ABSTRACT

CARRADINI, STEPHEN ANDREW. The Professional Communication of Extra-institutional Musicians. (Under the direction of Jason Swarts.)

This dissertation focuses on the professional communication of extra-institutional musicians. The organizational support available for musicians has diminished over the past thirty years to a point where many musicians make careers without the assistance of a large organization. Technical and Professional Communication has explored how extra-institutional individuals use professional communication in their careers, but has not asked if musicians might shed light on how extra-institutional individuals communicate. Arts Entrepreneurship has begun to investigate how musicians make careers outside large organizations, but has not explored how professional communication is involved in those extra-institutional careers.

This interdisciplinary dissertation investigates what professional communication musicians use, how they use that professional communication, and why they use that professional communication in the process of career-building. Using grand-tour and stimulated recall protocols, I conducted 80 interviews with 40 musicians (20 indie rock musicians, 20 classical musicians) about the professional communication used in their careers. I used quantitative (frequency, keyness, collocation) and qualitative (in vivo, provisional, and descriptive coding) methods to analyze the data. I found that musicians use a huge array of professional communication elements. Musicians used these professional communication elements as a means to complete music-oriented tasks, such as touring, publishing content, managing professional relationships, and developing a career. Indie rock and classical musicians used different professional communication elements and employed them to do different, group-specific tasks. This study investigated the reasons why these
subgroups used professional communication differently, resulting in the discovery of four organizational structures that governed the use of professional communication in the lives of musicians. The build structure, teaching structure, repertoire structure, and composing structure each possessed unique characteristics that shaped what professional communication the musicians needed to use and reframed the exigences in which they used it. Musicians were able to participate in multiple organizational structures at once, but these structures largely operated independent of each other in the musician’s life—as if the musicians had two jobs.

Further analysis of the organizational structures of musicians revealed that professional communication developed and maintained these organizational structures. Musicians used communication as infrastructure in the absence of organizational support: organizational structure was stabilized when musicians repeatedly responded successfully to the characteristics of organizational structure that manifested in multiple exigences. Musicians could project how to write future communication, even in exigences they had not encountered before, by creating professional communication that responded to the characteristics of organizational structure. This study adds to the understanding of extra-institutional individuals in Technical and Professional Communication. The professional communication and the tasks musicians were undertaking with them add to Arts Entrepreneurship’s knowledge of what communication is necessary in the lives of musicians and intervene in theories of organizing and the arts entrepreneurial mindset. Organizational structure for extra-institutional individuals allows for identification of genres within their work; without an organizational structure, genres are difficult to identify, because an organization is necessary for recurrence of stable exigences from which genres emerge.
The Professional Communication of Extra-institutional Musicians

by

Stephen Andrew Carradini

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For my grandparents: Thomas Cregge the first, Joan Cregge Siegel, Ric Carradini, and Ruth Carradini.
BIOGRAPHY

Stephen Carradini is a faculty member in Arizona State University’s Technical Communication program. He received his Ph.D. in Communication, Rhetoric, and Digital Media from North Carolina State University. His research investigates how people who work outside large organizations use professional communication to do their work. His work is published in the *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* and on the website Genre across Borders. He writes music journalism at Independent Clauses and plays indie pop music on the side.
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As Bach appended to his scores: Soli Deo gloria.

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An estimated 53 million Americans, or “1 in 3 workers,” reported doing part-time or full-time freelance work in 2013 (Horowitz, 2015). As large as that number is, freelancers represent only a part of a larger group called extra-institutional individuals (Petersen, 2014). Extra-institutional individuals are people who contribute work to a professional community without being employed full-time by a single, pre-existing bureaucratic organization. Professionals who fall inside this definition of extra-institutional are diverse: entrepreneurs, consultants, Uber drivers, self-employed artisans, and artists all fit in the category alongside freelancers. These extra-institutional individuals conduct different types of work, but all of these professionals work without the full-time support of a large organization or a private patron.

The bureaucracy has been the primary organizing structure for professional work since the late 1800s (Spinuzzi, 2015; Yates, 1989). Owners and managers designed organizations to coordinate large numbers of people over wide geographical areas by providing clear hierarchies, strict rules, and deadlines for the completion of professional tasks. In return for the rigor of the working conditions, organizations provide access to extensive financial, physical, personnel, and networking resources to complete the professional tasks. Beyond professional support, bureaucracies often guarantee salaries, benefits, vacations, and long-term job security to workers. These professional and personal benefits made working in a large organization a desirable situation for workers.

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1 In Spinuzzi’s theory of organizational structure, institution means a hierarchical bureaucracy and organization is a more general term. Following this usage, I employ the word extra-institutional throughout to mean those working outside a bureaucracy.
Organizations found these professional and personal commitments to the full-time employee to be expensive, but considered the expenditures necessary in order to maintain access to the professionals needed to complete the organization’s tasks.

However, trends in organizational hiring have recently shifted away from full-time employment and toward the short-term hiring of extra-institutional professionals. Many organizations have reduced the number of full-time employees they retain while emphasizing short-term labor (Midler, 1995). This practice brings benefits to organizations in the ability to hire a wide array of specialists, on an as-needed basis, and to decrease salary costs. However, this approach can be difficult for workers, as decreased full-time hiring can lead to low wages, unstable income streams, lack of employer-sponsored healthcare, and underemployment issues for those who would desire a full-time job in a large organization instead of an extra-institutional career.

Some extra-institutional individuals choose to work outside large organizations rather than being forced into extra-institutional work via underemployment. Widely available broadband Internet access makes communicating with other professionals quick and cheap, regardless of location; professionals no longer need to be co-located in an office building to discuss a collaborative project. Inexpensive or free software applications allow professionals outside organizations to produce information products that match or improve upon the quality of those created by professionals inside organizations using proprietary tools. Website platforms such as Wordpress and Squarespace offer websites with high-quality design and sophisticated functionality to anyone at low cost or even for free. Email management systems
such as Mailchimp simplify complex bulk mailings for similarly inexpensive cost. These professional tools allow individuals legitimacy, as they can create work and communicate with others in what is perceived as a credibly professional way without a high cost. These professional developments allow individuals flexibility, as formerly full-time employed professionals can choose their own working conditions. Professionals with limited time, limited geographical movement, and/or limited local opportunities for full-time employment can access work once solely available to full-time employees of an organization. The flexibility afforded by the development of the Internet and inexpensive applications allows advantages and downsides of extra-institutional status.

Extra-institutional Professional Communication

Access to inexpensive or free applications used for professional communication is critical to extra-institutional individuals because professional communication is integral to the work that these individuals do. The professional communication use of extra-institutional individuals is the core concern of this dissertation: what professional communication do extra-institutional individuals use? How do they use it? Why do they use it? However, extra-institutional individuals come in many varieties, and I will not be studying them all here. Extra-institutional individuals fall into two categories of professional communication use: professional communicators and professionals who communicate (Swarts, 2008, p. 28). This dissertation will focus on a group of professionals who communicate.

Consultants, freelance technical writers, and amateurs are extra-institutional professional communicators: they create professional communication as the end product of
their work and (with the exception of amateurs) are paid for the communications they create. They each do the same or similar types of work that technical and professional communicators do inside organizations (Brady, 2011). Organizations hire consultants to provide reports and analyses of practices inside an organization (Palmer & Killingsworth, 2002), while freelance technical writers create all sorts of documents for companies without the security or entanglements of full-time employment (Brady, 2011; Tomlin, 2008). Amateur technical communicators provide documentation, reviews, and other materials that organizations do not want to or cannot provide (Hallenbeck, 2012; Kimball, 2006; Mackiewicz & Yeats, 2014; Ross, 2015).

This dissertation will focus on a group of extra-institutional professionals who communicate: extra-institutional individuals who create professional communication as a byproduct of their work. Entrepreneurs, artisans, and artists develop sophisticated professional communication skill sets as part of their daily work, but the professional communication they create is a means to some other end. Professional communication enables professionals who communicate to complete tasks such as selling artisan goods (Griffey, 2014), establishing a profitable company (Spartz & Weber, 2015), or selling tickets to a performance (Ferro, 2015, pp. 924-925).

Engineers, a set of professionals who communicate for some other end, formed the original research and pedagogy mandates of Technical and Professional Communication (TPC) as a field. The study of these professionals who communicate continued even as the professions of “technical writer” and “professional writer” grew more and more important to
the field’s identity (Artemeva, Logie, & St-Martín, 1999; Katz, 1993; Winsor, 1996). While technical writers and professional writers emerged as the focus of TPC by the late ‘00s, the question of who should be included in those terms remained open: Rude posed the question “How shall we know ourselves?” as the initial query in a 2009 survey of research questions for the field (p. 176). This lack of sharp focus on who counts as a technical communicator or professional writer allowed the study of professionals who communicate in fields beyond engineering to proliferate (Cushman, 2015; Petersen, 2014; Rice, 2015). Studies of professionals who communicate in industries as disparate as automotive mechanics (Cushman, 2015), craft beer (Rice, 2015), and mom blogging (Petersen, 2014) open a space for the study of professional communication in yet more industries. The field of technical and professional communication has grown beyond its original concern with engineers’ communication to encompass the concerns of extra-institutional professionals who communicate in many fields.

While existing research provides some answers about the communicative work of professionals who communicate, many questions remain unanswered. In this study, I will be seeking the answers to “what do they communicate,” “how do they communicate it,” and “why do they communicate it” for one group of extra-institutional individuals. I will argue in this dissertation that the answers to all three of these questions relate to and shed light on a larger question about extra-institutional individuals, whether they are professional communicators or professionals who communicate: “How do extra-institutional individuals successfully complete professional communication work without the help of a large
organization?" The answer to this question is too large to sufficiently answer in a dissertation, but researching the professional communication of distinct groups of individuals, as this dissertation does, can begin to help answer that question. One theory that can be used to address this question is organizational structure theory, which I turn to now.

Organizational Structure

I argue in this dissertation that extra-institutional professionals who communicate create, maintain and prescribe future communication in unique organizational structures as a result of what, how, and why they communicate. Understanding an organizational structure allows for identification of the characteristics that shape the work of a given extra-institutional individual, much as we understand the characteristics that shape the work of an individual in a bureaucracy.

Clay Spinuzzi uses a computing metaphor to explain the concept of an organizational structure, calling it the “‘operating system’ of an institution—the software that keeps the institution running and connected” (2015, p. 21). That “software” is suffused with communication: the organizational structure is created by patterns of communication and maintained by repeated uses of communication (Doheny-Farina, 1986). The organizational structure also prescribes what future communication should look like in the organization, as the characteristics that make up the organizational structure explicitly or implicitly direct the worker to choose specific tools and platforms, select specific genres of communication to write, and to compose those genres in specific ways (Edenfield, 2016).
Spinuzzi’s “operating system” metaphor for organizational structure is a way to reveal the ubiquitous, invisible workings of bureaucracy as a set of characteristics that govern work in an organization. The bureaucracy displays the characteristics of strong divisions of labor, narrow specializations, a multi-level hierarchy, and a “command and control” leadership style (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 22). These characteristics guide the work of a bureaucracy and allow it to function: “In a bureaucracy, regular activities can be carried out reliably, methodically, and continuously under a stable, strictly delimited authority” (p. 21). The characteristics that form the organizational structure of a bureaucracy emerged due to problems that developed with the “small firm” model of doing business:

In the second half of the nineteenth century, influenced both by improvements in the technology of production and by larger markets made accessible by telegraph and railroads, companies began to grow and departmentalize. ... By the final decades of the century, growth was failing to produce the expected profits, and large manufacturing firms were plagued by confusion and disorder. The consequent inefficiencies drove the manufacturing managers to develop more effective managerial theory and practice. (Yates, 1989, p. 489)

Managers implemented hierarchies and strict divisions of labor to counter the problems of confusion and disorder in small firms that grew too large to be managed as small firms (p. 489). These characteristics re-ordered the relationships between people, communication, geography, and time, changing the process of work so it could be done more efficiently and effectively.
As a result, managers built the organizational structure of the bureaucracy by using communication to implement the new characteristic ways of working, which in turn constrained how communication should be done in the future. People adhering to and enacting those characteristics through communication then maintained the organizational structure. Thus, communication and organizational structure are co-constitutive. Doheny-Farina (1986) calls this co-constitutive nature the “reciprocal relationship between writing and the organization” (p. 165). In this reciprocal manner, the organizational structure of bureaucracy describes and prescribes relationships between people, communication, geography, and time in order to ensure reliable access to labor efficiencies offered by those relationships. The organizational structure responds to the “why” of a bureaucracy (problems of distance and scale) with a “how” (the particular characteristics of the bureaucracy, such as hierarchies and command-and-control leadership) that enables the “what” (the individual instances of professional communication, such as an email) to be done effectively in the pursuit of the bureaucracy’s ends.

By explaining how the characteristics of a bureaucracy function through communication to turn chaotic problems into streamlined work processes, Spinuzzi opens up the bureaucracy’s characteristics for comparison with characteristics from other types of organizations. Organizations of all types and sizes, from the largest bureaucracy to the smallest extra-institutional freelance organization, exhibit some form of organizational structure that gives shape to collective work and directs the communication tasks of individuals within that form (McDaniel & Daer, 2016; Spinuzzi, 2015). Extra-institutional
organizations differ in at least one critical way from bureaucracies: extra-institutional organizations cannot call on the institutional support that bureaucracies give to their employees. They must do the work that bureaucracies distributed over a large number of people on their own or in small groups.

In this dissertation, I will investigate what professional communication one group of extra-institutional individuals uses, how they use that professional communication, and why they use it. Answering what, how, and why will lead to an analysis of organizational structures that surround a specific set of extra-institutional individuals: I will describe the different organizational structures to explain how subgroups of individuals organize their work without a bureaucracy, and explain the motivations prompting the emergence of those organizational structures.

The Organizational Structure of Extra-institutional Individuals

I will argue from the findings in this dissertation that the function of professional communication is expanded in an extra-institutional individual’s organizational structure. Through the process of infrastructure, successful professional communication shapes future communication and reveals the characteristics of organizational structures, stabilizing the work of extra-institutional musicians in both pre-existing and newly-encountered exigences (respectively). This concept expands on Doheny-Farina’s (1986) concept of the reciprocal nature of professional communication co-creating the organization by applying the reciprocal nature of communication beyond bureaucracy to the creation of extra-institutional organizational structure.
The process of organizing is essential to the creation of organizational structures. Organizing is the process of arranging people and resources into relationships that support and encourage economic activity. Organizing a bureaucracy requires creating personnel hierarchies and giving people higher up on the hierarchy the ability to allocate resources to people below them. This allows for the smooth, orderly functioning of the bureaucracy. But bureaucracy is not the only organizational type. Extra-institutional individuals also arrange people and resources into relationships that are beneficial for their economic success, but they do not do it through hierarchies. They have other logics under which they organize themselves.

One result of bureaucracy’s specific characteristics is the creation of material artifacts that hold the bureaucracy together. The prescribed relationships that take place through the communication of a bureaucracy can result in material artifacts such as an office building or an organizational chart. These artifacts then constrain the communication that helped created them. For extra-institutional individuals, however, the organizational structure generates few to no material artifacts; extra-institutional professionals who communicate often do not create organizational charts, rent office spaces, or need hierarchies. Instead, the ongoing process of creating professional communication forms the infrastructure of an extra-institutional organization. Extra-institutional individuals rely on repeated genres of communication, such as the oral pitch or the proposal email, to be glue that holds their work together (Spinuzzi et al., 2014b).
These genres co-constitute an organizational structure around the extra-institutional individual by addressing repeated exigences of extra-institutional individuals through communication that had worked in the past. Exigences are situations in which communication can take or needs to take place (Bitzer, 1968). An exigence is a confluence of events, people, tools, and social expectations; this confluence can be a one-time situation or a repeated configuration. If an exigence is repeated, then the response that worked last time would be a good place to start in responding to the new exigence. For example, if a particular element of a pitch worked in a particular exigence such as seeking venture capital, it should be re-used in the next pitch for more venture capital. Past success guides future communication, as extra-institutional individuals often lack formal evaluation techniques that a bureaucracy might develop and systematically employ.

This process of using professional communication to stabilize work patterns and guide future work is what I call the process of infrastructure: the professional communication used by extra-institutional individuals both creates the organizational structure and then communicates within it. For hierarchies, that infrastructure is often material. For extra-institutional individuals, the infrastructure is often invisible and enacted primarily in the communication that extra-institutional individuals do when encountering and responding to exigences. Extra-institutional individuals respond to the “why” of their work (the characteristics framing the exigence in front of them) with a how (the tasks and methods that resulted in a previously successful response to the exigence) that results in a what (the specific instance of communication). Thus, knowing the what, how, and why of extra-
institutional professional communication can reveal the workings of an extra-institutional organizational structure, much in the way we understand how a bureaucracy works. To investigate this process of communication, I will do several different analyses, attempting to isolate these three different parts of the process of infrastructure that creates organizational structure.

But how can we call the professional communication of extra-institutional individuals an “organizational structure” if extra-institutional individuals aren’t employed together in a company, sharing an organizational structure (and perhaps a cubicle wall)? How can multiple freelancers across a field be counted as having the same organizational structure, even though they do not inhabit an organization together? I argue that extra-institutional individuals create organizational structure from the bottom up instead of from the top down (as in a bureaucracy). An organizational structure can be identified when multiple individuals who use professional communication as infrastructure encounter similar exigences and respond to those exigences in similar ways. In the process of responding to exigences, musicians will encounter constraints: the events, people, tools, and social expectations which frame the exigence and call forth a particular type of response (Bitzer, 1968). I argue that a ubiquitous, stable group of constraints on professional communication responses indicates the presence of an extra-institutional organizational structure.

Investigating the constraints and exigences that appear in the lives of extra-institutional individuals reveals that some constraints appear across many of the exigences faced by a particular type of worker. I argue that these constraints which appear repeatedly
across exigences can be called characteristics (Spinuzzi, 2015), just as in Spinuzzi’s organizational structures. These characteristics that are present in multiple exigences guide how all professional communication happens in a professional’s life by requiring professionals to write all genres with these characteristics in mind, no matter what the exigence.

Successful professional communication forms the starting point for future professional communication in future exigences of that same type. (See Figure 1.) As a result, the characteristics that shape professional communication shape all present and future communication in an extra-institutional individual’s life. This is the process of infrastructure: professional communication creating organizational structure for extra-institutional professionals who communicate. Extra-institutional individuals need not be in the same company with other extra-institutional individuals to share an organizational structure, as long as individuals respond to similar exigences (shaped by similar characteristics) with similar professional communication. This process of characteristics shaping present and future professional communication helps explain why extra-institutional individuals communicate and how they organize themselves without a bureaucracy. I will expound on this concept more throughout Chapters 2, 3, 6, and 7.
Idiosyncratic constraints A

Characteristics of organizational structure

A

Exigence:
Book a show in Cleveland

No prior knowledge

Successful professional communication A

Idiosyncratic constraints B

Characteristics of organizational structure

B

Exigence:
Book a show in Akron

Successful professional communication A

Successful professional communication B

Figure 1. The process of infrastructure. Idiosyncratic constraints and characteristics shape exigences. At first, individuals have nothing to go on to help guide their response to that exigence but what they can discern from the exigence. After professional communication is successful, that professional communication steps in where “no prior knowledge” formerly was. Musicians can then respond to similar exigences with pre-existing communication guiding their communication. This process, repeated many times, stabilizes the musician’s work, as the musician does not need to reinvent the wheel each time.
Knowing the theoretical reasons why extra-institutional professionals communicate does not explain the specifics of what, how, and why specific groups of musicians develop their professional communication use. The characteristics of extra-institutional organizational structure are not always easy to see, as extra-institutional professional communication—the only material marker of extra-institutional organizational structure—is often occluded.

This infrastructural communication is often doubly occluded in the work of extra-institutional professionals who communicate, as these professionals do not often see themselves as professional communicators. The professional communication that co-constitutes their organizational structure can hide in plain sight because the communication done by artisans and entrepreneurs is not an end in itself; it is a step along the way to a different goal. The communication does not draw attention to itself as communication, but as the work that completes a task. Yet the quality of these non-professional communicators’ professional communication often dictates whether their tasks succeed. Whether their individual tasks succeed determines whether their career flourishes or falters over the long run. This situation makes successful professional communication a critical concern for these extra-institutional individuals, even if they do not consider themselves professional communicators.

Researching the professional communication practices that respond to exigences and collectively become an extra-institutional organizational structure expands the knowledge of what doing professional communication looks like in an era of diversified career outcomes. This dissertation considers the what, how, and why of professional communication in one group of extra-institutional professionals who communicate: musicians. These musicians
complete their tasks and build careers without the support of an institution. Instead of mobilizing institutional resources, the professional communication of extra-institutional musicians builds and sustains an organizational structure around themselves.

Musicians: Extra-institutional Professionals Who Communicate

Many musicians are extra-institutional professionals who communicate. They are extra-institutional because musicians saw full-time institutional support diminish in the last 30 years. Professionals hoping to make a career in music replaced the diminishing institutional support with diverse types of professional communication developed on their own.

Orchestras and record labels used to be the primary sources of full-time institutional support for musicians, as I will argue in Chapter 2. However, a glut of trained musicians competing for a diminishing number of full-time orchestra positions faces classical musicians (Flanagan, 2012). Rock and pop musicians face an industry whose current profits amount to “almost half of what they were in 2003” (Passman, 2015, p. xi); in response, multi-national record labels pared down the number of artists which they sign and promote. These institutions did the work of booking shows, promoting shows, planning recording sessions, selling recordings, making industry connections, setting up publishing agreements, working out licensing deals, and developing press materials. The loss of this full-time professional help for many musicians is a significant blow to the hopes of “just playing music” for a living.
At the same time that institutional support for professional tasks declined, more people than ever enrolled in university music degrees and pursued an independent career in rock/pop music on their own (Johnson, 2015; Robinson, 2013, pp. 48-49). The Labor Department’s Occupational Employment Statistics report that for group 27-0000 (Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media), “In 1999, the national economy supported 1.5 million jobs in that category; by 2014, the number had grown to nearly 1.8 million. This means the creative class modestly outperformed the rest of the economy, making up 1.2 percent of the job market in 2001 compared with 1.3 percent in 2014” (Johnson, 2015, np).

On the education side, the number of arts degrees conferred in America rose from 75,000 in 1998 to 140,000 in 2013 (Kushner & Cohen, 2016, p. 60; Robinson, 2013, pp. 48-49).

Although this data is not exclusive to musicians, Americans show growing interest in arts education and careers. Yet this gap between the small amount of full-time institutional support and a growing number of people seeking to access that support creates an issue for the large number of musicians not selected to receive support in the form of a full-time orchestra chair or an international record label contract.

Musicians responded to this lack of institutional support by becoming extra-institutional individuals, which requires taking on professional communication tasks themselves via low-cost communication tools. While institutional support for musicians waned, the interconnectivity of the Internet allowed local, regional, and national grassroots support for independent musicians to flourish (Owsinski, 2011, p. 18). Common digital

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2 I could not find concrete employment or education data for musicians as a standalone group.
communication such as email, websites, Facebook and Twitter stand next to field-specific platforms like Bandcamp, Soundcloud, and iTunes in allowing musicians to connect with audiences, promote work, network with professionals, distribute their music, and ultimately build a career, as I show in Chapter 5. These musicians do not create professional communication as the end product (as a freelancer or consultant would), but rather to facilitate an artistic career. These musicians may not want to be doing professional communication—most would rather be playing music. But in the absence of professionals to do it for them, professional communication is a critical aspect of developing, maintaining, and growing a career to the point where a musician can hire help or get selected for the rare positions that entail institutional support. Some musicians never get to the institutional support stage—either by choice or inability—and do the work of professional communication on their own for their whole career.

This dissertation will describe what types of professional communication extra-institutional musicians create as a byproduct of their desire to build careers in music, how they create that professional communication, and why they create that professional communication. I will catalog types of professional communication that musicians use, then explain the tasks musicians perform with professional communication in Chapter 5. I will then explain the characteristics and exigences behind that professional communication use and the organizational structure that surrounds those uses of professional communication.

Beyond the specific case of musicians, this dissertation will contribute to the study of extra-institutional professionals of all types. The pressures that musicians face in becoming
an extra-institutional individual and producing professional communication as an extra-institutional individual are not unique to musicians. I argue that the characteristics, exigences, professional communication, and organizational structure of musicians may be observed in other types of extra-institutional individual. As a result, this case study can be aggregated and corroborated with studies of other extra-institutional individuals to continue developing this theory of professional communication work outside institutional support.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation investigates the *how, what*, and *why* of professional communication that co-constitutes the organizational structures of musicians, a group of extra-institutional professionals who communicate. I interviewed 40 musicians: 20 who identified as indie rock musicians and 20 who identified as classical musicians. I interviewed each musician twice about their professional communication usage to understand their work. Findings from these interviews compose the dissertation.

This dissertation will explore these questions:

1. How do extra-institutional musicians use professional communication? What tasks are musicians doing with professional communication? Do similarities or differences in tasks exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)

2. What professional communication do extra-institutional musicians employ? What professional communication elements are they using? How are those elements involved in the professional tasks of musicians? Do similarities or differences exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)
3. Why do musicians communicate? Do any similarities in musicians’ exigences and professional communication responses to those exigences suggest stable sets of characteristics that would suggest the construction of an identifiable extra-institutional organizational structure or structures governing their work? If so, what are the characteristics of those organizational structures? (Chapter 6)

4. What are the implications of musicians’ extra-institutional organizational structure(s) for the study of extra-institutional individuals? What are the implications for the pedagogy of Arts Entrepreneurship? What are the implications for genre theory? (Chapter 7)

Chapter 2 will address why musicians need to be extra-institutional. I will argue through a literature review that historic and current economic conditions for classical and indie rock musicians result in many musicians needing to become extra-institutional or quit making music professionally. I conclude by suggesting that there may be some similarities in the professional communication of the indie rock and classical musician subgroups due to their shared problem of diminished organizational support for individual musicians.

Chapter 3 will outline my methods and theoretical frame. I will argue for exploratory data collection methods and mixed-methods data analysis methods to identify unknown issues and then home in on them through Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Chapter 4 will lay out two composite sketches relating the day-to-day work of a classical and an indie rock musician, describing how each musician does his or her work outside a large organization. I will build these composite sketches from the findings of the
interviews. The sketches will provide a context for the more detailed findings of Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5 will analyze how musicians use professional communication and what professional communication elements they use. I use the word “element” to describe any tools, media, platforms, or genre of professional communication. I chose “element” here instead of “genre” because the “demarcation” of what is and is not a genre on the web presents vexing issues for scholars (Lüders, Pröitz, & Rasmussen, 2010, p. 953). Scholars contest the genre status of common web elements such as Facebook, blogs, websites, and email due to the ability of each of the aforementioned to contain genres instead of being a genre (Catenaccio, 2012; Miller & Shepherd, 2009; Zucchermaglio & Talamo, 2003). Musicians described their use of professional communication in ways that reflected the difficulties of categorizing digital communication elements as genres, so I use the term “element” to acknowledge that these musicians did not always respond in, nor did their responses always fit in, the language of genre. I will explain this theoretical issue more in Chapter 3. I will also return to these demarcation issues in light of my findings during Chapter 7.

I call these professional communication elements collectively a media environment. A media environment is the available professional communication elements that people choose from to do their work. It bears similarities to genre repertoire (Orlikowski & Yates, 1994), but includes more professional communication elements than genres.
To understand how musicians use professional communication, I ran a keyness analysis on the verbs that were reported in the first interview. A keyness analysis is a machine-assisted analysis that compares a corpus of text against a reference corpus to determine “relative frequency”: which words are statistically more frequent, or more key, in the original corpus than the reference corpus (Gerbig, 2010, p. 150). These key terms suggest what the corpus is about (its “aboutness”), pointing toward areas that could be productive for further qualitative analysis. After identifying key verbs with keyness analysis, I grouped those verbs into tasks that the verbs were describing. To investigate what professional communication elements musicians used in those tasks, I created a taxonomy of professional communication elements mentioned in the first interview. I then ran a collocation search against the verbs reported in the first interviews to see which professional communication elements responded to musicians’ communication tasks. I argue that indie rock and classical musicians share some similarities in tasks and use of professional communication while doing the day-to-day work of their career, but also display tasks and professional communication unique to their subgroups.

Chapter 6 will argue that patterns of professional communication use in response to repeated exigences reveal characteristics that form the bedrock of organizational structures for extra-institutional musicians. I identify four organizational structures that reframe exigences in specific ways and thereby govern the professional communication activity of musicians: the “build structure,” “teaching structure,” “repertoire structure” and “composing structure.” These organizational structures frame generalized exigences (such as “schedule an
event”) into specific exigences, such as “book a show at a rock club in Omaha on Tuesday the 17\textsuperscript{th}” in the build structure or “schedule a recital for my students at a church on Saturday the 21\textsuperscript{st}” in the teaching structure. Each of these structures displays distinct characteristics that define and frame the exigences, and thus shape the professional communication, of the extra-institutional individual involved in those structures. Both indie rock and classical musicians participated in each of these structures, making the original subgroup comparison not as applicable as expected. These organizational structures exist even though musicians often exist outside a hierarchical bureaucracy.

After discussing the individual organizational structures, I will discuss the hybrid nature of careers for musicians. While some musicians participate only in one organizational structure (such as the teaching structure or the build structure), many musicians participate in multiple structures—much as one might hold a full-time job and a freelance job, or hold multiple part-time jobs. This involvement in multiple organizational structures also happened across the subgroups, as indie rock musicians reported teaching and classical musicians reported performing concerts to public audiences in rock clubs. The distinctive characteristics and exigences of each organizational structure mean that each organizational structure requires different coordination, collaboration, and communication tasks to be successful. A musician can be successful in the build structure and just starting out in the composing structure; to be successful in each venture requires different skills, relationships, and communication tasks.
Chapter 7 will explain the implications of these findings for various audiences. I will discuss how this work develops the theory and pedagogy in Technical and Professional Communication, theory and pedagogy in Arts Entrepreneurship, and theory in Rhetorical Genre Studies. The significance for these audiences is below.

