historic texts; critical musicologists are associated with western popular music; new musicologists look to psychological perspectives, and others consider musicians in terms of gender studies and psychoanalysis. Researchers such as Davidson and Scutt (1999) provide a major source of quantitative information about musical achievement; Borthwick (2000) is concerned with reflexivity; and Ginsburgh and Van Ours (2003) examine music competitions and festivals. However, researchers such as Bull propose that there is a demonstrable gap in the existing literature, suggesting that 'most research of classical music tends not to comprise contemporary cultural practice' (Bull, 2015: 13).

The following examples of research concerning contemporary cultural practice include studies of the cultural system of the conservatoire (Kingsbury, 1988); university music schools (Nettle, 1995); local music-making (Finnegan, 1989); the classical music profession in Britain (Cottrell, 2004), and music, gender and education (Green, 1997). However, 'surprisingly the quantity of research surrounding the social experiences of musicians is fairly limited' (Davidson, 2004: 72). El-Ghadaban gives reason for this, suggesting that 'Western art music tends to be analyzed as reflections of larger musical and cultural ideologies, such as absolute music, talent and genius, individuality, artistic subjectivity; but not as concrete processes of recognition and identity formation' (El-Ghadaban: 2009: 36).

Questions of validity can never be answered with complete certainty, however, the objective of this study is simply to provide insight into an orchestral world using appropriate research methods and a systematic multi-perspective research design. I have turned to a wide range of literature, histories, analyses, academic articles and journals, textbooks and presentations from academic sources in order to gain a thorough academic perspective of the published work in this field. Additionally, the large breadth of interview data, the sociological literature, the prestige theoretical framework, the years of personal orchestral experience and the triangulated research component have all contributed to my wide research perspective.

Conclusion

The research design is the methodology and process I have followed to answer my research question, through an interpretive framework that seeks to understand the social world from the perspective of the participants. There are many unique facets of this study such as the public nature of performance, which could make it easy to recognize the professional musicians in a study such as this. In this chapter, I have outlined how I have been required to withhold the musician's demographic information to avoid the possibility of revealing their identity, and yet I have represented the participants in some ways, by disclosing their specific musical roles.

The study is an in-depth investigation of one case study orchestra. The viewpoints of orchestral musicians, orchestral fixers and the theoretical literature bring a multi-perspective view to this particular study.

I emphasize that this research presents a snapshot in time and is not a longitudinal study, as these are members and extras of a particular orchestra who worked together on one specific occasion. Three key factors enabled me to obtain permission and readily gain access to the musicians who took part in this study:

- First, I have extensive knowledge of the field of study, based on thirty years' experience of professional orchestral life. This makes me very well networked and able to readily gain access to interviewees at all levels of the organization and beyond it.
- Second, the subject of the study has proven to be of considerable interest to the orchestral management and participants, who comment that it deals with the aspects of their working life that they are seldom able to discuss explicitly.
- Third, the almost universal use of Facebook and other forms of social media by potential interviewees has meant that continual communication has been readily available for the easy exchange of contact information. This has made it possible to be in touch and arrange mutually convenient times for data gathering.

I conclude that the flexible and iterative process of questioning and discussion was open to me, in particular, because of my professional positioning.

Chapter 8- Data analysis: Playing second fiddle

Introduction

In the following two chapters, I intend to capture the most evocative points illuminated in analysis of the data and I present the interpretations as assertions with representative quotations. Thematic analysis develops explanations from the data, and the data extracts are illustrative examples of specific circumstances of the individual musicians. The interview responses are shaped by the unique circumstances, and by the musicians' ideas about orchestral life, and for reasons of confidentiality, the participants are not named.

The participants are allocated pseudonyms to protect their anonymity and one can attribute nothing back to an individual participant. I do not present the name of the orchestra, nor the names and ages of the participants in order to protect the careers of the musician participants at all costs. The data analysis involves 112 symphony orchestra musicians, and 45 orchestral fixers. Each participant has been assigned an alias defined by their instrument, and their individual position in the orchestral section is labelled with an alphabetical letter, for example, 'flute a', 'flute b' 'flute c'. The letters refer to their orchestral rank. For example, flute 'a' is the principal flautist in the flute section. Although I described the fixers numerically, for example: 'fixer 12', the numbers given are not suggestive of rank, but simply an identifying title. I describe the fixers who are also musicians as, for example, 'fixer 12/ trombone 'b'. The letter 'b' is suggestive of their rank in the trombone section. The letters a is written 'a' to avoid confusion.

Section one- The musician as an individual

I have divided this chapter into two sections: 'The musician as an individual', and 'The musician as part of a group'. The rationale for structuring the chapter in the way I do is to examine the data through a variety of separate perspectives. I consider how the musicians negotiate their struggle to be an autonomous individual musician whilst relying on the security of being a part of an orchestra, proposing the notion that 'what the individual does, can be understood only by using the collectivity as a point of reference' (Hughes, 1996: 5).

Responses showed indications of the competitive nature of the orchestral workplace, whilst at the same time the importance of credibility with one's peers. The following response of violin player j shows the importance of credibility:

'I do my best to be, and look, totally reliable in every way and give a 'good-egg' impression. It's important to be easy-going and be thought of as someone you'd want in your lifeboat' (violin player j).

The violin player j feels the need to adapt in order to fit in with the group, whilst also the need to be seen to fit in by others, explaining their response, saying:

'Basically I can be anything for anybody. A listener, an anecdote teller. Whatever the date, whatever the band, whoever the audience, I'll be the person the fixer wants me to be. Short skirt, long skirt, pots of make-up, or demure' (violin player j).

I suggest that a reason for violin player j's reply is the need to look supportive of colleagues and easy to work with, and to be seen by others in a certain way. Bass clarinet player 'a' draws us to consider that with the ever-widening online public performances that are accessible by colleagues nationally and internationally, a very wide circle of colleagues can critically appraise them.

'The fact that I'm on public view makes it twice as hard. It's each musician's job to make damn sure that they as musicians- and the whole orchestra- sounds and looks great' (bass clarinet player 'a').

Bass clarinet player 'a' is suggesting that not only do the public and orchestral management judge their individual performance, but also so do other orchestral musicians. The orchestral musicians need to be seen to be of the highest standard individually and collectively; and I would assume that this gives reason for issues of solidarity with one's colleagues on one hand, and the competitive issues on the other. Harp player b further describes:

'A combination of teamwork and responsibility gives us a lot in common. Us musos are highly creative, high achieving entrepreneurs. We find out how to get to where we want to be, and then we find where the opportunities lie. And then we take risks to present as professional people and to highly achieve' (harp player b).

The notion of being a 'high-achiever' appears as a constant theme in the analysis of the data. High standards of technique and prowess on an instrument are clearly a vital job

requirement, and yet curiously are not perceived to result in opportunities for work. Thus, working with an orchestra regularly is not necessarily seen as a reflection of high standards of technique and prowess on an instrument. Furthermore, high standards of technique and prowess on an instrument is not a guarantee of further work, since if the fixer changes or the principal of a section leaves, the 'extra list' is likely to be reshuffled. Flute player 'a' describes their perplexity concerning who is offered work:

'This is something I've never been able to put my finger on. Why the fixer books who he books. Any movement up and down lists has been (to my mind) seemingly random. I used to think that having a great technique, knowing the repertoire, turning up on time, looking smart, being available and loyal to their orchestra, would do the trick. Also, doing stuff like NOT missing the bus to the airport at the end of the tour, not creating a scene in the hotel bar, etc. But it wasn't until I got in with my old teacher and he gave me a leg-up into the profession that I learned it wasn't what you know, but who you know' (flute player 'a').

The noteworthy phrase, 'It's not what you know, but who you know', describes the flute player's belief that certain musicians are systematically advantaged by knowing the right people. Flute player 'a' continues with perplexity...

'It all seems like a matter of luck. The way musicians are treated varies enormously and I'm not entirely sure why. At receptions and musical functions, some musicians are definitely seen to have greater prestige. For example, principal players are greeted by the management, soloists, conductor, and yet some players are barely noticed' (flute player 'a').

From this, one can assume that the musicians believe that high standards of technique and prowess on an instrument do not necessarily result in opportunities for work. A perception of some participants is that some fortunate musicians have good luck early in their careers, and from there it just grows. Principal 2nd violin offers,

'People who've had good luck and been at the right place at the right time can pick the dates they want to do, or do some examining and adjudicating, or sit on audition panels. They may teach for one of the music colleges, and then the fixer will choose whether or not to send them to out-of-town dates and grotty touring, or instead, do the A-team gigs' (principal 2nd violin).

Although it is clear that excellent musicianship is always valued, explanations for why some musicians have more opportunities for work-gain remains an enigma. Double bass player e considers this:

'If you want to get work, I suspect it's as simple as: don't give anyone ammunition to trash you behind your back. Be reliable, punctual, well prepared and fit into whichever existing orchestral teams you are working for. Perform to a high standard in all situations, all of the time. Arrive early; fit in, and use ring-craft; go for tea with the boys, say bravo to the principal and get the hell out. Never moan to anybody, because whoever it is they are likely to be married to management' (double bass player e).

(Ring-craft, perhaps from the boxing term, refers to a musicians' practiced expertise).

The analysis shows that the individual musicians feel as if they have to adjust their sound quality to the ever-changing environments of each orchestral occasion. Violin player f presents an example:

'Life in an orchestra is a double-edged sword for a musician who practices countless hours a day to find a unique quality to their sound. It's not surprising that they resent the idea of conformity, because both they and their playing have to be absorbed within the entirety of the orchestra which changes its circumstances at the drop of a hat' (violin player f).

An example of a changing circumstance is that the principal clarinet player in the participating orchestra was playing third clarinet the previous night. Therefore, the social identity of an orchestral musician changes, which is described as being 'united in struggle' (violin player f). Violin player f elaborates on their term, 'united in struggle':

'The struggle is because even seasoned pros get nervous. Everyone's in the same boat, and anybody who puts a foot wrong will not be asked back. The struggle is because you have to keep out of the way of the carver, flatter the principal--or if you are the principal, flatter the other principals. Not only that, but you must never outprice yourself. We're all skint, but don't push the fees, otherwise someone will assume it's your fault if ever the whole section didn't get asked back' (violin player f).

('Carver' is a nickname for a conductor, who looks perhaps like they are carving the orchestra into sections; 'seasoned pro' refers to an experienced professional).

The overarching concern is of not getting 'asked back'. The violinist attributes some work loss to situations beyond one's control:

'What makes a professional orchestral musician is the ability to perform to a high level under pressure and swift sight-reading. Punctuality essential. Someone reliable. Answers calls quickly, doesn't ask too many questions, and doesn't pull out of gigs. Basically, someone who makes everybody's job easy. Also, regulars can complain as much as they like, but if an extra is a complainer, they won't get asked back. But beware...someone can come up behind you and steal your work in a blink of an eye' (violin player f).

The data continuously refers to a free-floating professional collegueship with all orchestral musicians in general, and not just the colleagues in this participating orchestra. This explains why the musicians are described as needing to have the same behavior as the other musicians, to fit in with anyone, and yet also be seen to remain an individual who can blend in. An orchestral leader gives an example of this dilemma:

'I'll give you an idea of how adaptable we have to be. It's quite a difficult problem to decide what to wear from orchestra to orchestra. Some, you'd try to look younger, some you'd try to look older, some are more casual, and some more glamorous. Also, if you were playing principal like me, and the repertoire was serious, you try to look a bit more formal' (leader).

One could interpret this to mean that even the clothes one chooses to wear off the concert

platform play a part in terms of shared ways of doing things. However, it seems that the musicians believe that the better a musician is able to fit in and adapt to changing circumstances, and yet to be known to be easy-going, the more options and opportunities they will have. Violin player k describes the following:

‘In some contemporary orchestras I play with, everything is an experiment. It is either a commission, improvisation or an arrangement of something. Some pieces will be completely notated, some improvised and some based on a graphic score. I worry that people come to our concerts and hate the pieces. I hate the pieces; all of us hate the pieces...but we’d never say so! If a regular player said, ‘good piece’...of course I’d heartily agree with him! (violin player k).

Cello player c further describes the necessity to ‘deliver the goods’ whatever the circumstances, not to be arrogant or self-absorbed, to be confident and work professionally at all times no matter what the engagement is, not to be selfish or demonstrate arrogance or condescension. This cellist explains that orchestral life is not easy, because of the expectation of expert technical mastery, lack of sleep, and the threat of no work:

‘We’re supposed to be able to play anything, be technically safe, emotionally steady, supportive, inspirational, a cooperative team member. But with the available amount of rehearsal time I often show up in the afternoon faced with pieces I might not have seen for years, and have to perform them that night. So clearly, I have to fake it with ring-craft. Predictably, it’s no wonder I self-medicate with coke. In the first instance it is helpful to stay awake, and on tour there isn’t always opportunity for much sleep’ (cello player c).

Furthermore, the cellist along with several other participants bring to our attention the widespread use of drugs. The drugs mentioned are cocaine, marijuana, beta blockers and alcohol; and the reason that the musicians in this study turn to these substances are described as: ‘anxiety release’; ‘staying awake’; ‘stress and tension’; and for ‘confidence’. Violin player h gives an example:

'I take beta blockers if I know we're going to play something pearly. It calms my dreadful tremors and shaky bow-arm and has a relaxing effect so I can enjoy the music' (violin player h).

Horn player d also describes drug-taking:

'I haven't taken an audition ever, without taking beta blockers. It cuts the frightening edge, and I play much better when I'm not terrified' (horn player d).

The necessity to hide personal stress and tensions on a daily basis appears to be essential, giving the appearance on concert platforms of absolute poise and control whilst presenting a self-assured group performance. Trombone d player gives an example of this:

'When I was on tour doing 'Bolero' I got total stage-fright about cocking up. I was knackered. The plane was delayed, and the whole orchestra was jet-lagged and exhausted and it was a hit-and-run concert with just one overnight. That meant a three-hour coach ride from the venue, and even in the concert hall the temperature was boiling and schedule was just unrealistic. I played badly. Under those circumstances we were all exhausted, yet if you give the impression you played badly, kiss of death. You're only as good as your last concert and you'll not get asked back' (trombone player d).

Similar comments about touring are mentioned, and the following is an example from viola player f:

'Thanks to cuts in rehearsal time, poor hotel accommodation and unrealistic schedules, I find the touring aspects difficult, and I wonder what the stats are for marital longevity amongst musicians?' (viola player f).

Marital longevity and sexual infidelity are mentioned profusely in the data, and in particular in relation to touring. 'What's on tour, stays on tour' is commonly described as the way that colleagues turn a blind eye to the infidelity of others. Trust and loyalty is vital in this

particular matter. This is because not only do fixers employ these musicians, but these musicians also hire one another to replace each other as deputies. Therefore, when a musician chooses a deputy there are many judgements, which need to be made, and these judgements involve consideration of how the colleague is perceived by others. Thus if a musician is not seen to be open-minded about sexual infidelity they are unlikely to be offered work since this could be problematic amongst colleagues; alluded to by bassoon player b:

‘Some things are spread around by gossip, but some things need to be discreetly overlooked, especially on tour, otherwise you don’t get asked back’ (bassoon player b).

Discretion also plays an inherent part in the honor-bound commitments to give work back to those who have offered you work, and this economy relies on mutual dependence of expectations. Thus, musicians need to give their colleagues good reason to see them in a good light, and building trusting relationships plays an important part. Financial capital is clearly essential, although not the primary reason for the musicians to seek work. Flute player c reflects on this:

‘The musician’s pay reflects the value society puts on classical musicians and classical music. An ageing audience won’t/can’t stomach £50 - £100 for a normal ticket so the pay of the average muso reflects this. Posh work looks reasonably well paid, but only compared to the average rate for a gig. I found out that my local high street solicitor charges £210 per hour!!! I’ve often wondered why society expects to pay a plumber or electrician £200 per day yet seems to not be able to sustain a reasonable wage for a musician’ (flute player c).

As we have seen in the literature review, most orchestral musicians are paid per session, so the amount they earn depends on how much they work. There is an inconsistency in earnings from one orchestral musician to another because of various systems of ‘doubling’ and instrument hire-fees. Principal percussionist describes this:

‘You have to play the game, but you first have to know what the game is. We love our job but it is not essential to earn good money; yet reality of living and paying

the bills plays a part, and so we swap around a bit, and we'll have a few principal rates, and a bit of hire fee and portage. We make a hell of a lot more for a concert than the pond life' (principal percussionist).

Nevertheless, a dilemma for the participants is how they balance their aesthetic principals while taking care of finances. For example, clarinet player b explains:

'I truly feel lucky to do what I do, and don't regret for a second the choices I made in life that have made me end up where I am now. My buzz is being able to play the instrument to a high standard, and having the antennae to listen to your colleagues, not necessarily to copy them but to be aware of phrasing, style and delivery from all around you. But I long to play at the highest level, and I get stuck in a rut, because I have to do mundane stuff to pay my mortgage' (clarinet player b).