**Technical and Professional Communication**

Professional communication has already mentioned the reciprocal use of communication to create organization (Doheny-Farina, 1986). I extend this argument to extra-institutional individuals, arguing that the professional communication of extra-institutional individuals creates extra-institutional organizations in a reciprocal manner. The process by which professional communication creates organizational structure is the *process of infrastructure*. Instead of seeing infrastructure as a collection of objects (such as a system of roads, a network of pipes, or the walls of a building), I follow Star and Ruhleder (1996) in arguing that infrastructure is a set of relationships: “an infrastructure occurs when the tension between local and global is resolved” (p. 114). This definition highlights the process of resolution and the relationships between parts of the infrastructure as equal to the final form of the infrastructure in importance. Building on this, I argue that the *process of infrastructure* is a process whereby the relationship between the extra-institutional individual, the exigences that individual encounters, and the professional communication that the individual uses to address those exigences resolve into an organizational structure that “does not have to be reinvented each time or assembled for each task, but invisibly supports those tasks” (p. 113). An organizational structure is a set of characteristics that stabilize the work of extra-
institutional individuals, while the process of infrastructure is the process by which specific parts of the relationship between individual, exigence, and professional communication are identified as characteristics. This finding implicates professional communication as a critical element of professional stability for extra-institutional individuals.

In this respondent pool, musicians reported responding to distinct exigences using professional communication in unique ways that resulted in my discovery of four separate organizational structures. These organizational structures did not clearly map onto the two subgroups I assigned at the beginning of the study, as musicians from both subgroups reported involvement in each of the organizational structures. I argue that the finding of multiple organizational structures for musicians suggests a new method of studying extra-institutional individuals in TPC. Grouping extra-institutional individuals by the exigences they face is an alternative way to study them, in addition to grouping them by field. Grouping by exigences is a new methodological direction for the study of extra-institutional individuals, as this method allows characteristics of organizational structure to appear across fields that address similar exigences. This cross-field response is possible because the characteristics of the build and teaching structures are not distinct to musicians: they can be enacted by anyone with similar characteristics, exigences, and professional communication responses to those exigences. This finding is valuable to scholars in technical and professional communication who study extra-institutional individuals like freelancers, consultants, amateurs, entrepreneurs, bloggers, and artisans.
I argue that these extra-institutional professionals who communicate participate in distinct organizational structures that entail distinct types of professional communication usage that can expand our knowledge of what professional communication looks like in an era of diverse student outcomes. Cataloging stable sets of communicative strategies that emerge organically in 21st century work is a worthwhile standalone effort, because much TPC pedagogy is grounded in the exigences of 20th century bureaucratic organizations. Teaching students how to respond to various professional situations with real-life strategies is a continuation of TPC’s interest in teaching students what they need to know for their careers. Introducing students to the organizational structures that those stable collections of strategies represent allows students to think outside a large organizational setting, preparing them for a long career of potentially diverse institutional affiliations (Murphy, 2015; Wilson, 2001).

**Arts Entrepreneurship**

The cross-field nature of exigences in extra-institutional individuals’ organizational structures suggests directions for research in the field of Arts Entrepreneurship. The multiple organizational structures emerging from shared exigences can advance the study of musicians and the music business. Instead of studying musicians as a bloc, musicians should be studied in relation to the rhetorical exigences they encounter in pursuit of their diverse professional goals. Some popular books use this approach, but the approach has not yet been adapted into Arts Entrepreneurship research (Field, 1986). This project also advances the study of writing in Arts Entrepreneurship research by looking specifically at the types of
communication that are necessary for musicians. This expands on calls for communication skills by explaining what some of those skills are in the context of these musicians’ lives.

Scholars seeking to teach and research the “entrepreneurial mindset” will find valuable implications in this study. Those scholars who reject the New Venture Creation model seek ways to identify cross-field skills (Beckman, 2014; Roberts, 2004). Identifying shared exigences across fields, particularly as related to similar or shared goals, allows for scholars and teachers to discuss professional communication use that cuts across fields. These cross-field uses can contribute to the development of the entrepreneurial mindset model.

**Rhetorical Genre Studies**

Genre theory can also benefit from understanding professional communication’s relationship to the process of infrastructural in extra-institutional individuals’ work. Genres develop in response to recurrent exigences and then stabilize around a form that that responds satisfactorily to that exigence, which is a similarly reciprocal action to how patterns of professional communication co-constitute the organization (Doheny-Farina, 1986). This co-constitutive pattern makes the identification of genres something that can only be done in an organizational structure, as genres need a defined, repeated exigence to take form in a typified way. I argue that genre scholars must understand the extra-institutional organizational structures (the why of this study) that stabilize exigences for extra-institutional individuals before identification and naming of the specific genres (the what) is possible.
Conclusion

The communication practices of 40 musicians show that extra-institutional professionals who communicate use a large amount of professional communication to complete their daily work and simultaneously develop organizational structures for themselves. These different organizational structures have implications for questions of pedagogy and theory for Technical and Professional Communication, Arts Entrepreneurship, and Rhetorical Genre Theory.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I outline the literature that forms the basis of my study. First, I outline the historic and current economic conditions of large organizations in classical and popular music. I argue that organizations surrounding musicians provide professional communication, access to resources, and legitimacy to musicians. However, these organizations find themselves in dire economic straits due to technological changes and economy of scale issues. As a result of contraction in the number of organizations that support musicians, not enough organizations exist to support all the musicians who want to make careers in the field. Musicians left out of these organizations must develop the professional communication skills, seek access to the resources, and earn the legitimacy required to develop a musical career without being surrounded by an organization.

My second move explains the core tenets of Arts Entrepreneurship, a field of study dedicated to the professional development of artists, by outlining the field’s research agenda and theories. After this overview, I review current work on the professional communication of artists, suggesting that this area is underexplored. Third, I offer professional communication as the field which can explore independent musicians’ professional communication. Study of the professional communication practices of this group of extra-institutional professionals would complement and expand existing research in TPC on extra-institutional individuals.

Fourth, I explain organizational structure theory, explaining how all organizations, large and small, run on unique sets of characteristics that frame the way they respond to professional communication situations. The bureaucracy has been a resilient and
longstanding organizational structure, but it is not the only one. Extra-institutional individuals, despite being outside large organizations, display their own types of organizational structure.

I will then explain how I see organizational structure theory and rhetorical theory working together theoretically in this dissertation. I then focus on work that scholars of many disciplines have done in organizational structure for artists, suggesting directions for future work in this area. I conclude by stating that indie rock and classical musicians may have some professional communication and organizational structure similarities because they have both have seen organizational support diminish recently. I also outline how this interdisciplinary project serves the ends of both fields it is situated in.

I now turn toward the institutions of music to explain the historic development of extra-institutional musicians.

Classical Music

The tension between independent and organized employment in music is not new. Since the middle ages, professional musicians have operated inside and outside of organizations. Musician guilds presented one of the earliest cases of this tension: “From the twelfth century, musicians’ guilds were founded to protect the rights of their members and would fight to maintain their respective performance monopolies” (Bennett, 2008, p. 37). Musicians formed organizations to develop business deals with employers (at this time, the local or regional royalty), enforce those business deals, and ultimately secure relatively stable income for members of the guild. Musicians’ guilds completed these activities more
effectively as an organization than an individual could, making the guild a desirable form of organization that provided resources for musicians.

Even when in a guild, musicians found economic stability hard to achieve: “Unlike the members of other guilds, musicians’ official duties often did not generate sufficient salary; consequently, they would subsidise their salary by providing music for weddings, funerals and other social occasions” (p. 37). Guild musicians also undertook “non-music work as scribes, spies, teachers and servants” to build income (p. 37). This leads Bennett to declare that “musicians have always worked in multiple roles” (p. 38). While the guild organization could provide access to certain types of work, the quantity of work rarely created enough income to develop a career consisting solely of playing music.

Those musicians who could not secure membership in a guild found a career even more difficult to develop. These extra-institutional musicians “were perceived as dishonourable and were without legal rights” (p. 37). These musicians often became itinerant and played for small sums of money or gifts, as the guild denied these musicians access to the normal, stable channels of income that the guild controlled for its members. This policing function of the guild that kept people without a credential out is a function that has little to no place in modern music; while unions would exist going forward in history (as I will discuss below), these organizations did not and do not have the ability to keep people out as effectively as a guild did. Instead of a professional organization dictating who gets a job and who doesn’t, the lack of positions available for musicians is the limiting factor in classical music employment today.
While the guild system existed to serve musicians’ needs, the development of a support organization for musicians became a type of credential. Being a part of the guild signaled legitimacy for a musician, both in the eyes of their professional peers as well as potential hirers. The credentialing took the process of vetting out of the hands of the audience and placed it on the organization. This credentialing process benefitted hirers, who did not need to spend extra time attempting to discern the legitimacy and professional status of a musician, and the guild, who now found themselves with legitimacy and purpose of their own. This credential made being extra-institutional that much more difficult, as it created second-class citizens who could not seek professional support and suffered under society’s poor view of a non-guild musician.

The guild system represented one of the earliest attempts to develop an organization that centralized the collaboration, coordination and communication tasks of the professional musician. Yet even the earliest guild musicians found themselves doing many jobs, not just their official duties as a musician in a court, as the aesthetic nature of their work made the services of musicians not constantly in demand (p. 37). The guild system also kept people out, requiring some musicians to make a living outside the organization as the first extra-institutional musicians. Thus, the guild was an organization that supported musicians by centralizing many of the administrative tasks present in the life of medieval classical musicians, from securing legal rights to credentialing to policing.

The form of organization that currently centralizes the tasks of the modern classical musician is the orchestra. The modern orchestra developed into something like its current
form in the late eighteenth century, due to “the standardization and refinement of the orchestral ensemble,” “the rise of the concert and of music printing,” and “the creation of classical style” at the hands of Haydn and Mozart (pp. 37-38; Seltzer, 1975, p. 2). The orchestra provided benefits to musicians of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, as “the advent of the public subscription concert and concert series” allowed musicians to expand their potential options for employment from the nobility and the church without having to take on the extra overhead of planning concerts themselves (Peyser, 1986, p. 29). This development of the orchestra ran parallel to changes in society that would allow for more work outside large organizations:

It became possible for the composer and performer to exist comfortably by obtaining income from a variety of activities and associations, such as publication, including subscriptions for publications (in which the publisher listed the names of the contributors), teaching, concert-giving for paid and for benefit performances, touring, and individual commissions from a variety of patrons. (p. 29)

While orchestras could do the work of selling tickets to large performances of the orchestra to ensure musicians a wage for playing the concert, musicians took on these types of work on their own. These changes in musicians’ work resulted in a new type of career: “It became feasible in the large cities for composers, singers, and instrumentalists to exist independently of the special patronage of a court” (p. 29). Even in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, an organization helped remove the business difficulties of a large orchestra’s performances, but did not help individual musicians who wanted to develop multiple income streams.
In 1896, another organization appeared to take some of the administrative work from musicians: the American Federation of Musicians (AFM), a musician’s union. The AFM “controlled the workplace and protected the interests of musicians there,” setting standard rates for artists and serving as the collective voice of working musicians (Kraft, 1996, p. 33). The AFM, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was a powerful force in the first thirty years of the 1900s: “By the end of the first decade of the new century, the ability of the AFM to deal effectively with employers was as impressive as that of any union in the AFL” (p. 27). Yet even a powerful union that had the ability to effectively set wages and maintain standard working conditions had to deal with challenges from extra-institutional individuals: “union locals struggled not against unemployment but against what they and their members called ‘unfair competition’ from nonunion musicians who undercut union prices and took jobs away from union musicians” (p. 28). These non-union musicians often consisted of military bands (who were not actually extra-institutional, as they were affiliated with a military organization) or foreign musicians. Even when the organization was strong and clearly providing good benefits to the very large number of musicians involved in it, extra-institutional musicians and institutional musicians were in conflict³.

Despite the AFM having powerful ability to work on the behalf of musicians’ financial well-being into the 1900s, claims proliferated that classical music and classical

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³ The power of the AFM would decline from the late 1920s to the present, as the shift from exclusively live performance to cheaper recorded music changed the ways that music was consumed and, more importantly, paid for. The AFM still exists today; it supports 80,000 musicians but has a diminished influence with other institutions and lessened ability to work on its members’ behalf as compared to its heyday (American Federation of Music, 2014; Roberts, 2014, p. 13).
musicians were endangered. In 1802, Johann Nikolaus Forkel declared classical music itself endangered: “If art is to remain an art, and not be degraded into a mere idle amusement, more use must be made of classical works than has been done for some time” (cited in Ross, 2010, p. 12). Ross calls this “the founding document of the classical mentality” that is related to the “classical music” that the orchestra still plays (p. 11-12). While Forkel tied his gloominess to a programmatic instead of economic woe, claims of economic doom for classical music and/or the orchestra would become an ongoing motif in classical music discussion that continues to this day. Flanagan (2012) pointed to a dismal quote about orchestral economic health from 1903, Ross (2010) listed proclamations of economic concerns from 1926 to the present, and Westby (1960) noted that “the situation of the symphony musician in the United States today is reflective of the somewhat tenuous economic status of symphonic music as an art form offering meaningful aesthetic experience to a limited public” (p. 223). The claims of economic failure for orchestras appeared early and often. While none of these claims of doom have ended classical music as an enterprise, these claims often accurately represented real economic difficulties for individual orchestra organizations.

The economic problems of the orchestra reported over the last century stem from many areas. Flanagan (2012), in The Perilous Life of Symphony Orchestras, stated that “the growth of orchestra’s [sic] revenues from concert performances, recordings, and broadcasting continues to lag behind the growth of performance expenses. And orchestras have had variable success in offsetting their operating deficits with the resources of guarantors” (p. 6-7). The salaries paid to the performers make up the primary expenses of the orchestra: In
1970-71, salaries and benefits took up 75-80% of the expenditures of symphony orchestras (The Ford Foundation, 1974). “Nonsalary costs,” including “nonsalary production costs,” took up the other 20-25% percent. Salary dropped to around 49% of expenditures in 2005: “Artistic costs remain the primary expense of orchestras, but their share of the annual budget has slowly diminished … The cost of musicians dominates artistic costs” (Flanagan, 2012, pp. 35-36). The large number of players in an orchestra requires paying out large sums of money, even if the amount paid to each individual is small. Other 2005-era expenses included production (16%), administration (11%), marketing (11%), fundraising (6%), and other (7%) (p. 36). While orchestras can take the professional communication work of administration, marketing, and production out of the hands of musicians, those professional benefits come at a cost: it is hard to make enough money to pay all of the musicians in an orchestra and all of the people taking the professional burden off those musicians. Orchestras can provide communication but not resources; partially because of the scarcity of these resources, being a part of a professional orchestra still confers legitimacy on a professional classical musician.

Facing these large expenses, orchestras must draw on multiple income sources: performances, recordings, broadcasting, and private donors. Performances make up the largest source of earned revenue for orchestras, at an average of 37% of all revenue for orchestras in 2005 (Flanagan, 2012, p. 32). Classical music recordings are a source of difficulty, as Passman (2015) notes: “Their economics suck. Classical records are very expensive to make and have limited sales potential” (p. 439; cf. Ford Foundation, 1974).
Television and radio broadcasting payments declined from their heights in the mid-1900s to a tiny share of the orchestra’s income: as little as “just over 1 percent of their performing income by the early 21st century” (Flanagan, 2012, p. 33; cf. Koznin, 2006). Even with multiple income streams, symphony orchestras routinely do not earn 100% of their operating costs through earned income (Flanagan, 2012; The Ford Foundation, 1974). To make ends meet, they rely on private donors both corporate and personal (an average of 45% of the orchestra’s revenues in 2005), run deficits, or both (Flanagan, 2012, p. 33; Kennicott, 2013).

The lack of income for an orchestra jeopardizes the ability of musicians and the orchestra’s professional staff to be fully employed. Some orchestras responded to income shortages by shortening seasons or by converting to per-service orchestras, which turn the musicians into contractors instead of employees. Sometimes they can’t make ends meet in a dire way: at least 15 orchestras declared bankruptcy in the last 25 years (Flanagan, 2012, p. 2-3). The goal of an orchestra is to provide performances of orchestral works that call for dozens of musicians. To best ensure this end, the staff of an orchestra attempts to both gather audiences through marketing and development for this aesthetic experience, and endeavor to create a stable economic situation in which musicians can be paid reliably to play the orchestral music. However, orchestras often find it remarkably difficult to create a stable economic situation for musicians and their organization as a whole, due to the large number of musicians that the orchestra’s administration must pay to run an orchestra.

Some orchestras responded to these trying economic conditions with innovations. On the performances front, the Los Angeles Philharmonic and others dramatically changed the
music they program in their concerts to attract a more diverse audience, although this is not without some consternation from older audiences (Kennicott, 2013; Ross, 2010; Tepavac, 2010). Orchestras such as the Memphis Orchestra transformed how their orchestras fit into their communities through outreach (Tepavac, 2010). Companies like the Berliner Philharmoniker and the Toledo (OH) Symphony Orchestra livestream their concerts online (Frizell, 2015). For a brief period, the YouTube Symphony Orchestra—a pop-up orchestra of musicians from around the world—held the record for most people watching a livestream on YouTube, with more than 33 million views (Lesnie, 2011). Some orchestras harness the power of the Internet as a direct distributor, selling their own recordings from their own websites without a record label or distributor (Henley & Jackson, 2014, p. 203). As with any industry, some orchestras are growing in size, while others decline; some commenters are enthusiastic about the prospects of the industry, while others are not (Flanagan, 2012; Koznin, 2006). Orchestras are trying diverse methods to continue the difficult but desirable economic model of musicians earning a stable wage to play full-time in an orchestra without having to do the overhead of planning, marketing, and running the concerts.

Despite the permanent (and permanently contested) state of crisis in orchestral life, musicians keep getting degrees (Freeman, 2014). Americans for the Arts notes that the number of music degrees conferred is going up over time, not down: “The number of college arts degrees rose steadily from 75,000 to 139,000 between 1997 and 2013” (Kushner & Cohen, 2016). This trend leaves more musicians qualified for fewer positions in fewer orchestras (Flanagan, 2012). The orchestra model cannot sustain this large influx of new
musicians. Not enough open seats exist in all the orchestras of the United States to employ each of these musicians. A turn must be made toward musical careers in the classical realm that do not require positions in large orchestras for income. Musicians must replace the lost professional communication assistance, resources, and legitimacy that came with being in an orchestra.

The orchestra is not the only way to present classical music, as a large repertoire exists for chamber musicians. Chamber music does not require as many musicians to play, which solves one economic issue. However, the number of chamber music ensembles that can tour nationally and internationally is limited: “There are at least a hundred full-time professional string quartets in North America, plus an untold number of amateurs. To make a living in this field, you have to be willing to play almost anywhere and at any time” (Ross, 2010, p. 205). While it is much easier to start a chamber music group than to start an orchestra, limited opportunities for performance exist and much competition exists.

Even beyond gaining the attention of classical bookers, the process of booking shows and the logistics of touring to get to those chamber music shows requires musicians be good at the professional communication and business aspects of music until they reach the point where they make enough money where they can hire someone or partner with an organization to help them handle the workload (p. 205). Developing resources via professional communication use results in legitimacy with these partners, as they can assure that they will get paid by partnering with the chamber musician. Yet not much is currently written about the business of being a chamber ensemble; describing the history and current
practice of classical music in alternative venues, Robinson (2013) wrote: “Most classical music in 21st-century alternative venues is chamber music, largely because both the stages and concert budgets are small. However, organizations tracking the classical music industry have been most effective at tracing the largest organizations, usually symphony orchestras” (p. 36). Despite these difficulties, chamber music is growing in alternative venues, including homes (Ramey, 2014). Institutional support is growing in some areas: Established in 2016, a chamber music contest called M-Prize offers a $100,000 prize for the top ensemble (Stryker, 2016). Innovations continue to develop in chamber music. (In a similar vein to chamber music, the number of solo musicians who can make a living touring nationally and internationally is limited by a finite number of opportunities for performance with a sponsoring organization.)

Regardless of whether it is orchestral, chamber, or solo classical music, the business of marketing, producing, and coordinating a classical concert is of foremost importance to classical music as an industry (Baskerville & Baskerville, 2013). Musicians generally do not want to do this work; they would rather be getting paid to play music than to coordinate publicity for a performance. Yet the public needs to know about performances. Organizations fill the gap, removing the professional overhead from musicians and allowing them to focus on music. The money that the audience brings in from a well-promoted and well-performed concert pays the staff of the organization and the musicians (Flanagan, 2012). A form of this model has been the ideal since the middle ages; however, the model has been imperfect at best since its inception (Bennett, 2008). At the current historical juncture, this model is still
being used by many organizations. However, there is a dearth of financially stable positions in securely established organizations for the large number of music school graduates to fill every year (Freeman, 2014). This means that musicians need to find different types of professionals and organizations to fulfill the necessary professional work of a career or learn to do it themselves (Robinson, 2013). Musicians who operate outside a large organization that provides this overhead must learn to promote, produce, and coordinate their work themselves, developing resources and legitimacy on their own. The current marketplace conditions for classical musicians encourage musicians to develop and maintain a career (along with all its attendant professional communication) outside large organizations.

This dissertation will look specifically at classical musicians outside these established organizations to see how they use professional communication in these extra-institutional careers.

Popular Music

Organizations also provide professional communication, resources, and legitimacy for musicians who would rather be playing music in the popular music arena. Record labels exist to handle national and international promotion, distribution, sales, booking, and business management for artists so that they can focus on playing music. Both the musicians and the staff of the record label get paid from the proceeds of the musician’s work. These organizations came to exist because musicians in the pre-Internet era could not easily accomplish the professional functions that the specialized professionals employed by record labels provided: Halloran’s (1996) guide to music business and law aims to “demystify the
music business and the indecipherable body of law which shapes it” (p. XIV). Musicians could not and in many cases still cannot easily accomplish the highly specialized and complex professional communication tasks of national and international marketing, distribution, booking, and rights management, due to knowledge barriers and time constraints. Musicians signed to record labels received the benefit of the organization taking on the professional work the musicians did not want to do. However, this benefit came with the expectation that musicians’ work would be profitable and pay record labels back for the resources the label invested in the artist; musicians who signed with record labels sometimes found themselves in unfair contracts that adhered this principle liberally and skewed toward being good for the record label instead of the artist. Regardless of record labels’ generosity or lack thereof toward musicians, the organization of the record label exists to diminish the business and professional overhead of the musician.

The business of rock and roll in its early days—the late 1950s and early 1960s—consisted of large record labels signing bands on deals that gave record labels much of the responsibility of business tasks and much of the risk of upfront costs, to be paid back from revenues once bands had made it big with the label’s help (Shemel & Krasilovsky, 1974, pp. 39-40). Bands would play locally or regionally until a record label A&R (artist and repertoire) representative scouted the band and signed them to a record deal (Field, 1986). The record label would provide upfront cash advances to make records, which the record label would then promote, distribute, and sell (Shemel & Krasilovsky, 1990). The record label would often handle the finances of a band as well, paying them back a contracted-upon
amount after their record had recouped the costs of the advance (Halloran, 1996). Labels would also book tours for bands. Bands went on tour to promote the record so audiences would buy it, because record labels invested the sunk costs of the advance in the album, not the tour (Lindeen, 2007). The record label’s investment in the band did give the band legitimacy in booking, as the booker could be assured that the resources of the record label would be behind marketing the show. The band would get paid an amount dependent on how many people showed up at the show, multiplied by the cost of the ticket, minus venue, marketing, and other expenses (Passman, 2015).

This idealized method did not often play out in practice, as shady deals, poor promotion, and outright swindling proliferated in rock music. Labels often took advantage of young or not-business-savvy musicians with predatory contracts, deals, and other schemes (Smith, 1995, pp. 211-213). This method did provide long careers for some musicians such as the Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and U2. However, it also produced many one-hit or two-hit wonders that didn’t pan out, such as Haysi Fantayzee and Jen Trynin (Sheffield, 2010; Trynin, 2006), that lost record labels money. To adjust for losing money on these one-hit-wonders, a large number of small record labels consolidated into a small number of large labels to achieve the benefits of the economy of scale (Kot, 2009). This process continued throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century until only five large record labels were left in 2001 (Alderman, 2001, p. 1).

Cracks in the major label system began to appear early in its life, as the economy of scale did not always work out. By the early 1970s, session drummers—non-touring
musicians contracted by record labels, recording studios, or artists to play parts on recordings—found drum machines and synthesizers taking the work that they had been able to derive steady income from (Boucher, 2004; Field, 1986). Record labels could employ a drum machine for less money than a musician. The cost savings helped the bottom line of record labels. Record labels emphasized the bottom line because many artists (as many as 9 out of 10) did not develop or maintain a consistent audience, leaving the record label with losses when artists failed to recoup the advances record labels paid them to record albums (Kusek & Leonhard, 2005, pp. 108-109). These failures put major stress on the record label system’s ability to continue to provide resources: if artists did not recoup their costs, then the record label had no money to pay the artist or the staff of the record label. This made signing artists a risky proposition. To outsource the risk of the talent finding function, major labels leaned on independent record labels, independent producers, and other music industry intermediaries in the ‘80s and ‘90s (Passman, 2015; Shemel & Krasilovsky, 1990; York, 1991). These efforts had mixed results, as some bands like Nirvana became huge stars nationally and internationally but other bands that had found regional success flamed out without national success (Azerrad, 1993; Trynin, 2006). The professional communication and resource support that record labels provided did not always turn into economic success for the musician or the record label, which hurt the legitimacy of both parties.

Despite these economic difficulties for the organizational entity of the record label, the popular music industry grew tremendously until the late 1990s, when Napster changed the industry in dramatic ways (Knopper, 2009; Shemel & Krasilovsky, 1990). Recorded CDs
had become expensive in the late ‘90s—as much as $20 a disc. This made much profit for the record labels and some bands, but alienated users who wanted to hear more music than they had money to hear. At the same time, many complained that the aesthetic quality of records had decreased. Too many bands put one or two good songs on a 12-song album to justify a $20 price. Consumers balked. In 1999, Sean Fanning created Napster, a peer-to-peer networking service that allowed music consumers to download music for free that other people had shared to the service without label permission (Knopper, 2009). Napster was not the first p2p music sharing service, but it was the most well-known at the time the record labels became involved in stopping what they called piracy (Alderman, 2001). Napster allowed people to bypass the economic engine of record labels (buying a CD) while still getting the music. This technical innovation struck a large blow to the record labels, who rapidly lost the large income flow that paid advances and profits to musicians.

While the courts eventually shut down Napster in its illegal form after a protracted legal battle over copyright with major record labels, the extremely popular service shifted the paradigm of music acquisition from the purchasing of physical objects to the digital delivery of electronic information by downloading and streaming (Knopper, 2009). Total US CD sales dropped precipitously, from a high of 730 million in 2000 to 125.6 million in 2014 (Brown, 2016); overall global sales revenue from physical sales, digital sales and streaming declined from $26.6 billion in 1999 to $14.96 billion in 2014 (Ingham, 2015). This drop left the major record industry with much fewer resources to spend on bringing in new artists (Jackson & Baker, 2004, p. 3).
The industry adjusted and made great strides in adapting to the download sales paradigm, but the streaming music paradigm quickly replaced the download sales paradigm (Passman, 2015). The streaming music paradigm is maturing rapidly by adding users and consistently paying out money to artists. However, leading streaming music Spotify is not yet profitable (Titcomb, 2016) and others have so far kept mum on their profitability. This conundrum compounds the problem of rapidly falling online download sales, as the replacement paradigm is not providing a great deal of money for major labels or major label artists (Passman, 2015, p. 149). As a result of these shifts, major labels find themselves in a precarious place. Their old money-making models are declining, and no consistent moneymaking tool has appeared in its place. Making a career in popular music as a major label record signee does not look like a moneymaking endeavor at this point in history, as record labels have reduced their financial risk by only offering their resources, professional communication, and legitimacy to the largest of the large, established musicians. Caress (2015) argues that the diminishing returns on rock music as a commercial endeavor will ultimately be good for music overall, because musicians only playing music for the money will drop out and leave only those who do it for the love of the art. However, for those musicians who do want to make a living off their music, a major label is a much more unlikely occurrence and an increasingly-tenuous existence (Ward, 2012). Current conditions in the record label system and in popular music at large encourage artists to become independent and conduct their careers without the support of large organizations; musicians have taken up this call, as I will explain below.
Record labels began as profit-making enterprises that offered support for musicians in exchange for a cut of the proceeds from selling recorded music. These record labels delivered coordination, collaboration and communication within the industry that musicians did not want to do. Whether international distribution of recorded music, booking of a national tour, or coordinating studio time for recording a new album, record labels handled work for musicians. The record label system contains some economic deficiencies, as many artists don’t become a financial success despite the money and time invested in them. This economic issue, paired with some poor decision-making in setting the costs of albums, led to a digital watershed that threw the record label model into disarray and led to the necessary emergence of careers outside this system.

**Indie Rock**

Indie rock musicians are rock musicians who eschew the international distribution, economy of scale, and gatekeeping function of major label record labels entirely, either by choice or by necessity (Schwartz, 2005). The national-scale independent artist was a rare phenomenon until the late 1970s, when the hardcore band Black Flag decided to forgo a major label and start their own independent record label (Azerrad, 2001). Under the moniker SST Records, they marketed bands, distributed music, and booked tours all on their own, taking all the financial stress and risk on themselves (Rollins, 1997). Throughout the ‘80s and ‘90s, bands continued on Black Flag’s path, creating record labels with groups of bands (or going it alone) using do-it-yourself production methods and tour routes (Fine, 2015; Oakes, 2009; Trynin, 2006).
These do-it-yourself musicians still had to do all the tasks that major labels did for musicians, just on a smaller scale. Both major and independent record labels had to book shows, develop tour routes, distribute products, handle money, and coordinate promotional efforts (Schwartz, 2005). These independent musicians did not seek to reach as large an audience as a major label record company, but their organization efforts still required an incredible amount of time, effort, and expertise (often earned through trial by fire). Major label and independent musicians meet similar needs, but major label organizations possess more business expertise and a larger geographic scope in their favor (Ward, 2012). Musicians who lacked business-savvy often ran independent record labels, leading many labels to lose money or fold (Azerrad, 2001, p. 496).

The organizational efforts of independent record labels did not cover as much geographic area as those of major record labels, because independent record labels had fewer people and less money than larger organizations (Anderson, 2009). However, these independent record labels tried, and in some cases succeeded, in offering local and regional musicians the professional support that they needed to develop, maintain, and grow their careers (Azerrad, 2001). These local and regional efforts had benefits not just for the musicians. Despite a lack of organizational help, indie rock musicians formed and continue to form a vital element of a creative economy that can produce economic benefits for cities as well as themselves (Seman, 2015). Cities such as Austin; Nashville; Omaha; New Orleans; Newport, Rhode Island; and San Francisco saw economic activity develop around music scenes (Seman, 2010; Wynn, 2015). Music scenes—the informal collection of indie rock
bands in an area—“foster existing economic externalities in addition to igniting new economic possibilities” (Seman, 2015, p. 44). Independent record labels often focused on a smaller scope than that of an international major label, but they did score real successes in their regions (Azerrad, 2001).

This regional success did not go unnoticed by national and international labels. Due to the local or regional scope of independent labels, major labels started poaching bands that they felt had crossover appeal to a national or international audience (Azerrad, 2001, p. 227). This meant that major record labels used independent record labels as developers of talent in the ‘80s and ‘90s. Some bands spurned major label advances and remained on independent labels (Jovanovic, 2004). However, the larger audience and potentially larger income that could come from that audience wooed some artists.

For those artists who did not sign with major record labels by choice or by rejection, the technology boom of the ‘90s allowed independent artists to eschew even the independent labels and strike out on their own:

Digital recording, laser printers, and home CD burners, not to mention MP3 software, had already become readily available [in the late ‘90s], meaning that anyone – even (gasp) musicians – could achieve an unprecedented vertical integration by making, recording, packaging, and distributing their own music. And the networking and word-of-mouth potential of email and linked Web sites is almost too vast to comprehend. … The Internet allows DIY to range far beyond anyone’s wildest dreams. Azerrad (2001, p. 500, emphasis original)
Tools like Myspace (Hajdu, 2009; Shapiro, 2012) and later Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube (Owsinski, 2011) allowed musicians to extend the reach of label-less DIY even farther. But the wide array of tasks needed to be done by and for a successful musician often cannot be done by one person: recording, promoting, distributing, booking, licensing, handling money, and attending to legal issues often require a team of people to coordinate (Brabec & Brabec, 2008; Byrne, 2012). This requires the independent artist to put together a team of hired or partnered professionals who can help do this work; the musician still handles as much of it as she can while doing the work of writing, recording, and playing music (Tulipan, 2011). The professional communication and resources are still necessary to create legitimacy, but coordinating these many tasks and the money required to build a team is difficult.

The struggles of music sales and low-income streaming that major labels encountered did not spare independent musicians. Operating at a much smaller scale allows independents to be unburdened of the poor economies of scale, but developing an audience to reach profitability as a small fish in a large pond can be difficult (Passman, 2015). However, “streaming has the potential to make the music business bigger than it’s ever been in history. People who never would have gone into a record store are listening to streams, and the numbers are growing fast” (p. xi). The speed of distribution and wide audience for the distribution of streaming music make streaming services such as Spotify a potentially giant market for independent artists to access. The digital age may continue to provide unexpected benefits for the independent musician over time. The business of independent music at the
current juncture is a complex and rapidly changing marketplace that requires near-constant attention to business changes (Krasilovsky, Shemel, Gross, & Feinstein, 2007).

Despite the uncertainty and trying economic conditions for young artists, the number of label-less musicians attempting to make a career in music is growing. As Baskerville and Baskerville (2013) noted, “digital technology has made the music business an entrepreneurial one once again … as a result of digital, the music business may have shed some of its mystique and glamour, but in the process, it has become a viable career choice in more ways and for more people than ever before” (p. 20). It is now possible with digital technologies to be a truly independent musician, eschewing even an independent record label. However, the professional work of being a musician is similar, regardless of whether it is handled by a major label, an independent label, or the musician herself—tours must be booked, money must be handled, and albums must be distributed (Schwartz, 2005). Artists must know the business, legal, digital, and practical aspects of being a professional artist (Brabec & Brabec, 2008; Jackson & Baker, 2004; Krasilovsky et al., 2007; Owsinski, 2011; Passman, 2015; Schwartz, 2005). Artists must take on more and more work that an organization would otherwise handle when they go without a record label. Successful indie rock musicians, however, manage to do all the work that an organization would do as well as write, record, and perform music.

The struggles of orchestras and the decline of revenues in the popular music realm disrupted many avenues of income for musicians of various types and caused changes in how musicians conduct their careers. Instead of attempting to align with the diminishing number
of large organizations, such as orchestras or internationally distributed record labels, independence and entrepreneurship emerged as viable and valuable options for both indie rock and classical musicians who want to build a career. However, musicians still need to develop complex and diverse professional skills that an organization would otherwise handle for them. This need to develop a set of professional skills on top of a musical expertise is the realm of Arts Entrepreneurship.

Arts Entrepreneurship

The shifting conditions of organizations that provided resources, professional communication, and legitimacy for musicians required classical and popular musicians to do more on their own than ever before to make a career in music. In response to these conditions, the young field of Arts Entrepreneurship seeks to study and teach the arts-specific business skills that artists need to create sustainable careers for themselves (Thom, 2016). Organizations used to facilitate the coordination, collaboration, and communication of a professional career for musicians; now musicians often must be DIY (do-it-yourself) (Smith & Gillett, 2015). While scholars have explored coordination and collaboration, business communication is not one of the business skills that Arts Entrepreneurship scholars have explored deeply yet.

What and Who

What is Arts Entrepreneurship, and who is an arts entrepreneur? These are much-discussed open questions in the field. Arts Entrepreneurship was founded on the idea that artists need professional skills to survive in the professional world that formal degree plans in
music conservatories often do not provide (Beckman, 2007). A growing number of arts programs have realized this and are developing Arts Entrepreneurship initiatives inside and outside of their degree plans (Beckman, 2014). Beyond that, almost everything else is still being negotiated.

Chang & Wyszomirski’s (2015) meta-analysis of Arts Entrepreneurship definitions defined Arts Entrepreneurship as “a management process through which cultural workers seek to support their creativity and autonomy, advance their capacity for adaptability, and create artistic as well as economic and social value” (p. 25). This definition suggests a framework (management), a structural element (adaptability), and outcomes (artistic, economic, and social value). However, it does not explain how that management process works, who is doing the managing (should artists manage themselves?), and what tools or methods would help reach the goal of “artistic as well as economic and social value.”

Beckman (2014) suggested a definition of Arts Entrepreneurship Education that includes a definition of Arts Entrepreneurship. This definition focuses on different elements than Chang & Wyszomirski’s: “Arts Entrepreneurship Education provides tools to facilitate multifaceted and self-determined success modalities for emerging artists or those providing tools to artists” (p. 12). The education element is the “provides tools to facilitate” part of the definition, which I will return to in a moment. The rest of the definition (“multifaceted and self-determined success modalities for emerging artists or those providing tools to artists”) includes outcomes (“multifaceted and self-determined success modalities”) and audiences (emerging artists and those providing tools to artists). This definition keeps Arts
Entrepreneurship as wide as possible and allows for artists to determine what their goals and methods of reaching those goals are. This open-ended model of Arts Entrepreneurship implicitly calls for development of “tools” that teachers can give to Arts Entrepreneurship students to help them reach their goals. These tools can be physical or conceptual tools. These are but two of many definitions of Arts Entrepreneurship recently developed, as the field attempts to define itself (Chang & Wyszomirski, 2015).

I do not offer a new definition of Arts Entrepreneurship here. Instead, I argue that both definitions can support the argument I want to make, which is that a lack of support from a large organization in the extra-institutional professional artist’s development of art-based economic activity can be mitigated through professional communication use. This argument focuses on outcomes (art-based economic activity), an absence of organizational support, and a method by which Arts Entrepreneurship can be pursued (professional communication use). My specific argument is not a statement that intends to cover all aspects of Arts Entrepreneurship; I would expect the many definitions of Arts Entrepreneurship to fill out this statement with conceptual frameworks, structural elements, audiences, and tools (Chang & Wyszomirski, 2015). Instead of trying to define Arts Entrepreneurship, I want to look at two aspects among many of Arts Entrepreneurship: the lack of organizational support for some artists and the ways that professional communication can mitigate that lack of support.

“What is Arts Entrepreneurship?” is not the only open question in Arts Entrepreneurship, as “who is an arts entrepreneur?” is an equally vexing question. Less work
has been done on this topic than “what is Arts Entrepreneurship?” as basic demographic research is still in its infancy (White, 2017). At the moment, the question of “who” is largely a question of self-identification (Bonin-Rodriguez, 2012). Independent artists are often not part of an overarching organization that would give them an official title, so they must adopt the identity of arts entrepreneur on their own (White, 2017). However, getting artists to identify as arts entrepreneurs is difficult, as the terminology can run counter to the ways that artists think about themselves and their work (Bonin-Rodriguez, 2012; Pollard & Wilson, 2014).

The twin difficulties of self-identification not connecting with the way artists think about themselves and definitions not being yet clearly defined lead to a difficulty in scholars applying the label “arts entrepreneur” to artists (Pollard & Wilson, 2014). For this study, I will report all respondents as musicians, as none explicitly identified themselves as arts entrepreneurs. However, I argue that the concepts of Arts Entrepreneurship (so far as they exist in a generalizable or arts-specific form) can be applied for study about and taught to artists who do not identify as arts entrepreneurs if those artists want to pursue the professional creation of art outside of a large organizational context. Similarly, the successful and unsuccessful professional experiences of those who do not identify as arts entrepreneurs but do work outside the large organizational context can be of assistance to those who do want to identify as arts entrepreneurs. Thus, my focus on the organizational conditions and position of arts entrepreneurs provides a way to get around the problem of self-identification and be able to address all artists in a particular situation as being relevant to Arts
Entrepreneurship—even if I do not extend this as far as to call each of them arts entrepreneurs.

**How**

How does Arts Entrepreneurship work? At the moment, the question is open. Discussion of how Arts Entrepreneurship can be most effectively taught and employed has developed some approaches, however.

Some scholars and programs take a multi-disciplinary, “the artist business world is unique” approach (Bonin-Rodriguez, 2012, p. 18). This literature represents artists in a wide array of arts, including classical and popular music (Gangi, 2014; Seman, 2015; Smith & Gillett, 2015), as being able to benefit from Arts Entrepreneurship. This idea is supported by the idea of the entrepreneurial mindset, the paradigm that Arts Entrepreneurship can be an identifiable set of skills, mental patterns, or ideas that apply to many different types of arts (Beckman, 2014; Pollard & Wilson, 2014). Some of these scholars adapt the entrepreneurial mindset that McGrath and MacMillan (2000) suggest for entrepreneurship (“uncertainty can yield tremendous opportunity when looked at in the right way,” p. x) into the uncertainty of the artist’s career (Pollard & Wilson, 2014). However, the “entrepreneurial mindset” has been difficult to define and apply in artists’ careers, as this term suffers from the same terminology-rejection problems as “Arts Entrepreneurship” (p. 18). Others have sought different terms, such as effectuation, as a shared core concept in Arts Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurship that can ground Arts Entrepreneurship as a field (Essig, 2015; Gangi, 2017). The search for core concepts that can be used across disciplines is ongoing.
Others argue that each individual art field develops its own unique business strategies and processes. I call this the “organizing” paradigm of Arts Entrepreneurship:

I assume that there are various forms of artistic practice (e.g., performance arts, visual arts, etc.) that are organized in different ways. Also, that there are various ways that value is produced and perceived for these artistic practices and valued through some kind of exchange function. (Gartner, Roberts, & Rabideau, 2015, p. 5)

If Gartner’s statement is true, then the field of Arts Entrepreneurship will continue to face significant issues in coming to consensus on skills, strategies, and tactics. Each individual art form will have to work out its own form of Arts Entrepreneurship, hearkening back to the term “music entrepreneurship” (Harding, 2011) and potentially augmenting it with terms like “dance entrepreneurship,” “theater entrepreneurship,” and “painting entrepreneurship.” The question of how Arts Entrepreneurship can best be taught and deployed are still being worked out, as the methodological and epistemological foundations of this field are still being developed. In particular, the nature of Arts Entrepreneurship’s generalizability is still in tension. I will return to the nature of Arts Entrepreneurship’s generalizability in the conclusion.

Despite these tensions, many scholars agree that artists/arts entrepreneurs develop distinctly specific required skills and tactics based on the idiosyncrasies of the economic activity surrounding art production (Caves, 2000). Arts entrepreneurs differ from traditional entrepreneurs in that they:

- sell an aesthetic product instead of a problem-filling service or item (Caves, 2000),
• often create single-proprietor or small-group organizations instead of large-group organizations (Griffey, 2014; Shah, 2011),

• remain arts entrepreneurs as long as they persist in the art world instead of transitioning to manager status (Gartner, 1988, p. 26; Goldman, 2014),

• aim at sustainable streams of income for the individual instead of profit for investors via revenues or sale of the organization (Beckman, 2014, p. 13; Menger, 1999), and

• use “communication and persuasive efforts [that] must rest on other means than proof of practical usefulness or profit potential” (Scherdin & Zander, 2011, p. 4).

An arts entrepreneur’s work revolves around an aesthetic artifact, experience, or service whose communication requires distinct persuasive strategies created by an individual in a unique business situation revolving around aesthetics.

Harding (2011), noting this unique business situation, preferred community organizing to business as a model for what Arts Entrepreneurship activity and communication should be. Harding argues that musicians “make their musical talents available, accessible, and suitable for communities that need or desire more music” (pp. 22), particularly because the existence of the “large professional musical ensemble industry” effectively “enriched [communities] to the extent that even if the ensembles are gone now, the need for opportunities to hear affordable music lives on” (pp. 20). This model of Arts Entrepreneurship that is enmeshed in local communities and meets the needs and desires of those communities views “music as a civic or individual asset” (p. 23) and sees musicians not as businesspeople but as community servants. This form of organizing activity relies not on
products and profits as indicators of success, but the meeting of local needs with distinctive, new musical experiences. This type of organizing activity is, for better and for worse, localized—these types of products are not originally intended to be distributed to a mass audience over the Internet (although sometimes this mass audience can be a secondary market). Regardless of the reach problems, this community organizing focus identifies a unique, distinctive role for the arts entrepreneur and a unique type of organizational activity that doesn’t rely on models brought in from the business school.

Others scholars draw on systems theory (Gangi, 2014) and the model of the hero’s journey (Hart, 2014) to frame and explain Arts Entrepreneurship’s activities and mentalities. However it is framed, Arts Entrepreneurship includes (but is not limited to) the communication of the value of an aesthetic product that exists outside an organization’s goals and outside a utilitarian understanding of a product meeting a functional need (Gangi, 2017). As such, Arts Entrepreneurship requires different mental models, persuasive strategies, and communication strategies than traditional entrepreneurship.

The identification of skills that arts entrepreneurs need is a theme in Arts Entrepreneurship literature, and scholars agree that communication is a necessary skill. “Communicating visually” is one of Brandenburg, Roosen, and Veenstra (2016)’s six skills needed for arts and technology students: “the market demands a more visual approach to information instead of a written business model” (p. 30). Thom (2016) found “Communication / presentation” as the seventh most important aspect of entrepreneurial skills (out of 16) in a survey (p. 15). Essig (2016) compared the findings of these two articles
with two previous articles (Pollard & Wilson, 2014; Welsh, Onishi, DeHoog, & Syed, 2014) and reported that “families of skills related to networking and collaboration and marketing communication appear across all four” (p. 1). Musicians need to develop communication skills because the work of developing, maintaining, and advancing a career takes place through professional communication elements.

Musicians further need to learn how to do the communication that advances their careers because organizations used to do this professional communication work for them. Record labels and orchestras developed routine ways of completing tasks for musicians through professional communication: record labels and orchestras promoted shows to audiences, coordinated with professionals at venues to prepare for concerts, planned recording sessions, and coordinated the distribution of pay through communicative avenues (be they oral, print, or digital) (Baskerville & Baskerville, 2013). These recurring tasks called for similar types of communication that create professional relationships, activate latent fan relationships, and coordinate activities with multiple parties. Over time, the patterns of communication that the work called for became largely standardized and codified, either explicitly by rules or implicitly through communicators not varying the form and strategies from previous instances of the communication. These patterns of communication could become commonplace because the organization was a stable organization type: orchestras and record labels worked in the same way repeatedly, and did not deviate wildly from their standard operating procedures on a year-to-year basis often. The communication had little need to change because the professional and organizational conditions within the
organization that issued the communication did not change that often—even though the economic situation changed around them over the long term.

These “stabilized-for-now” communicative activities are defined as genres of professional communication: communication that the senders and receivers of the genres recognize as doing a certain type of work in a certain way (Schryer, 1993, p. 204). These genres for organizations could be as complex as contracts for employment (Caves, 2000) and work visas for international touring (Shemel & Krasilovsky, 1990), or as simple as a tweet on Twitter. These genres are a large part of the professional work that organizations do on artists’ behalf; without organizations creating these genres, artists need to learn how to create these professional communication genres on their own (Owsinski, 2011).

Arts entrepreneurs outside organizations do use genres to create and sustain the professional communication of their careers: resumes, contracts, promotional materials, pitches, and more. Bonin-Rodriguez (2012) described a training program for arts entrepreneurs as including “training in long- and/or short-term planning, organizational structures, marketing, networking, audience development, budgeting and finances, grants and fundraising, and legal concerns (intellectual property rights and/or taxes)” (p. 18). Many of these tasks take place through genres. Beckman and Essig (2012) noted that, “The economic situation has forced arts organizations to diversify their business plans and individual artists to proactively seek alternative revenue streams in order to survive. At the same time, more tools are available for artists and organizations to do just that via partnerships, social media, crowd funding, and the like” (p. 6). Essig, one of the two authors in conversation here, ties
the specific economic situation of artists to social media and crowdfunding platforms explicitly—and the genres that pass through those platforms implicitly—in helping artists develop their careers. Ferro (2015) included an independent musician (“Patsy”) in her study of entrepreneurs’ social network site usage, noting: “Patsy is frustrated by Facebook’s policy that does not allow multiple personal profiles and does not allow profiles to be under performer names” (Ferro, 2015, p. 924-925). The specific communication needs Patsy expressed draw attention to the relationships between the unique business situation of the extra-institutional indie rock musician and the professional communication needs that respond to exigences in that situation. Patsy’s situation suggests that artists need to manipulate existing social media platforms to fit their needs, and that there is room for subject-specific social media in the career of the musician. Ultimately, Arts Entrepreneurship scholars (and scholars including artists in their work) have shown through the above research that arts entrepreneurs are using specific types of professional communication to do their work.

Scholars accept that communication is valuable to arts entrepreneurs and imply genres of importance, but little research exists that looks specifically into what genres of professional communication arts entrepreneurs write and why they write them (Roberts, 2004). It is also not known whether genres that arts entrepreneurs use in their extra-institutional situation do the same work and fill the same needs as genres in organizations; with a stable organizational context removed, will extra-institutional musicians find the same genres meaningful or useful? While these questions have begun to be investigated for all of
Arts Entrepreneurship, little research been dedicated to what musicians write. Developing
knowledge about what genres and platforms specific types of arts entrepreneurs find valuable
will allow for arts entrepreneurs to develop communication that are necessary in their extra-
institutional careers but may not have been necessary in an organizational setting.

Professional Communication

The field of Arts Entrepreneurship suggests that artists need communication skills. The communication skills deemed necessary for arts entrepreneurs are a central concern of the field of professional communication. Scholars in the field of professional communication study the deployment of professional communication in a wide array of professional communities, but have not yet deeply explored artists’ professional communication. This study of artists’ professional communication will help expand the field by adding another professional community to the list that the field has explored, providing examples of the professional communication elements musicians use to develop, maintain, and grow their careers.

Professional communication is part of the larger field of Technical and Professional Communication. Technical Communication formed first, as a field interested in teaching engineers to write (Artemeva, 2011; Artemeva et al., 1999; Winsor, 1996). Professional communication developed as part of TPC over the course of years as the teaching and

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\(^4\) Professional Communication, Technical Communication, and Business Communication share overlapping areas of concern. The terms often appear together, such as in the ATTW book series in Technical and Professional Communication, Business and Professional Communication Quarterly, and Journal of Business and Technical Communication. Because I study workplace writing outside of traditional workplaces, I identify my research most closely with the term “professional communication” and will use that to refer to the field throughout the dissertation.
research interests of technical communicators expanded to include the communication of businesses (Yates, 1989), the military (Orwig, 2014), science (Wickman, 2013), and digital communication (Yates & Orlikowski, 2007). One of the connecting elements between all of these was the common (but not exclusive) focus on a large organization as the site of technical and professional communication; these large organizations worked on a bureaucratic pattern that prized clear and efficient communication (Kimball, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2015; Yates, 1989). Professional Communication as a subset of Technical and Professional Communication is interested in the work that professionals do in business settings. Professional communication scholars have studied the business communication genres that are written in traditional bureaucracies, but they have rarely studied how non-engineer extra-institutional individuals, such as musicians, use business communication to create organizations of one (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 1).

Extra-institutional Individuals

Professionals currently working outside the status of ‘full-time employment in a hierarchical bureaucracy’ are called “extra-institutional” (Kimball, 2006) or “extraorganizational” (Hallenbeck, 2012) professional communicators. Extra-institutional individuals play a large role in the workforce: 53 million Americans report freelancing in some capacity (Horowitz, 2015). Freelancers (Johnson-Eilola, 1996; Pigg, 2014), consultants (Palmer & Killingsworth, 2002), mom bloggers (Petersen, 2014), and automotive mechanics

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5I chose to use “extra-institutional” instead of “extraorganizational” to follow Spinuzzi’s use of the words institution and organization: institution means a hierarchical bureaucracy and organization is a more general term. Thus, “extra-institutional” more clearly defines the group I am researching than “extraorganizational.”
(Cushman, 2015) can be counted among the diverse ranks of extra-institutional individuals. Studies of extra-institutional individuals contribute to the field’s understanding of disparate topics such as narrative (Van Ittersum, 2014), plain language (Ross, 2015), user resistance (Koerber, 2006), product reviews (Mackiewicz & Yeats, 2014), and the nature of the field of Technical and Professional Communication (Moeller & Frost, 2016). While the study of extra-institutional individuals has enriched knowledge of concepts in professional communication, research including or focusing on the state of extra-institutional individuals often focuses on precarity (Hailey, Cox, & Loader, 2010; Johnson-Eilola, 1996; Wilson, 2001) or includes them as a demographic category in a larger population (Blythe, Lauer, & Curran, 2014; Tomlin, 2008).

Work looking at the professional needs and practices of extra-institutional individuals suggests that extra-institutional individuals require different communication practices than those of communicators working in large organizations. Brady (2011) reported on the relationship of freelance technical communicators to the corporate cultures they work for, while Pigg (2014) described the social-media-rich working practices of a freelance technical communicator. Pigg (2014) stated that “as the technologies and organizational locations that mediate knowledge work shift on a broad scale, we should continually focus our research lenses to trace symbolic practice in detail” (p. 85). Ferro (2015) related the social media practices of entrepreneurs, calling for “research that examines the activities entrepreneurs are conducting through various social media systems” as they “use publicly available SNSs in unique ways” (Ferro, 2015, p. 927, 925). Pigg’s (2014) and Ferro’s (2015) work suggests that
much professional communication developed for use in large, hierarchical organizations (Yates, 1989; Yates & Orlikowski, 2007) may not be appropriate or effective for the millions of extra-institutional professional communicators working outside a bureaucratic structure.

As this chapter has suggested, musicians are one group of extra-institutional individuals that need to develop communication skills and professional communication knowledge (Essig, 2016; Ferro, 2015). As previously discussed, musicians need to develop these skills because the large organizations that previously performed these skills for musicians no longer represent or never represented many musicians (Oakes, 2009). These findings suggest that communication expectations from the orchestra or international record label context may not transfer over to the extra-institutional musicians’ career effectively (Passman, 2015; Pigg, 2014). If the large organizational context is no longer the organizational situation for extra-institutional musicians, then several questions need to be asked: what is the organizational context for an extra-institutional musician? How does that organizational structure affect the communication that musicians perform in that organizational structure?

**Organizational Structures**

Extraorganizational individuals do not merely replicate the organizational habits of large organizations on a micro scale; instead, individuals use communication technology to develop new communication styles and ultimately new organizational structures (Spinuzzi, 2015). An organizational structure is “an ‘operating system’ or set of rules by which people in those organizational structures communicate, coordinate and collaborate” (p. 55).
Organizational structures can be present in organizations of any size, whether one person or a million.

Bureaucracies are an example of organizational structure. Bureaucracies emerged in the early 1900s as “institutions developed a way of coordinating and managing themselves” in relation to the problems of technological change, growing organizational size, large geographical distances, and complexity of communication (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 70; cf. Yates, 1989, pp. 489-490). The underlying characteristics of bureaucracy are a strong division of labor, narrow specializations, hierarchies, and “command and control” mentality. People who provided management for single-owner firms that had grown larger than one person could manage alone responded to exigences in their organization while keeping all of these characteristics in mind, explicitly or implicitly (Spinuzzi, 2015, pp. 21-22). These principles resulted in a near-ubiquitous organizational structure for a century. The bureaucracy is the organizational structure for both the orchestra and the international record label.

However, the organizational structures that underpin work are currently diversifying due to the wave of information and communication technologies (ICTs). ICTs solve core problems of communication flow over large geographical distances that the institution was designed to address (Spinuzzi, 2015, pp. 2-3; Yates, 1989). Many workers and employers responded to these technological shifts by developing new types of professional activity. These professional activities possess different logics and organizing principles than those of the bureaucracy (Pigg, 2014; Spinuzzi, 2012). Spinuzzi’s work on various types of organizational structure (Spinuzzi, 2008, 2015) led to examinations of how extra-institutional
individuals such as users of coworking spaces (Spinuzzi, 2012), non-employer firms (Spinuzzi, 2015), and entrepreneurs (Spinuzzi et al., 2014a, 2015) organize their professional activities.

Spinuzzi (2015)’s book-length description of the “all-edge adhocracy” is his longest description of extra-institutional organizational structure. He argues that a certain type of professionals working outside a bureaucracy participate in a specific organizational structure that allows different types of work to be done (p. 35). The all-edge adhocracy organizational structure has certain characteristics that describe the relationships of people and tools that guide the ways that work gets done in that organizational structure: the all-edge adhocracy has a “flat structure,” changes composition frequently, provides flexibility to people in the structure, and adapts easily to challenges presented to it (pp. 58-59). These characteristics are shorthand for the types of things people can expect to encounter while trying to do their work.

These expectations largely have to do with relationships between people: a flat structure is a way of relating non-hierarchically between two people, while a changing composition allows people to drop out and be added to the group without much difficulty. But they are also situations that call for a response, as a flat structure and rapidly changing composition require certain types of interpersonal communication to develop, maintain, and activate those relationships.

Anyone whose work exhibits the characteristics of the all-edge adhocracy is participating in the organizational structure: this could be freelance web developers, graphic
designers, consultants, SEO experts, and more (pp. 41-42, 112-113). Thus, the all-edge adhocracy is a way of organizing work by identifying places where important relationships and professional communication come together to shape the work. These points of contact between relationships and professional communication are the characteristics that both describe and prescribe the actions people take in the organizational structure.

Even though I agree with Spinuzzi’s understanding of organizational structure as an “operating system” (to use a computing metaphor), we arrive at that conclusion of organizational structure with different theoretical assumptions. I will show in this section that my approach is complementary to Spinuzzi’s and can lead to similar ends. Spinuzzi’s construction of organizational structure emerges from activity theory, but the understanding of organizational structure that will be developed in this dissertation draws on rhetorical theory (Bitzer, 1968). Below I will re-interpret Spinuzzi’s organizational structure theory through the lens of rhetorical theory.

Both theories suggest crystallization or stabilizing of work and include professional communication as part of that process of stabilization. Professional communication has different roles in the two theories, however: Spinuzzi’s unit of analysis is the activity system and its pulsing action, of which professional communication is a part (Spinuzzi, 2015, pp. 99-106); my unit of analysis is the exigence and constraints, which frame how people create professional communication. For Spinuzzi, activity is the core component of work: “the activity system helps us to dissect the context of the recurring activity so we understand how it’s put together (p. 100). Activities are made up of actors, rules, tools, community
stakeholders, and a division of labor that are all working on transforming an object of the activity. This object can be anything: “factories transform raw materials into products; Sal transforms customer specifications into websites; Damon transforms his ideas into an Internet start-up” (p. 101). The actions that happen to in that activity system to transform the object (or, in other words, achieve the goal of the work) are a “pulse” (p. 101). Professional communication is part of that pulsing action, along with other actions that take place to reach the goal of transforming the object. Professional communication is one among many things that can be part of a pulse. In this formulation, the relationships between the different parts of the activity shape communication (and all other actions) toward the outcome of a transformed object.

Spinuzzi and I both agree that “recurrence” is an important part of what constitutes professional work. However, I focus more squarely on professional communication instead of activity as the core component of work, with constraints shaping that professional communication (instead of activity system). I argue that organizational structures begin with exigences that need to be addressed to complete a professional task. An exigence is a confluence of relationships, events, tools, and social expectations which come together to create a situation that calls for a communicative response (Bitzer, 1968). Communicators seeking to reach a certain goal by means of a task (such as the goal of “going on a tour” by means of the task of “booking shows”) come upon exigences (such as trying to book a show at a specific venue in Salt Lake City on a specific day) as they attempt to do their tasks. Exigences call forth professional communication, and that professional communication is
shaped by constraints, which are “persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence” (p. 7). The repeated ways that people marshal available human resources, technology, and communication to respond to exigences reveals the constraints that affect professional communication. As people repeatedly adopting a formal tone to address a booker or write a short email to a booker because it is known that the booker is busy, these communicative responses reveal that the booker’s expectation of tone and high volume of request received are constraints for a booking email.