Central to this debate about the individual musician is also clarinet b player's notion of musicianship:

'Orchestral creativity requires effort, and relies on combined skill and mutually aesthetic goals. At the best of times, I feel like a vessel for the music. Orchestral playing feels profound in that it brings us together on a deeper level, and my identity is temporarily suspended. Right from when I was learning, the instrument feels like it became my voice, and I bare my soul and express my deepest thoughts and feelings. Being a musician isn't a career, it's a vocation. The remuneration is a disgrace, but I don't care' (clarinet player b).

The implication is that orchestral musicians have at least one single motivation in common with one another, which is to play an instrument and perform.

'So when everybody plays with technical expertise, the intention is to give the performance something special that makes the hairs stand up on the back of your arms; and we all share in the knowledge that we're not doing it for the money' (clarinet player b).

However, in order to participate in further orchestral opportunities, they will need to further their own career prospects by deriving a network of social relationships. Trombone player b describes this:

'I think that networking is still considered a bit of a dirty word in orchestral circles. I'd rather be thought of as 'good company'. Clearly, networking is an integral part of most businesses, but the blurring of work and social spheres in musical life makes people try to separate the 'playing' part from the 'people' part. Networking still goes on, but it is distasteful if it is done too obviously. The networking I do mostly involves going for drinks after work where I might have preferred to go home, or keeping in touch with a work colleague or work friend whom I may have otherwise not have done, in case that connection may lead to work' (trombone player b).

The notion of being good company is understandable, since the musicians have to spend a good deal of time together both during work hours but also in the breaks between rehearsals, which often involves sharing a meal, not to mention the hours spent together when an orchestra is on tour. Furthermore, horn player d's view is that the better the reputation of a musician the more options and opportunities they will have, and observes:

'There are a lot of good players out there, so you don't want to be discounted from an orchestra's list for being miserable, annoying, boring or extreme in any way' (horn player d).

So it seems reasonable to conclude that the underlying reasons for some of the decisions that the musicians make, are to fit in and be adaptable in all they do, in the way they look, their sound quality, the way they behave, how they respond to one another musically, what they say, and moreover, what they do not say. Thus, an emergent theme throughout the data is that the participants have a conscious awareness of the importance of the construction of their own distinctiveness as a musician, whilst being adaptable and fitting in with the group.

Section two- The musician as part of a group

In this section, I examine the analysis of the data, which shows that prestige-building motivations may not be consciously realized, or admitted. However, in the orchestral sections of this case study orchestra there are principal players, players 'down-the-line' and 'extras', and each musician appears to strive to compete and network with one another for status or for influence. Status clearly plays a large part in the way in which the musician participants interact, assigning permissions to one another who hold certain roles. Clarinet player c observes:

'In this orchestra, just like in any other contract orchestra the rule is that the extra player buys the teas for the rest of the section, even if they themselves don't even drink tea! In a freelance band it's either the youngest/least experienced member, or the furthest down the line, like the 3rd. In reality, I haven't always found this to be the case – some orchestras maintain that they will buy the tea for the guest (playing principal or further down the line), or if there are several days' work we all just take turns. I did recently hear a tale of an ex-teacher of mine being phoned by a principal bassoon of a London orchestra to say 'we had one of your pupils in last week, he was very good but you didn't teach him the most important thing about playing... he didn't know to buy the tea!' (clarinet player c).

Although this orchestra has a strong sense of collegiality, clarinet player c shows the distinctive way in which the musicians frown upon non-conformity. Bassoon player 'a' continues,

'I spend a lot of time, socially as well as in work, with the other wind players, and there is certainly a sense of common identity in our role as musicians, for example, jokes about crap reeds. There is a strong sense of solidarity' (bassoon player 'a').

The data corroborates the literature (for example, Kemp, 1996) that each orchestral section 'feels' as though they have their own particular discourse and identity. Double bass player b offers examples:

'Brass have an anarchistic approach, and are naughty, rowdy boys. Violins are sheep, violas are eccentric, and woodwind border on suicidal. Percussion are unstable, are experts at golf and killing time. They often get away with more misbehavior than others, and tend to stick together. They also have negotiated significant fees for portage etc., as they all stick to charging the same. The sheddie mafia!' (double bass player b).

The musicians describe many distinctive ways in which orchestral sections express themselves. For example, the term 'sheddie,' in the quotation above, is specific to the percussion section. This term refers to the way that percussionists are required to hire and deliver 'shed-loads' of equipment, arrive early at each concert venue in plenty of time to set up, and therefore have longer time to socialize in the pub than other sections. The 'mafia' term refers to the way that it is taken in turns for them during each concert, to play the different percussion instruments, thus collecting numerous principal fees in every concert. The sheddies also accrue hiring and portage fees, and jokes are made about their particularly high fees. The term 'sheddie mafia' is just one of a huge number of specific orchestral social descriptions and conventions, which an outsider is unlikely to comprehend. Language such as this can be seen as a social practice, which can support or deny social conformity of a particular group. Violin player d describes a shared sense of status:

'For a 2nd fiddle player, no-one appreciates flair and individuality, but being considered 'solid and reliable' would generate more work. For first positions, 'They're just so musical' is often used to describe a player with a good reputation. For a freelance musician, it being known, that a player has been on trial or considered for a prestigious job increases their prestige. But it is always best if this information is gleaned second hand rather from the player themselves!' (violin player d).

It is understandable that the participants are likely to become influenced by social experiences, habits, use of language and social interaction just as anyone else; observing the behavior of their colleagues and responding to taken-for-granted understandings. People adapt their views about how they and others ought to behave, fitting themselves into stereotypes. One can assume that since the sectional players of strings, wind, brass and percussion play different types of instrument this maintains their 'apartness' from each others' orchestral sections. For example, bassoon player b talks about the time between rehearsal and concert:

'If I have a close friend on the same gig, I would spend it with them, but if not, I would spend it with the bassoon section providing they seem amenable! This is for two reasons: one is networking based, but the other is the obvious one that they are the people you've got most in common with and just spent 3 hours sitting next to and sporadically chatting to. The paradox is that I'm just a tiny individual in a music profession where I have to look like I fully support my section by being part of their tribe' (bassoon player b).

This brings an example of ways that the musicians feel strongly socialized into their orchestral sections by being, in some way, defined by the instrument that they play, and adapt characteristics in order to fit in with one another. Orchestral normative behaviors and common orchestral practices are clearly complicated as a notion, because the truth about what is 'normal' behavior is swept along through a large body of anecdote, caricature, stereotype and jokes. Throughout the data, it is clear that the orchestral musicians view themselves and their colleagues as having stereotypical characteristics, which in some way reflect the instrument they play. For example, the following is the view of percussion player b:

'The trumpet boys on tour are far worse than us. They use touring as an excuse to go out on the lash, and invariably things get out of control; after concerts it's booze and kebabs, rub and tug' (percussion player b).

Orchestral culture such as this may not generally be written about, and yet is widely shared. The following example of horn player c illustrates further anecdotal insights:

'Brass players have a historical loudness and drinking culture that I believe many now don't actually want to go along with, but feel they have to live up to. Windies tend to be more individual characters. Oboes are usually neurotic. Clarinets, some, a bit arrogant, or is that just confidence? Flutes slightly bonkers, or arrogant! Bassoons enjoy a laugh! Strings cover all sorts, but generally, they do, sort of, have a herd mentality.' (horn player c).

This opens up many questions about the views of the role that musicians may have acquired

just by playing the instrument they have chosen to play, and where these views have come from. Trumpet player b suggests that:

‘An orchestral musician becomes associated with the instrument they play, insofar as the conductor will address us by the name of our instrument. The conductor doesn’t bother to call us by our name even he knows it. He will not only call the musician, ‘trumpet’, but will use more specific detail, for example, ‘second trumpet’ (trumpet player b).

From the perspective of this study, it would appear that stereotypical jokes could be seen to emphasize a musician’s shared understanding of the orchestral world, showing one another that they fit in and are insiders to the same world. For example, violin player g says:

‘You have to know when it is appropriate to stand up for your point of view and when it is more appropriate to keep your mouth shut. Some people have bigger personalities than others, and you have to make yourself fit’ (violin player g).

Social skills amongst the musicians can enable friendships and alliances through managing many relationships. Trombone player c suggests:

‘Different sections in different orchestras have different rules. Cellists being in middling sized sections tend to buy teas for 3-4 people max; sometimes no-one buys the tea and it just depends on who you’re with in the queue. Bass sections usually have a ‘runner’, and it’s someone down-the-line in the woodwinds. As soon as break is announced the allotted person rushes off to the canteen and buys teas for the whole section, usually worked out while the rehearsal is going on’ (trombone player c).

Additionally and more generally, the participants refer to players of instruments such as the contrabassoon, cor anglais and piccolo who may not be in the whole program, as having an unspoken duty to ‘get the teas in’ for the tea breaks. Stereotypical views of orchestral life are further complex and nuanced, in that players of certain instruments are simply overlooked. Piccolo player ‘a’ claims:

'As a piccolo player everyone leaves me and my section alone, but the woodwind gives the pond-life a really hard time; taking the piss and calling them gypos and stuff. There are so many second violinists who mostly look the same; I can see what they mean!' (piccolo player 'a').

This may represent the lighter side of orchestral life; or perhaps turn to humor to make their colleagues feel cheerful. A further example is from trumpet player 'a':

'How many trumpet players does it take to change a light bulb? Three! One to hold the bulb and two to drink till the room spins' (trumpet player 'a').

There is nothing new in this facet of a musician's humor, described by a timpani player as 'a way to oil the machinery of orchestral life'. This purely shows how communally minded the musicians are, with shared values and approaches. Horn player 'a' gives a reason why this may occur:

'I usually feel there's a common bond, with occasional exceptions, partly because of the treacherous nature of the instrument. Generally horn players support each other because there's a feeling that if you sneer or laugh at a colleague's mistake the next one will be yours, and when everyone is at war, it's easier just to crack a joke' (horn player 'a').

Clarinet player d confirms this view:

'You learn to co-operate by agreeing with attitudes which may not be the same as yours. You have to play with a variety of colleagues and have to fit in. You have to look like you want to be friend and be empathetic and fun sometimes. And sometimes you have to have to keep quiet and not be noticed. The ones who get on well seem to do the right thing at the right time' (clarinet player d).

Moreover, as a leader describes:

‘Musicians need to please the management and conductors, and they want to please peers, but the problem is that if you please one side too much you can upset the other’ (leader).

Here we find the ultimate social difficulty for the orchestral musicians. The musicians as individuals need to manage their own careers and fit in with others and find a way to be seen to belong. They have to resolve to be concerned about how others see them, using reputation as fuel for prestige, signaling that they are a high quality product, because as bassoon player ‘a’, suggests:

‘The music world is a small world, and everyone gets to hear what everyone gets up to, sooner or later!’ (bassoon player ‘a’).

Watching what others do, and constantly negotiating one’s social behavior can perhaps be seen to be strategic, however the example of tuba player ‘a’ provides an illustration of ways that this might happen:

‘In theory, good reputation means you keep your nose clean; you’re punctual, you do the job and you go home. But those things alone won’t work if you’re a brass player. In some orchestras, it means having to make ‘the boys’ laugh and have a good time, by telling hilarious anecdotes, telling stories about drinking, sleeping around. And at the same time, you have to show your ability to be business-like, be stoic in shit conditions and easygoing (tuba player ‘a’).

Here, the tuba player illuminates a view of the unique and idiosyncratic orchestral world. The tuba player perceives reputation-building as complex, in that a person who is seen as a capable and useful person to have around needs to build a good reputation by being someone who can be relied upon. However, extra social capital is generated by specific interactions, and in this way the musicians may need to prove themselves as credible to their specific orchestral community. There is the implication that although particular behaviors sustain relationships, by not engaging in them people may find themselves excluded. The tuba player interestingly

describes 'some orchestras', which leads us to believe that different orchestral communities may have slightly different rules and values. Viola player c takes the complexity further:

'Having a good reputation means looking confident, being punctual, having good manners, being generous when it's your turn to buy the drinks, behaving professionally, taking the work seriously, playing well and generally avoiding giving fixers any cause to doubt that you are a safe pair of hands and will not upset colleagues, promoters, conductors and cause any disruptive behavior. Having a good reputation is someone who turns up and does the job accurately without causing anyone too much grief, with accurate musical playing, a nice personality, and professionalism. Well, that would describe a rank and file viola player; but as you know they call a rank and file...wank and smile' (viola player c).

The viola player is describing ways to build a good reputation. Flute player 'a' gives a different perspective of what reputation means to them.

'When I arrive at a rehearsal I have a quick look at the other wind principals, and am either pleased or not so pleased. Who I play with makes a huge difference to how I play, and if they have a good reputation I can relax and enjoy the date' (flute player 'a').

The flute player is explaining that people are likely to feel trust when working with somebody who has a good reputation. Trumpet player b explains how to gain a good reputation:

'You build a reputation of being 'one of the boys'. You have to play with a variety of work-mates and have to fit in. You want them to offer you some of the work they haven't got time for, so you have to look like you want to be friends and empathetic and fun sometimes. And sometimes you have to have to keep quiet and not be noticed. At that point the noisy ones start to irritate other sections in the orchestra, and the ones who get on really well seem to have the instinct do exactly the right thing at the right time' (trumpet player b).

The trumpet player suggests that this sometimes means taking the responsibility for other people's shortcomings:

'If a conductor keeps picking on the intonation of the whole section, I just say, sorry maestro, there's something wrong with my lip. It'll be alright on the night' (trumpet player b).

In that example, the trumpet player is willing to take the responsibility of the tuning problem for the whole section. The implication is that this is not only in order to encourage a friendly working environment, but also to gain the trust of colleagues and giving an impression of high integrity. However, as violin player h describes:

'Musicians who have prestige outshine everybody else by being trustworthy and giving a good impression. They have earned their prestige from playing with a good orchestra, in a good position, and they teach at a London conservatoire. They are likely to teach at the conservatoire because of the orchestras they play with, and because they teach in those conservatoires the orchestras are more likely to book them. It's all circular. On all the orchestral concert programs nowadays, it's listed which conservatoires the players teach at. So round and round it goes. You just have to outshine at something, and you're suddenly in the market where everybody wants you. We call it 'jobs for the boys' (violin player h).

The musicians describe the term, 'jobs for the boys' as work generated by networks of relationships of individuals and groups of musicians. Giving colleagues work and favors culminates in rewards derived from the perceived value of that cooperation. Conversely, some networks can lead to discrimination, which serve to exclude as well as include. For example, as viola player h says,

'Some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others: better dressing rooms, better rates of pay, and the list goes on. The larger contingent of foreign players now presents bigger challenges; many issues are therefore raised with that extra ingredient, and they are looked after especially well' (viola player h).

Throughout the data analysis, one thing is clear: every participant denies that they themselves take part in networking. The impression given is that one has to network but without looking as though one is networking. Horn player c offers a perspective:

‘People get to the top of the orchestral tree with a lot of drinking, a lot of sleeping around, or some ability to be business-like and tactical. They’re basically being tactical by hooking up with someone who already has importance, and then they can either get into new networks through being with them or else they get seen to be one of the high flyers themselves’ (horn player c).

Horn player c does have an awareness about networking with people of ‘importance’ and being seen to be a ‘high flyer’ which one could argue is prestige-seeking behavior. Fixer 35, who is also a leader, believes:

‘You either have prestige or you don’t. I don’t try to get prestige, because by being a leader I already have it! Certain principal players in an orchestra such as leader, 1st oboe, 1st horn, have prestige and therefore have more leeway when it comes to time off and privileges. Older more established players may be looked upon more favorably than newcomers, but sometimes the reverse can be true, and older players are discriminated against in favor of young, fresh faces (fixer 35/ leader).

Prestige is seen to have the competitive edge, marking the musicians out from their colleagues. Trombone player c suggests:

‘Prestige is when a stunning musician wins prizes for playing in some shit-hot competition, proving that they are better than their colleagues. Also, if you know the right people and look the part, prestige is being a section leader. The management quite like them, but the other musicians aren’t that impressed. Basically, everyone has to think you have it, or else you don’t get work. The people who have to think you’re good don’t even have to have heard you’ (trombone player c).

Trombone player c’s implication is that if a musician is seen to have high status this affects their standing. Principal 2nd violin agrees:

‘The players who network stand a better chance than those who don’t. Getting work

has nothing to do with how well you play your instrument' (principal 2nd violin).

Prestige, for an orchestral musician, is partly involved in the recognition of people's skill and musical work. Additionally, however, the data has many references to resources of social capital, such as charisma, anecdote telling and 'big personalities'. Tuba player 'a' describes:

'These people are usually the more charismatic personalities and so their loss leaves a vacuum. The appointment of their replacement can cause huge tensions within the orchestra' (tuba player 'a').