Many constraints are idiosyncratic to a situation; they are specific and appear only once, such as the specific day on which a person tries to book a music recital for their students. Some constraints are more general, covering a more general exigence (or task, as I explain in the next chapter) such as “booking a recital”; these would be constraints such as taking into consideration that some number of students will play a set number of pieces, and this requires booking the recital hall for shorter or longer amounts of time. However, some constraints exist as a part of many exigences; these are the constraints that musicians have to respond to in all of their exigences. These are permanent, ongoing constraints such as the type of work that the musician is trying to promote; no matter what exigence is presented to a musician, the musician responds as a person who has indie rock or classical music to offer. This changes the exigences: booking a rock club for indie rock music is different than booking a rock club for a classical music event (Robinson, 2013). These constraints that exist in each exigence that a musician encounters become the characteristics that define the
professional communication work of musicians (Spinuzzi, 2015, pp. 21-22). Because the professional communication of extra-institutional individuals creates organization through the reciprocal process of communication (Doheny-Farina, 1986), the characteristics that define the professional communication of musicians also define their extra-institutional organizational structures. Thus, it is possible to end up at organizational structure through a rhetorical argument. This rhetorical understanding of how organizational structure is created will be what powers the second half of this dissertation.

With this rhetorical understanding of extra-institutional organizational structure in hand, I now turn to the work that has been done addressing the types of organizing and organizational structures of artists.

Extra-institutional Organizational Structures in the Arts

TPC scholars have not discussed artists’ organizational structures yet, but scholars outside TPC have dedicated work to the organizational contexts of artists. Entrepreneurship scholar Gartner (2015) asked, “How do artists organize themselves, both in terms of how they generate art, and, in how what is produced, as art, is valued and exchanged?” He left the question open for further inquiry. Economist Caves (2000) used contract theory to “introduce several bedrock or axiomatic properties that pertain either to all creative industries, or to some in contrast to others,” then “applies economic analysis to these structural properties in order to explain many features of organization patterns and contracts observed in creative industries” (p. vi-viii). He suggested that the “structural properties” were concepts such as “nobody knows,” “art for art’s sake,” infinite variety,” and “A list/B list,” which described
various aspects of how and why creative industries function the way they do (p. 2-10). For instance, “nobody knows” explains the fact that the success or failure of an artistic product to be economically profitable is difficult to predict, while “art for art’s sake” explains that artists will continue to make art even if it is not economically profitable. These economic “structural properties” affect the ways that artistic enterprises are organized, so as to minimize the effects of some of these problematic concepts and maximize profit. However, Caves’ focus on contracts pushes the focus of the work to large organizations and their relationships to people who work in or for them. This focus limits its usefulness for the study of extra-institutional individuals. Sociologist Menger (1999) studied the labor market of artists, finding that

The present development of labor markets for the arts, by highlighting an apparently irresistible trend toward flexibility, helps to explain the underlying processes of such a course of development, namely the built-in pervasive uncertainty of artistic undertakings and careers and the ways for individuals, as well as for organizations, to handle uncertain prospects and to manage the correlated individual and business risks. (p. 542).

Menger calls these conditions “structural disequilibria” (p. 542). Menger points to the individual nature of arts business as one of its main qualities, which relates directly to extra-institutional individuals and Arts Entrepreneurship. Arts Entrepreneurship scholars also point to the individual nature of the entrepreneur as a defining quality: “Counter to more expansive entrepreneurship definitions, the artist-producer model is person-centric” (Bonin-Rodriguez,
2012, p. 16; cf. Goldman, 2014). Essig (2015) expands this idea of person-centricity to include firms and seek the end of sustainability: “Artists form firms or otherwise undertake entrepreneurial action as means toward the end of creating art sustainably” (p. 229). This dissertation will focus more on the “otherwise undertake entrepreneurial action” than the “form firms” side of this quote, but (as some of my respondents will note), forming firms is a part of Arts Entrepreneurship. However, I will focus on the individually oriented, non-scaling, sustainable style of extra-institutional organization as a specific type of organization that differs from the multi-person, scalable organizations of traditional entrepreneurs and the organizationally affiliated freelance or distributed worker (Dautermann, 2005; O’Connor, 2002; Spinuzzi et al., 2014a, 2015). However, the details of an artist’s organizational structure, and specifically an extra-institutional independent musician’s organizational structure, have not yet been studied in detail by professional communication scholars or Arts Entrepreneurship scholars. Without understanding the organizational context of artists, the professional communication of artists may be difficult to understand, as professional communication has traditionally been studied in concert with and understood as part of an organizational context (Kimball, 2017; Yates, 1989).

Conclusion

This study will investigate the professional communication of extra-institutional musicians and the extra-institutional organizational structures in which that communication takes place. I am conducting an analysis of the two subgroups of indie rock and classical musicians because there may be some similarities in the professional communication and
organizational structures of the indie rock and classical musician subgroups due to their shared problem of diminished organizational support for individual musicians. There may also be differences that can reveal different types of organizational structures that are possible for musicians.

This interdisciplinary study fits into the research agendas of professional communication and Arts Entrepreneurship: professional communication has not often studied the professional writing practices of extra-institutional artists, and Arts Entrepreneurship has not often studied the day-to-day communicative actions of arts entrepreneurs. Professional communication can add to the understanding of the practice of Arts Entrepreneurship, while Arts Entrepreneurship contributes to professional communication by helping develop theory associated with extra-institutional individuals.

Ultimately, this study aims to help arts entrepreneurs do their professional communication better. I hope to arm arts entrepreneurs with the knowledge of what professional communication they need to write, how they need to deploy it, and why they need to write it in a world where they must, by choice or necessity, make a career for themselves out of the skills they bring to the table.
CHAPTER 3: METHOD

This qualitative research design used the in-depth interview to collect data on the professional communication practices of two subgroups (classical and indie rock) of United States-based musicians working outside a large organizational context. I analyzed the data using a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods, due to the exploratory nature of the study.

I sought to investigate four research questions:

1. How do extra-institutional musicians use professional communication? What tasks are musicians doing with professional communication? Do similarities or differences in tasks exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)

2. What professional communication do extra-institutional musicians employ? What professional communication elements are they using? How are those elements involved in the professional tasks of musicians? Do similarities or differences exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)

3. Why do musicians communicate? Do any similarities in musicians’ exigences and professional communication responses to those exigences suggest stable sets of characteristics that would suggest the construction of an identifiable extra-institutional organizational structure or structures governing their work? If so, what are the characteristics of those organizational structures? (Chapter 6)

4. What are the implications of musicians’ extra-institutional organizational structure(s) for the study of extra-institutional individuals? What are the
implications for the pedagogy of Arts Entrepreneurship? What are the implications for genre theory? (Chapter 7)

To gather data on these questions, I conducted two interviews with each respondent: a “grand-tour” interview and a stimulated recall interview. I then answered question one by analyzing keyness of verbs from the first interviews. Keyness is a statistical measure from corpus linguistics comparing two corpora to determine which terms are unusually frequent; it allowed me to assess what topics were important to the musicians by identifying which verbs were statistically more common than they would otherwise be in a reference corpus. In other words, keyness allowed me to find out what the corpus was about, or “aboutness” (Scott & Tribble, 2006). I then combined those key verbs into tasks that they were associated with, as one verb alone often did not fully describe a task (such as “managing professional relationships”) that musicians were trying to do. I answered question two by creating a taxonomy of professional communication elements mentioned in the first interview and then running a collocation analysis to see which professional communication elements are associated with each task from the first question. I answered question three by doing provisional coding, descriptive coding, and constant comparative method on data from the second interviews. I will explain all of these analyses in the rest of this chapter.

Terminology

Genre theory is one lens through which professional communication is studied. However, genre theory has encountered demarcation and categorization problems over the past fifteen years in relation to digital artifacts (Lüders et al., 2010). Because digital
professional communication often starts out as one genre and then diversifies into more specific genre uses over time, the nature of what is a genre and what is not is complicated (Miller & Shepherd, 2009). As a genre gets more specific in its use, a hierarchical problem appears between the platform that contains the genre, the genre itself, and various sub-genres that are emerging as “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations” (Miller, 1984, p. 159). This demarcation/hierarchy problem appeared in this study as respondents reported their digital communication use.

I sought to catalog what professional communication musicians reported using in their work (regardless of its hierarchical category), so I needed a term to describe a flat assemblage of heterogeneous types of professional communication (Spinuzzi, 2004). To avoid this demarcation/hierarchy issue in this analysis, I use the terms “element” and “professional communication environment” instead of genre and genre ecology. Below I explain these concepts and my rationale for use.

**Genre Hierarchies**

The difficulty of detailed categorization of genres on the Internet is a significant issue, particularly as it relates to the hierarchy between elements. Lüders et al. (2010) found it difficult to distinguish genre and media theoretically in digital spaces:

Distinguishing between media and genre may nevertheless be difficult. For example, to understand blogs more specifically, we need to differentiate between kinds – genres – of blogs that are in use in various social contexts. The demarcation problems now become significant, even if the differences between personal diary-like amateur
blogs and collective theme-oriented blogs like Slashdot.org seem palpable. The question is whether it makes sense to regard an online diary and, for example, the Huffington Post as merely belonging to different genres, or whether they should be considered as different media altogether. (pp. 952-953)

Catenaccio (2012) also noted a difficulty in categorizing digital spaces. As she explains about the website:

But what is a website? Is it a medium, a technology, or a genre? Where is it located along the continuum between technological support and rhetorically motivated structure? Is it simply a container into which different contents can be poured, or does its structure constrain the selection of allowable contents, especially for what concerns their mutual relationships? (p. 28)

Catenaccio chooses none of the three terms she suggests as possibilities and instead uses the term “rhetorical interface” (p. 47), adding another layer of complexity into the hierarchical categorization of texts on the internet. Graham and Whalen (2008) add the term “mode” into the mix with genre and medium. No definitive answers currently exist to the technology / mode / medium / platform / genre hierarchical categorization question.

This demarcation problem appeared in my study because many of the musicians did not distinguish between platforms, modes, and genres as they talked about how they used various digital professional communication elements to meet the exigences of their careers. This brings to mind the pithy Lüders et al. (2010) quote: “These demarcation problems are probably more significant for theory building than for real-life users of digital media” (p.
To handle this hierarchical demarcation problem, I chose the term “element” to stand in for terms such as genre, platform, media, and mode, putting all of the communication and communication tools described by these terms on an equal plane. While I acknowledge that the aforementioned terms allow for detailed distinctions, I am purposefully ignoring the distinctions between these terms for this exploratory analysis. Instead of finding distinctions, I want to create the widest possible net that yet gives professional communication a central role in the analysis. Using a more expansive term such as “element” to report on the respondents’ answers is more representative of their answers, because I dealt with oral communication spoken by non-experts. The term is also more helpful for finding patterns of usage, as I could include elements that musicians mentioned as part of their professional communication responses to exigences that did not neatly fit into the term “genre,” such as “radio”: indie rock musicians reported that airplay on the radio was part of the promotional strategy for their releases. “Radio” seems like a medium more than a genre in most cases, but in this instance “radio” was often mentioned next to people writing articles for a blog (an element that could be a genre) as a goal of promotion. Because there is no clear way to define what is or is not a genre on the Internet at this time and because I sought to capture professional communication use outside of genres, I chose to use the word “element” to sidestep this issue at the moment. I will return to the issue of genre hierarchies in Chapter 7.

**Assemblage Terminology in Current Research**

Despite this lack of theoretical consensus on the categorization issue, researchers often create taxonomies of professional communication. However, they just as often try to
avoid addressing the significant theoretical demarcation issues in these taxonomies. The terminology that labels these taxonomies is as varied as the terms that people use to describe genre hierarchies.

Spartz and Weber (2015) used the term genre to describe their taxonomy of “Client-Specific or Customer-Specific Genres That Participants Needed Before Opening a Business and That They Used While Operating the Business”. This taxonomy stuck largely to genres such as service guarantee, white papers, and press releases, but they also include “Company web page” and “Company blog,” which may or may not be genres. Finally, they include “Facebook page” and “Twitter feed” (p. 444), which could be considered genres (as they are here) or as platforms that contain genres (Crews & Stitt-Gohdes, 2012; Shin, Pang, & Kim, 2015). This taxonomy shows the difficulty of labeling a professional communication taxonomy.

Blythe et al. (2014) demonstrate another taxonomic difficulty in trying to avoid genre. They categorize email, websites and blogs along with grants/proposals and presentations as “types of text” (p. 274). Later, they address a heterogeneous mix of communication elements with the title “types of writing and software/technology,” using “types of writing” instead of “types of text” and not distinguishing between “software” and “technology” in a distinctive way (p. 275). Writing and software are generally not on the same hierarchical level (writing takes place inside software, or coders write software), which makes the “types of writing and software/technology” label difficult to use, if describing items on the same hierarchical level is the goal.
These are just two of many varied ways of getting around the categorization issues. There is currently no consensus in professional communication on how best to explain and categorize communication in a digital space. There is no existing term I know of that captures the genres (e.g., resumes, Killoran, 2006, 2009; and grants, Moeller & Christensen, 2009), media (e.g., websites, Askehave & Ellerup Nielsen, 2005; blogs, Miller & Shepherd, 2009; and email, Zucchermaglio & Talamo, 2003), platforms (Facebook, Twitter, e.g., Shin et al., 2015), modes (photography, video, e.g., Morain & Swarts, 2012) and technologies (phone, CDs) in one category. Terms like genre system, genre repertoire, and genre ecology (Bazerman, 2004; Spinuzzi, 2004) encompass too few types of communication by limiting the lens to only what can be defined as a genre. Terms such as “system of activity” (Bazerman, 2004, p. 319) encompass too much, by including the “physical aspects” of activities along with professional communication as part of the assemblage. Bazerman’s example of basketball as a system of activity includes “moves and ball handling” as part of the system: activities that are not related to professional communication and can sometimes relegate professional communication to a “peripheral or supportive rather than central” role (p. 319). My term of “professional communication environment” sits between these two types of terms. It expands from genre-exclusive terms to platforms, media, and technology, but does not include activities such as “pressing keys,” “plucking strings,” and “turning pages” -- the activities involved in the physical production of music. This term allows me to avoid hierarchical genre problems while still giving professional communication a central role. While I do study “tasks” related to professional communication, I separate my analysis
of tasks as a different analysis. I describe that analysis and the rationale for that analysis below.

Thus, I chose “professional media environment” as a term that encompasses each of these elements on a level hierarchical plane. This non-hierarchical plane that I am placing each element on is the plane in which musicians use various professional communication elements to respond to exigences: using a cell phone to take a picture and write a caption for publication on Facebook requires a technology, a platform, a visual mode, and alphanumeric writing. These are all necessary elements to respond to the exigence, and thus they are on an equal hierarchical level for me. (I will explain theoretically how these elements work together to respond to exigences and get named as genres in Chapter 7.) As a result, each will be listed as part of musicians’ professional communication environment in Chapter 5. This sort of expansive taxonomy creates its own issues, as the taxonomy can balloon to an incredible size even without claiming to be exhaustive. To manage this, I chose to handle analysis of these professional communication elements through collocation techniques instead of in raw frequencies. I will address my analysis strategies more below.

I will now discuss the development of the respondent pool for the study.

Respondent Parameters

I chose musicians who were not full-time employees of large organizations such as orchestras and international record labels as the target population for this research. I sought musicians who produced some or all of their income from music on a yearly basis, as well as those who aspired to make income from music (Coulson, 2012). Earning income as a
musician entailed a particular type of work that differed from the work of hobbyists who did not aspire to make money from music (Stremikis, 2002) and the work of people employed by large organizations (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2014). I also allowed musicians who had started their own organization (Essig, 2015; Griffey, 2014) and those who participated in an organization that produced only part of their income (Cunningham, 2010), because both of these types of musician had work tasks that differed from those of full-time employees of a single pre-existing organization.

Musicians do not all participate in the same marketplace, as musical genre distinctions such as jazz, metal, indie rock, and classical entail different audiences, venues, types of moneymaking opportunities, and professional expectations (Fine, 2015; Kuppens & van der Pol, 2014; Robinson, 2013; Umney & Kretsos, 2015). To respond to this diversity, I chose to compare musicians from two different markets: those who self-identified as participating in indie rock (Azerrad, 2001; Oakes, 2009) and those who identified as participating in classical music (Bennett, 2008; Freeman, 2014). I chose indie rock because my professional background is in this field, giving me connections I could tap. I chose classical music because its market is a firmly established part of Arts Entrepreneurship study (Nytch, 2012). Through the dissertation, I will refer to musicians of the indie rock group with an (i) next to their name and musicians of the classical musician group with a (c) next to their name, except in sections where I am discussing indie rock and classical musicians exclusively.
I sought arts entrepreneurs with a variety of characteristics within these two categories instead of a specific, highly homogeneous sample each category. To this end, I made only one demographic exclusion. I chose a national scope focusing on the USA to decrease the scope of the project, account for potential national arts policy and arts economy differences across countries (Petocz, Reid, & Bennett, 2014; Throsby & Zednik, 2010), capitalize on pre-existing access to national respondent networks (Heckathorn, 2011), and minimize the possibility that surveying too small a region could result in idiosyncratic or anomalous findings.

**Respondent Recruitment**

To recruit my respondents, I used a purposive network sample method (Allen et al., 2014; Reid, Snead, Pettiway, & Simoneaux, 2016), which is a type of chain-referral system (Heckathorn, 2011) that requires asking respondents to suggest other respondents that they may know who fit certain criteria. To begin this process, I contacted musicians I had covered as a journalist and requested connections from people I knew. I then asked musicians who responded to this first inquiry for referrals to new musicians. I continued this strategy until I reached 20 classical and 20 indie rock musicians who chose to be part of the project. I chose a priori to interview 20 indie rock musicians and 20 classical musicians (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbon, 2015). I felt this number of musicians would provide enough data for exploratory analysis, as it exceeds the number of interviews suggested by McCracken (1988) and Gentles et al. (2015) as sufficient for studies of this type.
Potential concerns about this respondent selection strategy exist. When contacting musicians, I framed this research as separate from any pre-existing journalist/musician working relationship between us; participation did not result in any benefit for the participant other than information from the finished research project. I did not privilege any candidate for interviewing based on the existence or longevity of professional acquaintance. Artists that I have covered in my professional journalist career have a vested interest in working with me, as my work as a journalist is a source of press coverage in the past and potential future for the musician. This might encourage them to be involved in the hopes of securing more coverage from me in the future. I do not have a vested interest in working with them, as they have no economic or social relationship to me or my journalism.

Pilot

I piloted the protocol with three subjects, conducting two interviews with each. These interviews resulted in refinements to the protocol and demographic questionnaire. Two of the three pilot respondents are included in the indie rock respondents. I removed a third respondent due to the respondent’s location falling outside the national scope of the full dissertation. After receiving IRB approval for the refined documents (#5778), I conducted all the interviews myself.

Demographics

Of the forty respondents, 39 filled out all or part of a demographic questionnaire. The questionnaire asked for:

- Primary location
• Age
• Gender
• Ethnicity
• Years of musical experience
• Years of recording or performing experience
• Income level
• Percentage of income made from musical endeavors
• Highest education level achieved
• Level of experience writing business documents

I wrote the income level, highest education level achieved, and level of experience writing business documents as multiple-choice questions. I wrote all other questions in an open-ended style. I collected demographic questionnaires via Google Drive, Qualtrics, email, and in-person collection. See Table 1, Table 2, and Figure 2 for demographic data.

Interview Protocols

Due to the limited research on indie rock musicians, I chose to develop an exploratory, qualitative study focused on long, semi-structured interviews (McCracken, 1988, pp. 34-37). Semi-structured interviews rely on open-ended, nondirective questions intended to solicit information that the researcher did not know about in advance (Steiner, 2011, p. 37). Because little previous research on the professional communication of independent musicians exists, few precise analytic categories and research questions in this area have been developed.
Interviews can “generate themes and relevant deep description that provide useful foundations for studies on topics with little prior research” (Lauren & Pigg, 2016, p. 346). I chose the long interview as a way of exploring extra-institutional musicians’ professional communication use from a broad starting point, with the goal of developing clearer analytical categories at the end of the study. Scholars have used this method of long interviews to investigate topics such as relationships between companies in an offshoring partnership (Wareham, Mahnke, Peters, & Bjorn-Andersen, 2007), issues that managers of communication specialists face (Amidon & Blythe, 2008), coworking (Spinuzzi, 2012), and entrepreneurship in technical communication (Lauren & Pigg, 2016).

Two rounds of interviews with each respondent provided the data for this dissertation (McCracken, 1988). I met respondents located an hour or less away from my location in-person. I recorded these interviews on my password-protected computer. I interviewed respondents located more than an hour away via Skype, Google Hangout, or phone. I recorded the audio from these interviews on my computer. I did not record the video. I intended the interviews to be 60 minutes long; they ranged from 21 minutes to 118 minutes long. See Table 3 for the length of each interview. The total runtime of interviews was 68 hours and 54 minutes. Total runtime of indie rock interviews was 37 hours 41 minutes. Total runtime of classical interviews was 31 hours, 13 minutes. I ended the interview early if a respondent expressed desire to stop or I exhausted the questions before the hour mark.
Table 1. Demographics of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27, 28, 29 (n=4)</td>
<td>18-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Musical Experience</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15, 20 (n=5)</td>
<td>5-“50+”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Performing/Recording Experience</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10 (n=5)</td>
<td>3-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>White or Caucasian</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>Individual Responses</td>
<td>No response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99% - 100%</td>
<td>51% - 98%</td>
<td>16-50%</td>
<td>0-15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Income from Music Endeavors</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Experience with Business</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Wrote Some in a Different Context</td>
<td>Expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6 Five respondents responded with Latin, Latin American, Hispanic, or “Spanish / Mexican.”

7 One respondent each reported “Nigerian,” “African American,” “American,” “German, American” and “Other (Middle Eastern descent).”
Grand-tour Interview

The first interview consisted of a semi-structured interview in a “grand-tour” style, where I asked the respondent to tell the story of their career and give an overview of their current business activities through open-ended questions (McCracken, 1988, pp. 34-36). The grand tour interview focused on the macro-level of individuals’ careers, as I sought information on as many different aspects of their career as they could recall. From this overview of their career, I sought to understand the diversity of musicians’ professional communication use. The full protocol is included in Appendix A. See Figure 3 for a flowchart example of selected moments from a respondent interview.

The grand tour interviews were semi-structured interviews that asked the respondent for a macro-level overview of all their business communication use. I sought to catalog the many different professional communication elements that musicians used. I began each interview with the open-ended request “tell me the history of how you became an independent musician, starting with when you began to play music.” The answer to that question often started with education and work history, then segued directly into a description of the musician’s ongoing work. Throughout the interview I followed up with questions about individual tasks, looking specifically for names of professional communication elements.

The elements I was interested in included physical objects (e.g. CD), software (e.g. Photoshop), online properties (e.g. Facebook, Soundcloud), and genres (e.g. contracts). If a respondent mentioned a professional communication element but did not explain how he or
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>&lt;$20,000</th>
<th>$20,001-$30,000</th>
<th>$30,001-$40,000</th>
<th>$40,001-$50,000</th>
<th>$50,001-$75,000</th>
<th>$75,001-$100,000</th>
<th>Fluctuating(^8)</th>
<th>Did Not Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Master’s/Professional</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td>Did Not Report</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\) Two respondents reported fluctuating between brackets per year. One reported a $20,001-$40,000  range, while another reported a $40,001-$75,000 range.
Atlanta, Ga. (2); Austin, Texas; Berkley, Calif.; Cary, N.C.; Cheshire, Ore.; Clayton, N.C.; Columbia, S.C.; Denver, Colo.; Durham/Chapel Hill, N.C.; Fayetteville, Ark.; Greenville, S.C.; Hillsborough, N.C.; Houston, Texas; Lewisville, Texas; Los Angeles, Calif. (2); Nashville, Tenn.; New Orleans, La.; New York City, N.Y. (2); Oakland, Calif.; Philadelphia, Penn.; Raleigh, N.C. (4); Reno, Nev.; Richmond, Va.; Salisbury, Md.; San Francisco, Calif. (2); Santa Cruz, Calif.; Seattle, Wash. (2); and Utica, N.Y. One person listed “Maryland” as a location, one listed USA, and two did not respond. Eight respondents listed a city in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill metropolitan area as a primary location, while four listed a city in the San Francisco metropolitan area.
she used it, I followed up with questions asking specifically about the element and its role in the respondent’s business life.

If time allowed, I moved to the second part of the interview protocol, which contained general overview questions about technologies and goals. These concluding questions provided another line of inquiry to potentially turn up professional communication elements that had not been previously mentioned in the study. Time rarely allowed for this second part of the interview. My first interview protocol is attached in Appendix A.

**Stimulated Recall Interview**

The second interview consisted of a “stimulated recall” interview (McCracken, 1988; Prior, 2004; Smagorinsky, 2008; Wolfe & Neuwirth, 2001). I asked respondents to interact with and respond to questions about a document in front of the respondent. This type of interview creates conditions for insight: “an interviewee’s responses become richer when a person interviewed has some external stimulus, some object that can trigger and support memory as well as serving as a source for new reflection” (Prior, 2004, pp. 188-189). Scholars have used this method to understand idiosyncratic annotations (Wolfe & Neuwirth, 2001) capture the motivations of writers (Van Ittersum, 2009), and help explain genre

### Table 3. Length of interview in minutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Group</th>
<th>Time of Grand-tour Interview</th>
<th>Time of Stimulated Recall Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>29, 31, 32, 32, 40, 42, 46, 47, 47, 48, 49, 52, 52, 54, 57, 57, 67, 73, 79, 82</td>
<td>21, 24, 29, 29, 30, 37, 37, 39, 40, 42, 47, 49, 49, 52, 54, 54, 62, 66, 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
choices (Spinuzzi, 2002). These last two possibilities for the stimulated recall interview fit with my desire to understand the motivations behind the selection, creation, deployment and deployment of professional communication in musicians’ lives. This stimulated recall interview focused on asking musicians to recall the tactics, strategies, and methods involved in the creation and use of individual professional communication elements by looking at those documents. This interview sought to understand the motivations and relationships that influenced the writing, deployment, and reception of professional communication documents in a musician’s life.

To conduct the semi-structured, stimulated recall interview, I asked the musicians to bring examples of three professional communication elements that I had identified from the grand-tour interviews as meaningful. I asked indie rock musicians to bring a Facebook page, a website, and an email to the interview; I asked classical musicians to bring a website, an email, and a video. Some musicians discussed their choices with me and asked for my input on what professional elements to bring, while others needed no discussion or negotiation to choose the elements themselves.

To conduct the interview, I asked each respondent to tell me the story of how each professional communication element came to be. (The flow of an example interview is listed in Figure 4.)
I asked, "Tell me the history of how you became an independent musician, starting with when you began to play music."

He mentioned his college but didn’t expand on it. I asked a follow-up question: "What did you do in college? Where did you go, and how did you do your time there?"

He mentioned booking shows, I asked a follow-up question: "So when you’re trying to book a show, how does the process of all that work?”

He mentioned Kickstarter in that answer. I asked a follow-up question: “You mentioned this Kickstarter. What is all that?”

I asked, “Tell me the history of how you became an independent musician, starting with when you began to play music.”

He mentioned concerts in foreign countries. I asked a follow-up question: “Were these, like, one concert appointments, or were they, like, longer runs of shows, or was it some of mixed?

Figure 3. The flow of Xavier’s (c) grand-tour interview
I asked respondents to pick a document to discuss first. Once the respondent identified a document, we used screensharing functionality of the video conferencing tool so that I could see the respondents’ screen. If the screens could not be shared, I requested copies of the professional elements so I could peruse them while the respondent talked. Once I could see the respondent’s screen, I asked the respondent to “explain how this [document/Facebook page/website] came to be.” The respondent would then give a brief history of the document. In a way similar to the first interviews, I followed up with questions about other genres, software, hardware, or online properties musicians mentioned. I moved through each section of the documents, asking questions about various areas of the writing. I also asked respondents questions about areas of the text, such as “Why did you write this paragraph?” The goal was to understand the motivations behind the writing process, and I asked general questions about the document and specific questions about features of the document to find these motivations. When a respondent had previously discussed a section of the document in a previous interview, I did not ask them to re-discuss that area unless something significant had changed about that area since our first interview.

Once I had talked through all the sections of a document, I asked the respondent to move to another document. I repeated the interview process for the second and third documents. Once the third document had been completely discussed or the hour-long time limit had run out, the interview concluded. This interview protocol allowed me to ask more specific questions about the writing process, such as “how often do you post on Facebook?” and “why do you choose to include these links in your e-newsletter?” This often brought up
I started with, “We can go to [band name]’s Facebook page to start with.” Jim showed me his Facebook content and design.

I said, “Let’s pull up a website and look at that.” Jim explained each part of his band’s website.

Jim mentioned emailing electronic press kit to industry contacts. I respond with, “Have you heard responses about this?”

Jim mentioned a template as he explained the email’s content. I asked, “So how did this template get developed?”

I said, “So can you pull up some sort of email?” Jim showed me an email he sent in relation to the electronic press kit.

He opened a different email to illustrate change over time in the email template.

After he responded to that question, I asked about a specific section of the press kit: “What does that section mean to you? How does it work?”

The interview ended.

Figure 4. The flow of Jim’s (i) stimulated recall interview
discussion of other professional communication elements. The protocol for this interview is included in Appendix B. All names are reported pseudonymously. I collected data from April 2015 to July 2016.

Data Analysis

I conducted a mixed-methods analysis that relied on quantitative and qualitative analysis of several types. As this was an exploratory study of a topic with little prior research, I applied analysis techniques that I felt would best result in data to answer my research questions. If the analysis technique only provided part of an answer, I used more analytic techniques to further develop the data to result in answers to my research questions. Thus, this study includes many analytic strategies. Part of the exploratory nature of this dissertation was finding the analytic methods that best helped answer the questions I wanted to answer.

Below I explain these analysis methods.

Organization and Preparation of Data

A third party service transcribed the interviews. I checked each of the quotes used in this dissertation for accuracy. I checked the grand-tour interview transcripts for accuracy. I checked the stimulated recall interviews for clarity. I employed the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA to digitize the coding process, organize categorization and retrieval of coded segments, write and store memos, create visualizations, and more (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004; Silver & Lewins, 2014). I stored my transcriptions in a password-protected Google Drive folder and inside MAXQDA on my password-protected computer.
First Interviews: First Coding Round

The initial coding pass used in vivo coding to identify genre and platform names that musicians mentioned (Saldaña, 2009, p. 74). I used in vivo coding, or using the words that respondents use as codes, to draw out names of professional communication elements: genres, hardware, software, platforms, online properties, websites, and technologies that musicians used. Proper nouns (Facebook, Twitter, Google Docs, etc.) and common nouns (email, grant, proposal, etc.) counted as in vivo codes. When I found a professional communication element in the data, I coded it, then used a lexical search to search the whole corpus of first interviews for that term. I then coded all the instances of that term throughout the corpus, then returned to the original document I was coding. I continued reading the data until I found another professional communication element that I had not coded, and repeated the process. I read and coded all 40 first-round interviews in this manner, cross-referencing each interview as I found more professional communication elements. This cross-referencing guarded against the earlier interviews not being coded with a complete coding list, as all interviews were searched for each element found.

I chose to code complete thoughts surrounding an in vivo genre name instead of just the name itself, so segment size surrounding a term varied from half a sentence to several paragraphs. By using the idea as the unit, I was able to catch many pronominal uses of the in vivo terms within the thought surrounding the in vivo term. Other pronominal references to in vivo terms that did not closely surround an original in vivo term were not coded; this is a limitation of the coding method. These codes were not mutually exclusive; multiple codes
Figure 5. The pattern of coding for the first analysis. I conducted the grand tour interviews, then did a keyness analysis of the verbs in the responses to find out which verbs were statistically more common than in a reference corpus. I then read the paragraphs surrounding the verbs I found. I grouped the verbs into tasks based on the larger action the verbs were describing.
could be used on the same segment if a musician mentioned multiple professional communication elements. Segments could also overlap, if discussion of two professional communication elements overlapped. I did not collapse codes together that were similar; I honored the nature of the in vivo coding and coded for specific (Facebook), generic (email), and aggregate (social media) terms as they appeared. This led to closely-related terms such as recommendation and referral being separate codes. The only exception to this was in the terms “phone” and “call,” which I discuss in the limitations below. The 40 interviews generated 184 codes and 3436 coded units. These codes are reported in Chapter 5, in Table 7.

This in vivo coding strategy was not without limitations, as actions and nominalized verbs presented difficulties in analysis. I excluded actions, such as “talking,” because actions employ professional communication elements and are not professional communication elements themselves (as will be shown below). Instead, I included as a professional communication element what one might use talk to do, such as a referral or a proposal. This exclusion of actions also resulted in the removal of terms like marketing and branding, which were processes that included professional communication elements but were not themselves a professional communication element.

Nominalized words like phone, call, video, and grant are nouns and verbs, making them potentially actions and professional communication elements. This was a particularly pronounced problem with “phone” and “call,” where one word could imply the other for both an action (“I phoned Rick,” “I called Rick”) and an element (“I made a call,” I used my phone”). To resolve this issue, I chose to use “call” as the indicator for “phone call.” I then
left “phone” out as its own term, to not duplicate the intent of individuals’ meanings. I included professional communication elements used on phones, such as SMS texts and email, as their own elements. I made these choices to best correspond with the musicians’ uses of the words when possible, acknowledging that some uncertainty would arise in individual cases. Further inquiry into musicians’ uses of smartphones using more focused terms or different methodologies could shed light on these issues.

First Interviews: Keyness Analysis

After eliminating actions from the initial round of coding, I returned to actions for a second round of analysis. I used a keyness analysis to understand what verbs musicians used to describe the tasks that they were doing with professional communication.

A keyness analysis expands on a frequency analysis by comparing the frequency that a term occurs in a research corpus against how frequently it occurs in a second corpus. This allows the analysis to report if a term is not just high frequency, but unusually frequent as compared to the reference corpus. Keyness ultimately results in a measure of how important a term might be in shaping the “aboutness” of the passage or text in which it appears (Scott & Tribble, 2006). When a term is key to a specific text, the text is more likely to be “about” that term: when the term “booking” is key to indie rock musicians’ work, it means that more of their comments may be related to booking than a comparison corpus would suggest. As a result of this unusual frequency, keywords are “items which are likely to be of linguistic interest in terms of the text’s aboutness and structuring, and which can be expected to repay further study” (Scott, 2009, p. 80). The terms themselves point to areas that may be unique
and valuable in the corpus for further study. This “pointing” aspect is the reason I am using this method, as it helped draw out potentially meaningful areas of professional communication use to investigate from the research corpus of 40 interviews.

I ran a keyness analysis against a sample spoken word corpus consisting of the oral arguments to the Supreme Court, 1979-2014. I selected this corpus because it consisted of oral communication, it was new enough to include digital terminology, and it was relatively large (containing 3616 oral arguments). The specific content and length of the reference corpus is inessential in a keyness analysis, so long as it is from the same historical time period: Scott (2009) stated that “keywords identified even by an obviously absurd [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness” (p. 91). However, he does mention that a reference corpus from a different time period may turn up an unusually large number of key words and that the genre of the text can make a difference. Thus, I have tried to select a contemporary corpus that hews closest to the genre of my text: while I could not find a corpus of oral business communication, a corpus of oral legal communication is better than any written corpus for comparison to my oral interviews.

I ran the keyness analysis using the technology ANTCONC. I first compared my entire corpus to the Supreme Court corpus, emerging with a list of terms that were key in my interviews: terms that appear more often than one would expect from comparison against the other corpus. I eliminated all nouns from the list and was left with a list of verbs. When a verb appeared in that list with multiple verb tenses (play, played, playing), I reported all of the tenses as one verb so that a diversity of verbs were present. I report the top 40 most key
verbs in Table 8 in Chapter 5. This allowed me to do two things: to see what verbs musicians were using to describe the actions they took with professional communication in their careers, and to understand which verbs were more common to musicians than to speakers in the reference corpus. The numerical cutoff for significance in keyness analysis at the p<.001 level is 6.6; the 40 verbs in this analysis ranged from 4375.6 (playing) to 327.9 (post). Thus, a significance cutoff was not necessary. I instead chose 40 as the cut-off number because it was a large enough size to show a wide array of verbs and small enough to allow for further qualitative manipulation of the data.

I also ran separate keyness analyses with the same protocol for both the indie rock and classical musician interviews. This resulted in 40 key verbs for indie rock and classical musicians. These are reported in Table 9 and Table 10. The statistical values of keyness for indie rock verbs ranged from 2177.3 (tour) to 180.2 (build). The statistical values of keyness for classical verbs ranged from 2503.4 (playing) to 140.6 (booking). Both of these groups far surpassed statistical significance at the p<.001 level, and I again used 40 as a cut-off number for these two analyses. I did not report the statistical value of keyness for each verb in the tables, as the individual numbers are not particularly valuable for my type of analysis beyond the assurance that the numbers for each verb are significant. Where ranking is reported, it is as a relative ranking, showing what was most important and what was less important (within the knowledge that all of these terms were significant). Overall, I am more interested in using all of the reported terms as markers of “aboutness” than in comparing which terms were “most key” vs. “less key.”
I then compared the indie rock and classical musician verb lists to see which verbs appeared in both groups’ lists and which verbs were distinctive to each subgroup. I found 29 verbs that were shared and 11 that were distinctive to each group. These are reported in Table 4. One of these shared verbs, “book,” was strongly distinctive to indie rock musicians as the fourth-most key verb, but was much less distinctive to classical music (40th). I chose to analyze this verb with indie rock instead of as a verb important to both. I will explain more about this choice in Chapter 5. Many of these 40 verbs are related directly to the work of being a musician, such as book, teach, composing, and audition. Other verbs, such as did, had, and will, are not as clearly related to the work of being a musician. However, these verbs appeared in the list because they were statistically key; they appeared proportionally more often in my interviews than they did in the reference corpus. I report them because they are statistically key, even if they do not directly point to “aboutness” of the text in the ways that I am looking for.

I then turned to qualitative analysis for further analysis. Archer, Culpeper, and Rayson (2009) stated strongly that keyword analysis be combined with qualitative analysis: “the analyst must always keep in mind the limits of automatic annotation tools. Thus, we advocate that quantitative analysis is always combined with qualitative analysis” (p. 157).

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9 A different study might be interested in verb tenses and find them meaningful for indicating “aboutness”; however, my protocol specifically asked people to talk about their past, making this “finding” of the past tenses of “be” and “have” one that would be expected, given the protocol.
Table 4. The key verbs of three musician groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent group</th>
<th>Key Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All musicians</td>
<td>Tour, play, email, book, get, was, start, work, going, want, did, had, rec...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indie rock</td>
<td>will, listen, remember, post, promote, release, download, let, spend, liked, build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>teach, composing, networking, mentioned, move, gigging, called, audition, thinking, looking, singing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following their statement, I applied qualitative, inductive grouping to the verbs of the keyness analysis. I wanted to analyze whether the key verbs I found were clustered around specific larger tasks that musicians were completing with professional communication.

To do this analysis, I followed Gerbig (2010): “The 100 most frequent key words derived … were then further intuitively grouped into sets of semantically related words” (p. 152; see also Scott, 2010). I read through the paragraphs that contained the verbs that were distinctive to the whole group and each subgroup. As I read, I looked to see if any of the verbs were describing the same larger tasks. I describe a task as a generalized exigence. The task of “going on tour” is a way of describing the process of going on any tour or describing an example tour, such as “when I go on tour, I do [these types of things].” The generalized exigence is different than exigences I describe later, because those exigences have idiosyncratic constraints and characteristics which call forth a specific response from a musician. Those specific exigences, however, were specific versions of the more generalized
“task.” As such, I used the verbs from specific examples (musicians describing tours they had been on) to create the generalized exigences of the tasks.

At the end of this grouping analysis, I found four tasks (touring, publishing content, managing professional relationships, and developing a career) and one larger descriptive area (the ends of musicianship) that the verbs were describing for the full respondent group. I also found four tasks for the indie rock respondent group (booking, promoting, distributing, building) and four tasks for the classical musician respondent group (teaching, gigging, composing, networking). Some verbs did not show a pattern of clearly describing a task, so they were not included in the analysis. After grouping these verbs into tasks, I selected representative quotes from the interviews to display the verbs as part of the larger tasks that musicians were completing with professional communication.

After finishing this analysis of musicians’ tasks, I used ANTCONC to do a machine-assisted collocation search of the in vivo professional communication names against the verbs that I found in the previous section. This collocation search allowed me to see which professional communication elements occurred near the verbs in musicians’ responses. My collocation threshold value was 20 words on either side of the verb. I chose this large threshold for two reasons. The first was that I wanted to cast a wide net to find as many in vivo terms as possible. The second was that the musicians’ speech patterns included many filler words and phrases (such as “like” or “you know”), which made each spoken sentence longer than a written sentence expressing the same thought might have been. The results of this analysis were a list of professional communication elements that were mentioned in
conjunction with the verbs that formed tasks. Putting these verbs into their tasks, I developed lists of professional communication elements that were mentioned in tasks musicians did. I reported each of the professional communication elements that were collocated with the individual tasks of the full respondent pool, indie rock musicians, and classical musicians. This resulted in a clearer focus on the professional communication elements that supported certain tasks, instead of the tasks themselves. See Figure 6 for a visualization of this coding process.

The goal of this analysis was to find out what professional communication professional musicians were using and how musicians were using that professional communication. These verbs revealed tasks that musicians were doing with professional communication. The in vivo and collocation analysis revealed which professional communication elements were used in those tasks. Understanding these tasks and professional communication elements will lead to an assessment of why these verbs and elements appear often in the life of musicians, which was the goal of the second round interviews.
Figure 6. The process of the keyness and collocation analyses. I conducted a grand-tour interview, then coded those responses with an in vivo coding pass looking for professional communication element names. I also did a keyness analysis on the verbs of responses. I put these two analyses together by running a collocation analysis to see how many in vivo terms appeared around the verbs I found. I then combined the verbs together into tasks, coming up with tasks that corresponded with collocated in vivo terms.
Second Interviews: First Cycle Coding

Once I knew what professional communication elements musicians were using to communicate and what tasks musicians were completing with those professional communication elements, I wanted to understand the reasoning behind these choices in deeper detail. I wanted to understand why musicians didn’t display one set of tasks and one set of professional communication in that set of tasks. I conducted a round of provisional coding on the second interviews. Provisional coding is a coding method using pre-existing codes (Saldaña, 2009, p. 120). To address these questions, I manually coded each of the 40 stimulated recall interviews with terms from Spinuzzi (2015): coordination, collaboration, and communication. I used these terms because coordination, collaboration and communication opportunities pointed to exigences that called for a response, and because these three terms are the building blocks of Spinuzzi’s (2015) organizational structure. In this analysis of the second round interviews, I was particularly interested in how organizational structure affected professional communication. Looking for the exigences was the starting point of this analysis. To check reliability, I also asked a second coder to code data. (I report the results of this reliability check below.) In what follows, I will lay out the explanation and rationale of the codes that I used for both myself and the second coder.

“Coordination” described a situation that included “the act of meshing our efforts with those of other people in the same or connected activities” (p. 5):

The act of meshing our efforts with those of other people in the same or connected activities: ordering and integrating them so that they build on each other rather than
conflicting. As Ellis et al. put it, "Co-ordination can be viewed as an activity in itself, as a necessary overhead when several parties are performing a task" (1991, p. 40). Coordination requires communication. We coordinate when we wave another car on at a four-way stop, when we set an appointment with someone, and when we set a completion date on a project we're trying to achieve with (or for) other parties. (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 5)

I further defined coordination for my second coder as:

Coordinating in this context is any time that musicians are trying to send their work to professionals, organize events, or work with professionals in a hired/hiring capacity. If musicians have a professional relationship that involves someone using their work or hiring the artist to do something, that is coordination. If an artist hires someone to do something or solicits information in a non-peer-to-peer relationship (instead of having it shared with them), that is a coordination effort. This is a “working for” relationship, not a “working with” relationship. Coordinating can also mean solo efforts to get a task done, if that task has multiple parts. It focuses on individual work: if someone's looking for something to get done and the musician does it for them, that's coordination. Coordination involves a “them” instead of a “we.”

Here is an example of a coordination quote from Maria (i):

I saw this guy [a person] that books bands at [a bar] here in [city], and there’s a room underneath. [name] Lounge. He posted something about that he was looking for
people to do like monthly residencies and I was like, “Oh! I should contact him about this idea!” And he thought it sounded good.

Maria coordinated a monthly residence for herself by reaching out to a booker and pitching an idea to him. She did not collaborate with the booker, because the idea was hers, and the booker did not help her implement. Instead, he allowed her to use the venue that he booked, coordinating her desire for a monthly residency and his need to book a space.

Collaboration requires professionals to work together on a shared goal that requires the contributions of each collaborator to succeed. Collaboration, according to Spinuzzi, involves working with others toward a shared objective particularly when bringing different kinds of expertise to bear. As Charles Hecksher puts it, collaboration involves ‘a shared objective that cannot be reached without the contribution of all. Thus it necessarily implies processes of dialogue and negotiation, of exchanges of views and sharing of information, of building from individual views toward a shared consensus’ (2007, p. 2). When we work together with others to define a project objective, when we develop a shared understanding of a problem, and when we find ways to make sure that everyone gains an advantage from our shared work, we are collaborating. (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 5)

I further defined collaboration for my second coder as:

Collaborating in this context means putting the work of multiple people together to get a shared outcome. This can be working on a recording project, gig, video, or marketing project. This is a “working with” relationship, not a “working for”
relationship. People are described as partners, collaborators, friends, and band members. Sharing information in a peer-to-peer relationship (instead of hiring someone to give you information, as in a manager) is collaboration in this context. Soliciting information from people (instead of having it shared) is not collaborating. It focuses on many people's work: if you're looking to do something and someone helps you do the thing you want to do, that's collaboration. Collaboration involves a “we.”

Here is an example of a collaboration quote from Jim (i): “This is because more than, more than just me will be—I am not the only one doing booking at any given time.” Jim was part of a band that had multiple people working on the process of booking at any one given time. Collectively, they booked the tours for the band; each collaborator contributed work to get the tour booked.

In this code system, communication is “the act of transferring information from one person or group to another” (p. 4):

That information can be highly abstract, such as a mathematical formula, or highly concrete, such as a face-to-face demonstration in an apprenticeship. It can be highly codified, such as the Internet protocols that allow digital communication, or highly uncodified, such as face-to-face communications over Skype. It can be synchronous, such as a telephone call, or asynchronous, such as a message left in a time capsule. It can be textual, like an e-mail, or nontextual, like flashing one’s headlights at on-
coming cars to warn them of a speed trap. And it can be directed, like a telephone
call, or ambient, like signage. (pp. 4-5)

I further defined communication in my specific context for my coder in this way:

Communication in this context is anything where the musician is sending a message.
This message can be sent to one person or many people. It can be oral or written. It
can be digital. People responding back to a musician is communication. However,
when the communication takes on the functions of coordinating or collaborating, it
should not be coded as communication. Communication, then, is messaging about
events, talking about things (but not sharing information, which falls under
coordination or collaboration), marketing their wares to their audience, posting on
various social media, and the like.

An example of a communication-coded segment looked like this, from Maria (i) again: “I
don’t send them very frequently, so kind of naturally about every probably three or four or so
months I might be conscious of, ‘Oh, I haven’t sent out an email to my email list in a while,’
and if there’s anything to talk about, then I might do that.” I chose communication for this
code because the musician is planning on sending an email distributing information that
doesn’t try to collaborate or coordinate action with any other people. The lack of attempts to
work with other people make this a message sent to an audience, or a communication code.

I gave my second coder two notes about the nature of coordination and collaboration
and their potential overlap. One was from Spinuzzi:
Notice that although collaboration and coordination often go together, they don't always. I might collaborate with someone else on a project by doing what I think is my part but without coordinating with him or her to make sure that our efforts mesh. I might coordinate with someone (say, by waving them on at a four-way stop) but without meaningfully engaging in a shared, mutually defined activity. But collaboration and coordination both involve the necessary substrate of communication. (p. 5)

The other note clarified a potential issue specific to the context:

Note: musicians may say they are “coordinating” within a collaborative relationship, such as trying to get all the members of their band on the same page or delegating coordination work to a collaborator. This is still a “collaborating” problem, as the work of collaborating necessitates that sort of logistical work.

These two notes helped address some of the overlap and fuzziness of the codes. I included these clarifying notes because I wanted to ensure maximum clarity between codes. Maximum clarity was necessary because the codes were mutually exclusive.

I manually coded 2,013 segments with these codes. I used “the idea” as the segmentation unit, with segments thus ranging from a sentence to multiple paragraphs. To seek reliability, I gave a second coder 90 segments coded with the three codes, which accounted for an hour’s worth of coding (Mouter & Noordegraaf, 2012). The second coder’s assignation of codes agreed 80% (72/90) with my coding. The Cohen’s Kappa score for this coder analysis was 0.72. Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken state that both of these reliability
statistics are within an acceptable level for exploratory studies like this one (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2004).

**Second Interviews: Constraints and Constant Comparative Analysis**

After this first round of coding, I conducted a second round of coding using descriptive coding to further analyze the segments from the first coding pass. Descriptive coding requires describing in my own words what the segments are about (Saklaña, 2009).

To further analyze the segments from the first coding pass that showed possible exigences, I looked for constraints that appeared in the coordination, collaboration or communication musicians in the exigence-suggesting segments I found. These constraints were not pre-determined, as descriptive coding relies on the coder’s analysis of the text. See Figure 7 for a visualization of this process.

Constraints has a negative connotation, but in this analysis constraints can be positive or negative; they are merely things that affect how an exigence looks to a musician. I looked for constraints, defined as “persons, events, objects, and relations” (Bitzer 1968, p. 7), that were framed the exigences to which musicians reported responding. These persons could be “students,” “parents” or “other people [who] need your skills.” These events could be “promoting content,” “promoting a concert,” “teaching,” or “commissioning.” These objects could be things like “money.” The relations could be “shared workload” or “emotional connections.” I report the full list of constraints that I coded for in Table 5. This list was accretive, so more constraints appeared as I coded further into the data. While frequency is
1. Stimulated recall interviews:
   - website
   - email
   - Facebook (indie)
   - video (classical)

2. Provisional coding:
   - coordination
   - communication
   - collaboration

3. Descriptive Coding:
   - Constraints
     - booking
     - audience
     - money
     - time

2. Constant Comparative Method:
   Looked for groups of constraints in groups of respondents

Figure 7. The process of the stimulated recall interview analysis. I interviewed people about their usage of elements in box one, then coded their responses with the codes in box two to find potential exigences. I re-coded the exigence segments from box two with descriptive codes describing constraints, like the ones noted in box four. I then took those segments from box three and grouped respondents by the constraints they reported: Jim and Lauren reported all four of those codes together, so I put them into one group (along with other musicians).
reported below to show the amount of data, frequency of theme was not considered as part of the analysis.

My second-round coding process looked like this. In this segment, Melody (c) was talking about the content of her website’s home page, which was a segment that had originally been coded “coordination.”

Well, I think a bio is important to have on the homepage. I also have audio and a photo as well. And just so that you have everything you absolutely need on the very first page and then you go more into detail on the rest. And also, I have, what they call a "call to action" button, to request a free quote. And then my little logo at the top as well.

I coded this section with the second-round codes of “distributing information,” “distributing music,” and “soliciting work.” In this exigence, Melody is trying to get someone to hire her. The constraint of “soliciting work” requires that Melody set up her website to provide as much information as possible to someone who might want to hire her; she has limited ability to initiate a hiring situation. The methods by which she attempts to respond to this exigence are “distributing information” and “distributing music.” She put information on her homepage (a biography, a photo, a logo, “everything you absolutely need”) to try to get people interested in her work. She also put her music on the home page, so people can listen to her work and potentially become interested in hiring her.
Table 5. Full list of constraint codes by frequency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distributing Information</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>Emotional connection</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Scheduling</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Saturated market</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booking</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>Offered connections /</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>Releasing music</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Promoting posts</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Music production</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Agreeing to terms</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating content</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>Soliciting work</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Non-music work</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Requests</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributing music</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Organize recital</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience feedback</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting content</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Commission</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Persistence</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Musical collaboration</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Crowdfunding</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Practicing</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting a concert</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Shared interest</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Performing</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Buying followers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>Updates</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Staying relevant</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Management / manager</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse tools</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Other people need your</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Branding</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Application</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared workload</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Likes</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Long-term relationship</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Arranging music</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need other people's skills</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Business partnership</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Shared audience</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Auditions</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making connections</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Physical product creation</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Staying organized</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rentals</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touring</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Getting information</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes an exigence appeared without an appropriate response, as in this quote from Olivia (c): “Sometimes people, when I perform places, they ask me about lessons, and I am not really able to take any additional private students. I just can’t.” I coded this segment with the constraints of “students,” “teaching,” and “other people need your skills.” In this situation the exigence is composed of the constraints that other people (in this case, potential students) need the musician’s skills of teaching. The musician encounters an exigence that cannot be responded to in the way she would like: a request for teaching cannot be honored because she is at maximum capacity in her teaching. While Olivia can respond to the exigence with the appropriate answer “no,” she is not able to take on work because she is at capacity. Even though Olivia cannot take on the student, this segment details a specific exigence created by constraints in the life of the musician.

These constraint codes were not mutually exclusive. I manually coded individual segments from the first analysis with multiple codes that related to multiple constraints. This resulted in 70 codes and 4,450 coded segments. See Table 5 (above) for the list of codes.

**Constant Comparison Method**

From this starting point of constraints mentioned by multiple musicians, I engaged in a form of constant comparative analysis (Boeije, 2002; Glaser, 1965): “By comparing, the researcher is able to do what is necessary to develop a theory more or less inductively, namely categorizing, coding, delineating categories and connecting them” (Boeije, 2002, p. 393). It is a flexible process that allows for development of ideas in a space where little theory-building has been done. This method is generally used for theory building; I am not
attempting to build a theory, as I am working within Spinuzzi’s organizational structure theory. However, little development of the theory has been done, and even less from a rhetorical background instead of an activity theory one. This method is also often used during the process of data collection. I used it more specifically to structure round of analysis in a reportable way. Constant comparative method also helped address the accretive nature of my codes, as I could read codes that appeared in the middle of my analysis against data that was coded first.

The Constant Comparative Method has been used in Technical and Professional Communication to study the communication of design students (Dannels & Martin, 2008), the professional communication of an aviation start-up (Mara, 2008), and the work processes of an Israeli start-up culture (Fraiberg, 2017).

Boeije’s “Purposeful Approach to the Constant Comparative Method in the Analysis of Qualitative Interviews” calls for a “step by step approach” that lays out the aims, questions and results of each round of comparison (2002, p. 395-397). Below, I will explain the aims, questions, and results of several rounds of comparison that I did to end up with the data for the analysis of Chapter 6.

For my first round of comparative analysis, I analyzed constraints that appeared in only a few respondents (as opposed to a constraint that appeared in all musicians’ responses). My question was, “Do any musicians share patterns of constraints?” My aims were to find musicians who shared specific constraints to begin separating musicians into distinct categories based on shared patterns of constraints. I used MAXQDA’s Summary grid to help
with this analysis. See Figure 8 for an example of how I used the summary grid to understand that some musicians reported certain constraints and others did not.

Before taking the screenshot, I previously assessed that 13 constraints rarely appeared outside the classical musicians’ respondent groups. These constraints are listed on the far left side of the screen. I marked this group of constraints “Classical Only.” The results of this were that I began to find categories of musician: Even within “Classical Only,” some classical musicians (Zeke, Xavier, Elizabeth) reported no classical music constraints, while some classical musicians reported almost all of them (Wanda, Susan, Emma). Some classical musicians reported similar constraints: Carl and Ian both displayed “soliciting work” and “commissioning” as constraints, while Sylvia, Mitchell, Olivia, Tanya, Susan, and Wanda all reported constraints of “students,” “teaching” and “soliciting work.” I found four groups of classical musicians: ones with no classical music constraints, ones that showed “commissioning” as a constraint, ones that showed “teaching” as a constraint, and ones that didn’t fit into those categories.

The second round of comparison was of musicians that shared multiple constraints: i.e. both musicians reported “teaching” and “students”. The aim of this round of comparison was to determine whether these preliminary categories held up under closer reading of the data. The questions I had were related to whether musicians shared enough constraints to be considered in groups together, and what the names of those groups would be. I emerged with results from this reading of the data with five groups of classical musicians that were grouped under the headings of build, gigging/session, composer, teaching, and mixed. These terms
Figure 8. The summary grid that shows comparisons of constraints across musicians
expanded on the groups I found in the first round of comparison, corresponding to the verbs that I found in the first analysis for classical and indie rock musicians, with the addition of “mixed.” These lists of musicians were not final, but providing a starting point for the next round of comparison.

At this point, I also brought in indie rock musicians to the analysis. The constraints of indie rock musicians were largely similar and did not show any clear patterns of difference the way that classical musicians did, so I considered indie rock musicians a single group at this stage. I assigned them to the build category, as “build” was a verb that appeared in their keyness analysis.

The third round of comparison was done in connection with Spinuzzi (2015). My aim was to find what constraints might be considered characteristic of the groups of musicians that I had made previously. My question was “Are there multiple constraints that appear in many exigences that musicians of the groups I made reported in the interviews?” This follows Spinuzzi’s organizational structure of all-edge adhocracy, which features four overarching “characteristics” that underpin the way the people in that organizational structure did business. I compared constraints such as “time,” “content” and “distributing information” across the groups I had made, seeing whether any of these characteristics would be meaningful for all five categories. I wanted to find constraints that fit all of the categories at this stage. This analysis resulted in lists of characteristics and how they might affect each individual group of musicians. I found that some characteristics were meaningful to all four members in a group, and that these characteristics could be grouped into categories. The first
category of characteristic I found which related to all five of the groups was the “type of audience” that was expected of each group. This differed from an individual audience in a rhetorical situation, as the type of audience was a more general expectation of writing to professionals, public audiences, or peers.

For my fourth round of comparison, I aimed to find more characteristics that affected all exigences of musicians and could fit into larger categories that would allow for comparison across the groups of musicians. My question was “Are there four categories of characteristic that I can find which result in a full set of characteristics for each group of musician I have found?”

To do this, I analyzed code pairs: codes that were co-coded on individual segments from the two separate coding passes. I wanted to find out what constraints and potential exigence types appeared together in segments. I did this using the Code Relations Browser in MAXQDA, which allowed me to see which codes were co-coded. The code pairs looked like communicating / distribution of information, coordinating / booking, coordinating / distributing information, communicating / promoting content, coordinating / money, and communicating / creating content.

I created tables of co-coded pairs for indie rock and classical musicians, then for the four groups of musicians I was creating, leaving out “mixed.” See Table 6 for an example of one of these tables: the 25 most frequent code pairs from indie rock musicians. I compared these code pairs against the individual groups of musicians I had made to see code pairs that fit the reported experiences of the musicians in the four groups. This time, my results were
several characteristics that fit across multiple groups. I combined these constraints into larger categories such as aesthetics, time, content, and audience. These large categories collected multiple constraints together into a single characteristic that described part of the experience of being a musician. I will explain the relationship between constraint and characteristic more at the beginning of Chapter 6.

These code pairs served a second purpose. I kept the code pairs that I found were consistent with the experience of musicians and reported those as exigences that the organizational structure was framing in Chapter 6. I report common code-pair exigences I found for each group in Chapter 6. I chose 10 of the most important exigences from the top 20 most common code-pair exigences that I found, taking out some code pairs that appeared in almost all musicians (communicating strategy and coordinating the distribution of information, in particular). Other code pairs that were not consistent with the experience of the musicians’ activities in the specific organizational structure were removed.