Thus, in order to maintain one's position the musicians feel the need to build their prestige as a continuous aspect of their work. Cello player d gives a reason for this:

'A decent French cello bow is now over the £20,000 mark, the best makers are now £50-£60,000, and a less well-known Italian instrument over £200,000, top makers are unaffordable. Not many people can find that kind of money as well as having a mortgage, so it's good to know where you are on the principal's or fixer's list' (cello player d).

Conclusion

In conclusion, I suggest that the data brings some new ways of looking at this particular group of orchestral musicians. On first view of the data it seemed that if the musicians have a quiet skill for fitting in and understanding the sort of behavior required by colleagues, fixers, and orchestral management, there might actually not be much need for networking for prestige. However, the analysis highlights how orchestral opportunities are not always fairly distributed, but rather more complicated than simply fitting in, being amiable and playing well. Prestige is clearly influential, and the possession of it displays advantages attached to those in a prestigious position. Although prestige is in itself a resource, obvious displays of it are considered tasteless by the musicians, and are therefore hidden by collegiality, jokes and anecdotes, and through networking and amongst cliques. This implies that the most effective prestige-building is through networking, and needs to look discreet and effortless.

Chapter 9- Data analysis: Changing your tune

Introduction

In this chapter, I consider the complex accounts of the orchestral musicians in relation to orchestral fixers. The fixers, as gatekeepers to the orchestral world are extremely significant, since most of the fixers are musicians. This brings implications concerning ways that the musicians develop and exchange prestige through various interconnected interactions. Arguably, the additional perspective of the orchestral fixers is the most important feature of the study. The orchestral fixers are gatekeepers to future employment for the musicians and are therefore fundamental to the musicians' lives, making fixers central in what Hughes calls a 'prestige bestowing system' (Hughes, 1993: 306). This triangulated data analysis is in relation to the fixers' view, and uncovers the theoretical complexity of this study.

I have divided this chapter into two sections: 'The fixers from their own perspective', and 'The fixers from the musicians' perspective'.

Section one- The fixers from their own perspective

Proportionally few of the orchestral musician participants in this study work for just one orchestra, rather they undertake other work, which includes orchestral playing elsewhere, teaching, and examining. Importantly for this area of the study, is that some of the orchestral musicians also undertake orchestral fixing. They do this, not only for the additional income, but also for the additional networking. Thus, some of the fixer participants are contracted to hire musicians, and yet in many instances they are likely to be working amongst them as orchestral musicians themselves. Since the analysis of the data shows a variety of motivations as to why fixers decide to hire the musicians they choose, one could argue that the fixers' decision-making is worth scrutinizing. For example, the fixers in this study can and do hire themselves for orchestral positions, and they have to fit in and manage their own career, whilst being seen to belong both as a musician and as a fixer. Fixer 1 explains how they became a fixer:

'My history is that I went to a London music college as a performer, and after a few years in the music business I pursued a management side interest. Even though I'm now a

fixer everybody knows me as a musician. It changes your relationship, but I'm loyal to my musicians. Both sides have to build loyalty, and fixing offers me the chance to network for more playing work' (fixer 1).

Fixer 1 shows that some fixers not only have their own perspective as fixers but they also have a musician's perspective. Importantly, we see represented strongly throughout the data, not only the common assumption amongst the musicians that a fixer's remit allows them to employ virtually whoever they like, which includes themselves, but also the fixers' corroboration of this. Fixer 5 describes the following:

'I love playing. That's what I enjoy doing the most. But I've been fixing this band for over twenty years and as long as I book the players that management are happy with I'll get to keep playing here myself' (fixer 5).

The same situation is seen a little differently from clarinet player c's perspective:

'He makes the most appalling racket. If he wasn't a fixer he'd never be booked. He managed to play his cards right all those years ago and got his feet nicely under the table' (clarinet player c).

Particular to the orchestral world, a person holding prestige on one occasion by playing principal may the following day be performing a different role. For example, the orchestral fixer who chooses who to hire one day, may the following day be performing in another orchestra as an ordinary orchestral musician. Prestige as an economy appears to have particular significance in such a situation, illuminated by fixer 14 who is also trombone player b:

'The orchestral world is very hard and cynical, and at the same time full of good humor and jokes and the occasional obscenity. I need to be part of that world when I'm knocking ten tons of shit out of my trombone, but then I get tense because management regard me as a man-in-a-suit. Fixing is a well-paid job, and yet the people I identify with are the musicians' (fixer 14/trombone player b).

The fixer is describing the 'need' to be part of the two different worlds- of the orchestral management, and a fellow musician. This type of situation imposes a complicated task for the fixer, since not only is it necessary to impress the wider orchestral management, but also to be a convincing orchestral musician. Fixer 14/trombone player b continues:

'Sometimes, when I'm fixing an orchestra I wish could be playing too. After the concert, I still like to unwind and have a great time with the boys. I'll buy them a couple of glasses of wine, and say 'thank you', and they'll do the same to me. We tend to get chatting about the music business, and there's a feeling of loyalty I can't explain. I know that if work comes their way or my way, we'd look after each other' (fixer 14/trombone player b).

This raises an example of network ties being variable and subjective. For example, the fixer says 'we'd look after each other', suggesting that the musicians he chooses to hire may be in a position to reciprocate by returning work at a future date. The fixer has a clear intention that he is prepared to offer work to others, whilst he expects that it is likely that he gets some work offered back. 'The boys' is a typical euphemism for one's musician colleagues. Fixer 11/keyboard player 'a' illustrates this:

'I like to either have a nose bag for tea, or go for a quick sushi with the boys' (fixer 11/keyboard player 'a').

Fixer 11/keyboard player 'a' continues:

'As a fixer in the orchestra I play with I have extra confidence because I am the one hiring and firing. I need to know that the players I get are not going to let me down. So I always book the same people. They tend to be my drinking buddies. I tend to drink with the boys in the pub, at the Savage, or after the Masons, at the golf course. Oh and the perk is that most of them are 'show' players, and they'll get me in there. We tend to hang around together on the orchestral dates too, because we behave like mates. Actually, I wouldn't really trust them as far as I could spit, because they're only really looking after themselves' (fixer 11/keyboard player 'a').

The implication is that an orchestra is divided into factions called ‘the boys’ and these ‘friendship’ groups share strategic networking advantages, based on an illusion of trust. This also indicates that the fixers, as well as the musicians, are concerned about recognition, reputation, and their standing in the eyes of others. Fixers also network with one another for the purposes of advancement. Moreover, the following example shows that the friends of the fixer must not look like they are trying too hard to be charming to the fixers, or else they are described, in fixer 13’s own words, as ‘brown-nosing and arse-licking’ (fixer 13):

‘I love our section because we’ve been playing together for years, but there’s quite a few new ones in other sections, and they’re up the fixer’s arse. They are alarmingly conscientious, and yet the fixer seems to want to impress them too. I can’t quite figure it out, but they seem to all clique together with fake camaraderie, with everyone brown-nosing and arse-licking. There are always small groups of players who constantly hang around with the fixer’ (fixer 13).

Fixer 13’s example illuminates the way that a fixer is perceived to be both obsequious and the receiver of obsequiousness. Their job is to book the best musician for the job, and the fixer is likely to be protective of their own orchestral management positions. Yet, pleasing the musicians becomes an important feature for them if they too are orchestral musicians. Fixer 6/cello player d suggests,

‘When I’m fixing I want to do my best to support the musicians, but just because I’m fixing that day they all think everything’s my fault, even if I’m playing in the orchestra with them!’ (fixer 6/cello player d)

Clearly, there are complicated issues of identity for the fixer. Fixer 37/percussion player d states:

‘I’ll give you an example about how I reverted to type. I was fixing a band the other day and the librarian told me to fix three percussionists. When I arrived, the timp player told me we needed an extra player to do the bass drum, so because I’m a percussionist I ended up doing it. When I fix I usually go to Café Rouge by myself and have a quiet meal, but because I was a sheddie that night, I went to Cote and had wine. Four of us equals

four bottles of wine!' (fixer 37/percussion player d).

Thus, the data shows that some of the fixers in this study play in the orchestras they work for, amongst colleagues who they can hire, and if they wish, never hire again. This brings a particular and distinct prestige environment, where musicians and fixers are encouraged to seek and display prestige in order to pursue their careers. Friendships and networking groups have the potential to generate work and create what Goffman describes as 'clique buddies' (Goffman, 1961: 279). The term 'clique buddies' is used in many guises in the data, for example: 'in-groups' (fixer 1), 'factions' (fixer 7), and 'the elite folk' (fixer 2). Within cliques, the fixers and musicians strategize through networking with one another and form views of other people; for example, fixer 8 describes how this manifests in the fixing of musicians:

'All fixers have a list. We have our own way of coding what we mean. For example, I have an 'outdoor gig' list. There are the players I'd be happy to book for an outdoor gig in a muddy field, or a Classic-Spec arena because they are reliable players. But they might look a bit old and shambolic at the Barbican, and I might not book them for those' (fixer 8).

Fixer 8 is referring to an open-air concert date, often in a park or sometimes in an arena. 'Classic Spec' refers to a 'Classic Spectacular', which is a type of orchestral concert, also in a large concert hall or arena that usually involves a large production with laser shows, fireworks, dancers and choirs. The audience does not easily see the musicians, and fixer 8 is inferring that older players are 'offered' these types of concert date, as opposed to more artistically-illustrious concerts in a concert hall, specifically because of the way that the older player looks. The fixer's data provides a particularly important opportunity for in-depth analysis, since the musicians are not likely to know that the fixer feels this way. Fixer 8 continues to indicate very specific ideas about what they expect in the musicians they hire:

'Musicians are not particularly good at keeping an eye out for any potential new opportunities, or contemplating their long-term aspirations. The musicians need to challenge some of the assumptions and thoughts they may have. Because if they work for me, they certainly need to be prepared to accept a paradigm shift in an orchestra's

policy objectives such as widening participation, which may not be an attractive option for them' (fixer 8).

Having the prestige of being a fixer provides permissions which remove the need to justify oneself. Although this view may appear overly simplistic, nevertheless the fixers, by the nature of their role, have power that is of inherently greater value than musicians have; yet, the fixers are sometimes simply musicians and not always fixers. Violin player f comments:

'It was quite a surprise to me a few weeks ago when I was doing an out of town choral date. There was a great player, inside desk, but a very strong player, playing a gorgeous old fiddle. But he was a moody bugger so I mostly ignored him. Everybody was arse-licking him in the break, but I still didn't realize who he was. It wasn't till about a week later when the Diary booked me for a last minute gig at the Barbican that I realized he was the fixer. That was a bit of a shock! I had to be extra nice to him then!' (violin player f).

The data supports the notion that the musicians perceive the fixer as the 'other', yet the fixer is likely to be a fellow musician and not wholly the 'other'. The fixers mostly choose 'who' to book, and for what position, and 'who not' to book. Often they tell the musicians that they have no power to book, although in truth they do. As fixer 9 reveals:

'If they thought I made the decisions they'd be on the phone to me the whole time. So my standard answer is...the principal players tell me who to book and I just do what I'm told... It's all bollocks, but it gets everybody off my back' (fixer 9).

Thus the fixer participants' perceptions presented in this section show issues of shifting identities, strategizing and not always being quite who one appears to be. The hierarchy subsequently shifts, and as a result, so does the prestige, and this is directly coordinated by the fixer, and by the networking of the musicians.

Conclusion

I conclude that in terms of prestige it is very helpful to consider what the fixers say, since much of the work of the fixers concerns itself in ensuring that the musicians they have hired are working in alignment with the orchestra's organizational intentions. The expectations are that prestigious musicians will contribute directly to the economic success of an orchestra, and ultimately the fixer is responsible for making sure that the right musician is hired for the appropriate role to sustain the orchestra's profitability. Consequently, the choices a fixer makes when choosing which musicians to book does not involve personal preferences, but rather it involves booking high-status leading players in the prestige system, which will serve to impress the figures of importance, working in a way that generates prestige for the whole orchestral community, and also the fixer. A question I shall tackle in the findings chapter is- what makes some musicians 'look' impressive and others not?

Part two- The fixers from the musicians' perspective

In this section, I turn to the musicians' perspective of fixers, since this involves collaborating, deliberating, and negotiating with the orchestral fixers who choose whether to book them. In the previous section, we have learned that the musicians clearly need to build loyalty with fixers, and may only discover during the orchestral date that they are actually sitting next to one. Therefore, they need to be overly 'nice' to colleagues and fixers, to ensure a 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' with everyone they work with, just in case. Meanwhile, the fixer needs to decide who to book as a reliable musician, and to do that they would likely have constructed an impression of how they perceive each musician to be, either because the musician actually IS reliable, or because the fixers choose to think they are.

Clearly, the fixers are very much central to the orchestral world, being both motivated to do the right thing in order to manage their own career, and also the careers of the musicians who they choose whether or not to book. Fixer 19/violin player g describes:

'My job is to make sure established musicians are placed in their correct place within a section. Make sure that rehearsal schedules are strictly adhered to, payment is prompt and fair. Reputation and performing ability are the most important qualities one looks

for in a musician. I never fix a player on receipt of a CV alone. Diary services certainly help and the musicians have to not let me down at the 11th hour and get on with the job' (fixer 19/violin player g).

Whether the fixers are musicians with portfolio careers or vice versa, I note that their career trajectory is filled with extreme uncertainty. Fixer 11/principal flute player 'a' describes:

'If not carefully handled, my professional foothold can quickly turn to disaster. As a dabbler in fixing, I know that most overt attempts to ingratiate a musician with a fixer will fail. Players who push themselves forwards usually do them a disservice' (fixer 11/principal flute 'a').

The consensus in the data is that you have to beware of colleagues. You have to network with fixers without looking as if you are networking. Timpani player 'a' brings the view:

'Orchestral musicians are plain and simply vulnerable professionals who are constantly susceptible to rejection from colleagues and fixers' (timpani player 'a').

Since the fixers are often musicians themselves, the fixers some times are simply musician colleagues. At other times fixers are the person who can 'hire and fire' them. Furthermore, if the fixers then book themselves to play in the orchestra for the advancement of their own orchestral career, this gives reason as to why the musicians may find it difficult to interact with fixers in terms of being able to speak in ways that are genuine and sincere. Flute player b describes their view of fixers:

'I believe that what fixers are looking for is a cash cow to milk. I find many fixers to be very bitter and twisted within, and charming in manner. They don't figure on my Christmas card list. A musician's relationship with fixers is based on 'quasi-trust'; we just create an illusion that we trust the fixer to take decisions' (flute player b).

Flute player b is suggesting that musicians do not trust fixers, and yet the complication is that in different circumstances, the fixers ARE the musicians, and are differently rooted professionally. Fixer 14/ bassoon player b gives reason for this:

‘Once you start fixing, colleagues will very discreetly realise that you have stepped over an invisible line. You are now management, rather than just a musician, and you’re the one people clamour to buy drinks for. This can lead to being treated differently, not as one of the pack, for instance not being invited to eat at break times, and one experiences sycophantic behaviour from some from time to time’ (fixer 14/bassoon player b).

The key point here is that economic stability gives a reason as to why the musicians aim to retain good working relationships with a wide variety of orchestral fixers, because the more fixers’ lists you are on, the greater likelihood of more work. As oboe player d describes it:

‘...safety in numbers, because you need to get on as many fixers’ lists as you can, because you never know where the next gig is coming from. If I’m dropped from a fixer’s list, I try not to give up. I just accept that things aren’t working out, try and learn from my mistakes and try to build new contacts and opportunities’ (oboe player d).

However, orchestral performance is not only the musicians’ career and their job, but importantly, their vocation. They describe how they have invested many years from a young age ‘to get where they are today’ (oboe player d). They take their work extremely seriously with many hours of daily practice, rehearsals and concerts, and since they focus their lifestyle around their profession, they feel that they need to present themselves to fixers as highly proficient musicians. Cello player e describes their view of fixers:

‘I wouldn’t usually say this sort of stuff out loud, but the truth is, if I ‘get in’ with a fixer, he’ll let me choose my own section players. If I get good players who have prestigious work elsewhere, the fixer will be pleased with my section. After that, the players will owe me one, and each of them will feel obliged to offer me a date. So it’s a win-win situation. Not only that, but if the fixer gets good feedback about the section I may be able to negotiate a better rate of pay next time he books me’ (cello player e).

Thus, from the musicians’ perspective, we can see reasons for the importance of considering the sorts of characteristics that may be undesirable to display to the fixers. The data illuminates

many characteristics that the musicians perceive to be unhelpful and undesirable, and which are likely to create an impact on the working conditions and experiences of themselves. I present examples of this in the following table:

Table 5: Characteristics that the musicians have indicated to be undesirable

Characteristics musicians indicated as undesirable	Quotations from the interview data
'Someone with a narrow outlook'	'The Brass are usually male, heavy-drinking, and macho. They often want to give the impression that they care very little for the integrity of their work' (celeste player 'a').
'A lone worker, not a team player'	'It's like being back at school! Common enemies, being naughty together, making great music together almost invariably against the odds' (clarinet player b).
'Someone with unsophisticated social skills'	'Like wild animals trying to get to a water hole in the savanna during a drought, musicians will fight if there is insufficient work in the freelance sector' (cello player d).
'People who over-commit, and who take on too many things which makes them not look like an orchestral specialist'	'Terrible levels of physical and mental stress. Abuse by managements trying to undercut their financial and working conditions. Woefully inadequate composers in the commercial sector. Ageism. Boredom, due to repetitive nature of work' (1 st violin player f).
'People who are arrogant, who procrastinate and boast'	'Look at the double bass sections of the freelance scene in London. Lovely people individually who should get on, but they are ripping each other to shreds' (oboe player 'a').
'Perfectionists who want their working conditions to be of the highest standard'	'Many musicians find the touring aspects difficult, and a lot of the emotion can go out of pieces that you've played countless times. A lack of respect for conductors and composers is rampant and not always deserved!' (timpani player 'a').
'People who try to make themselves look and feel very busy but in reality they have no work'	'Ambitious and arrogant people and lesser players can sometimes manage to get themselves into prestigious positions by Chinese whispers-style chat, fooling fixers by suggesting they are extremely busy' (clarinet player c).
'People who say they have no work, but clearly do'	'We do not like those who boast, but worse are the ego game-player types, who succeed in ingratiating themselves to non-musician fixers and enjoy success by giving a sob-story of how they have no work' (double bass player c).
'Disorganized people who don't have a routine, and simply managing their time seems difficult, so that they seem to 'fall' into rehearsals and concerts'	'These musicians have sufficient pedigree to get them off the hook if things go wrong, but they leave their colleagues up the creek without a paddle when the orchestra as a whole sounds ragged' (viola player e).

Table 5 shows that the musicians perceive there are characteristics they should avoid. One has to network with fixers without looking to be doing so. Thus, not only do the musicians have strategic networking tactics to convince the fixers they are worthwhile and others are not so worthwhile, but we can see how high standards of technique and prowess on an instrument do not necessarily result in opportunities for work.

If the fixer's remit includes consideration of the orchestras' policy objectives, these will guide attitudes and actions, and lead to the fixer choosing who does what in the orchestras. For the musician to signal that they are an attractive option and an asset to the orchestra brings difficulty for them if nuanced behavior and attitudes are expected but never written down, especially if the values are widely shared by fixers in general. Fixer 1 suggests:

'There is a collision between originality and conformity. You have to sell yourself as a business, i.e. you need to be a team player with individuality. Individual presence must not be disturbing. Don't try to make your mark. It's a cross between anonymity and individuality' (fixer 1).

Here we see how the fixer and the musician both require a high level of accountability, and the fixers are not only accountable for themselves, but for the whole orchestra. If a musician performs badly it does not only affect the individual's reputation, but also the reputation of the whole orchestra. However, the overall responsibility of the performance falls to the fixer. If the orchestra is not excellent, the senior management looks to the fixer to question why the most suitable musicians were not hired. Therefore, the musicians have to prove their competence by performing well for themselves, and for the fixers who have 'risked' hiring them.

Behind fixer 1's view is the notion that fixers and musicians create customary practices of social divisions in their continuous striving for advantage. A strong message that emerges is that the fixers and musicians may not get on, but they need to be able to automatically and immediately work well together, because in practical terms the fixers are able to offer individual musicians work and the musician is expected to 'fit' the needs of the orchestra. Fixer 10 gives this example:

'You can't start kicking people out; it's not the way I operate. But if the conductor mentions even the slightest thing about a player, I'll either push them to the back desks, or put a line through their name. Even if they're my mates' (fixer 10).

Ultimately, the data shows that fixers, like everybody else, pursue their own goals, and if the disadvantaged musicians reflect badly on the reputation of the fixers, the fixers will likely not book them again. Fixer 11 suggests:

'I try to book successful musicians, who enable me to develop my reputation where it didn't exist before, because the music business is changing, and we need to change with it. Unfortunately, fixers prefer a quiet life' (fixer 11).

Conclusion

I conclude that the perspective of straddling the two worlds of musician and fixer makes for a crucial debate, and enables a broader understanding of this study of the orchestral musicians. In particular, I suggest that the data gathered 'about' and 'from' the fixers illuminates important implications. The fixers have themselves been hired because they are perceived to be prestigious by the orchestral management. This in turn means that both the musicians and the fixers are involved in interactions concerning status and hierarchy. Thus, I propose that the prestige economy framework is a strong and simple framework to describe motivations as to why the musicians may be strategizing for prestige-gain in often very collegial settings. This study considers strategic matters, and by turning to the views of the fixers it, perhaps, helps to expose some of the hidden aspects of the influence of prestige.

Furthermore, the prestige economy provides a framework to examine what fixers think is prestigious in relation to their views of the musician, and in particular, why they decide to hire certain musicians and not others.

Chapter 10- Findings

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss unique and important findings arising from the study in relation to the research question and existing literature. I begin with an initial outline of the main points that have emerged from the pilot and main study, and summarize key responses from the participants. I present the final themes with examples from the data, and consider the implications of the unique and important findings of this study. I then expand on the conceptual focus of the data analysis chapters, linking the theoretical field and empirical field, and I draw from the literature chapters. From there I reflect on the implications and limitations of the study, and examine this study's contribution to the research area more generally. I focus on the prestige framework, and consider whether there is value in conceptualizing other social worlds from a prestige economy viewpoint, and I make suggestions for further research. In the concluding comments, I consider the important findings arising from the study in relation to the research question. In this empirical study, I aim to capture the most evocative points that illuminate the views of the participants, therefore, in analysis of the data I intend that the interpretations should be presented not just as findings, but rather as assertions.

Overview- Pilot study

Initial questions from the literature review and responses from the pilot study brought issues of teamwork, humor, being positive, trust, taking pride, economy, charisma, gossip, loyalty, resilience, and image, which are all seemingly concerned with social capital. This brought my decision to incorporate a 'capital' perspective into the main study, and I concluded that in order to gain a more in-depth perspective it would be beneficial to introduce a process of triangulation to complement musicians' perspectives and enable me to develop a richer and more complex understanding of the musicians and their orchestral world.

Overview- Main study

Responses from the main study brought additional issues of role, status, influence, power relations, social organization, social order, social prestige, symbolic capital, cultural capital, social capital, prize-winning, social achievements, influence and recognition.

Findings- Main points that have emerged from the empirical study

In the findings section, I first present the final themes before discussing the implications of the unique and important findings. I then evidence the final themes with examples from the data, presenting them explicitly in Tables.

The main points that have emerged from the pilot and main study show that the prestige economy framework provides a strong and simple framework to illuminate motivations for why the musicians may be strategizing for prestige-gain in order to be booked for work. Economic stability gives a reason as to why the musicians aim to retain good working relationships with a wide variety of colleagues and orchestral fixers. The more fixers' lists players are on, the more likelihood of further work. The following tables, Table 6 and Table 7 illustrate this argument succinctly, showing that evidence presented in the findings links very clearly to issues concerning reputation and prestige.

In the following Table 6 and Table 7, I present aspects of the data analysis with examples from the data. Table 6 shows the views of the musicians, and identifies their assumptions that the fixers are looking to hire musicians who are expert players and have a good social and human qualities. The musicians perceive that in order to sustain their reputations as credible and believable musicians they must appear sociable and good-natured. The assumption is that colleagues and fixers want an easy life and prefer to have musicians who are 'good to have around'.

However, a debate threaded through this study is the notion that prestige does not involve social qualities. This is evidenced in Table 7 where we see that unlike the musicians, the fixers do not mention social qualities. Being reliable, being on time, aiming to get along with one another, sharing jokes, being polite and friendly, avoiding emotional displays, and fitting in with the group is of no concern to orchestral fixers who are solely interested in something more tangible that carries prestige. Thus, Table 7 shows that the fixers are looking to hire musicians who are not only expert players, but are also rich in tangible prestige.

Table 6: Musicians and Reputation

The musicians view is that they should aim to...	The following examples are representative quotations, illustrating that orchestral musicians strive to fit in.
... 'play well'	'You have to work very, very, very hard! People at the very top live for what they do' (flute player 'a').
... 'remain positive'	'Never show your frustration, but make it look either fun or passionate depending on the programme and set-up' (viola player e).
... 'show loyalty to the orchestra'	'Sure, I'd prefer to play in a prestigious orchestra in order to benefit from higher-scale salaries, optimum working conditions, and have the opportunity to tour worldwide. However, a date's a date' (oboe player c).
... 'behave like a team player who is good to have around'	'You have to behave like everybody's best friend' (horn player 'a').
... 'buy the tea at tea breaks, and drinks at the pub'	'I go to the pub/coffee shop with my section, buy the drinks and pass on work. I make the right friends and learn orchestral etiquette of how to behave around fellow orchestral players, how to behave around conductors, and admin staff' (double bass player d).
... 'demonstrate a sense of humor'	'You have to be part of the herd humor, and entertain other joke-tellers with your replies' (percussion player c).
... 'be collegial'	'Image is all about how commendable you make yourself look, feeling obliged to do certain things and avoid saying the wrong things. I behave like everybody's good friend and react to everybody with empathy. I never forget for one minute that I am performing; whether it's on stage or off stage' (violin player d).
... 'avoid overt gossiping'	'Gossip may be good for networking, but it creates a bad impression if it is obvious' (harp player 'a').
... 'show resilience and enthusiasm'	'The predicament for a musician is that part of the ideology is about expression, creativity and emotion. The reality is one toilet between a hundred musicians and an idiot of a conductor but you just have to get on with it' (keyboard player 'a').
... 'appear adaptable, capable and worthy of respect'	'Great musicianship coupled with reliability is highly prized. I think modesty connected with good playing is valued' (violin player f).
... 'fit in and be a socializer'	'Some colleagues have clear and contrived negotiation styles of networking. Even the majority of them who deny that they network still do' (clarinet player 'a')
... 'be popular and likeable'	'Colleagues with a sense of humour bring a happy atmosphere. Having a bit of a joke makes everyone feel good in the orchestra, and a good attitude is essential' (violin player b).
... 'remain flexible, and do not complain when things go wrong'	'Having a good reputation is looking like you have integrity. Like having an aura of reliability, predictability, fairness, and a concern for quality' (cello player d).

Table 7: Fixers and Prestige

The fixers are impressed with musicians who...	The following examples are representative quotations, illustrating that the fixers are looking to hire musicians who are not only expert players, but are also rich in tangible prestige.
...’play well’	‘In truth, I respect the astonishing dedication of people practicing morn, noon and night’ (fixer 44).
...’are well-considered by people who have a good reputation’	‘Your connections and networks are only helpful if you are connecting and networking with the right people who have a good reputation themselves’ (fixer 23).
...’play in other ‘prestigious’ orchestras’	‘Anyone who plays in a good orchestra is ready-screened and ready-to-go, and will already have classy professional connections’ (fixer 41).
...’teach and examine at conservatoires’	‘If gaining scholarships, awards, orchestral trials, contracts, recordings, and expert status at conservatoires, examining, prizes and other achievements gives a musician prestige, just imagine how much prestige the guys have who teach them!’ (fixer 26).
...’tend to play principal, or lead a section’	‘It’s always the same types of people who hold the orchestra together. It’s the ones with extra responsibility who have a high status and who I’d choose to lead or play principal. Those people are also more influential in persuading others to their points of view’ (fixer 7).
...’are recommended by someone with a prestigious reputation’	‘Prestige changes how you see the world. It gives you networking opportunities and access to more things, and that is why I would trust the view of people who are like that’ (fixer 32).
...’are someone I already know, or have had long associations with’	‘If I choose someone to fix, I am likely to know them from the Wells Cathedral School, Oxford, the golf club, the RSA, the Masons, the Apollo Lodge, the Savage Club; and perhaps if I were fixing in the session and pop world it would be the Groucho Club’ (fixer 12).
...’have learned with someone prestigious’	‘Prestige is in the eyes of the beholder of whoever you want to impress. Certainly it starts with your conservatoire teacher who can seriously influence your networking connections for the rest of your working life’ (fixer 3).
...’have won a particularly important prize’	‘People with prestige tend to be ruthlessly competitive. That’s exactly how they need to be, when, for example, older players are discriminated against in favour of high quality young, fresh faces who have probably won trials and prizes’ (fixer 37).
...’play a valuable and precious musical instrument’	‘Some players have an outstanding instrument. There will always be the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. Lucky them. The esteem that is gained if a person has a classy instrument makes a real difference to their prospects’ (fixer 17).
...’have other strings to their bow- perhaps session musicians, or have a West End show’	‘Players can become pigeon-holed in branches of the profession. West End show are desirable and handy. People in the orchestras invite people with a job in a show to play principal in their orchestra if they think they’ll get some lucrative work in a show in return. It’s all self-perpetuating. If you’re nice to someone, they’re nice back’ (fixer 1).
...’look good, attractive, professional, organized and smart; look sexy’	‘Principal players should set a good example by taking pride in their appearance; making sure their long evening concert dresses and tails are smart. They are basically selling themselves, and need to make a good impression’ (fixer 24).
...’are examiners or judges for high professional competitions and eminent awards’	‘Someone who examines at top level has prestige. Prestige is a clear sign of success and that’s an asset to a fixer’ (fixer 31).

Table 6 shows that in order to sustain their reputations as credible, the musicians believe they must appear sociable and good-natured.

Table 7 shows the fixers are looking to hire musicians who are not only expert players, but are also rich in tangible prestige.

Table 6 and Table 7 present profound issues in a simple way by illustrating the particular complexities specific to prestige. It is not Reputation, but Prestige that is likely to bring work and the fixers shape prestige-related perceptions, values, and decisions, by who they decide to hire. It appears that in order to make a good impression, the musicians believe it best to build their reputations through social capital; yet the fixers and their colleagues appear to be impressed with prestige involving more tangible cultural capital.

To unpack these ideas further, I consider and summarize the fifteen key points, and then show in Table 8 how these key points are indicated in the empirical evidence.

1. The musicians' desire is to achieve and maintain advantage, both for performance opportunities and for financial capital.
2. Moneymaking plays an insignificant part for the musicians, whereas aesthetic motivations are central.
3. Within this friendly team of colleagues, some of these colleagues are also competitors.
4. The musicians feel under constant scrutiny.
5. The musicians essentially believe they have to rely on sociable behavior, amenable dispositions, and co-operation to achieve and maintain advantage.
6. The musicians feel that they need to 'look' supportive of colleagues, and easy to work with.

7. The musicians perceive that having a good reputation is essential.
8. The musicians believe that they must convey confidence, and frame their distinct individuality in a way that denotes high quality and a positive image.
9. The participants acknowledge that stereotypical terms, such as 'pond life' can be hurtful and excluding.
10. The general view is that it is not good enough to do something well; it has to be known that one has done it well and ideally, better than anyone else has.
11. The musicians believe that word-of-mouth reputation influences how people treat each other in the present and in the future.
12. The musicians' outlook is that people with prestige are more likely to be involved with other people who have prestige, and exclude those without prestige.
13. Prestige involves at least one tangible feature of high reputation.
14. People who simply look like someone with prestige will not necessarily get found out if they are being misleading.
15. Prestige can, just because of itself, bring offers of work from colleagues, with the unspoken promise of reciprocity.

Having clearly specified the fifteen final themes, the following Table 8 offers examples from the data.