Non-applicable code pairs were able to appear because of the hybrid nature of musicians’ careers. At this point, I dropped out the fifth category of “mixed,” renamed it “hybrid,” and set it aside for separate discussion. I decided that “hybrid” was not its own group with distinctive characteristics, but a way that musicians developed a multi-pronged career. I will address this concept at the end of Chapter 6.

My final round of comparison between the data, my characteristic categories (which were made up of multiple constraints that I found similar and grouped together into one term), and the literature included looking at my own previously published work (Carradini,
2016) to compare the categories I had created against ones I had already published. The aim was to assess whether previous findings could shed light on the current work, as the question of “what are the important constraints that affect the work of musicians” was still a question to me. This reading resulted in adding the category “power structure,” which did relate effectively to the now-four groups. This phase of returning to the data with the literature’s ideas also caused me to reframe one of the categories ("time") into “limits of growth.”

Finally, I also renamed the groups at this phase, resulting in the group names of “build,” “teaching,” “repertoire,” and “composing” structures. These groups possessed characteristics that fell into the categories of:

- Outcome type: aesthetic experience, aesthetic artifact, aesthetic service
- Audience type: public, professional, or private
- Limits to growth: capacity, audience size, or professional network size
- Power structure: tilted toward musicians, tilted away from musicians, shared
Table 6. The top 25 most common code pairs for indie rock musicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Pairs</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>communicating / distributing information</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / booking</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / audience</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication / audience feedback</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / distributing information</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / promoting a concert</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / diverse tools</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / promoting content</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication / strategy</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / distributing music</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collaborating / shared workload</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / audience</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / press</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / emotional connection</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating / money</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / releasing music</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / Facebook</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / time</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / updates</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collaborating / needing other people’s skills</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / touring</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / money</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>audience / money</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / creating content</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating / legitimacy</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through this method of comparing various readings of data, data analysis techniques, and literature, I developed the final categories that I did. As a result, I found four organizational structures of musicians that had four distinct sets of constraints that manifested in exigences that guided the work of professional communication in musicians’ lives. I report the specific characteristics of these organizational structures, exigences for each organizational structure, and representative quotes from musicians in those organizational structures explaining how their professional communication is affected by these characteristics of exigences in Chapter 6.

To test reliability, I gave early drafts of my findings to participants as a member check to ensure that my report of respondent comments matched their understanding and experiences (Gibbs, 2007). Several respondents offered corrective comments that I included in subsequent drafts.

**Synthesis of Interview Protocols and Methods**

The stimulated recall interview and grand-tour interview were connected in various ways. I chose the professional communication elements that were the subject of the stimulated-recall interview after assessing what elements many musicians mentioned during the grand-tour interview. By using four professional communication elements that musicians reported with high frequency\(^\text{10}\) in the first interview, I was able to go in-depth on topics that

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\(^{10}\) Raw frequency is different than statistical keyness; at this early stage of the exploratory research process, I was using frequency as a method. I later moved to keyness as a more productive methodology, for the reasons explained below in the keyness analysis section. The frequency measure I used was number of musicians who mentioned a specific professional communication element, as opposed to frequency of mentions of the term overall in the interviews.
musicians had brought up in the first interview. Musicians had largely guided the topics of conversation in the grand-tour interview. The stimulated recall interview allowed me to guide the interview, asking questions that led to insights about why musicians used the element overall and why individual sections of the element were written the way they were.

To get at the “why” of this communication, I had to apply a different method than keyness and collocation. Those methods can explain “aboutness” and point toward areas of potential interest, but they do not help explain motivation for why things occurred after pointing there. As such, I turned to Spinuzzi’s theory of organizational structure to help understand why musicians used professional communication. Understanding the “why” behind the work of these four professional communication elements then allowed me to interpret the first interviews through the lens of the motivations (and, ultimately, organizational structures) that musicians reported in the second interview. Using Spinuzzi’s lens of organizational structure on the first-round interviews would not have produced data about the motivations of musicians, as the musician-guided grand-tour did not always focus on motivations. I chose the second interview, however, to specifically focused on motivations. So the keyness analysis assisted the organizational structure analysis by identifying elements of importance, while the organizational structure analysis helped identify the models that allowed the interpretation of both interviews.

These two separate interview protocols and two separate analyses worked together to produce a study that identified a wide array of professional communication elements used in musicians’ careers, homed in on a small number of those professional communication
elements for close study, then used the findings of the second interview about why musicians communicate to create models that would help interpret both interviews.

Potential Limitations of Method

Several limitations present themselves. The exploratory nature of this qualitative research makes it non-generalizable to any group of musicians outside this survey. Further research could build on the findings here with larger numbers of respondents and different methodologies to seek generalizability. The exploratory nature of this study is not comprehensive or exclusive of other findings in this space: this study identified several underlying characteristics of the respondents’ organizational structure, but these do not exclude other trends that might appear if I used different data reduction and analysis strategies. This was an unavoidable part of the exploratory research process. More research should be done to confirm and extend these findings.

The use of the Supreme Court cases reference corpus in the keyness analysis presents a limitation. While the large, oral, contemporary corpus itself is a worthwhile one to suggest aboutness of my large, oral, contemporary set of interviews, the differing content of the two corpora (legal vs. business) can be construed as a limitation. As mentioned above, Scott (2009) is split on this issue, suggesting that “keywords identified even by an obviously absurd [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness,” while also asserting that “genre-specific [reference corpora] identify rather different keywords, which itself led to the conclusion that the aboutness of a text may not be one thing but numerous different ones” (p. 91). Future research analyzing “negative keyness,” or finding words that appear less than
expected in the research corpus, could begin to address this issue; finding which words are more common in the reference corpus than the research corpus could help understand the potential “genre” differences between the corpora. Working with a corpus more focused on oral business communication may also be a way to address this issue—no corpus of this variety was found when planning this analysis. Finally, the overall approach of keyness is more about finding areas of potential interest than providing numerically-heavy statistical analysis; working with other methods of verbal data analysis could reveal other insights.

While second coder reliability was used on the provisional coding pass of the second interview data analysis, the limitations of the descriptive coding method are such that a second coder analysis of the second data coding pass was not possible. Analysis of the keyword search turned up difficulties of nominalization, multiple meanings per word, and semantic equivalence or non-equivalence within words. These issues are discussed more above, but they are areas where further research could refine the research questions, analysis techniques, or both.

This constant comparative method had some limitations. The code pairs that I identified during the constant comparative analysis revealed exigences that musicians responded to with tasks and professional communication use: a pattern of action (coordinating, communicating, collaborating) and a constraint. As constraints could be a heterogeneous mix of persons, events, objects, and relations, some of these constraints shared the name of tasks from the previous section. This is a result of the exploratory nature of the study and the descriptive nature of the descriptive coding pass that I did; future, more
targeted studies could reduce some of this redundancy and recursive quality by starting with more defined codes drawn from this study or elsewhere. Despite these methodological and theoretical issues, I built this analysis by drawing on the idea of a pattern of action plus a constraint coming together to frame an exigence that could then call forth a professional communication response. These exigences connected with the characteristics that I found in the organizational structures in Chapter 6 and the tasks from Chapter 5; the overlap shows a close fit of the data, rather than data from two sections that do not fit together well.

The large amount of data in this project required that any analysis use a small section of the overall data available. Other data analysis techniques could be applied to this data set and result in different findings. Also, while care was taken to handle the data as similarly as possible, the development of thought process over the two long coding processes suggests that data coded at the end of the coding process had the benefit of much knowledge that was unknown at the beginning of the coding process. I adjusted for this by using the constant comparative method to consistently check findings and selecting quotes from all 80 interviews to report organizational structure, not just the last few interviews coded.

The wide scope of characteristics allowed in the research population does not allow for any relevant distinctions related to demographics. However, it does allow for development of future research related to demographic groups within indie rock musicians.

Finally, the open-ended protocol minimized researcher guidance of the conversation and allowed the respondents to make their own statements about what seemed important to them. I ignored some follow-up questions that may have clarified or probed deeper into
issues respondents brought up in favor of the respondent directing the flow of the conversation. Future research could create more guided interview protocols to dig deeper on some of these issues.

Characterization of Respondents

Writing about extra-institutional individuals without immediately characterizing them theoretically is a difficult proposition. Spinuzzi tries to avoid the “user as victim” trope in describing users, and this dissertation will largely do the same (Spinuzzi, 2003). However, this is not without controversy: avoiding the “user as victim” trope gives the “user” a great deal of agency. Giving a large amount of agency to individuals can foreclose conversation about larger systematic forces, such as contingent labor issues based on a changing economy (Hailey et al., 2010; Wilson, 2001). To this end, I will try to take my characterization of the work that these extra-institutional workers do from their own explanations: I will aim to report negative statements about precariousness, neutral statements made about topics unrelated to labor, and positive statements related to the benefits of being extra-institutional.

However, I wrote these open-ended research questions from a stance that affirms user agency and looks for creative ways that musicians make their own way through the industry. This may inherently skew the findings somewhat toward the valorization of labor and/or the valorization of agency, but the precariousness of their extra-institutional situation (insofar as musicians reported it) will not be ignored or forgotten. Overall, the organizational structure of independent musicians is intended to look for issues, difficulties, problems, workarounds,
and successes that crop up across a large number of interviews; because precariousness in artist careers is one of the issues, it will appear in the next three chapters.
CHAPTER 4: COMPOSITE SKETCHES

In this chapter, I will present two composite sketches of musicians. These sketches will highlight the professional communication use of musicians in the indie rock and classical subgroups, showing the tasks that these professional communication elements are included in on a day-to-day basis. These composite sketches are drawn from the responses from each subgroup. I will explain a day in the life of each fictional musician, starting with the indie rock musician Rick and moving on to the classical musician Jenny.

Rick the Indie Rock Musician

Rick is a 30-year old indie rock musician who lives in a mid-major city of about 500,000 people. He started singing and playing guitar when he was 12. He and some friends started a band when he was 17, and he has been playing in various bands and on his own ever since. Rick went to college at a state school and completed his degree in education, but didn’t go on for a master’s. Instead, he took a retail job that gave him flexibility and started going on regional tours of the tristate area with his current band. Rick has been going on tours of increasing length that stop in increasingly distant places, sometimes touring with his band (a trio) and sometimes touring solo.

In his early 20s, he did not make much of his income from music, but as he has grown older he has continued to increase the amount of money he makes from music. He has shifted his amount of work to become a mostly full-time musician, doing some retail shifts on the side when he needs some money between tours. He hopes that soon he will be able to not even have to take the retail shifts. He expects to make just above $20,000 this year, between the retail and the band.
Rick is in a band and plays solo shows. Rick’s current band Sun Guidebook has been doing well and is about to release its second record, Chills. Rick’s latest solo album, Local Hops, was released the previous year to generally strong local acclaim in the local alt-weekly newspaper. The week that I will write about is a few weeks before the release of Sun Guidebook’s Chills.

To start Monday morning, Rick opens up his computer and checks his social media accounts to see what happened on his pages while he was sleeping. Last night he posted a new Facebook event about a solo show he will be playing at a brewery in two weeks, so he checks to see if anyone RSVPed. He finds that a handful of people have expressed interest, but no one has committed yet. He checks his Twitter to see if anyone has responded to anything he tweeted in the previous day. He finds no new notifications on Twitter. He writes a new Tweet about the upcoming show, tags the brewery in it, and publishes it. He hopes that the brewery will retweet the tweet and give him some promo for the show to the brewery’s audience. Finally, he checks Instagram on his phone. He sees that someone placed a comment on the photo that he posted yesterday: a picture of him playing the brewery a few months ago. The acquaintance says that he wants to come to the show, so Rick writes a response encouraging him to do so.

Rick, having finished his first round of social media postings for the day, turns now to email. He finds a wide array of emails in his inbox: he finds an email from the brewery confirming the details of the show, a few responses from venues about booking inquiries, an
email from a videographer friend, and a reminder to himself to send an e-mail to the CD pressing company.

He responds first to the email about the brewery gig, confirming the guaranteed pay ($200) and amount of time he will be playing (3 hours). He sends a link to the Facebook event that he made, just in case the brewery wants to promote.

He then turns his attention to the booking inquiries. Sun Guidebook is about to release its second record, so there is a tour to be booked in relationship with the release. Rick has reached out to some venues in nearby towns that Sun Guidebook has played before, as well as emailing venues in cities that Sun Guidebook has not yet played. Rick starts with the responses from the venues he has played before; these bookers are generally friendly to Rick, as Sun Guidebook is a fairly good draw in the region and can guarantee a good audience for a venue. This ensures that the bands and the venues both get paid, as concertgoers buy plenty of tickets and drink plenty of beer. One booker confirms that a date is possible. Rick confirms the date and puts it on a spreadsheet that he has been using to keep the details about the tour straight.

Rick sees an email from a booker that he knows in another city. The booker says that the dates Rick asked for are not available. Rick asks if there are any dates around those dates that could work; Rick has laid out a geographic map of the tour he wants to go on, but it is a flexible map. He sends the email, then moves on to a couple of emails from venues that Rick has never played that say they are already booked for the whole month he is looking for. He responds politely to those emails and moves on.
The email from the videographer friend is about coordination for the band’s video shoot. The lead single from Chills is called “Hide,” and Sun Guidebook is making a music video for it. Rick has known this videographer for years, and has reached out to see if the videographer is interested in making a video for the band. He didn’t know what the videographer friend would charge for the video, and the videographer friend said he would need more details on what type of video they would want before he could say anything. He did express interest, though. Rick says he will check with his band and get back to the videographer.

Rick then writes an email to his band members, telling them they might have a person to make a music video if they come up with an idea for the video. He does not expect to hear back from them for a while. His final email that he needs to attend to is a new one to the CD pressing plant. Sun Guidebook has already recorded, mixed and mastered Chills, and now they are getting it pressed on CD. Their first album was a purely digital release on the platform Bandcamp, but the band made enough money from sales there, concerts played, and some of the musicians’ personal income to press the new CD in a run of 500. Rick had researched and hired a CD pressing plant, but he hasn’t heard back from them in a while. He wants to check in to make sure everything is on schedule and will be ready in time for the CD release concert in a few weeks.

Having sent that email, he looks at his to-do list for the day. He needs to contact a photographer about getting new band photos, submit the newly finished CD to iTunes, contact some blogs about potentially reviewing Chills, write a blog post of his own on the
band’s website getting people excited about the new album, and determine whether to run Facebook ads or not for the CD release show.

He pulls up his phone: he has the phone number of a photographer who took photos for the band last time. He calls the photographer and leaves a voice message, asking her to call him back whenever he’s available. Rick also goes to Facebook to see if the photographer is still shooting photos. He pulls up the Facebook fan page for the photographer, and it has been recently updated with new photos. Satisfied that the photographer is still in business, he sends a short Facebook message to the photographer, just in case the phone call doesn’t work.

He then has to submit the new CD to iTunes. Sun Guidebook’s first release was only on Bandcamp, so Sun Guidebook has never put an album on iTunes. Instead of dealing directly with iTunes, Rick heard from a friend in another band that he should use a distributing service to get his music on iTunes. The friend suggested TuneCore. Rick navigates to TuneCore’s website, does some research, and sees that TuneCore will distribute Sun Guidebook’s music to Spotify and YouTube, among others. He is excited that it’s an all-in-one flat fee. He starts the process of applying and sees some questions he doesn’t immediately know the answers to. He leaves the tab open and moves on to the next task.

It’s lunchtime by this time, so Rick goes and gets tacos from the food truck downtown. He takes a photo of himself at the food truck and posts it to the band’s Instagram. While he’s out, he stops at a coffee shop to do some more work.
He pulls out his computer and opens a spreadsheet of blog names. His goal is to get blogs to cover the new album with a full album review, a single song review, or a concert review. He has contacted some blogs before, for Sun Guidebook’s first album; he did not get much response. Still, now that Sun Guidebook has some more regional notoriety, he hopes that blogs will respond to his emails. He has a list of names that he contacted before that he had gained by doing research. Over the past few years since the release of the first album, he has been keeping track of other local bands’ press via Facebook—these bands post the articles written about them to Facebook, and Rick takes down the name of the blog or press outlet that covered the band and adds it to his spreadsheet. Now that Sun Guidebook is about to release *Chills*, he is ready to contact these blogs again. He has a stock email made from the last time he contacted blogs. He uses that stock email for new blogs. The email contains information about the upcoming release and links to an electronic press kit with even more information about the band: live videos, music videos, old photos, press quotes, and more. The centerpiece of the electronic press kit is the streaming audio of the new album, the album art, and information about the album release.

Rick emails several blogs that he has never contacted before, making sure he gets the names and details right in each form email. He also follows up with some blogs that covered Sun Guidebook before, addressing personal emails to those five blogs. He finds that several blogs have specific guidelines and submission portals for submitting work, and bookmarks those for later contacting.
As he is sitting at the coffee shop, he runs into a person from another local band. The person wants to know how Sun Guidebook is doing and wants to know if they’re interested in playing a show together in the future. Rick says that they would be interested, and that they should talk more about it soon. The other local band member wishes him well and heads out.

Rick returns to his computer and writes a brief blog post previewing the artwork for the new record. This artwork is already available to the press in the electronic press kit, but is not available to the public yet. He finishes the blog, then promotes the blog post via Facebook and Twitter posts. He also uploads the album artwork to Instagram. While he’s there, he checks the notifications on all three and sees what is there, responding as necessary.

Because he is already on Facebook, he sets down to do the last thing on his to-do list: determine whether to run Facebook ads or not for the CD release show. His band has never done ads before, but he read online that it was a valuable way to get exposure for his band, particularly due to Facebook’s habit of changing the ways their publication algorithm works in showing only a limited number of people a post. He checks the band’s bank account to see how much money he has for advertisements, then begins researching and investigating Facebook ads. He resolves after some work to bring it to the band’s attention.

He has band practice after dinner, so he goes home and practices a new song for a bit. At the band practice, he discusses with the other band members potential video ideas, current tour routes for their upcoming tour, and Facebook ads. After practice, he leaves the practice space, goes home, and goes to bed.
Jenny the Classical Musician

Jenny is a 38-year-old harpist who lives in a major metropolitan area. She has been playing since she was 10 years old and started performing when she was 16. She makes 100% of her income from music and has since she left home for college when she was 18. She finished her undergraduate and master’s degrees. She plans on making an income of around $28,000 this year, although if some good opportunities come in she may make it to the low $30,000s.

Permanent seats in orchestras for harpists are hard to come by even in the best of times, as harps are not used in every concert an orchestra plays. As a result, Jenny does not keep a seat in an orchestra, although several orchestras in her region do ask her to play when they need a harpist. This happens about once every month or two.

On a regular day, Jenny starts her day by responding to email. She has an email related to a concert she played recently, a concert that is coming up, an email from a student, and an email from a collaborator on a project. The email related to her concert is a pleasant one: she performed at a university as part of a festival, and her performance was both recorded and photographed. The university sent along a video of her playing and a photo that she was in. She sends a thank-you and sets the email aside; she wants to put the video and picture of her playing on her website, but that wasn’t on the to-do list today. She hopes she can get to it soon.

The email from the concert coming up is a follow-up email negotiating the terms of a concert. Jenny needs extra money for harp carriage, as the harp is difficult to transport. The
booker of the concert series is not happy about the cost Jenny cited and wants to negotiate the price. Jenny groans and prepares to send a tactful email that says, in pleasant and upbeat terms, that harps are not getting less expensive to transport just because the booker doesn’t like the cost. She drafts an email, and then doesn’t send it immediately. She moves on to the next email.

A student of hers is ill with the flu and won’t make it to the lesson tomorrow. Jenny’s teaching student contract states that she is paid at the beginning of the month, regardless of illness or absence; Jenny has already been paid this month, so she will not lose money due to the student’s illness. Jenny sends an email expressing her condolences and wishes her a speedy recovery and return to lessons the next week. She looks at her schedule and crosses the student’s appointment off the list for the week.

The last meaningful email that she sends has to do with a collaborator on a project; her pianist Trent has come up with some ideas for the collaborative album they are planning to record. She considers his ideas, sets aside the email, and plans to return to it later. She re-reads the email about harp carriage, and sends it. She shuts her email and turns to her harp.

She has to practice for her upcoming concerts in the week (a wedding and a special event at a hotel), so she practices for a half-hour. She then turns to preparing materials for the lessons coming up that evening and the next day (now with one less lesson to plan). She selects materials for her students to play, and in one case changes part of the score so that it is more appropriate for the student’s skill level.
By the time this is done, it is lunchtime. She makes lunch and eats, thinking about the video that she was sent. She remembers that she hasn’t posted to Facebook in a while; she doesn’t command a huge audience on Facebook, but she wants to look professional and active in her field, so she makes a mental note to post the video to Facebook. As she is finishing up eating, she gets a call on her phone from a new number. She answers, and it is a woman from a choral organization that needs a harpist for a concert in three weeks; the harpist they had contracted with dropped out due to a different commitment. The previous harpist recommended Jenny to fill the need. Jenny makes a mental note to thank the other harpist via email or in-person. Jenny checks her calendar and sees that she is free on the date and tells the woman that she is interested. She asks for more details via email, exchanges email addresses with the woman, and ends the phone call.

Jenny opens Facebook on her computer and posts the YouTube video that she received. She thanks the festival that hosted her and mentions in the post that she would love to play again next year. She opens up her website, but doesn’t get a chance to post the video before her first of two students arrives. Jenny turns her attention to teaching for the next few hours.

After her second student leaves, Jenny checks her email again and finds that a person has contacted her through theKnot about playing a wedding in six months. Jenny checks her calendar and sees that she is free, and sends a return email to the bride-to-be asking for more details. She makes a note to update her advertisement on theKnot, because it’s becoming a bit old. She puts it on tomorrow’s to-do list. Jenny also sees that she has received an email
from her choir referral with more information, and she responds to that email with a quick acknowledgment of receipt and an assurance that she will contact if she has questions.

She notices the email from her collaborator and decides to work on the pieces they are prepping for recording; some are commissions, and some are arrangements Jenny and Trent are putting together. She works on some of the arrangements, playing her harp and marking things on a score as she goes. After a bit of arranging, it’s time for dinner. Not having a performance this evening, she eats dinner and relaxes for the evening, preparing for the busy day ahead tomorrow.

Conclusion

These composite sketches, drawn from interviews with musicians, reflect the use of professional communication in the careers of musicians. Both of these fictional musicians show that musicians in the respondent pool reported many professional communication tasks and professional communication elements in their day-to-day work. These fictional musicians shared some similarities in their professional communication work, but also had wide divergences in amount and motivation for use. Music was the ultimate reason for their work, but playing music itself was only a small part of the work that went into coordinating, collaborating, and communicating with the audiences and professionals that each musician had to address. While each fictional musician had audiences and professionals that they interacted with, the types of audiences and professionals were different as well. As a result, the work of indie rock and classical musicians differed in many ways.
In the next chapter, I will look at the data from the first-round interviews I did with the forty musicians and analyze in more quantitative detail what professional communication elements these musicians are using and how they are using those professional communication elements in their careers.
CHAPTER 5: PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION: HOW AND WHAT

In the last chapter, I created two fictional musicians from the data to illustrate the daily work of musicians. This daily work included many types of professional communication. I wrote the composite sketches by placing the most frequently reported professional communication elements in the contexts that those professional communication elements were used in. In this chapter, I will expand those ideas of what professional communication elements musicians are using and how they are using them by reporting data from the first interview related to the following two questions.

Thus, in this chapter, I investigate the following questions:

1. How do extra-institutional musicians use professional communication? What tasks are musicians doing with professional communication? Do similarities or differences in tasks exist between indie rock and classical subgroups?

2. What professional communication do extra-institutional musicians employ? What professional communication elements are they using? How are those elements involved in the professional tasks of musicians? Do similarities or differences exist between indie rock and classical subgroups?

These questions are important because no research has currently investigated what types of professional communication work are needed in musicians’ life. Learning what types of professional communication tasks and elements are needed by musicians will help us understand if all extra-institutional individuals have the same types of necessary work or if extra-institutional individuals differ by field. This knowledge will also help develop pedagogy for extra-institutional individuals and extra-institutional musicians specifically.
It is important to make a distinction between these two groups to find out if all musicians employ similar tasks and professional communication elements from a theoretical and pedagogical standpoint. From a theoretical standpoint, it is important to know how fine-grained the differences between extra-institutional individuals are. Is the professional communication work of musicians similar, or do subgroups such as indie rock and classical musicians have differences? If all extra-institutional individuals have similar needs, then studying individual subgroups will deliver insights that can be applied across extra-institutional individuals. If extra-institutional individuals have different tasks and professional communication needs, then each subgroup may need to be investigated separately. Investigating each group separately would also change the pedagogy necessary in both TPC and Arts Entrepreneurship courses, as few generalizations would hold across a wide range of student outcomes. Finding similarities between indie rock and classical subgroups, however, would allow for teaching to wider audiences.

The findings of this section will show that the musicians of the respondent pool are doing tasks that take care of the day-to-day work of being a musician as well as help develop the long-term future of a career. They use a wide array of communication elements to do this, which is surprising given their extra-institutional *professionals who communicate* status. Thus, the two subgroups do have some similarities of tasks and professional communication use. The subgroups also show differences of tasks and professional communication elements.

---

11I will refer to musicians of the indie rock group with an (i) next to their name and musicians of the classical musician group with a (c) next to their name, except in sections where I am discussing indie rock and classical musicians exclusively.
related to their individual subgroups. While these questions have all been answered affirmatively, the question of why these subgroups have different tasks and use is still open and will be explored in chapter 6.

**A Large Professional Communication Environment**

Musicians reported using 184 professional communication elements in their work. See Table 7. Musicians are not in the music business to be professional communicators, but they use professional communication, and they use quite a bit of it. Even with not every musician using each professional communication element, the full professional communication environment potentially available to a musician contains a staggering array of elements: genres, platforms, websites, software, hardware, physical objects, and file formats. If musicians need to learn how to apply professional communication to each of the tasks they conduct in their career, they face a daunting learning curve.

The heterogeneous nature of the professional communication elements further complicates the musicians’ efforts to apply these elements. The list of elements here includes ones that take place in oral communication (calls, referral), written communication (email, contract), static visual communication (photo, poster), and moving visual communication (videos). This is not to mention the platforms that require use of written and visual communication, such as websites, Instagram, Facebook, blogs, and more. Musicians needed to possess quite a varied set of communication skills.
Table 7. The 184 professional communication elements that the 40 respondents reported in their first interviews.

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This requirement to be conversant in many different professional communication elements differentiates extra-institutional musicians from specialized professional communicators. Many specialized professionals master only one mode, such as video, grants, social media or others. However, extra-institutional musicians are called upon to communicate in all of these, in addition to plying their original trade of music. Musicians coming into their careers may not get into music for the professional communication, but successful musicians report being diverse and knowledgeable in their professional communication skills. While previous research suggests that extra-institutional individuals and artists specifically need to use professional communication, the volume and diversity of communication that musicians are undertaking is still surprising.

These overall findings of a large number of professional communication elements and the varied communication skills that are included in them lead to a question of how these professional communication elements work in the life of musicians. I will answer this question by explaining the tasks that musicians do with professional communication and then explain how professional communication is implicated in each task. I will conduct this analysis for the full respondent pool (Table 8), the indie rock subgroup (Table 9), and the classical musician subgroup (Table 10).
Table 8. Keyness values for verbs of all respondents

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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Verb</th>
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Musicians’ Tasks

Following Gerbig (2010), I grouped the key verbs intuitively into semantically-related sets for further analysis. To do this, I read through the passages where the key verbs appeared and looked for similarities in what tasks the verbs were being used to describe. Sometimes a verb described two tasks; I included the verb in both tasks. This analysis led me to four tasks and a distinct group (The Ends of Musicianship, which encompassed all the other four in a general way). The five sets I found were:

- The Ends of Musicianship: Work, Play, Recording, Making
- Touring
- Publishing Content: Writing, Put, Making
- Managing Professional Relationships: Contact, Keep, Knew, Email, Send
- Developing a Career: Learn, Help, Started, Ended, Guess, Try

Using representative quotes, I will explain how these tasks operate in the life of musicians. I will also note professional communication use that appears in the tasks. I will go more in depth on the professional communication included in these tasks at the end of the task sections for each group. This analysis will answer the “how are musicians using professional communication” question by showing what tasks include professional communication.

The Ends of Musicianship: Work, Play, Recording, Making

Musicians are extra-institutional professionals who communicate as a means to a specific end. It is not surprising, then, that they often mentioned the end that many of them sought: playing and/or writing music professionally. Playing music professionally requires
work on the musician’s part, if they want to make a living at it. To ground the discussion of what tasks musicians are doing, I want to display the ends that musicians reported working toward. Professional communication is involved in reaching these ends, and that professional communication will be discussed later. But first, what are the ends that musicians are trying to achieve? What is the end of their work?

Classical musicians reported that playing was work, saying things like “I knew there were other ways to get work” [Sylvia (c)], “[young musicians] can’t fucking get work or make enough money because they haven’t been taught how to negotiate” [Ian (c)], and “I was pretty much making my living playing music two days a week at someone’s wedding for ten years. … I was able to pay my rent working two days a week” [Fletcher (c)]. Fletcher noted that his work resulted in making a living; the work of playing music resulted in a professional music career.

Writing music was also work. This activity of writing music was central to the work of indie rock musicians and composers of classical music. Dawn (i), who plays piano, reported that she was reconfiguring some of her time commitments so she had more time to work on songwriting instead of content writing: “That gives me more time to work on songwriting, fewer public shows. So I’m spending less time behind my computer and more time on my keyboard and that kind of all flows into the grand plan of working towards a next album.” Jeff (i) also spent a long amount of time writing music for a new album: “I spent the next six months just doing nothing other than playing. Playing, playing, playing. Writing, writing horrible songs and then writing songs that I thought would work on a
record.” The process of songwriting was essential to having a new album out. This songwriting would be what they play live and what they put on an album to sell at shows.