Table 8: Fifteen Key points of the study, evidenced from the empirical data

Key points of the study	Key points are indicated in the empirical evidence
1. The participants' desire is to achieve and maintain advantage, both for performance opportunities and for financial capital.	'If you want to earn a living and make great music, it's each musician's job to make damn sure that they as musicians, and the orchestra, sound and looks great' (bass clarinet player 'a').
2. Moneymaking plays an insignificant part for the musicians, whereas aesthetic motivations are central.	'With the tiny amount musicians earn, we're clearly not in it for the money!' (horn player 'a').
3. Within this friendly team of colleagues, some of these colleagues are also competitors.	'Musicians disapprove of prestige-seekers who tend to be, or appear to be seen to be highly competitive and 'look out' for themselves. There can be sulks, with grown men not talking to each other for weeks. Underhand and conniving scheming by jealous colleagues. For example, downbeat sabotage by playing their beat a few seconds late which making their stable-mate crash in early. Stuff that can make a whole section sound less tight, like changing to a different interpretation at the last minute, changing the articulation and making colleagues look a wally, or shifting to a totally different dynamic - best when you suddenly play quiet and they are left blasting out at solo volume' (cello player c).
4. The musicians feel under constant scrutiny.	'What with anybody being able to upload podcasts, view reviews through Google, and share videos on YouTube, obviously me and my technical skill are being judged by my colleagues and people of importance everywhere at any time' (bass clarinet player 'a').
5. The musicians essentially believe they have to rely on sociable behavior, amenable dispositions, and co-operation to achieve and maintain advantage.	'You have to create the best image, give the impression of being the best by being the most confident; and you have to work hard and make yourself indispensable. Not only that but intimate liaisons with leaders and principals doesn't hurt one little bit, although having said which, if the 'friendship' sours, you'll quickly lose the work' (oboe player 'a').
6. The musicians feel that they need to 'look' supportive of colleagues, and easy to work with	'I do my best to be, and look, totally reliable in every way and give a 'good-egg' impression. It's important to be easy-going and be thought of as someone you'd want in your lifeboat' (violin player j).
7. The musicians perceive that having a good reputation is essential.	'Networking involves consciously trying to avoid saying the wrong thing. You have to guess what it is that people want. Give large hints, so that colleagues don't bother about having to guess what your motivations or intentions are. In fact, I'd go so far as saying that networking is agreed as a 'necessary evil' and in totally bad taste. People who blatantly network are given derogatory nicknames like 'arse licker' and 'brown nose' (timpani player 'a')
8. The musicians believe that they must convey confidence, and frame their distinct individuality in a way that denotes high quality and a positive image.	'I worry all the time, not only about my musical ability but also my appearance. An image is very important to us orchestral musicians because our work is an overall impression of the whole performance. If my colleagues don't view me as having a good image this can strongly affect how credible I am, and basically if I don't both impress and protect my work from my colleagues I'll lose my position and somebody else will be booked, and my work will dry up' (oboe player 'a').

Table 8 continued...

<p>9. The participants acknowledge that stereotypical terms such as ‘pond life’ can be hurtful and excluding.</p>	<p>‘People use a wide variety of deliberate strategies that are used to damage the reputation of peers by underhand means. For example, the constant whine of viola jokes by violinists, bleating that viola players are thick’ (contrabassoon player ‘a’).</p>
<p>10. The general view is that it is not good enough to do something well; it has to be known that one has done it well and ideally, better than anyone else has.</p>	<p>‘I always look to develop the possible weaknesses of others in order to strengthen myself and bring out my best. What I do is show that I know what’s going on, say in other orchestras, almost pretending as if I’m working in the different orchestras, even if I’m not. Because this implies that I am’ (tuba player b).</p>
<p>11. The musicians believe that word-of-mouth reputation influences how people treat each other in the present and in the future.</p>	<p>‘You have to give the impression that misleads them into thinking that you’re working all over the place, even if you’re not. And that shows that you are busy, without actually saying that you are busy. That way you are not directly showing off. And then the fun begins. I’ll say stuff like, poor old so-and-so is having a bit of trouble with the old whisky these days. You basically have to make yourself look a better option than everybody else’ (viola player c).</p>
<p>12. The musicians’ outlook is that people with prestige are more likely to be involved with other people who have prestige, and exclude those without prestige.</p>	<p>‘People who purposefully and willingly network with fixers are hoping to create opportunities for themselves. But it is far easier to promote other people’s work than one’s own, because bragging appears to be related to arrogant, immodest, and conceited behavior; and is seen to be boastful and self-promoting. The key to self-promotion is to negotiate a variety of tactics, and ultimately this is all about making people think that everybody else thinks you’re successful, and doing that with the successful ones’ (viola player h).</p>
<p>13. Prestige involves at least one tangible feature of high reputation</p>	<p>‘Prestige is about being thought of as indispensable. Your reputation has to be so high, and you have to achieve something a cut above the rest’ (flute player ‘a’).</p>
<p>14. People who simply look like someone with prestige will not necessarily get found out if they are being misleading.</p>	<p>‘An example of how I deliberately network is by buying the fixer a beer. Also, it’s a good idea to post appropriate stuff on Facebook and Twitter. Many take up golf and general sycophancy to anyone who may be able to help you get work. The most important thing in this game-playing that everybody plays is that you mustn’t look as though you are game-playing. You just have to look the part’ (principal viola player).</p>
<p>15. Prestige can, just because of itself, bring offers of work from colleagues, with the unspoken promise of reciprocity.</p>	<p>‘I’ll always offer work back to anyone who offers me work. It’s the name of the game’ (trumpet player b).</p>

In the findings of this study, we have seen that prestige is silent on personal qualities, for example, the fixers believe that a prestigious person is not necessarily virtuous, punctual or reliable, but rather is first-rate, excellent or high status. This would perhaps explain why many of the musicians feel that despite the enjoyment of playing in orchestras they are not appropriately recognized, and therefore gaining work is an uphill struggle.

Financial insecurity has a direct impact on the musicians, and this makes it necessary for them to seek personal advantage through the possession of prestige. The process or currency which brings about prestige is through reputation-building, often through strategizing, because prestige is scarce and yet a necessary currency for the fixers who are enablers for work-gain. If there is not enough work to go around, the musicians will not only need to generate a reputation of being a credible and believable musician, but also they will need consider other ways to be considered of value.

As decision-makers, the fixers have the authority to hire and fire, and thus they manage the process that bestows prestige. Fixers are the people who decide who to hire, and they influence the climate in which they and their colleagues work. This adaptable and flexible working practice of orchestral fixing relies on prestige values, where professional judgements are solid and dependable. Prestige provides a currency for trading and for displaying higher social positioning, and this influences how 'others' see one another. We see in the data that it is not good enough to do something well, others have to know that one has done it well and indeed better than anyone else has.

Implications of the empirical study

Although technical virtuosity and musicianship are the most highly valued skill amongst the participants, nevertheless managing a career in a demanding and competitive profession also requires other attributes. The fact that the orchestral fixer participants are musicians themselves offers motivations as to why the acquisition of prestige is desirable; for example, the fixers with prestigious work to offer have the power to offer work to 'valuable' musicians who may themselves be the fixers next time. Ultimately these insights of the fixers become an interesting 'twist' in this study, because they too are musicians and this broadens the theoretical perspective of what a prestige economy might mean. This particular multi-perspective triangulated view of the study opens up a unique opportunity for an extremely rich debate, with the empirical analysis supporting the argument that prestige holds a complex and persistent presence in this particular orchestral world. For example, the fixers are seemingly well-treated and appreciated by the musicians as they offer the best prospect of survival, and yet we have seen the way that musicians 'treat' the fixers, and the different ways that they talk about them out of earshot.

In the first instance, the empirical findings bring straightforward explanations as to why the musicians might be motivated to seek personal advantage through building their reputations. This is because a prestigious musician is more likely to be hired by a prestigious orchestra since the benefit for the orchestra is that this preserves the artistic quality of the organization, and ultimately its fiscal health; since by retaining the best musicians the orchestra has the best product to sell. Furthermore, playing in an eminent position in a prestigious orchestra validates the musician, and if the musician already carries prestige, this validates the fixer and the orchestra.

However, from the fixers' evidence we see that having a good reputation does not necessarily give you prestige. For example, it is possible to have a good reputation for always being on time, but being on time is not in itself 'prestigious'. Rather, the fixers' view implies that achieving and maintaining prestige requires tangible features, which could be a status, an experience, an accolade or role, etc. Thus, the implication is that although everyone can have a good reputation, the fixers express views that prestige is a tangible by-product of excellence, and consequently only the minority have prestige. Prestige drives a desire for quality and requires at least one tangible feature of extreme high quality, therefore the implication is that prestige is hierarchical and excluding for those without it.

Intolerance towards people without prestige brings implications too, and raises moral and ethical concerns about the ways in which prestige may have a socially excluding effect. Any exclusion can lead to unfairness, and may not contribute to the wellbeing of the orchestral community. If prestige drives a desire for quality and presents as the main objective, subsequently perfection may be striven for. This self-interested element may be at odds with a drive for shared objectives concerned with music-making, and may be seen to be both a motivator and a barrier. This is because individual prestige-building is likely to be in tension with the priorities of the orchestral community. A drive to accumulate one's own capital emphasizes a self-interested view, prioritizing oneself over what is for the good for the other musicians. Thus, prestige-building can influence the course of the direction of an individual career at the expense of others; it can maintain unhelpful hierarchies, encourage tribalism and narrow-mindedness; and prestige traditions can limit change. This brings consideration as to whether constructive aspects of prestige can be encouraged and the undesirable ones reduced.

Linking the theoretical field and empirical field

In this section, I consider how the theoretical field and empirical field interconnect having drawn from the literature, which is principally concerned with interaction (Hughes, 1993), issues of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1996) and prestige (Blackmore, 2016). The conceptual focus of the analysis of the data brings the notion that prestige perhaps is conferred upon musicians who do not necessarily excel, but by knowing the right people and enjoying the right networks, they fit the role of a person who does excel. Furthermore, the findings show that musicians and fixers offer one another work with some feeling of obligation that they should return the favor, which involves reciprocal rewards. Bourdieu's view is that reciprocal exchange leads to sequences of obligatory acts which make and maintain relationships, and 'set the seal on alliances' in a socially maintained 'good faith economy' (Bourdieu, 1977: 173). Reciprocal exchanges create a process, which one could view as an economic activity, and this begins to answer why the musicians believe that merely being a friendly, wonderful player is likely to be the key to developing their orchestral career. The musicians have a view concerning the notion of future exchange obligation, of 'giving back in kind', trading favors, cultivating reciprocal networks, and exchanging confidences (Hughes, 1993: 145). However, even a very well-considered musician would find difficulty in gaining professional orchestral work without the right social network and without the ability of self-promotion.

The musicians believe that they can go far by reputation alone, and by networking with players they know, and from student days, and by student/teacher relationships and recommendations. However, this in itself is not helpful enough, because as Field suggests, 'the least privileged also tend to have networks which are made up of people in a similar situation to themselves' (Field, 2003: 86). Seemingly, as Bourdieu describes, cultural capital is unequally distributed, which means that life can become potentially problematic for those without it (Bourdieu, 1990: 73). Yet, key points in the findings show that the musicians essentially rely on sociable behavior, amenable dispositions, and co-operation to build their reputation.

A constant theme in the data is the view that highly technical music-making skills require stable, predictable and trustful working relations between the individual musicians, orchestral sections and the fixers. Hughes proposes that fitting in, being seen to belong and automatically adjusting to the things that are normal are a necessary feature of collective behavior (Hughes, 1993: 13). However, for orchestral musicians in a London orchestra, the

data has shown that issues of interaction are also about socially established competition. An example of orchestral competition would be the desire to move from second violin to first violin, or to become a section leader. These roles indicate raised status and salary, and people who hold the role of section leader, for example, are considered to be of a particularly high quality. However, it is disappointing for the non-section leader musicians, when they perceive that a role such as this is 'given' to somebody through networking connections, rather than through their skill. For the musicians, these sorts of issues cause bafflement. For example, flute player 'a' considers:

'This is something I've never been able to put my finger on. Any movement up and down lists has been to my mind seemingly random. I used to think that turning up on time, looking smart, being available and loyal to their orchestra would do the trick and get me work. Like not missing the bus to the airport at the end of the tour, not creating a scene in the hotel bar, etc. But it wasn't until I got in with my old teacher and he gave me a leg-up into the profession that I learned it wasn't what you know, but who you know; and yet someone can come up behind you and steal your work in a blink of an eye' (flute player 'a').

Hindell describes how simple it would be if, as the audience perceives it '...a musician is only required to play in tune, the right notes at the right time, and to have some degree of imagination' (Hindell, 1979: 147). However, orchestral life is far more complicated, and a driving factor for both the musicians and the fixers is that the fixers can decide who to hire, and this influences the environment in which they and their colleagues work. Since orchestral musicians compete with one another to establish which player is more employable than another, the musicians must in some way 'stand out more sharply than others' (Merriam, 1992: 124), and it becomes important for the musicians to influence what Hughes describes as 'how people see you' (Hughes, 1993: 141). Since the kind of person you are seen to be is recognized through socially accepted 'collective conventions' (Hughes, 1993: 184), this brings significance to the notion of a prestige economy, where the musicians decide which of their peers are of high quality and try to convince other people that they themselves are high quality.

Having examined the literature surrounding identity, we have seen that how others perceive us is conferred through shared beliefs and meanings that cause people to give it value, which Bourdieu describes as collective recognition (Bourdieu, 2003: 52). In problematizing the term 'collective recognition', Bauman suggests 'you'll never know for sure whether the identity you are currently parading is the best you can do' (Bauman, 2004: 85).

Although the findings clearly illuminate aspects of competition for prestige, there is also a very strong tradition of collegiality seen in the data. For example, references to the large number of orchestral activities that are undertaken for no, or little, payment, such as charity concerts. This would require us to pay attention not only to the ways in which individuals find their way through a system that benefits themselves, but also to consider how individuals work with others to create a community that sustains the valued activity or way of life, so that prestige-gaining can exist for both altruistic and selfish ends. However, if, as Nagal proposes, the principal motive for choosing a musical career is simply a selfish fulfilment of personal needs (Nagal, 1987), it would explain why we have found in the data issues of gossip, inequality, game playing, discrimination, and scapegoating.

I suggest that the notion of a prestige economy offers a helpful way of describing prestige practices. For whatever motivations the musicians have for building strong social networks, through them, other people spread good things, dismiss bad, and reinforce reputations. Having a good reputation is important, as this enhances the opportunity to be given work, and to offer colleagues some of the work that they are unable to do. Being able to offer colleagues work is a useful capital resource, since owing to the nature of reciprocity there will be a strong likelihood of work being offered in return.

Prestige findings

The focus of this study has been to look to the literature and empirical data concerning the musicians of one case study orchestra and to examine ways in which the musicians mediate prestige through their social interaction. Prestige is an important referent for their career management, and conceptualizing prestige in terms of social interaction has enabled me to examine some of the social motives for the way the musicians do things, providing insight into the social world of these orchestral musicians. However, the findings show that various aspects of prestige-building bring tensions, which I discuss in this section.

Bascom's (1948) anthropological idea that a prestige economy involves reciprocal gift exchange has led me to consider the concept of networks, networking and social connections. Networking is about generating social capital which can be accumulated as a result of an individual's useful and influential relationships with others through networks, however, the musicians express that it is most disappointing when a high status role is given to somebody through networking connections, rather than through their skill.

As we have learned, English (2005) describes this as influence-peddling and mutual back-scratching, and Heald (1983) describes this as cultivating people who can do favors in return. Getting to know the 'right' people is important, since 'who we know' is at the very crux for bringing the opportunity to signal an appropriate level of reputation to the right people. One's standing in the eyes of one's colleagues is vital, because in order to be seen as useful you already need to have capital. Additionally, there will be unintended perverse effects of network memberships for the musicians who find themselves left out of important networking cliques. The findings show that whilst giving a colleague the offer of well-paid work may seem straightforward, however if people expect that in the future work will be offered back this becomes a complex transaction, since the process of capital exchange is different depending on who is doing the exchanging. It would seem that people are more likely to give work only if they believe that this can be reciprocated at a comparable level.

Since one can assume that prestige brings wider opportunities self-perpetuated by interactions through the particular networks, this brings a motive for deliberately socializing with particularly important colleagues, and to make oneself 'approved of' and seen to be in favor with other important people; for example, the conductors, fixers and section principals. The findings show that from the fixer's perspective prestige is valued in terms of tangible capital, and not in social capital. Tangible capital requires a visible sign of prestige, and the prestige may come in a wide variety of forms. For example, a physical possession or an intellectual accomplishment, such as being an award winner, a role holder, someone having attended a prestigious conservatoire, being taught by a world-class teacher, university connections, school connections, masonic handshakes, club memberships, such as golf clubs, 'gentlemen's' clubs, Groucho or Savage clubs. Achieving and maintaining prestige is through displaying that one has an attribute that others do not (Blackmore, 2016), and prestige associated with these things remains static and elite because it excludes those who cannot access it.

Furthermore, the musicians suggest that these sorts of self-perpetuating connections through elitist networks can bring undeserved offers of work, rather than simply through musical talent. The musicians feel aggrieved with the idea that people gain prestige simply through elite connections, and we have seen in the data that they resent and struggle with the notion of performing with soloists and conductors who have undeserved tangible prestige.

The findings show that musicians who are considered to have prestige in the orchestra are the players who hold a high-status role, such as being a section leader. It is important to acknowledge that the prestige is attached to the role and not the holder of the role as such. For example, prestige does not reside in the section leader; rather, the role the section leader performs is prestigious, and owing to the fluidity of the role position in orchestras, this can change; for example, in another concert the leader may be playing in another position. This illustrates that prestige is separate from the person, and therefore it is too simplistic to argue that a prestige hierarchy is based on role differences.

Moreover, a section leader is given permissions that others are not, for example, direct communication with the conductor, and these permissions are simply attached to the role of being a section leader. Permissions attached to a prestigious role which are separate from the person, exemplifies how nebulous prestige is.

We have seen in the findings that the musicians are frustrated when elite orchestral prestige arises from non-orchestral sources. For example, the relationship between prestige and those in power, such as influential journalists, critics, orchestral managers or conductors, who appear to have had prestige conferred upon them for commercial reasons and not necessarily for reasons of aesthetics. The significance is that those in a small, non-orchestral community who have prestige can seemingly validate the prestige of the larger orchestral community that has less.

Unique and important findings of the study- Musicians

With the participants' desire to achieve and maintain advantage, both for performance opportunities and for financial capital, one could view prestige-building as a transactional tool in a prestige economy. For example, people listen to others who have a good reputation and then recommend them for work. Notions of a prestige economy are a good way to research it, bringing to light the unique and important findings of the study.

I summarize two unique and important findings of this study:

- The musicians who strive to impress the fixers by appearing to be seen as capable and useful people to have around, will not impress the fixers.
- For the fixers, prestige has an objective tangible component, which is objectively recognizable, such as ownership of a highly respected musical instrument, or the membership of a network.

The theoretical lens of a prestige economy plays a significant part in showing various tensions for musicians by illuminating how, in their endeavor to gain prestige they may find themselves accidentally strategizing to build their reputation instead. This study points to ways that the musicians manage reputation-generating activities as part of their working life. The fixer needs to decide who to hire by choosing an impressive and reliable musician, and to do that they construct an impression of how they perceive each musician to be, either because the musician actually IS impressive and reliable, or because the fixers choose to think they are.

Contribution to the research area- orchestral world

Three unique aspects of the study are:

- Gaining empirical admittance into the world of one of London's largest symphony orchestras through insider contacts has enabled me to access and interview a considerable group of musicians and fixer participants. As an orchestral musician I bring insider approaches and questions concerning the orchestral profession.
- Triangulating the perspective of the orchestral musicians through the distinctive view of orchestral fixers is an appropriate method of analysis since many of the fixers are also practicing orchestral musicians. The fixers' additional views bring a significant dimension to the existing body of knowledge.

- I have shown that the notion of a prestige economy creates a tangible way of viewing the whole picture of musical life. The musicians socially place themselves in relation to others, which is not always easy if circumstances beyond their control do not permit them to play at their best, such as uncomfortable orchestra pits, outdoor venues, bad acoustics, and unclear conductors.

This study will add to the body of work on the classical music sector in two ways:

- I have presented empirical research concerning the specific experiences of orchestral musicians in one London orchestra.
- I suggest that one can focus on the prestige aspects of work in any profession, and examine what individuals do in any setting where prestige operates at various levels. For example, one can consider the participating case study orchestra as a 'microcosm of society' (Ramnarine, 2012) and an 'exemplary model of collective action' (Faulkner, 1973).

Pointing to a gap in the literature, I suggest that prestige issues bring an important contribution to the research area since the notion of prestige economy framework offers not only theoretical understanding, but also a practical way to enable an individual to achieve particular things and understand the competition. Furthermore, this study makes emerging issues accessible; one's reputation is what others perceive it to be, ideally that of being held in high esteem by colleagues. Prestige has certain value for the orchestral musician, especially if the result is that they become highly respected. The findings show that if people are aware of the sorts of capital assets that have value within their societal group they come to understand the collective rules and norms, as well as the knowledge and skills required for the kinds of general assumptions that might be held. Thus, I argue that there is a distinct value in examining what is prestigious, who is associated with prestige, who values it, how prestige is developed, and the various relationships, processes and states of being.

Contribution to new knowledge- prestige

I suggest that there is value in conceptualizing a prestige economy viewpoint. An economy will generally require a currency, and the metaphor of a prestige economy consists of the things that people value, which may come in many forms of capital concerning the places where prestige-valuing happens. In agreement with Leppert and Lincoln:

‘Of the three scarce resources that are commonly recognized as the most desired and thus most contested entities available within any society; that is, wealth, power and prestige. Scholarly attention has long been focused upon the first two ... Prestige has received rather less scholarly attention and, as a consequence, is considerably less well understood’ (Leppert and Lincoln, 1989: 5).

As we know, the notion that prestige is traded within a prestige economy is not in itself new (Bascom, 1948; Herskovits, 1948; Val’terovich, 2005; Bourdieu, 1984; Hughes, 1984; English, 2005; Blackmore and Kandiko, 2011). The term prestige economy indicates behavior which is not economically motivated and where actions often accord no tangible benefit to the giver, but result in an unspoken dealmaking process of future reciprocal obligation (Bascom, 1948; Herskovits, 1948; Val’terovich, 2005). In this way, prestige becomes ‘a way of buying your way into a relationship that you hope will pay off in the long run’ (Whitfield, 2012: 33). The findings show that for the musicians in this orchestral context, prestige cannot be measured; it is an asset beyond reputation; it brings opportunities, and through reciprocity this is circular; it is a currency and thus it offers ways to achieve things; it is binary, in that either you have it or you do not; and it leads to inequality.

However, I suggest that a large part of the contribution to new knowledge in this study is the way that the focus on prestige has exposed some of the hidden aspects of taken for granted social practices. The indication is that one should not assume that prestige is necessarily positive, because since prestige is a driver for excellence it tends to foster self-interested behavior. Incorporating the views of Bourdieu that ‘privileged individuals maintain their position by using their connections with other privileged people’ (Bourdieu, cited in Field, 2008), the acquisition of prestige can be seen as part of a process of achieving and maintaining advantage in the world. Prestige cannot be measured since prestige means different things to different people, however, by focusing on what creates elite groups, and what makes the elite especially

valued, I have identified some of the tensions associated with prestige both in the context of this study, and in terms that are more general.

Suggestions for further research

In this section, I consider the notion of the prestige economy in terms that are more general. Having introduced the key theoretical and empirical points of reference to answer my research question, I now deliberate on the wider context. I suggest that the concept of a prestige economy has wide potential for future research. This may possibly enrich the theoretical perspective in numerous ways: through broader research and wider sample groups of orchestras in wide-ranging locations; concert promoters; venue managers; and further disciplines, such as music education.

The classical music sector

There are demographic concerns about who is financially able, or willing to be included in classical music concert going because of, for example, 'cultural barriers sustained through high ticket prices' (Blackmore, 2016). Debates concerning the demise of classical music need to take account of changes in music education, changes in the recording industry, issues of multiculturalism, pop culture etc., since these issues affect the orchestral musicians whose livelihood depends on the orchestras selling tickets. Increased competition means that as orchestras seek to compete effectively in a competitive global market, finding ways to meet the challenges of new business models and building global links will be essential.

Each orchestra needs to maintain its artistic identity to distinguish itself from other orchestras, and needs to find ways to understand what constitutes a success in programming, internal issues, and community relationships. An orchestra is an organization that exists within an exceptionally complex context of stakeholders with diverse and conflicting interests that need to be dealt with in order for the organization to survive. Currently the orchestral musicians are hired for a small functional niche to perform in concerts, and yet the orchestral management could arguably use the musicians as further prestige resources. The data findings have shown that typically the participants are given two or three haphazard orchestral education training workshops, but apart from that are not provided with any professional development skills, which could benefit the orchestra, such as, for example, the means to build relationships with

fundraisers. The prosperity of an orchestra is likely to create an impact on the working conditions and experiences of the professional orchestral musicians, and I suggest that the theoretical notion of a prestige economy provides a framework in which to explore this.

Educational practice

I propose that further research in the wider field of educational practice would be worthwhile. As Brettell-Grip (2009) suggests, unlike other professions, musicians have been trained since they were young, learning not only the skills of playing an instrument, but also the particular orchestral conventions which bind musicians together. Although one assumes that musicians operating at the highest level of excellence are offered good prospects of work, the implications from the findings show that work-gain is not simply a matter of playing well. As we have seen, prestige appears to play an important part in the building opportunities that lead to further prestige. Through reciprocity, prestige brings the potential to develop further work opportunities, therefore it is vital for young professional musicians 'to become known very quickly as a person of quality, reliability and professionalism' (Morem, 2005: 83). As Flanagan describes, hierarchical relationships have a direct impact on a musician's work, and musicians find themselves in competition even in the early stages of the conservatoire (Flanagan, 2012).

I suggest that prestige economy considerations are helpful for deeper understanding of the process that causes inequality at the early stages of music education. Taking the suggestion of Kingsbury, who focuses his theoretical inquiry on an American music conservatory as a social organization, that 'although it is only occasionally spoken aloud, there is a general understanding that only a small minority of the graduates of the conservatory will be able to make professional careers as performing musicians' (Kingsbury, 1988: 56). He argues that simply practicing hard will not assure a successful career. Rather, he suggests that one has to negotiate the interconnected cultural system. He puts forward the example of namedropping, proposing that 'the implicit message is that if one studies with a particular teacher, then one steps into a particular line of musical descent' (Kingsbury, 1988: 46). Thus, we see how prestigious connections influences how others see us.

While conservatoires reassess exactly how music students can be taught in ways to fit in socially and musically into their future musical world, I suggest that a study of prestige could be helpful in this context. For example, a study focusing on music students learning to negotiate

future employment, to realize their aspirations as professional musicians, as part of their conservatoire's educational curriculum.

Inequalities

In this study I have outlined the theoretical and analytical context for my analysis of the data that the musicians in one London orchestra gave. I have focused on the effects of prestige on the working life of the musicians, characterizing the precarious nature, and subsequent inequalities that prestige brings. However, I suggest that the complexity and magnitude of certain issues are outside of the constraint of this work, and I propose that further research concerning the underlying position of orchestral musicians in relation to the field of gender and ethnicity issues would be helpful.

A focus on prestige and female musicians brings potential for new research to add to existing critical analyses of inequalities in the classical music profession. By documenting existing inequalities, especially in relation to gender, homophobia, race, disability and class, the notion of an economy of prestige plays a role in revealing complex and intersecting inequalities. Although issues in the empirical data draw attention to the notion that orchestras are white, middle-class and rife with chauvinism, racism, sexism, and elitism, and although it appears to be prejudicial, the lack of multiculturalism and diversity in orchestras just seems to continue. Not all people are afforded equal opportunities; however, since these specific aspects of exclusion are not the focus of the current analysis, it is suggested as a point for further investigation.

Since prestige provides a currency for trading and for displaying higher social positioning, I suggest that prestige has applications in most fields. Further research concerning the prestige paradigm could generate understanding in any contexts where people develop and exchange tangible resources of social capital. Thus, constructive aspects of prestige can be encouraged and the undesirable ones reduced.

Concluding comments

It has been argued that prestige requires the holding of cultural and symbolic capital of various kinds, and for the musicians in this study these may range from the highly tangible, such as ownership of a highly respected musical instrument, to the more nebulous, such as the membership of a network. The literature points to *why* the musicians may be motivated to strategically negotiate and exchange social capital within prestige hierarchies, since prestige creates 'chains of opportunity' (Hughes, 1993: 359). Social status plays a large part in the way in which musicians interrelate, because for a musician, 'their own success depends, in part, on impressing those who hire them' (Becker, 1974: 769). However, the empirical data provides a picture of *how* the musicians strategize their interactions, constantly renegotiating their social positions, paying attention to both 'cultural practices as well as its system of values' (Bourdieu, 2003:23).

The research question asks 'in what way does the theoretical lens of a prestige economy provide insight into the social world of orchestral musicians?' I propose that this study has answered the research question in a number of ways:

- The theoretical lens of a prestige economy illuminates motives for why the orchestral musicians need to gain prestige in order to compete for work. Amongst the orchestral community of experts a musician's reputation is influenced by the collective recognition of colleagues and fixers. Prestige raises one's status, and ultimately this influences the prospect of being booked for work.
- The orchestral management have an institutional mission with strategic planning and commercial desired end-points. The musicians are part of an orchestra that is in competition with other orchestras, and this brings the motivation to strategize for what is prestigious for the orchestra as a whole; i.e. for the orchestra to hire the most prestigious musicians.
- The theoretical lens of a prestige economy shows through empirical evidence that prestige is not necessarily granted to the best.

- Notions of a prestige economy have drawn attention to some of the inequalities and vulnerabilities experienced by the orchestral musicians.
- The theoretical lens of a prestige economy takes conceptual ideas forward by identifying particular features perceived to carry prestige by the musicians.

Additionally, I suggest that the notion of a prestige economy is a useful way to conceptualize orchestral interactions because, if nothing else, it outlines the interrelationship between the social capital aspects of reputation-building, and the symbolic and cultural aspects of prestige-building. One could view prestige as omnipresent within the whole orchestral social system, involving the desirability of high valuations of attributes, achievements, positions or relationships of admiration. The musicians invest large amounts of time in practising their instruments to an expert level for recognition and achievement for the intrinsic satisfaction of music-making, and for putting their expertise to work to earn money for paid concerts and recordings. On an individual level one's reputation is what others perceive it to be, and for a musician the ideal is to be held in high esteem by fixers and colleagues; and yet, if all the musicians want the same thing, this leads to competition and rivalry.

I conclude that if the theoretical notion of a prestige economy assumes that everyone is driven by prestige, then arguably the prestige model may not be the most suitable way to take account of people's different motivations for their careers and actions. However, since this study looks to the ways that prestige plays a part within the social world of orchestral musicians, I argue that the prestige economy paradigm is a helpful focus, since the orchestra itself is described by Martin as the 'high cultural elite' (Martin, 1995: 231) and this reflects the type of organization which points to prestige.

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Appendix A- The Ponapean prestige economy (1948) page 1

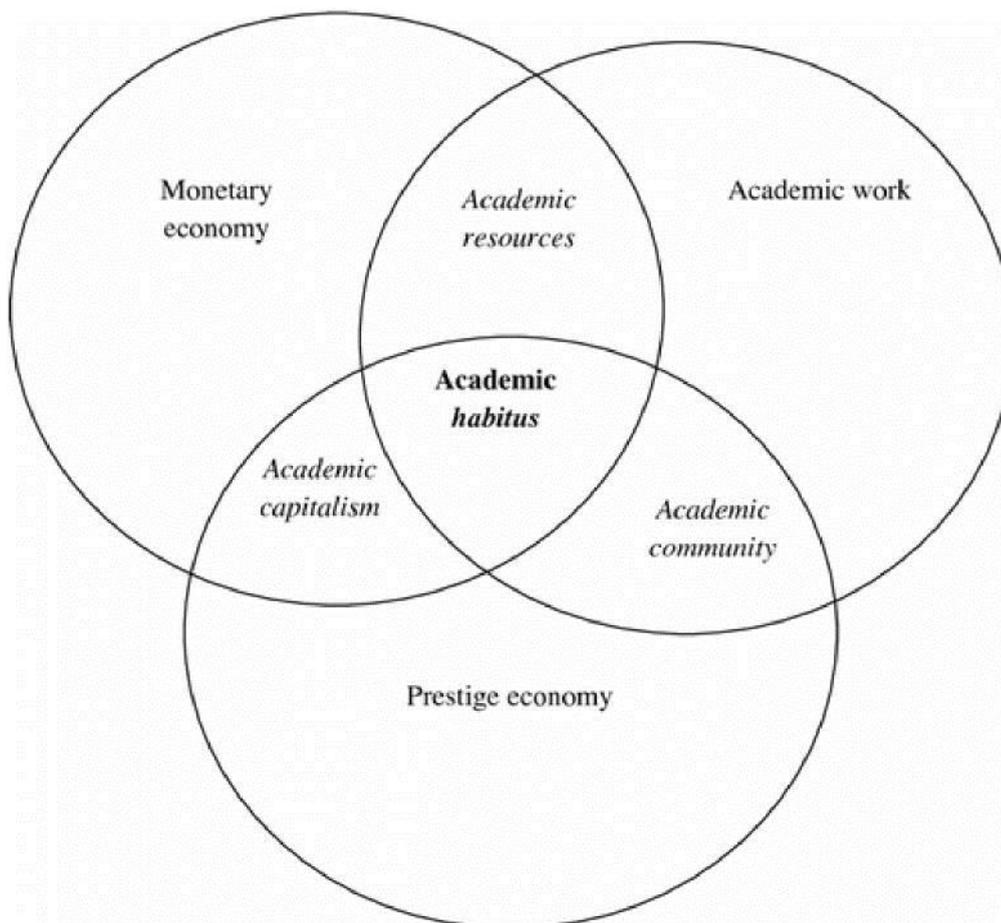
Bascom, W. R. (1948) 'Ponapean Prestige Economy' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, (4), 2, 211-221.