Writing new music was important to classical musicians as well. Some musicians specialized in composition. Fletcher (c) noted that he was writing multiple projects for performance in different states: “I’m also working on an orchestral commission, one of two this year, for an opening of a festival in [West Coast state]. … I’m also writing a woodwind quintet for a group in [East Coast state].” The work of Fletcher’s composing career was writing music. Writing new music was an important part of some musicians’ careers.

Musicians writing new music or performing new versions of old music often record their music. Indie rock musicians often record albums of their new songs; every musician that I talked to had recorded an album. These recordings were sometimes done by the musician: “It was all home recording on the second [album],” said Eddie (i). Glenn (i) also taught himself recording. Often musicians would go into a studio to record, and work with an experienced producer or engineer to help make the album sound good. Jeff (i) noted, “I just finished recording a new record with a producer and engineer named [X] in New York.” The recordings would become content that musicians could sell, stream, or offer as downloads.

Some classical musicians recorded themselves for reasons other than selling music. Melody (c) said she was recording herself “so I can have some more examples on my website, basically.” Her examples helped her get booked for gigs such as weddings and events, as having more examples recorded showed her versatility as a musician. Wanda (c)
explained that her flute choir recorded pieces for publication on YouTube as a service to other flute choirs: “One of our flute choir directors several years ago wanted to record pieces and put them out there [on YouTube] for other flute choirs to listen. Because when you go to purchase new music, it’s like, ‘how’s it going to sound?’ So being able to listen to it, a good recording. So we did a number of recordings.” These recordings were part of the way that musicians put new content out into the world. Music was not the only content that musicians put out into the world, however.

Indie rock musicians and some classical musicians reported that the day-to-day activities surrounding playing was the work. Brad (i) had to learn that work was part of a professional career instead of just playing shows:

I grew up with the mindset that, like, “Oh, if you want to be a musician you just, like, play a bunch of shows and eventually someone will discover you and like let you … play music and record albums and go on tour. … Looking at what some artists a few steps ahead of me were doing made me realize, like, “Oh, like, they did all this stuff before anyone noticed it.”

His misconception of what a career playing music consisted of changed when he saw the work that other musicians were putting in to their careers. Benjamin (i) found work was a critical part of developing a professional music career and was working overtime to that end: “I work 80 hours a week, and I'm making like—I mean, I'm like, struggling to, like, be a professional musician. But I just work and work and work and work.” Melody (c) suggested a similar work ethic: “Really spend time figuring out what you really want to do.
... And work towards that every single day, and eventually it will happen.” The time-consuming, difficult work of being a professional musician was not just playing music.

That work which existed outside of playing and writing music was focused on setting up the events and situations that allowed playing and writing. Allen (i) explained that the work he and his bandmate did fell into areas that allowed different types of playing to exist: “A lot of our work is based either around booking and performance … and then the other half of our work is towards writing and recording.” Professional communication helped musicians do this work. Allen (i) explained that the work of booking required “a lot of sending emails”, while the work of recording required “sit-down conversations” with potential studios. Classical musicians also reported doing work surrounding playing. Sylvia (c) mentioned that playing a show required professional work: “There’s just, like, a lot of office work – a lot of computer work … So for every concert [Group A] or [Group B] is playing, I’ll do marketing: press release and e-mails, emailing people individually, social media posts.” The work of being a musician required professional communication surrounding the event of playing.

The work of playing is important, but the work surrounding the playing is what this dissertation focuses on. The rest of the verbs in this section focus on the tasks that musicians do as part of the work surrounding playing.

Touring

Musicians who played live concerts often had to plan these live events. These events could exist in the musician’s home area or outside the home area. Concerts in a home area
had different verbs primarily associated with each subgroup: indie rock musicians used the term “booking” and classical musicians used the term gigging or hiring to refer to the process of getting these shows. These differences will be explained in the subgroup sections below. However, musicians of both subgroups referred to touring, which consisted of planning events outside the musician’s home area.

Planning a tour requires a musician to schedule each show along the tour route, which can be a time-intensive and complicated process. Musicians must contact organizers in the locations which they wish to tour in and convince the organizers to book them for a show. Xavier (c) created several different programs that featured his cello playing and pitched them to spaces around the country. One of the programs focused on working with breweries: “We don’t pay for venues on this tour, but we work out with [breweries] how they want to do [beer] pairings.” In conversations, often over email, Xavier collaborated with breweries to book shows of the tour. The goal was for Xavier to play in unusual spaces for audiences that wouldn’t usually listen to classical music in various states around the country.

This tour creation process requires musicians to be organized, as Ryan (i) was: “I sort of like touring and other things like that. I have, like, a very thorough breakdown of everything that I do, as far as like having all my … shows listed and all the information in, like, my Google Calendar or on my computer or my iPhone.” The professional communication elements that are used in the booking process help keep the details of the many dates organized.
Indie rock musicians spent a large amount of time touring, as this was one of the ways that they got paid. Quentin (i) noted: “When I'm touring, I make my money while I'm traveling, if that makes sense. So selling records, playing live, that kind of thing.” Mitchell (c) made money a different way while on tour. He reported that he would tour as a support musician with indie rock bands for a set fee: “The bread and butter of my gigs nowadays is the occasional tour with a touring band. These kinds of things I'm willing to do for a nominal amount of money and that nominal amount of money is usually based on a weekly salary of not less than 1,000 bucks a week.” He didn’t have to plan the tour; he was hired to offer support to the tour.

The task of planning a tour required planning multiple events in multiple locations. While this work required organization, it also provided money to musicians. Sometimes musicians could go on tour without having to schedule the shows themselves, but generally musicians had to plan the events themselves.

**Publishing Content: Writing, Put**

Creating professional communication content is a large part of the work of being a musician. Musicians have two different uses for the verb “writing.” “Writing music” is the end of musicianship discussed above, while “writing blogs” or “writing a contract” means professional communication.

Olivia (c) explained that writing was necessary to a career: “Surprisingly, a lot of students graduate from conservatory and don't know the first thing about writing a contract. They don't know anything about marketing. Social media is obviously very important.”
These writing skills were things that Olivia considered to be essential that were missing from many new musicians. Despite Olivia’s assessment of musicians’ skills, musicians in the respondent pool reported publishing content. Austin (c) puts out content frequently: “I think what we’re going to start doing now is just put out, like, one song a month or something like that, and then on the other weeks … One week we put out a blog, one week put out a video.” His band plans to create and publish, or “put out,” a variety of content on their website.

Dawn (i) reported a time when she published video content often: “For a while—this was years ago—I was doing, like, every few weeks I was trying to put something out. They were kind of bootlegged recap videos from shows and everything like that.” Audio and print promotion could also be “put out,” as Isaiah (i) recalls of his first band that existed pre-Internet: “You knew that if you put a record out—or a cassingle or whatever—you knew you had to put posters in the store to promote it.” Creating and publishing content for online and offline use was a frequent task of indie rock and classical musicians. Indie rock and classical musicians reported using the publishing of professional writing for different ends, which is why this particular section is not very specific about the ends to which this content is published. These differing ends will be reported in the next two sections.

**Managing Professional Relationships: Contact, Keep, Knew, Email, Send**

Musicians did not do their work in solitude. Creating, maintaining, and activating professional relationships with industry professionals, audiences, and peers took up much of the musicians’ time. Keeping up with these relationships once the contact was made was
important, as knowing someone could result in a referral or recommendation for work. Sending email and other types of information to these parties was an important way that these relationships were created, maintained, and activated.

Email is a noun and a verb for musicians, as musicians spend great amounts of time working with email. Musicians sent email to all sorts of people and used email for all sorts of ends, such as booking shows, contacting audiences, coordinating teaching, networking, and more. Eddie (i) reported he used email to contact the owner of an art gallery to get booked for a show:

So I literally just emailed the owner, and I was like, ‘Hey, I stopped in’ ... I was like, ‘I know this sounds a little cheesy, but I really liked the art. I could tell whoever was creating it was kind of, like, inspired by the same things that inspire me. And I know it’s busy during [festival]. Do you want to have music? Like, you don’t have to pay me. I just want to go out there and say, “I did [festival name]!”’. And he wrote back, and he was like, “We would love to have you. Let’s do music. I’m in.” He ended up paying me anyway, because he was selling $14,000 paintings that night.

Eddie turned a one-time, non-music-related visit to an art gallery into a show during a major film festival via email. Lauren (i) did a similar task with email: “We would just email people... and say, “Hey, are you guys looking for artists to play this night? Like, Lauren is available.” Both Eddie and Lauren cold-emailed industry professionals to try to book shows and build relationships with the industry professional. Maria (i) emailed bloggers whenever she found a blog that might be interested in covering her work: “I either contact them
immediately, you know, as soon as I see it. I’ll just send them a quick note, or I’ll write
myself an email with a link to it to remind me to do it later.” Self-email was not common,
but it was done.

Many indie rock musicians and some classical musicians reported sending email to
blogs, although many found cold emailing not to be very successful. Norman (i) mentioned
this in his blog process: “I’ll do them in bunches. I’ll send off e-mails. Basically I’ll wait to
see who responds. … It's just a matter of just hoping that someone sort of bites on it.” This
method of building relationships off cold emails was occasionally successful for booking
shows, but less successful for seeking press.

Musicians also emailed their audiences often, trying to maintain and activate the
relationships of their fans. Elizabeth (c) mentioned that she had found success distributing
information to her followers through email: “I used to send a newsletter four times a year
and that was really effective, I mean I had 70% click through.” She has since cut down to
two emails a year as she has diversified her messaging strategies, but she finds the email
“still effective for certain audiences.” Eddie (i) said that he received an email from a band
that he was a fan of that was attempting to get him to buy a record: “I got an email blast
from [JR] that was like, ‘Hey, I have an album coming out. This is where I recorded it. This
is what it means to me. Pre-order here.’ And I was like, ‘Yeah, that’s all I need.’ … I pre-
ordered.”

Some, however, expressed concerns about its effectiveness, particularly as people
receive more and more email from musicians and other sources. Nick (i) noted, “And email
is becoming less and less reliable too, which sucks. And so I’m feeling a little bit of a loss about that, but…” Other musicians found different ways to keep in touch with their audiences. Jim suggested that Instagram is “really about kind of keeping people posted on what we’re doing.” Elizabeth (c) mentioned that she maintains her relationships with paying audience members: “I have funders. I keep in touch with them” by having “a fundraiser, fancy event” and a “pre or post concert hang with them” so that “they basically get to be along for the process.” Maintaining relationships with audiences, especially paying audiences, was necessary.

Professionals and audiences were not the only relationships that musicians were navigating through email. Carl (c) mentioned that he tapped peer relationships to try to place his composed work, as he sometimes would “send an email to someone I know to say, ‘Do you know anyone who might like this piece?’” Tapping peers for help was one more use of email. Olivia (c) used email to keep up with her professional connections, turning email into a position on a nonprofit board: “I knew the president and … she sent me an email and said, ‘This is getting to be too much for me to do; I’m going to step down. Do you want to be on the board?’” Peer relationships were valuable for finding work and thus needed to be maintained just as relationships with non-peer industry professionals did.

Tanya (c) noted that relationship management extended into the music teaching realm. She gained some teaching students through a personal contact: “So my best contact ended up being my former middle school orchestra teacher, who sent me a bunch of private students.” Tanya also noted that her students are another set of relationships that she
contacts with information: “I also contact them as a group … I send that out in a group email.” Musicians with very different goals each had professional relationships to develop and maintain.

Musicians sent more things than just email to their professional contacts, such as postcards, posters, and CDs. Musicians send these things because they are connecting with people about the work they are doing. Sending postcards as a thank you helps Patricia maintain relationships with professional contacts: “Any place that has hired me, anybody that I think has referred me for a gig, anybody … that I just think that has been supportive in one way or another, I try to send them at least once a year—and not at Christmas—a thank you card.” Sending posters helps Ryan and Benjamin promote shows to audiences, while sending CDs to radio helps promote Victor’s band by getting his music selected by DJs for play on air. Sending materials to professionals is a way to develop and maintain professional relationships that musicians need in their work.

**Developing a Career: Learn, Help, Started, Ended, Guess, Try**

On top of the more specific tasks of planning events, recording, publishing content, and managing professional relationships, musicians had to do the less task-specific work of developing a career. Musicians had to learn how to be professional musicians, often without training in how to be professional. This resulted in a lot of trial and error, uncertainty, and guessing about what to do. Much of a musician’s career consisted of short- or medium-term projects (such as recording an album, writing a large composition, or planning a tour), giving musicians lots of time to learn from their mistakes in the next iteration of the project.
Because many musicians did not have training in professional communication or music business, musicians suggested that they made many mistakes trying to figure out how to be professional and communicate professionally in the field. Benjamin (i) suggested:

But I am doing better now, and I am finally starting to figure out how to make money. Because there is a big learning curve, and you fuck up a lot before you don’t fuck up. And, so I am finally at the point where I am starting to figure out how to make it work. Not that it’s easy.

Failing at professional tasks was something that happened often. Musicians also fell into things that sometimes succeeded in unexpected ways. Adam (i) explained how a band of his came to be: “I just met these, a couple of the kids, like the rhythm section … and they were really great and I enjoyed playing with them. So I was, like, ‘Do you guys want to, you know, try and play every now and then? I have some songs that I wrote.’ And slowly it kind of turned into one of those things where we like, played out and stuff. We’d go and play, like, shows and stuff. But we ended up just kind of spending the whole year writing an album together and recording it.” The project started unexpectedly, and then it “ended up” somewhere he did not expect. This sort of “ended up” uncertainty was reported often, as musicians attempted to learn by doing instead of implementing knowledge and skills they had been previously trained in.

The uncertainty of learning as you go created some unknowns even for musicians who were thinking strategically about their professional communication. As Jeff (i) said:
I guess I am just thinking aloud here, but I am trying to be a lot more like tactical and surgical about what I’m doing. And, you know, press and exposure is really good, but what becomes just like annoying, obnoxious noise? And I have a lot of friends who, like, every morning get to Facebook and say, like, “Oh, there is this, like, German publication who just picked it up!” And they will write like a paragraph in German about the record, and they were so eager to promote it. And I am like, I guess it doesn’t necessarily make sense for me.

Jeff was attempting to be strategic about his communication use, but he questioned his strategy based on the professional communication use of others. This uncertainty was related to seeking the best way to grow a career while learning on the fly. Because few professional communication skills or music business skills were taught to musicians, the task of building their career could sometimes be a vexing one.

Those who were farther along in the career process and had developed a sense of how to conduct business as a musician still reported troubles with career development. Benjamin (i) explained that developing organization is a process, “I try so hard to be organized with everything, but it’s hard because there’s like a million things going on at once all the time.” Sylvia (c) also reported that staying organized while doing the professional communication work that builds a career was difficult: “I can’t say I’m terribly organized about it except that I just keep a to-do list and try to stay on top of it.”

Musicians did mention communication elements and professional processes that helped their career development. Elizabeth (c) mentioned, “I thrive on doing five things at
once, and I think that really helps. And my playing thrives on it, so I’m super-efficient at multitasking. Having said that, there’s probably a lot of fumbling around. When you’re managing so much, it’s really hard to be efficient and strategic.” Having a lot to do helped focus her working life, but she still found difficulty with career building.

The task of developing a career was a difficult one for musicians, as the professional communication and music business skills that would help with this task were largely being learned on the fly. Over time musicians could learn how to adapt to the process of being a professional musician, but some aspects of extra-institutional professional musicianship remained difficult.

I will now turn to the professional communication elements that these musicians reported using in these tasks.

**Professional Communication in Musicians’ Tasks**

I will explain how these professional communication elements supported the specific professional tasks of musicians. The first category presented in the previous section, “The Ends of Musicianship,” set the stage to show that musicians do engage in work; as this category is not directed at a specific task in the life of the professional musician, I will not be exploring it here. I have removed the verbs that create the tasks from the headers of this section, so as better to focus on the professional communication that is involved in these tasks.
Touring

Indie rock and classical musicians had different methods of scheduling events on their tours (booking vs. gigging), but they both went on tours. Email, Facebook, Twitter, and videos facilitated the process of touring in different ways.

Musicians reported using Facebook for opportunities related to touring. Meghan (c) reported that she found out about a band that needed a cellist for a tour at the last minute via Facebook: “[the band] got a tour with [famous band], very last minute. And so, they put on their Facebook page, “This is a very last minute request … does anyone know of any string players that could come along on our US tour with [famous band]?” Meghan found this opportunity and was able to do the national tour because of Facebook. Brad (i) uses Facebook for tour research before he starts to book the shows of his tour:

So like look in Facebook, see what venues [other musicians are] playing at. … Kind of get a sense of what their lives are like and how they tour, you know? Just, like, simple stuff like “what kind of vehicle do they tour in?” “How many people do they tour with?” “How often are they on the road?” Facebook gave Brad a window into other musicians’ experience of touring, allowing him to plan his tour more effectively. These could turn into opportunities once he started booking.

Facebook’s use for touring was largely a source of opportunity generation.

Twitter and email were used as part of an overarching tour communication strategy. Jim (i) reported that his band chose Twitter a part of the communication strategy for a recent tour: “We’ll post online or on Twitter about, you know, a show … the only other promotion
that we did for this tour was just like on Twitter and Instagram.” While the process of promotion was its own task, Twitter’s connection to touring was in being a part of an overarching communication strategy for the whole tour.

Dawn (i) created a basic communication template that she used for her tour booking, implicating email as part of a larger strategy for planning the tours: “I send a fairly brief pitch email. Email is basically, ‘Hi, my name is so and so. I’m an artist from this city emailing to inquire about these specific dates as I pass through on my, you know, spring tour’ or whatever.” This email template was available for whenever she wanted to start booking a tour. While this comes close to the act of booking, this establishment of an email template to keep for booking tours is closely related to tour strategy.

Videos were also part of the touring process. Allen (i) explained that his band used video to recap the tour for their audience: “[bandmate] and I spend some time just making kind of ‘home video’-type things. … We put [up] tour logs, just videos of different places we went, and we’ll play one or two of our songs in the background.” Dawn (i) also suggested that she included video as part of her tour booking template.

**Publishing Content**

Both indie rock and classical musicians reported publishing a variety of content (videos, photos, press clips, posters) often. They published this in a variety of places (Facebook, website, YouTube, Instagram, and Tumblr). This task of publishing content supported other tasks, such as touring (above) or developing a career (below), but was perceived by musicians as its own specific task.
Emma (c) reported that her choir used Facebook for publication of content: “We have a volunteer that kind of handles the Facebook. … And she’ll put things up on Facebook for us.” Maria (i) used Facebook for publishing a tour poster: “I made a tour poster for us for our own shows, and sent that to all the venues, and then I put that on our Facebook.” William (c) used Facebook to publish video related to his wedding gig work: “Just a little one-minute clip, then I would put that on the Facebook page and then I would share with the friends. So, that was an easy way for the friends to learn more who did the music for the wedding.” Carl (c) put up a wide array of content on his Facebook: “I have links to the press and promotion. … I got a mention on the radio station … I’ll put up music clips every once in a while. If I have a good recording or something, I’ll share that.”

Musicians published content in other spaces as well. Maria (i) used her band’s Tumblr the way that Carl used his Facebook: “I often just kinda repost things to it. Like the photos and stuff like that, and if there’s—maybe if there’s like a review of something we’ve done, or an interview, or something like that, I’ll put a link there.” Olivia (c) had trouble keeping her harp organization’s web content publication moving smoothly: “[A colleague] also maintained the website, but has not been proactive at updating it. … I’ve gotten an email from one of our members who has asked four times to have her teacher information put up, and it’s not.” Norman (i) reported posting some, but not all, press clips to his website: “On my website, I won’t put all of the press on. I just don’t want to badger people with ‘Look what I’m doing! Look how awesome I am! Look at this press I got’ I mean, a few, like, interesting things I’ll try to share.”
Kent (i) found that publishing not just content, but a whole website required putting in a great amount of work: “It’s amazing how—I mean, that first impression on a website is pretty important. And what it says to you as a viewer about the band—whether it’s true or not—it says a lot, surprisingly, importantly, just that first look. So … I guess you’ve got to put in the work and make it look real nice.” Hector (c) agreed that the quality of content was important, as he related with videos: “Anybody can do it now, can just put up a video of themselves messing around in a living room, you know. It should be good.” The fact that videos could be made by anyone was what drew Norman to making videos with his band in the first place: “We thought it was cool that we could now make videos and put them up, so we’ve been using YouTube since, like, 2007?”

Publishing content was an important aspect of musicians’ careers. Indie rock and classical musicians used the content for different reasons, as will be further explored below, but they both were invested in publishing content on online spaces.

**Managing Professional Relationships**

Indie rock and classical musicians had to develop, maintain and activate relationships. This broke into three different types of relationship: new audiences, existing audiences, and professional connections. They did this work through email (such as Gmail), Facebook, websites, press, Twitter, calls, newsletters, SMS texts, physical mail, printed flyer, and a specialized service called Bandzoogle.

Emma (c) has three different groups of individuals that she keeps up with: existing donors (audience), potential donors (new audience), and the choir members and their parents
(her professional contacts). These three audiences each have different professional communication elements that are used to connect with them: physical mail, email newsletter, SMS text, printed flyer, and phone call.

Well, we have a couple of different markets. So we have existing donors and we have, and most of our existing donors are kind of the typical aging population. Donors that want something in the mail and want a handwritten card from me. … And then the second market is potential donors and of course is that the golden egg? We have no idea how to reach these people [laughter] but those are sort of, you know, we’ll send out the occasional email newsletter but we kinda know that it all goes in the trash. … And then, of course, the third one are our singers and singer families, and they get communicated to via a piece of paper and an email with that same information on the paper. … And typically parents tend to, you know, if they have a question or a concern or whatever, they tend to either email or text or call.

These diverse professional communication elements underscore that the different audiences of a musician’s career need different professional communication strategies.

Connecting with new audience members was the least common of these audiences.

Musicians reported sending out thank-you notes to new audiences members. Benjamin (i) uses Bandzoogle to connect with new audience members: “I actually get email notifications when new people sign up [on a mailing list], and I will go through and send them a personal message. And there is way to do it in Bandzoogle where you can send a single song or you can send an entire album.” Benjamin attempted to connect with an audience members as
soon as possible through specialized software that helped him make this task quick and easy. Austin (c) said that oral communication was better for reaching prospective students than digital media: “I do I have a, both a website and a Facebook page, but honestly for what I do specifically, they do help, but they really don't factor that greatly into what I do, I think for me specifically word of mouth is a much bigger deal.”

Connecting with an existing audience was one of the most common professional communication tasks that musicians reported. Email was used for this task often. Allen (i) reported sending emails to his audience frequently: “The really, really important information we gather together and we send out in an email—sometimes monthly, sometimes more than that or less than that. It just kind of depends. But we use email as well when something’s really, really bigger.” Distributing information to his existing audience was an important task that he did through email. Eddie (i) infrequently connects with his audience through email: “Because I don’t do it very often, I just use my Gmail account. I write up, you know, a nice-looking HTML email and then just draft it. And then I plug in all my BCCs. Like, last night I sent a couple of copies—maxed out the BCCs, which made me feel good. [laughter] Like, “oh, check me out!” Despite its infrequent use, Eddie has built up a substantial audience for his emails.

William (c) reported connecting with his students and parents through his website: “Sometimes, I would put, like, teaching videos on the website if there’s a song that we’re working with. And if you need something to practice with during the week, I record videos and sent the parents to the website to practice.” Using video on his website, William could
keep his students and their parents engaged in the work even while he was not physically in
the lesson with a student.

Wanda (c) who ran a flute choir, mentioned that she connected with her existing
audience through physical mail, an email list, Facebook, and Twitter: “So we used Constant
Contact for that, and send it out through there. So that’s been, we just do one mailing, one
snail mailing a year, a bulk mailing that has our … season brochure. We send out in
midsummer. That’s the only thing we send out that way. And everything else, our email list.
We have a list of teachers that we can just send a note out to all the teachers quickly. We
might send a reminder of an event coming up, just like five days before. Even though we
had our newsletters that went out, and then, of course, now Facebook and Twitter can be a
reminder of something coming up the next day or that day.” This variety of professional
communication served different purposes and was focused on different relationships of time
to events. The mailing was a season brochure intended to be read at the beginning of a
season, an email was a week before the event, and Facebook and Twitter served to connect
with the audience in the next day or two. These diverse professional communication
elements were integrated into a sophisticated communication strategy for connecting with
individual audiences.

Sometimes the audience was very personal, as opposed to a large mass. Jeff reported
that he keeps up with his local audience through SMS texts, as he knows his local audience
well enough to be able to personally invite them to shows. Benjamin (i) keeps in touch with
personal audience through Facebook instead of SMS texting: “I am going to go back to
Facebook, and I am going to write a basic personal message. It’s going to be about two sentences long. … It will usually be “hey,” and then I will write something about the show, and then I add their name in. And I do it one by one by one, and I send everybody a personal message.” Benjamin spent an incredible amount of time connecting with individuals in his audience in attempts to get them to come to shows.

Some musicians reported using professional communication to connect with professional audiences. Adam (i) used Facebook to make a professional connection at a recording studio: “I bothered the guy on Facebook for about six months. … And so I bothered him a lot and then eventually one day he just like asked me if I wanted to come over and check [the studio] out and I basically didn’t leave after that.” Hector (c) kept up with professional connections by proactively sending out emails: “If you’re not emailing people and sending them your stuff or worse, if you’re not recording anything or putting out videos of yourself, like, you know, people forget … very quickly. So, that’s why it’s very important to maintain a media presence.” Ian (c) used his website as a press kit to give information to people who wanted to hire him: “The only thing I use it for is an online press kit, to be honest. It’s a website to be able to have an online press kit, that way when contractors want something I can just send them there.” These three individuals each used professional communication (Facebook, email, website, online press kit) to connect with professionals for the purposes outside booking an event.
Developing a Career

Both classical and indie rock musicians thought about developing their career over the long term. This growth was often related to different types of professional communication elements, such as Facebook, Twitter, website, Instagram, phone calls, video, and email. Some professional communication helped directly build a career, while some professional communication allowed musicians to assess their current career status.

Hector (c) pointed to the process of building an audience over years, particularly by using video: “Now, if you want to build an audience, you have to frequently engage them by ways of video and singles, more than like, producing just an album every couple of years or touring.” Developing a career took a lot of professional communication use over a long period of time. Benjamin (i) was trying to build his career by getting more people signed up on his email list through multiple professional communication outlets (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and website):

The other thing I am planning on doing on Facebook is saying, telling people, “Hey for the rest of this month, if you sign up to my mailing list this month you are going to get a free copy of my first EP.” And so I am going to try to use that on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook separately, to be like, “Hey, go to my—check out my website. Go here, sign up for my mailing list. I will literally give you my first album for getting on my mailing list.” And so I am going to try to use that as incentive to try to get more people to do that.
Benjamin thought it was so important to build his email list that he was willing to give away his music to increase the number of fans on his email list. The promotion for this building campaign was done on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook.

Kent (i) agreed that email was important for development of a career, and had an email sign up on his website. However, he had not begun to develop it yet for use in his career:

Man, I haven’t. I haven’t even used it. You know, there is probably like—there is not that many people on it—you know, maybe 40 or 50 people. What I hear from all the, like, independent music blogs and people working on music marketing is that, like, that’s the way to go, is the email marketing. And I haven’t even sent one out. …

So that’s definitely something that I need to start getting on.

Kent reported reading that it would be good for his career and planned to get started on it. Building a career was possible through professional communication.

Some professional communication didn’t directly help build a career, but allowed for an assessment of the state of a career. Eddie (i) explained that some people had started calling him to play shows instead of him calling out to places to book: “There are towns, you know, areas where I have, you know, somewhat of a reputation. … It’s always nice when you get the cold call from the other direction. And I try and do most of—as many of those as I can.” The phone call in this case was a sign of his developing career, as his work and career were starting to be known well enough for him to be in demand. This allowed him to spend less time booking those shows and also know that his career was developing.
Jim (i) said that Facebook was a tool to help assess the state of their career in an even more concrete, quantitative way:

Facebook—that is kind of a tool for us to, I guess we view Facebook as two things; a way to connect with people and kind of a metric of our success, like our standing, as it were. So, we’ve found that the number of Facebook likes that a band has is a pretty good measure of where they are in their careers. Like we’re sitting at 912 right now. [Previous band] ended at like 2000. I guess we found that a band really starts to gain some sort of prestige at around, like, between like three and five thousand Facebook likes.

Facebook was one of the professional communication elements that helped Jim and his band think about their career development. Norman (i) used email to assess previous work and plan for future work in his career:

So next step is I would go to my Gmail, and … I would draft an e-mail, but I would go to my Gmail to look at a past email that I drafted. Sort of look at, look at and analyze it. Because I already know the results I got from last time, so I would try and figure out what made that successful for some things and what made it unsuccessful for certain things. And also re-read it, because … maybe you’ve changed. Or maybe this is a different project and you wanna focus on a different type of energy or vibe.

Norman’s expectations of career development over many projects over time showed in his reassessment of his own emails. Finding ways to improve or change his professional communication allowed him to develop in his career over time. Using old work as a starting
point for new work is a thread that I will develop more in the next chapter when I discuss the infrastructural use of professional communication.

Jeff (i) reassessed his professional efforts after seeing the effect that Facebook and Twitter had on his career development, and found that he wanted to change his strategy: “At the end of the day, I was like, ‘What the hell am I doing? You know, why am I so eager to do this?’ … It’s almost just like validation for the artist and it’s really nothing else. It’s just noise for the sake of creating noise, and so I guess I am trying to avoid a lot of that.” Jeff’s Twitter and Facebook use caused him to make a change in his career development strategy.

Meghan (c) also had some reservations about social media in relation to her career-building efforts, particularly in relation to Instagram: “I tried to post something, like, once a week [on Instagram and Facebook], and I also try to balance between work and my personal life. And I’ve thought about creating a separate Instagram account for my music, but I’m not sure about that yet; I’m kind of, you know, back and forth about it.” Meghan was using her personal Instagram account as her professional account, and she was considering taking the leap to developing a second Instagram account for her music alone. This would be a step toward a more coordinated digital communication strategy, increased professionalism, and a career-building.