'The inhabitants of Ponape, the second largest of the Caroline Islands in Micronesia, have a system of prestige competition reminiscent in some ways of the potlatch of the American Indians of the Northwest Coast, but with a distinctive character deriving from the Ponapean pattern of modesty. Instead of the distribution and destruction of property that marks the potlatch, contributions of certain foods to community feasts are the traditional means of achieving status. For the purposes of analysis, it is useful to distinguish between the subsistence economy, the commercial economy, and the prestige economy. The first concerns food, clothing, and other subsistence commodities which are consumed locally, generally by the household which produces them. The second relates to the commodities produced for export and sold to obtain money with which to purchase clothing, hardware, and a variety of imported goods for which Ponape has become dependent upon the outside world since contact. The prestige economy involves the goods through which social approval and social status are gained; as in the case of subsistence goods, these are consumed locally, but they are shared with other households within the Section. Although, as might be expected, there is some overlapping, most goods fall clearly within one or another of these three categories as far as their primary function is concerned. A recently introduced system of prestige competition resembling that in Western society, however, is directly related to the commercial economy. In this new system, prestige is based on the ownership of wealth in the form of money, coconut trees (the primary source of money), and imported goods (purchased with money). This paper is limited to a consideration of the traditional prestige competition associated with feasting'.

Appendix B- Model of academic motivation

Blackmore, P. (2011) 'Motivation in academic life: a prestige economy', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* (16), 399-411.

The term prestige economy denotes a social system in which individuals must participate; and academic prestige is a social phenomenon. The model below brings together these key aspects: an intrinsic interest in pursuing academic work; financial and other tangible benefits; and prestige rewards. The model depicts the ways in which monetary and prestige economies interact with each other and with academic work and the wider academic context.



In the diagram, Academic work refers to both the outcomes of work; the books, articles, patents, etc., and the process of working. The term prestige economy refers to the system of valuing and exchange of a range of forms of capital, within an academic department. The Monetary economy refers to the financial context to which departments and universities relate, and in which academic work exists and is done.

Appendix C- Example of a completed pilot study questionnaire

The following is an example of a completed pilot study questionnaire. The demographic details of the participant are undisclosed for reasons of anonymity.

What instrument do you play? Trumpet, Cornet, Piccolo Trumpet, Flugel.

Use three words that typically describe players who play this instrument: Conscientious, leaders, sociable.

How close do these words fit your own character? Pretty much.

Which orchestral sections have the most obvious identity (and in what way?)

Brass and the drinking culture, and possibly string players being serious and introverted. I think the brass, in my experience; they tend to be more sociable with each other as a section on a regular basis. They tend to stick together as a political unit also, in my experience. I find brass players can be bored to death or scared to death with very little in between. I try to remind myself that it is only music and try to get home in a good mood.

How do musicians need to present themselves as professional people?

I usually feel that the brass are pulling together as a unit and that they are supporting one another.

Why did you become a professional musician?

Because I really loved playing music from a young age, and I knew it was something that I wanted to be deeply part of myself and my life.

What do musicians value in their colleagues? For example, do musicians value seniority in the orchestra?

It depends what is meant by 'value'. I am largely a second player, and will always show musical respect for, and fit in with what the first player is doing. This doesn't necessarily mean I truly value it. Likewise, if I am playing second to someone, I won't automatically value them just because they have more seniority than me on that date. (Though naturally I will show them respect etc.). I will only really value them if I think they are a fantastic musician. Seniority is adhered to in section leaders but not especially to age groups, in my experience. I think too many players get sacked before their time. I suppose that an ability to get the job done

efficiently is the most likely thing to be valued, because players are too impatient to wait for colleagues to get things right.

What are the sorts of things that musicians have to do in order to get to the top of the orchestral tree?

Firstly, and most importantly, play well. There is no way of getting on in the profession if you aren't able to play very well consistently. I think it is also helpful to be easy to be around, both in the orchestra (by not rocking the boat, talking too much etc.) and socially. Sacrifice everything to get the best job done as possible and be very good at networking. A determined attempt to be organized helps enormously. Usually, but there are many exceptions, a personable manner is appreciated.

Please give examples of how you deliberately network.

I don't. But I do Facebook, Twitter, email, meeting in pubs, sending students to other trumpeters for lessons, employing other brass players, going to performances by others and meeting them after. I go to concerts, conventions and masterclasses. Stuff like that. But I don't actually network.

What misunderstandings or difficulties do musicians experience in orchestra life?

I'm not sure about misunderstandings. Difficulties may arise if there is a clash of personalities in a section and people may abuse their position of power by showing a lack of respect to people down the line from them. This could be very difficult to deal with efficiently. Also, there are also difficulties attached to orchestras being self-governing bodies, so if a player feels they are being mistreated in any way, there doesn't always feel as though there is a guaranteed fair process to go through to deal with this. Gossip and backbiting become attached to your reputation. So orchestral players can be very vulnerable in this sense. Bad nerves; continuing to play with injuries (due to pride and financial necessity); turning up not knowing the notes; getting paranoid about things said by others; being slagged-off by others.

Why might there be conflicts amongst musicians?

Usually conflicts start with the clash of two egos. Sadly, the nature of the beast is to create self-obsessed people who can't tolerate not being agreed with. Musical differences. Personal differences. People abusing positions of power. The reluctance, or inability, of some people to blend and go-with-the-flow can prove annoying to colleagues. As can bullying of course.

Who buys the tea in orchestral rehearsal tea breaks? And for whom? Please describe unspoken games or rules.

In the trumpets, we send the freelance bumper off early to beat the queue. He also buys for the trombones sometimes, but we would normally chip in.

Who do you tend to spend your time with, during orchestral breaks? ...and why?

Other brass colleagues, for historical reasons and by myself about half of the time because I sometimes need to just chill.

What do you understand by the words?

1) Pond life Back-desks of string players

2) B-team Where an orchestra has lots and lots of deps on

3) A player down the line in the wind section, anyone who isn't playing principal

A player down-the-line is a term used for players considered not up to playing principal.

What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation/ or prestige?

There are natural leaders who command respect; technical and musical excellence; nerves of steel; style and musicianship. For tutti players, not sticking out and 'getting the job done' without fuss. I imagine there is also an element of them 'talking the talk' but I really believe that the best-respected players are worthy of their reputation.

What are the sorts of things that are valued in orchestral life, which give musicians prestige, or a good reputation?

Being pleasant to work with; good social skills; helpful to others; being able to play in tune, in time and be able to fit in and adjust to what is going on around. I've often heard colleagues

refer to people who are not popular socially and essentially saying they forgive them that as they are such amazing players.

Please give examples of the ways in which some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others.

Individually negotiated contracts. Some orchestras have bonuses for long service.

Is the basis on which orchestral musicians get paid, fair?

This is a far reaching question. Firstly, the discrepancy between the pay of orchestra musicians and conductors I think is monstrous. Further than that, I do think orchestral musicians should be paid more overall, but it is a complex issue to do with how much funding is available, and the fact that players *want* to work. So there doesn't need to be a huge financial incentive to find someone to play on an orchestral date. It's also worth mentioning that there is a large spectrum of payment. So often concerts where the basic fee is average is topped up by radio broadcast/archive recording/overtime, etc. So overall I don't think it's too bad.

What do you think fixers are looking for in an orchestral musician?

My perception is that they are looking for someone who gives a prompt answer to an offer of work and is then reliable about keeping their commitment to work they have taken on. Also someone who follows 'the rules' such as being on time, wearing appropriate concert dress, etc. Intelligent, not too scruffy, attentive, efficient, being available and responding to fixers/clients promptly. Playing well, being reliable and behaving appropriately socially.

Fixers are looking for reliability and safety that the players will know the repertoire, be punctual, and technically up to the standard of those around. They are looking for people who are not a pain in the arse!

Have you any additional observations?

The nature of orchestral playing requires people to be highly tuned into each other. If there is a good feeling socially within a section, this can be easier to achieve (in my experience). I do feel that a person's social skills/characteristics will very often be contributing factor to how much work they are offered.

Appendix D- Example of a completed interview

I am currently undertaking a PhD at the Institute of Education, UCL; and am seeking to collect data from professional freelance orchestral musicians in London in order to understand what is valued in orchestral life, and to consider how the orchestral community may be better understood.

What instrument/s do you play? Violin.

Use three words that typically describe players who play this instrument:

Intelligent, perfectionist, competitive.

How close do these words fit your own character?

100%!

Are you suggesting that players of particular instruments have certain characteristics?

Sure I am. Strings have the pack instinct. First violins have the tunes and possibly hardest music and also complain about each other most of the time. Mostly because of where we get to sit; often because you'll get someone in the back desk trying to lead; basically, because we all think we know better. Violas are famously tight fisted. Double basses are usually super cool, athletic, steady, unique, laid back and charming. Percussionists are arrogant, extrovert, and willing to 'have a go'. You can't be risk-averse as a percussionist. Better to be loud, proud and wrong, than pussy foot. They are experts at golf and killing time. Woodwind are twelve soloists!! There is a vibe that runs in the wind section wherever they work that the orchestra is going to be good or bad depending on who the principal wind players are. If you've got good principals milling around at the start of a rehearsal, everyone relaxes. So if I'm going to stereotype them I'd say that the clarinets are intelligent, worldly and humorous. Everybody agrees that oboists are neurotic, obsessive, controlling. Brass players have an up-yours couldn't-give-a-shit vibe. It's an anarchistic approach, vulgar and brash. But when they are good, oh my God, it can make you buzz all night. That bit in the Verdi Requiem where we're surrounded by trumpets all over the concert hall. If they're good, it's mind-blowing. So...in a nutshell...violins are sheep, violas are mean and eccentric, percussion are Jack-the-lad and unstable, and woodwind border on suicidal- especially the oboists about their

reeds. Horns are confident, sociable, extrovert, strong tenacious and controlled. Trombones are social focused, and confident. Do you want me to go on? I could go on all night: Trumpets players are cocky, confident, extrovert. Brass and sheddies are drinkers. Tubas are eccentric, bookish, extrovert. Brass players are alphas; it goes with the territory. Brass – naughty, rowdy boys. Brass players have an affinity with each other, I can't really explain, but it can even manifest itself when they meet for the very first time. I think this is because there is no hiding place when you pick up a brass instrument as you will always be heard. Cellos are friendly but competitive. As I said before, the brass players are gregarious and always the life and soul of any party, the woodwind and Strings tend to chat about pieces because of their love of orchestral music. I'm basically used to the way that musicians behave. I come from a long line of musicians, and grew up thinking that that was what normal life was like, with music all around me, and knew from an early age that I wanted to play music; orchestral in particular. I was clearly talented at school so I joined school and then youth orchestras and enjoyed the company of like-minded people. It open-up my social life. Kids who played in orchestra were different from the other kids and I liked it. My Dad sought advice when I was sixteen and had to decide which fiddle to get, which bow to buy, which teacher to have, which college to go to. I seemed to be heading for a career in music, and the advice was to get me into the profession at an early opportunity to find out if I could make the grade. If not, I can't imagine what I'd have ended up doing.

By the way...bassoonists are eccentric and comedic, friendly, humorous, quirky Jovial, sensitive, sensible and solid.

Are you saying that because you know me as a bassoon player? Yes!

Why did you become a Professional musician?

I fell into it because I didn't want to queue up for concerts, and I thought it was glamorous, and there was time to follow a different course. As I was saying before, there was no choice. Rather than spending my time in a job I didn't enjoy and wishing I had tried to become a musician. There is an adrenalin rush from performing. It's show biz. It's entertainment and I'm an entertainer. It's my vocation and I am passionate about music-making in all its forms and deeply moved by music's power to change lives and communicate with other people. I just love it really, and I don't say that very often.

What are the sorts of things that musicians have to do, in order to get to the top of the orchestral tree?

Getting to the top is the second hardest thing you will ever do, the hardest thing is staying there. If you want to stay there, you have to work very hard and be able to cope with disappointments. Network. Practice very hard. A bit of luck. Practice very hard. Find a good teacher. Persist, Practice, get lucky, and don't ruffle feathers. Go to the pub or coffee shop with the section. Buy drinks. Be generally nice to everyone. Pass on work. Practice very hard. Be ruthless and very confident! Be an excellent player is obvious, but also having really good social skills, like being ultra-reliable at all times and being prepared to stick your neck out, and hanging out with the guys and networking and generally socializing; practice obviously, and a lot of luck. A lot of drinking sometimes, some ability to be businesslike. Basically you have to be sociable, chat up the right people, and keep in with fixers.

Anything else?

As well as the obvious, which is practice...I'd have to say that awareness is one the strongest features a player needs. Hearing and feeling the music around you and fitting in with it. Musically and intonation-wise. A colleague always describes it as 'Radar'. It's a kind of musical aura sensor. Also, I guess, positive things are to play well, be reliable, and be sociable. Negative things are to suck up to people you might not like, take crap from other players, conductors. Also if possible, don't play music or accompany soloists you have no respect for; i.e. Sacrifice your musical soul! Mind you, all musicians are hos, and like all hos we do anything for money. There is no security, and no guarantee of loyalty. You are only as good as the last gig you played. Taking all that, being able to play the instrument to a high standard is obvious but I think the most important aspect is listening and fitting in. Having the antennae to listen to your colleagues, not necessarily to copy them, but to be aware of phrasing, style and delivery from all around you, and hoping that they have the same approach. That's what I mean about radar. And be nice to everyone. Practice. Always buy the teas, and be very professional at all time. Practice hard, keep a clean sheet and don't upset anyone, if you can help it.

Please give examples of how you deliberately network.

Stay friends with everyone. I am a bad networker but I do talk to new people when freelancing, and at work I find groups to eat with between rehearsal and show. When I was a student, I

went to lots of concerts and went to the pub afterward to meet the players. I am naturally sociable so I might be subliminally networking. I am not very good at this. I might make an effort to be nice to someone who I think might give me work in the future but generally don't play this game. I regard myself as hopeless at networking. I just aim to be amiable and do a good job. Buying the MD a beer, fix a few things, social networking via FB and Twitter. Any networking that I do is generally at the gig. It will mean keeping a general and suitable flow of conversation and being helpful, but not interfering. Drinks breaks and meal breaks are important to socialize in. Being one of the first to buy a round is also important, and alcohol plays a conspicuous part in networking. Going to funerals, memorial services and masterclasses etc. To be honest I don't favor networkers as I believe that one would get the work anyway if they are the right player. Having said that, when I go into new orchestras and ensembles I do feel that there is a new found manner that controls me. Punctuality and politeness don't go unmissed. Players can go far by reputation alone as well as knowing players from student days, student/teacher relationships and recommendations. I am not sure how this counts as networking. Always treat people as you would like to be treated - in my case I try and give everyone time respect and a warm reception. Personally I don't deliberately network but at the same time I have acquired lots of friends from the colleagues I work with. I don't have time for the 19th hole. There is a sense in which I sometimes feel the whole thing is rather shallow which may be why I don't network enough!

What do you think fixers are looking for in an orchestral musician?

Turning up before time, looking smart, being available, reliable and loyal to their orchestra; not complaining, smiling, keeping quiet, doing the job and going home. But this only works for a few years. If section principals change or the fixer changes you can drop off or move down a list. Being a good team player and being a more than adequate player. From the audience point of view, having some recognizable or distinctive or famous feature, and a positive character. Reliability, and the recommendation of others. A reliable workhorse who plays well, and evinces some form of loyalty. Reliability, good timekeeping, professional behavior, availability, no trouble.

Have you heard this one?

An L.A. recording session ground to a halt yesterday when an oboe player, who was constantly sucking on her reed to keep it moist during rests and between takes inadvertently inhaled and swallowed it. The conductor immediately called 911 and asked what he should do. The operator told him, 'Use muted trumpet instead'.

Ha! Nobody cares who you are. Just a bum on a seat. Reliability in playing, dealing with (sometimes difficult or demanding) conductors, appearance and punctuality. A cash cow to milk, I find many fixers to be very bitter and twisted within, and charming in manner, they don't figure on my Christmas card list. Being... 1) Good players 2) reliable, punctual, taking responsibility if they have to dep out 3) fitting in with the ethos of the band, being nice, friendly, cheerful people...if someone is badly organized they can still be fixed as long as it doesn't interfere with 1) and 3). Inappropriate drunkenness is not good. In general: an efficient distributor of notes in the strings, and in the case of a section principle a strong musician - also a team player who does not send out waves. As well as being bloody good at playing, being good fun, polite and approachable helps. I have seen people who are 'away with the fairies' and seen a reaction from fixers. Also, ones who strut in with over flowing confidence don't always go down too well, especially from established players; and the ability to work easily with other musicians without any arguments or difficulties. Not making a fuss about the bad seating/lighting/lack of overtime or portorage.

What are the sorts of things that are valued in orchestral life, which give musicians prestige or a good reputation?

In my experience this varies from person to person. I value experience, tone quality, integrity and camaraderie. Others have different perspectives and ideas. Sometimes shockingly different. But, that's life. What makes an orchestral musician have a good reputation or prestige? Charisma, flair, and being a pleasant person to sit next to both as a player and person. Behaving yourself on tour, i.e. not being late for the tour bus, nor missing the bus to the airport at the end of the tour; owning a corkscrew when the only bottles around have a cork; not creating a scene in the hotel bar, etc. Trying to hide your dedication, as this can be seen as over dedication (nerdyness, anorak etc.), like playing brilliantly and saying you haven't

practiced, and being astonishingly dedicated without looking as if you are. Practicing morning and night without admitting it. Strong technique, musical confidence and connection – actually, on second thoughts, maybe not always the best musicians are valued, but very often the musicians who make others feel the best have a good reputation.

Anything else?

Reliability; musical playing, often in adverse situations, like falling off a delayed plane and going straight to the venue, no food, no rehearsal, and doing Scheherazade without the blink of an eye. Confidence, punctuality, manners, generosity and good humor is almost as important as good performance. Being easy to get along with; sense of wit; bringing the corkscrew on tour. Having your own pencil in rehearsals. Ability to read a map despite satnav. There is a weakness in the profession, in that musicians who are well placed (e.g. playing for a well-paid show) will attract respect in as much abundance as the strong musicians in a good orchestra. All it needs is for the fixer to change, or the principal of your section to leave, and the extra list can be re-shuffled. We are often perceived, by those outside the profession, as being well paid and posh. This is very galling. It is only a lucky few who manage to make good money in this country. The most common difficulty as a string player is finding the funds to purchase instrument and bow. A decent French bow is now over the £20,000 mark (the best makers are now £50-£60,000) and a less well known Italian instrument over £200,000 (top makers are in affordably expensive). Not many people can find that kind of money as well as having a mortgage.

What misunderstandings or difficulties do musicians experience in orchestra life?

Plenty – it's a highly stressful business when people's abilities are put under the microscope daily, so it can bring out the worst in some. Sadly, the nature of the beast is to create self-obsessed people who can't tolerate not being agreed with. The reluctance, or inability, of some people to blend and 'go with the flow' can prove annoying to colleagues. Especially in a large symphony orchestra (of maybe 100 members) you are going to get opposing views. The majority just agree with each other to keep the peace. This definitely surfaces after the loss or change of conductor, section principal, or the orchestra leader. These people are usually the more charismatic personalities and so their loss leaves a vacuum, so the band have to stay united. The appointment of their replacement can cause huge tensions

within the orchestra or relevant section. Musicians have honed such a fine craft of gossip...agreement...and more gossip, that it is often the case that opinions become entrenched. And of course there is the age-old problem of boredom, lack of accountability and alcohol. Paranoia, favoritism. Seating issues – not sitting in a high enough position. Not getting booked for gigs which one thinks one should be. Disliking the playing style of a desk partner. Many musicians find the touring aspects difficult, and I wonder what the stats are for marital longevity amongst musicians. Older musicians seem to suffer from ennui and a lack of challenge, and become quite insular and disparaging. A lot of the emotion can go out of pieces that you've played countless times, although I think this is less of a phenomenon than might be perceived. A lack of respect for conductors and composers is rampant and not always deserved. Having to accept blame for others' mistakes, to avoid rocking the boat. Deciding whether to keep the first date when offered a better one, subsequently. Touring friendships – respecting the partners left at home. Generally, money features, lack of basic luxuries, bad food, and rudeness of management, bad transport arrangements Indiscretions or presumed indiscretions are often blown out of proportion, Chinese whispers style, Tyrannical conductors...Being asked to play on your own in front of the colleagues. Being expected to play in bad light...from badly printed parts on uncomfortable chairs.... on a flat stage with a big head in front of you blocking your view....in a too hot or cold hall in a cathedral with only one loo between 90 people and no changing rooms...etc. And worst of all...not being asked back to an orchestra you've been working with for years.

Any other thoughts?

There is a pecking order which works alongside the business of who is the best musician. This is particularly prevalent in the string sections where team work is the most important aspect - in some ways it is fair in that the strongest tend to flourish, but many of the very best musicians suffer this hard reality as they are not necessarily 'wired up' for this aspect. Free time and managing time. Money! Being on top of the job requirements. Patience and coping with stress, bad conductors, players you don't like so much (stylistically), or who smell or twitch or chat in rehearsals. People outside of the music world do not understand the pressure, the stress and what it takes as individuals to perform. The touring, for example, is not a holiday!! Everyone handles the pressures in different ways and there is no golden rule on how to control that. When life conflicts with music e.g. if you have a child to care for, you

'step on a snake'. If you can put playing first you 'step on a ladder'. Fixers are also reluctant to book someone with an ongoing illness, physical problem, obvious personality issue or someone who has caused a problem in the past. One of the difficulties is injury or illness. The misunderstanding is how that can affect your playing, and the difficulty is the need to keep quiet about it in case someone, perhaps a fixer, will not book you in case the little problem affects your performance. The performance is the most important part of the end product, and personal problems, health, finance or domestic must be demoted to second place. If players move to another part of the country they can be assumed to be unavailable for work, even if they do not intend that; players can be pigeonholed in branches of the profession and not considered for other types of playing. If a player takes on a West End show they can be overlooked for symphonic work; players can also be booked only as principal players, or only as rank and file players by different fixers who do not consider them as desirable or capable of sitting in different positions within a section, even if the player is happy and willing to accept work in more than one position. This is perhaps more true of players who are most often employed to sit back desk but would like to be invited to play principal more often. Feeling undervalued after many years of hard work and study. Difficult working conditions i.e. temperature; confined spaces; low rates of pay compared to other professions; lack of parking for colleagues with big instruments, and poor changing room space.

How do musicians need to present themselves as professional people?

We have to make people understand that what is amateur pleasure for some is our profession, and our 'day job'. How many times am I invited to play at a friend's party or a family wedding for nothing! Credibility as a pro, is based on being consistent and a steady contributor. Be the best that you can! Be on top of everything and be ready and on time. Smile!! Try to play your best and dress smartly (in concerts) be good at your job, reliable, fun and interesting. There needs to be an increased emphasis on musical and personal integrity - being on time, not playing in the rests, and getting on with everyone, play equal importance with musical ability. By turning up on time, by being smartly dressed and by playing flawlessly and beautifully; turning up for work in plenty of time, behaving professionally, taking the work seriously, playing conscientiously, and generally avoid giving the fixers any cause to doubt that they are a safe bet; and will not be liable to upset promoters/conductors by any disruptive behavior or musical incompetence.

What do musicians value in their colleagues?

Seniority is undervalued. There is a struggle for survival which can hold more sway than respect for the most experienced, and certain managements appear most to blame for enforcing this short termism by booking the young and the beautiful. If I think of an example I'd bring to mind the Southbank Sinfonia or the London Firebird Orchestra, which are major management's latest under 30-year-old orchestra, which look good, full of young pretty things. Mind you, to be fair, they're shit-hot players. Experience is valued up to a point, but as generally in society, youth is a great advantage. Older players may feel threatened by younger players. I'd say generally people like to feel that everyone is equal, but clearly, they are not.

Boasting about high profile gigs is bad form, and it's better to have a joke about bad situations. Maybe that's a British thing. Certain principal players in an orchestra, such as leader, 1st oboe, 1st horn, have more leeway when it comes to time off and higher status. Older, more established players may be looked upon more favorably than newcomers if they are famous, but sometimes the reverse can be true, and older players are discriminated against in favor of young, fresh faces.

Why might there be conflicts amongst musicians?

Because of shortage of work and fair level fees which in turn create insecurity and then unhealthy behavior within the business. Jealousy, arrogance, non-team player; abuse from conductors, carelessness from management, scheming by jealous colleagues.

I have occasionally been annoyed if someone isn't taking the job seriously, especially if it is in a way which could affect future bookings for the whole orchestra e.g. back chat to conductors, excessive chatting in rehearsals when the choir chairman's wife could be directly behind in the choir, and not being aware of how the individual can jeopardize things for the whole group. For example, playing new-composer stuff and laughing when he's sitting in the front row. As a player, conflicts can arise within a section over who sits where or who is booked for a date when you arrive and find some back desk is sitting in your seat. It is better to be open than to try to do anything behind someone's back – they will always find out eventually. Rivalry, and accusations of inaccuracy (pitch or time) especially when one side feels it to be unfounded. Intonation is occasionally a flash point for squabbles in a woodwind section.

Seating can be a problem with loud brass or percussion seated immediately behind. You want them to bugger off because they're deafening you, and it's not their fault. Musicians are very insecure and often egotistical, there is always someone feeling they have been overlooked. Frustration caused by the fact that orchestral musicians don't have much control of what they do (they don't choose repertoire, colleagues etc. and the conductor tells them how to play). Many difficulties stem from lack of funding, be it for rehearsal, hotel accommodation or schedules which are just unrealistic. The biggest rows I've had with conductors have been in situation where an orchestra may be jet-lagged and exhausted and, because of that, become unresponsive (and play badly!) Which leads onto my next point! Conductors are the bane of most orchestral musicians' life. A huge proportion of them are unremarkable at most, many are completely incompetent and the high fees negotiated by most of the good ones are an increasing cause of resentment amongst highly-trained but very poorly paid musicians. Worst of all are the star instrumentalists who decide to take up conducting but never bother to go through the business of actually learning how to do it.

Anything else?

Making player appointments within orchestras can be a tortuous process. After auditions you might whittle things down from half-a-dozen to two on trial, but it takes a very long time to reach any consensus, and usually well over a year in the case of important appointments. Those decisions can end up being fraught with politics. They never hire the best, and it's usually a mate of the managements in the end. Dealing with musicians whose playing has deteriorated is also a very difficult situation and, in my experience, there are probably only very bad, and least bad ways of dealing with that. It's a very painful process. I've had to deal with colleagues with alcoholism and severe mental illness in my time. In those cases, it is possible, but not easy, to be supportive while not compromising the orchestras playing standard. In a free-lance profession there isn't a budget to pay such people while they have treatment so it is even more difficult.

Please give examples of the ways in which some members of the orchestra have more privileges than others.

Better dressing rooms, better rates of pay; the list goes on. Cello section principals and associate principals (seats 1-3) often get a seat for their cello on flights on tours, whereas

others have to put theirs in the 'coffin' (padded casks which go on the truck or by cargo flight) or sometimes in the hold (shudder!). The socially well connected will use their connections to their advantage. It can be perceived that principal players have more privileges than other members of an orchestra because they are paid more and usually have more personal contact with a conductor. On the other hand, they have the responsibility for section leading, solos and deciding bowings, breathing, phrasing etc.

Is the basis on which orchestral musicians get paid, fair?

I started working in the early 1970s when musicians were relatively far better paid. Concert fees have not kept up with inflation and fees for recordings have declined drastically. Most of all, the disparity between orchestra members and conductors and soloists has increased massively during that time. Within an orchestra I would say the pay scales are reasonable although I don't think that leaders necessarily deserve some of the fees they command. There is also some arrangement of 'doubling' and instrument hire amongst percussionists, which as everyone knows, smacks of racketeering! Leaders are typically paid at least twice as much as any other player and have their own dressing room, a free parking space, and concert tickets. Particularly outstanding principal players may negotiate special fees for themselves but that isn't very common. Obviously, the higher your position is in the orchestra the more likely you are to be able to cherry pick the best work. The more senior positions command higher fees, although the amount is not a great deal more for section principal (e.g. £30 extra per concert fee) the conductor and orchestra leader fees can be considerably more (two to three times the rank and file fee). The pay structure is not satisfactory in that the players who work hardest (in a physical sense) are the most obviously poorest paid i.e. the rank and file. On the other hand, there have to be incentives for 'star' players who play lots of difficult solos, to apply for, and stay in positions. In the BBC orchestras the principals earn about twice as much and are only required to do about half the work therefore earning about four times as much as the second player, leading to some (lots of) bitterness, resentment and jealousy. Not compared to singers! Not compared to conductors! Freelance players should be paid more but it's a buyers' market.

Who do you tend to spend your time with, during orchestral breaks? (And why?)

I tend to hang out with friends in the orchestra and keep away from the political mischief of the weak. Usually outside with the smokers, even though I gave up years ago – a creature

of habit me! Also you get a cross-section of people from the band, and smokers generally are a friendly bunch.

Who buys the tea in orchestral rehearsal tea-breaks? (And for whom?)

You offer to buy tea for whoever you want to impress. Sometimes I stay in my seat and practice tricky bits. Sometimes I go off by myself. Sometimes I sit and chat over coffee with people who I like. It really depends on who is in the orchestra, what others are doing, what music is on the stand, and how I feel on the day. Tea breaks are usually spent with your section.... because of the tea-getting rituals. It might be with someone I need to discuss something with, or it might be with my inner circle of friends. Different sections in different orchestras have different rules. The brass boys and the sheddies will be in the pub. Cellists being in middling sized sections tend to buy teas for 3-4 people max, sometimes no one buys the tea and it just depends on who you're with in the queue. Bass sections usually have a 'runner'. As soon as break is announced the allotted person rushes off to the canteen and buy teas for the whole section, which is usually worked out while the rehearsal is going on. I have never really been part of this game. The sub-principal players usually offer to get the teas but some sections seem to make an effort to take turns. 'Buying the tea', though does seem to part of networking to some players. I don't drink tea.

What do you understand by the words?

1: Pond life

Derogatory term for the string sections. They take the piss out of rank and file string players, who are mostly teased for being faceless and rather boring people. No singing or loud conversation on their tour bus where they want to be left alone. It's a common term used to describe rank and file strings used by wind players with a chip on their shoulders! Ha, ha! Someone who isn't particularly alert, involved or bright. The weak and homely who do not stay up late and drink on tour or monopolize the gamers' bus.

2: B-team

Also a derogatory term. When the principals are off. Used when more than the normal number of extra players are on. It's a term for the duff second-best; the reserves. When no

one else is available- the people who play when the A team is on a better gig. An orchestral date where it is known that the orchestra in question has a more prestigious date on the same day in a different venue and that (most of) the official 'members' of the orchestra are on that one. The 'B-team' is performing under the name of the said orchestra but will include only very few (or no) official members of the orchestra. Typically, deputies who might be called when a large number of first-call players aren't available. Also when a wind section has a large number of their no 2 players sitting up in the first chair. The lesser players sent out on a less prestigious date while the A team is deployed elsewhere.

3: A player down-the-line

Refers to pecking order. Someone less valued than yourself. A player who is down-the-line from the principal, so someone who isn't in a principal position. The further down the line you are the less prestige you have. It's less derogatory than the two other terms and implies that that person is reliable but won't set the world on fire with their playing. Some years ago the string players felt rank and file was derogatory, so the Chairman started to call them tutti artists. They soon reverted to being called r and f. A player down-the-line is just a matter of fact with no derogatory connotations. As Bill Shankly used to say about the offside rule '... If one of my players isn't interfering with play, I want to know about it!' I think it is a term used for being reliable players considered not up to playing principal.

Have you any additional observations?

Only to say how very soul-searching this has turned out to be! In London we have the cradle of the world's finest musicians and creating an environment where we address some of the criticism above will ensure that England extends its reputation as the world's leader in music, and classical music will once again move centre stage in our society. Players who 'big themselves up' drive me mad. People who don't show respect and turn up late or borderline late. Miserable people who don't seem to enjoy the job. People who don't show respect. Networkers who are selfish and slimey. Management who take you for granted and don't consider the huge efforts one puts in, playing wise. It's quite frequent to find that audiences have a rose-tinted view of orchestral life. The larger contingent of foreign players now presents bigger challenges, and many issues are therefore raised with that extra ingredient.

Being a free-lance musician is TOUGH, unpredictable and rarely glamorous. But it can be hugely rewarding and exciting. You get to visit cities and countries that you would never get

to see in more normal walks of life. You spend your time, or at least a lot of it, playing great music on your favorite instrument that you are very good at playing. You get to play in amazing venues with, occasionally, a great conductor. You will sometimes play on soundtracks that you can feel proud of playing in when you go with your friends to see the film at the cinema. I got to play in a soundtrack recorded at Abbey Road studio 1 for the recording sessions of a film which took place 6 months. Last tax year I earned half what I did back in 2001 when those recording sessions took place!

Having freelanced for many years now, I have learned to just turn up to a gig and expect something or nothing. Play your best at all times. Don't get involved in any politics. Go for a drink afterwards but only if you want to. Most importantly of all, expect nothing back! Musicians constantly worry about what other people think about their playing. It is important to remember that there will always be someone better than you, and someone worse than you. Always respect what you do and don't worry about what other people think. Finally, remember those special people who spend their whole lives practicing and forget to go to the pub in their spare time. Life slips by while we forget that there's a life outside the profession. Orchestras are multifaceted and the miracle is that so many people with different personalities, agendas and outlooks are able to amalgamate into a professional performing ensemble that can often add up to more than the sum of its parts. In a situation in which practice is essential to maintain standards, family pressures, e.g. care responsibilities, can make professional life difficult. Players support each other because there's a feeling that if you sneer or laugh at a colleague's mistake the next one will be yours. Players can be bored to death or scared to death, with very little in between. I try to remind myself that it is only music and try to get home in a good mood.

It's more fun than I've made it sound.