I will now turn to individual sub groups and discuss the tasks and professional communication specific to each.
Table 9. Keyness values for verbs of indie rock musicians. Verbs that are not shared with classical musicians are bolded.

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Indie Rock Musicians’ Tasks

The previous section affirmatively answered the question, “Do similarities exist between indie rock and classical subgroups?” However, even within the shared tasks that professional communication was used for, some differences appeared in how the tasks were carried out. These next two sections will answer more fully the question of “Do differences exist between indie rock and classical subgroups?” in the affirmative: differences do exist between the subgroups. Respondents in each subgroup mentioned several verbs that were primarily or only related to their subgroup. These verbs reflected tasks that were specific to or strongly more important to each subgroup. In this section, I will explain the tasks that are specific to musicians in the indie rock subgroup; in the next section I will explain the tasks specific to classical musicians.

Out of the 11 verbs that were distinctive to indie rock musicians (will, listen, remember, post, promote, release, download, let, spend, liked, build), eight of them described four individual tasks. Will, let, and liked did not; will and let were helping verbs that did not show patterning against a specific task, and “liked” was more often related to the musician enjoying something than a Facebook like. These three verbs were excluded from the analysis.

Here are the specific tasks of indie rock musicians:

- Booking: Booking, spend
- Promoting: Promote, post, listen, spend
- Selling: Release, download
- Building
These verbs show that indie rock musicians are engaged in building a career that includes large amounts of content creation surrounding the actions of promotion and sales of recorded music and musical events.

**Booking: Booking, Spend**

While planning events for tours was particularly important to both subgroups, I made a distinction between booking (indie rock’s primary term for this task) and gigging (classical music’s primary term for this task). These two terms for planning events describe different tasks. Indie rock’s process of booking requires a musician sending an unsolicited message to a booker of a venue that primarily hosts rock music in attempts to convince the booker to put the musician on the schedule. As playing live concerts was one of the primary ways that musicians make money (through ticket sales and merchandise sales), the ability to effectively book shows was a critical need in the life of an indie rock musician.

Indie rock musicians reported booking performances as a near-ubiquitous process in their lives. This message can happen via email or phone call, but musicians reported highly valuing using email for this purpose.

Some musicians found booking to be relatively easy. Eddie reported his process of booking a tour:

I made a huge venue database of like a Google Doc. … Mostly I would get like 10 [names of venues] and I’d shoot those out. Those would be my preferred. And then if I got desperate and didn’t get a response, then I’d really start scrounging: be like, “Alright, what coffee shops are people playing, what's happening here.” … The
Colorado one was a little funky, but I think everything else went pretty smooth in terms of booking.

Brad, Benjamin, Jim, and Nick also reported using a spreadsheet to track the process of booking. Jim reported that his band spend a large amount of time looking for local bands to partner with on shows. Benjamin and Isaiah agreed with this sentiment, with Isaiah saying that in many cases partnering with local bands had become a necessity:

You've got to find your local bands that you're paired up with first, and then you got to pitch that. You actually have to pitch a full show, where before you used to pitch your own band and the club would put on the show they wanted. It seems to be the trend that nobody's doing that—not nobody, but most people are not doing that. They want you to say, "Hey, I've got opener, mid and closer, you know, headliner, here's what it's going to be like." And two out of the three bands, the club had better know already. And if you've got that, then pretty much you can almost get a show pretty simple. But yeah, you've got to do a lot of homework with your band. So that's the part that's easier, right, is that the Internet makes it a hell of a lot easier.

Booking required being able to research bands, reach out to those bands, coordinate the schedules of those bands so that they were all available on the same night to play the show, then pitch the show to the booker with the right argumentative strategies. This highly specific task required a large amount of professional communication elements and professional communication skill.
This process of searching for venues, searching for local bands, and pitching a concert to the booker was a process that took a lot of time, especially since the pitches were often unsolicited cold calls with no prior relationships. Kent (i) found this lack of longstanding relationship to be particularly difficult and wished that he could call on a professional who had those connections to book shows for him.

If I was going through a booking agent who had these connections and had people who trusted them along the coast, [the booking agent] could do what I do in months in a day. And so that’s kind of frustrating. … But when I am looking at a tour, it takes so much time, every day, for months leading up to it. … If I didn’t make my workload allow for that, it would be really hard.

Kent (i) further expounded that the process of booking was one that he would need to offload to a third party if he wanted to tour more:

I enjoy touring. So I’d be happy to go on the road a lot more, and that would definitely—in my opinion that definitely requires having someone booking shows. I know people who do it all themselves, and that’s very impressive. I think, sometimes I think that some people are better at that than they are at the music. And they focus on that, and they are able to do it because of their marketing skill set.

Kent argued that the professional communication skills and “marketing skill set” that some musicians possessed made the booking process and an overall career easier.
Booking was a critical task in the life of indie rock musicians that took up a great amount of time and required a large amount of professional communication skill. The professional communication needed in the booking will be explored in greater detail later.

**Promoting: Promote, Post, Listen, Spend**

Indie rock musicians must promote their work recorded work and live concerts to their existing audience and new audiences consistently. This promotion often took the form of social media posts, as well as radio and print promotion.

These promotional efforts for a record were centered around the release, especially before and leading away from the release date. Musicians wanted existing audiences and new fans to listen and like their music enough to buy it, stream it, or come to a concert of it. Ted explained his promotional strategy:

I am hopefully working on a couple other people who would write reviews, so there’s that. The pressing company that pressed it in San Francisco is going to write something on it, so that would be good … I have been trying to get [local newspaper] to do a write up on it. I am going to try and, like, coordinate that with the show that I’m doing, that August 19th show, so it’s, like, on my plate this week to kind of push that and make that happen if I can. The newspaper, press—radio is good too. I mean I’ve been sending out my albums to radio stations, just the ones that I know.

These efforts to promote the record and get new fans to hear about the record (as well as a show to go along with the record) required a great amount of professional communication.
Jeff noted that word of mouth was most important type of promotion in getting new people to listen to his music, which was the hardest type of promotion to get:

My friends have heard about John Moreland, not because John Moreland posted some review on his Facebook about *High on Tulsa Heat* or *In the Throes* a few years ago, but because I went to a friend, and I said, “You have to listen to this guy” or you went to a friend and you said, “you have to listen to this guy.”

Glenn noted that promoting was a constant problem, and that musicians could not rest on their laurels: “You put [out] a record and then, you know, you try to promote, promote, promote, but then a year later you are forgotten about.”

Promotional efforts for a concert were only done leading up to the concert. Jeff made a digital image that he called a flyer for each concert and said that, “I will post the flyer on Instagram with a link to the tickets and the venue. Yeah, usually those results are pretty good.” Anyone on Instagram could see Jeff’s post, but it’s primarily targeted at people who are already fans, trying to motivate those people already following Jeff’s Instagram to come to the show. Dawn responded that she saw every piece of information related to the show as promotion:

Everything for me is publicity. It’s all, “How do I promote this and make the most out of it so that I am not wasting my time?” So I think of everything as publicity. I think about the artwork that I am photoshopping. What are the best photos to use? … Does my photo and the photo of the other artist, do they complement each other? Is it, like, visually appealing? I could go on and on.
Dawn was not alone in employing sophisticated publicity strategies to try to motivate her audience to come to shows.

Lauren noted that it was a special skill to be able to create good content that would keep her audience engaged with her brand even when there was no new music or a concert to promote: “You’ve got to know when to post and what to post. And people like high quality stuff. If you’re going to post a picture, don’t just post like a selfie in your car. Like, that’s not going to get a bunch of interaction.” Posting promotional content was hugely important to get people to buy a record, but it was also considered important even when a new record was not out.

“Promote” also took on another denotation, as musicians reported that they had to promote their own posts on Facebook. Facebook throttles the amount of audience that sees each individual Facebook post and offers musicians the ability to “boost” or promote their Facebook posts to their fan bases by paying Facebook a small sum. As Quentin noted, “With any post that you have, you have to promote the post. Facebook doesn’t put those posts in front of the people who follow the page.” This promotion was considered troubling by many musicians, but they engaged in it anyway because the content or event that the Facebook post would be promoting was worth spending money on getting out into the public’s attention.

Some musicians admitted that Facebook, while not free, was cheaper than spending money to hire someone to do marketing: “at the end of the day [Facebook]’s not the free that it was, but it’s still like, it’s still worth it for, you know, for bands that don’t have a marketing budget.” The calculation of how much to spend on boosting and what to boost was another
area that required professional communication strategy. Getting around the lack of money to spend on high-end solutions, musicians relied on professional communication to get around these things. Sophisticated professional communication strategies revolved around how and when to promote elements of a musician’s career.

**Distributing: Release, Download**

Selling music involves two things: releasing music and getting people to purchase it through CDs and downloads. Releasing music is the process of distributing music out into the world. The release can be a digital release (where the music is distributed online for download or stream) or a physical release (where the music is printed on CDs, vinyl, or cassette tape). The act of releasing and distributing music is important to musicians, as this is where they put a new product out into the world and seek to get people to pay them for it.

Before the release can be published, artists must put together album art and handle the process of distributing the music to digital sources and the printing press (if CDs are getting made). After the release is ready to publish, musicians engage in social media promotions surrounding the new music, sending emails containing the release to press outlets in hopes of coverage. For musicians who make their money off selling or streaming music, releasing music is an important event in their professional lives.

Allen noted that a release isn’t very effective without professional communication surrounding and promoting the release:

We released our first album … and we really just felt like we needed to have an album. So we kind of hurried to release that and then, you know, then you just kind of
release it and then that’s it. … Nobody listens to it unless you really put it in front of them. And so for the next album we worked on, we knew that we wanted to take a chance and spend some money on it. Spend, you know, almost as much money as we were going to spend to record it, to promote it somewhere, to put it in people’s hands. Instead of releasing the music without promotion, Allen decided that his band’s second CD should have promotion surrounding it. The process of promoting a release was complex, as Brad noted:

So I have a few things lined up for right around the release. But then after you release your album and you have gotten a few people to write about you, then you send out, you know, another burst of emails, like "Hey, like, did you see this?" "Did you see this?" "Did you see that so and so reviewed my record, you know, did an album stream?" Or whatever. Then, you know, that might result in a few more people … catching on.

Brad had to repeatedly use email at different points along the timeline of the release to try to get professional contacts interested in the record. Getting professional contacts interested in the record was a goal to eventually help audiences get interested in the record, as the professional audiences at publication outlets and venues could put musicians in front of new and larger audiences.

Once the promotion process was underway with the professional audience, indie rock musicians had to promote the music to their public audiences, with the hope of them buying a CD or a download of the album. Even though digital streaming is becoming a large part of
the music industry, musicians still reported relying on CDs and downloads as part of the release and distribution process.

CDs were a physical way to distribute music. CDs can be expensive, as they have to be made in large runs of 500 or more to get printing presses’ business. However, Claude (i) found a way to make them himself in smaller batches: “We screenprint albums. So we set them up in a certain way that we’re able to do them, you know, we can do 100 at a time.”

Creating and selling CDs was an income stream for musicians, even in an era of digital music. Glenn (i) felt that times are changing for the CD, though: “I generally am not going to buy a record on CD anymore, but I’ll buy it on vinyl or I will download it and pay for it, if I really love something. And I hope other people follow that too.” He pointed to digital downloads as an important way to make sales.

Those digital downloads Glenn (i) suggested were mentioned by other musicians as part of the distribution process. Digital distribution of the recorded project often happened on iTunes, Bandcamp, or Soundcloud. Bandcamp and iTunes are download stores, while Soundcloud is a streaming site. Nick (i) used Bandcamp to sell downloads because the whole website was oriented around selling music: “I really like just the simplicity of it, the embeddable-ness of it. … It’s like very oriented around purchasing and really flexible with that stuff.” Norman (i) reported that “I sell a lot on iTunes.” iTunes only sells downloads, making Norman’s sales all of the digital variety.

This focus on distribution points to sales as a driver of income for musicians, making a new release an important event in the life of indie rock musicians.
Building

Classical musicians and indie rock musicians reported that they needed to develop their careers. However, indie rock musicians used a specific word for this: build. Indie rock musicians reported that they needed to build aspects of their career: they needed to build the size of their overall audience, build the size of their email lists, or build their career in general.

Claude suggested that building an audience was a critical part of starting a new band: “The ideal situation, I think, would be more like they start their band, maybe have some demos, play for a year, and build an audience. And then they, you know, build that audience and then get the record going, and then put that out. But it’s usually not that way.” Nick suggested a more specific way of audience building: building the size of an email list that he can contact with news about the band. Early in the life of his current band they focused on email: “That’s like half the goal right now; it is … play shows in [hometown], get better and build the list.” Norman mentioned that he started to build an audience on a specific social media platform: “You know what’s funny about Instagram, what I learned is that I really started to build momentum when I did it more frequently.”

Lauren suggested a different type of building. She wanted to build a team that would help her do the professional work of being a musician was an important consideration: “I’m not like on a label, so you kind of have to build your own team as an independent artist.” Indie rock musicians reported that they wanted to be building their career, as they saw growth in size of audience as an achievable and desirable goal. The task of developing a
Having addressed the key verbs of indie rock musicians, I will now turn to the professional communication they use.

**Professional Communication in Indie Rock Musicians’ Tasks**

Indie rock musicians employed a large number of professional communication elements in their tasks. These professional communication elements could be used to reach out to professionals, reach out to audiences, or even generate more professional communication. The tasks of indie rock musicians had many more professional communication elements associated with it than classical musicians’, as the tasks that indie rock musicians reported had less to do with musical tasks and more to do with business tasks.

In the reporting below, I have excluded the verbs that make up the task from the headers, so as better to focus on the communication that surrounds the task.

**Booking**

Booking was a business task that surrounded the playing of music, as indie rock musicians scheduled and coordinated times and places to play shows. They used many professional communication elements in this endeavor: email, phone calls, spreadsheets, and Facebook. Sometimes booking resulted in the creation of professional communication, such as radio play or a TV appearance.

The most common way to conduct booking was through email. Ted indicated that he used email to contact venues for booking:
Right now, I am a relatively undiscovered artist and I think the best thing for me, more than, like, getting money or whatever when I am booking, is to get in front of the biggest audience that I can. … I emailed [a venue] and what I asked was if they put together bills with other local acts and out of town acts.

Ted reached out to venues directly using email to attempt to get booked. Benjamin explained that he used a system of phone calls and emails to book shows. Over time he developed a system that he solidified into a specialized chart that allowed him to conduct booking phone calls efficiently (see Figure 9). Benjamin used the chart to map his phone calls, starting with the first question and proceeding his way down the list until he gathered all the information he needed to send an effective booking email to the right party about the right dates. Benjamin’s use of the phone led to email use.

Phone and email were not the only professional communication that Benjamin used to book shows. He reported that he was planning on using Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and email to book a different type of shows: house shows. He explained that he was going to model his own booking request on a different booking request he received from a peer artist:

And so it says, "I’m hitting the road again this spring! National House Concert Tour! Want a concert at your place? Email booking@[bandname].com." “House Concert Host” is the subject line. … I want to be able to put this on Facebook, on Instagram, on Twitter, and send it out to all of my e-mail stuff. And then say, "Anywhere in the country" you know, and say, “2016!"
City, State_________________________________

**Booking Inquires**

Do you guys still do live music?
What nights do you guys normally do live music?
Who is the best person to talk to about booking live music?
What is the best way to contact that person? Email? Text? Call?

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Figure 9. Benjamin’s booking form
Benjamin wanted to use these many professional communication elements to book house shows because house shows usually occurred in the houses of fans instead of in rock clubs. By sending this booking call out via the professional communication elements that he usually reaches out to his audience on, he can try to use his audience not just as a group of people who will come to his shows, but a group of people who will host his shows at their houses. Indie rock musician Ellie also wanted to book house shows, using a newsletter to solicit that sort of work:

When people sign up for my newsletter at a show, I usually send a ‘Welcome to the Newsletter’-type email and share with them links to my social media and say, ‘I’ll let you know when I’m back in your city again. In the meantime if you’d like to host a house concert please let me know. I’d love to do that,’ and then I also provide a link to the house concert page for them to find out more of what that entails.

Nick mentioned that his band used the professional communication element of the Facebook ads to help book house shows:

We’ll do Facebook specifics, you know. We’ll do a Facebook ad that’s specific to places that we need and hopefully [shows] fill in that way. And that’s been—the last couple [tours] came together really easily.

While the process of booking shows at rock clubs required email or phone calls, the process of booking house shows required a more diverse set of professional communication use.

Maria reported that she booked events at radio stations, television studios, and record stores with the help of a publicist. These events helped result in promotional professional
communication like radio play and TV spots: “All of those radio, television, and record store things came from the publicist. And then the shows that we got on our own, most of those came from—I booked most of those. And then we had someone helping us who I think booked one of them.” Booking not only required professional communication to book the shows, but it could result in professional communication that helped the band promote.

Booking was one of the most common tasks in the life of the indie rock musicians. Musicians developed a wide and sophisticated range of professional communication elements to achieve the ends of booking.

Promoting

Indie rock musicians needed to promote their booked concerts and their released music. They used a wide array of professional communication elements to do the work of promoting: Facebook, Twitter, SMS text, posters, Instagram, Tumblr, videos, radio and newspapers.

Ryan and Kent found that Facebook was an important promotional tool. Ryan explained its ubiquity: “As it is now, Facebook is like a pretty big promotional tool for really mostly everyone.” Kent used Facebook to promote every show he did: “So trying to just make it as easy as possible for people to get all the information, and … promoting every show just through [the] Facebook page.” Yet Adam disputed the effectiveness of Facebook: “I see a lot of, like, you know, online promotion. I see a lot of … my peers doing that. I just don’t know how effective it is at the end of the day. I mean yes, they are getting more Facebook likes, but—or, like, more likes on their page—but I don’t know if that’s going to
overall at the end of the day make them have a better chance than I am if I just go and talk to—meet with musicians and talk to them and, like, get to know them.”

Jeff used Facebook as one of multiple professional communication elements in his promotional strategy: “I’m trying to be very systematic with how I promote on Facebook, Twitter and just traditional means like text, email, etc.” Claude also reported a diverse set of professional communication elements that served as part of promotion:

But with [label] being a label, and you’re trying to promote these releases and that sort of thing. … The most immediate tool is our social media. It involves Facebook, Instagram, Twitter. I use the Tumblr, but I’m not very good at it. I mostly focus on those three. And then we use Soundcloud for our songs, for parking the songs. And then a lot of e-mail, in terms of trying to send things out.

In addition to Facebook, Claude and Jeff used Twitter, email, SMS texts, Instagram, Tumblr, and Soundcloud. Dawn explained how she used Instagram in addition to Facebook:

I do a lot of photoshopping, so I share a lot of images. … Sometimes I get better response from those than I do just from text. Yeah, so, at the top of the week I’ll create, you know, artwork for Instagram. I’ll just figure out what I need to do, what Facebook events I need to create to promote a show that’s, you know, several weeks away.

Victor mentioned one other digital professional communication element that was important for promotion: video. As he noted: “I think that’s going to be a big part of it, is like just connecting people and making music videos, sort of combining promotional efforts.”
Collaborating with other professionals to make mutually beneficial promotional communication was one part of his promotional strategy. These digital professional communication elements were a big part of the overall professional communication environment of promoting.

Digital media did not comprise all of the promotional efforts. Print media, while not the most important promotional tools to musicians, still held a place in their promotional lives. Eddie noted that he used newspaper promotion in addition to Facebook:

I was doing Facebook promoting and little stuff, but I was like, “You know, a lot of people still open up that weekly newspaper and ‘Oh, what's in the arts section?’”. … A lot of times [you] just submit to “our calendar” and sometimes all you do is just put your name and the venue, and sometimes you put a website.

Eddie used a print medium in addition to the digital media of Facebook. Ted also used the newspaper as a promotional medium among others (including radio play): “So I’ve been just trying to do that: newspaper, radio, blog, internet presence, my own promotion.” The use of print media shows that the digital media have not totally supplanted the print world in terms of promotion, although there are many more digital avenues of promotion than print.

Jim relied on another print medium: posters. In cities where his band did not have a large pre-existing audience to help get the word out, posters were one of the few ways they could promote: “Tell all your friends about it, because we don’t, you know, we don’t have a street team. We don’t have really any other means of promotion besides, you know, sending the venue posters and hoping the band that we booked aren’t totally lazy about getting people
there.” Booking a local band to share the bill with was an important way of getting a show booked, as noted above, but this resulted in promotional difficulties. If the local band did not work their promotional angles, the lack of an audience and connections in that town hamstrung Jim’s ability to promote.

Isaiah explained that when he first started his musical career in the ‘90s, putting up posters was part of the process of promoting: “You knew that if you put a record out—or a cassingle or whatever—you knew you had to put posters in the store to promote it. You had to book a show to promote the recording and to sell it. So I booked a show and we just started doing these things.” Isaiah felt that the actions of releasing, booking, and promoting were all intertwined. The reason that these tasks seem intertwined has to do with the circumstances that give rise to all three tasks. These reasons for tasks and professional communication will be explored in Chapter 6.

**Distributing**

Musicians had to release music. This process was important to their career, as the release of music signaled that they had written and recorded new music. To develop the release process, indie rock musicians turned to a wide array of professional communication elements: blogs, social media, videos, spreadsheets, magazines, radio play, CDs, Bandcamp, iTunes, download cards, and more.

Jeff reported doing research on what musicians that had a larger audience than him were doing so that he knew what to do during his own release:
So what were these guys and gals doing three months out, two months out, one month out? How do they release? What publications pick them up? Like, did they have a photo shoot? Did they release a video? Are they releasing a single? What was it? And I will literally put everything in an Excel spreadsheet; just like, “this person did that,” “that person did this,” “they released their album on Paste or CMT Edge or No Depression.”

Jeff himself was using the professional communication element of the spreadsheet to track the tasks, strategies and professional communication elements that peer musicians were using in the process of releasing music. Lauren explained her process for getting press in publications: “In the past with EPs, and releases and stuff, I … at least start posting on a month out and like on just social media and stuff like that. But I also will send, like, press releases to local news stations or, you know, like, blogs.” Lauren uses press releases to news stations and blogs, as well as posts on social media, to help the release. Norman also looks to magazines radio stations for press: “I want to get press in multiple parts of the world for the release, so I'll look for bigger outlets; bigger meaning, you know, bigger magazines or bigger radio stations, you know, trying to get that punch for a release.” Reaching out to press in multiple types of outlet was part of the process of releasing.

Once musicians released an album, they had to distribute it in various forms. CDs; digital downloads from sites like Bandcamp and iTunes, and download cards were ways of distributing music to their audiences. CDs and downloads are relatively well-known options for distribution, but digital download cards are a bit more unusual; they are physical cards,
approximately the size of a business card, that hold a download code. These can be bought at shows by fans and then redeemed online. However, Nick reported that they had difficulty getting these cards to be effective: “We’ve done download cards for like, little cover EPs and stuff, and just nobody buys them. And then the people who do buy them, they don’t redeem them.” The multi-step process of buying the card, redeeming the card, downloading the music, and listening was a way of distributing music that wasn’t perceived as effective.

Releasing an album was closely related to promotion, but promoting was a separate task that musicians did in slightly different ways. Release is a more specific verb that explains a specific task in the life of an indie rock musician—a task that was critical in the development of their career. The professional communication that they did and the professional communication that they hoped to receive as a result of their efforts were a large part of their professional communication environment. Distributing that released music through CDs, downloads, and download cards also added to the professional communication of this task.

**Building**

Building was an action that happened by playing shows, meeting people, and maintaining those connections, but these connections could be instantiated and activated by professional communication. Press contacts and audience size were two things that musicians built.

Indie rock musicians had to build their number of press contacts. Norman took on the task of building a spreadsheet to store information about his press contacts and when he had
last interacted with them: “I built this sort of spreadsheet or database of contacts, of press contacts. … But I built it trying to be specific for what I’m doing. So that's why it took so long to build it. It's radio stations, press, so. And yeah, here I tell you where I last e-mailed them.” Growing the size of his press sheet corresponded to “building” a set of professional connections. The growth in number of his relationships and size of his spreadsheet were connected. Maria relied on a personal connection to tap other connections that a professional had built over time: “Several records ago I had worked with a guy named [X], who, really his only thing is he would contact a ton of blogs … and he contacted a ton of them, and got us some pretty good press. And he was really great about like—I wish he continued to do it, but over time he just got too busy. … He would only contact people that he had kinda built a relationship with.” Her relationship with her professional contact was able to activate his relationships with blogs and get her press coverage.

The email list was a critical thing that indie rock musicians tried to build. Ted rewarded people for joining his email list and building its size:

So I just want to build up a relationship like that with my fans. I want them to, like, have [pause] If they are kind enough to sign up for my email list—and I know how it is with email lists, I don’t even sign up for email lists of bands that I like; you know what I mean? I am just like, “no” … —but if they are kind enough to do that, then I want to give them something.

Engaging with his fans through giveaways such as MP3s and demos helped him build a relationship with his audience that he hoped to continue as he put out more music and did
more tours. Nick was able to activate the email list he had built to help his Kickstarter succeed, as he said: “[Bandmate] and I had been, like, pounding the pavement for about a year and we already built up this big list from giving our EP away for free. So then we made half of our [Kickstarter] goal on the first day.” Activating the audience that he had built allowed him and his band to move forward in their career and get money to create a new album. Building a career involved not just building the press contact and the audience, but then activating what was built.

Overall

The professional communication environments surrounding indie rock musicians’ unique tasks were large and diverse. Each of the tasks that they reported doing required multiple professional communication elements. Their diverse audiences played a role, as indie rock musicians needed to reach out to their audience and industry professionals. Trying to reach an audience required using a wide array of digital professional communication elements to try to reach audiences where they were. Reaching industry professionals was a little more straightforward, requiring email and phone calls. These two audiences made a wide professional communication environment necessary.

Having reported on the tasks and professional communication that indie rock musicians use, I will now turn my attention to the tasks that are distinctive to classical musicians, as summarized in Table 10.
Table 10. Keyness values for verbs of classical musicians. Unique verbs not shared with indie rock musicians are bolded.

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Classical Musicians’ Tasks

Classical musicians reported the unique verbs of teach, composing, networking, mentioned, move, gigging, called, audition, thinking, looking, and singing. Classical musicians’ unique verbs reinforce a previous finding, exhibit some findings not oriented around professional communication, and point to some specific tasks.

The finding that was reinforced is uncertainty, as “looking” and “thinking” were speculation verbs. Classical musicians described the uncertainty that all musicians reported in different ways than indie rock musicians did. The verb “moved” almost exclusively was used to show that the classical musician moved their residence from one city to another, which had little professional communication use attached to it. Classical musicians also mentioned singing and auditioning more than might be expected, perhaps because one of my respondents was a singer and choir director. Auditioning had to do with trying out for organizational positions, which had little professional communication involved with it and was not the most important thing I found in relation to making an extra-institutional career.

The tasks that were specific to classical musicians are below. Unlike the indie rock tasks, which were composed of multiple verbs, each task here is composed of a single verb. I did not find multiple verbs involved in each task in the classical musicians’ responses, but still found each of these single verbs to be describing a distinctive task.

- Teaching
- Gigging
- Composing
Networking

Teaching

Classical musicians reported that teaching was one of the tasks that many (but not all) of them did. These extra-institutional musicians were teaching private music lessons, conducting extra-curricular choirs, or helping out part-time with school-related music teaching. Some musicians spent the majority of their professional time teaching students, putting a large part of their professional efforts toward the coordination of 20+ students a week, as Austin explained: “I feel pretty comfortable with about 20 to 25ish” students a week. Emma reported mixing work with a choir and teaching: “So I work for [regional choir] and I run that group. … I teach voice lessons occasionally, but I don’t have much time to teach.” Tanya reported working with various schools: “I also teach sectionals at a few different schools, and I also coach chamber music, so I coach string quartets at a charter school here on a pretty regular basis.”

Some held multiple teaching positions at different schools, juggling the needs of multiple employers. Elizabeth noted, “I do have a couple of teaching positions that add up to about two hours per week,” while Olivia explained, “I’ve got these three faculty positions right now” at three different higher education institutions. Some musicians only taught a few students as one income stream among many. Melody noted that she had multiple income streams: “I have lots of students I’m teaching. Just getting lots of gigs and working a fair amount.” Regardless of the quantity of students taught, the focus of teaching was on providing music instruction to musicians less experienced than the teacher.
Gigging

Classical musicians and indie musicians both had to plan events. However, indie rock musicians used the verb “book” while classical musicians used the verb “gig.” This is because the tasks were slightly different. Indie rock musicians’ booking entailed soliciting and developing a live event where the indie rock musician was the focus. Classical musicians were gigging when they played as part of a pre-existing event that they did not plan. Classical musicians playing gigs were contracted to play as not the main focus of the event, often.

Hector distinguished between booking a show at a venue and gigging: “You know, like, gigging is not just playing a club. Gigging is like playing a wedding, playing weddings which pay well, political fundraisers—which we did early this year—playing events, like the [event] at the [gardens].” Meghan reported that she also did gigs where her performance was not the main focus of the event before she became a full-time musician: “I did some regional symphony work; I played a lot with different contemporary churches, improvising. And so, I was still gigging, but it was never with the intention of pursuing music as a career.” Fletcher suggested yet another type of gig that the musician can play without being the centerpiece of the show: “I have a whole other avenue of playing solo gigs, of doing live things with dance companies.”

Classical musicians performing the task of gigging were often contacted by people to play the show, as Tanya noted: “The lady who runs that [school], she just contacted me for a gig once, like at a church. I don’t, I honestly don’t know who referred me to her, but I played
with her.” Gigging required having a network of people who would be able to hire the musician or refer the musician for hiring at events that the musician had not planned and was not the main focus of. I will talk more about networks and networking below.

Composing

While writing music was important to both indie rock and classical musicians, composing was a specific type of writing music. Composing classical music was often done as a commission for a musical organization or group: “I have a small commission for a cello and guitar piece coming up,” said Carl. These new pieces of classical music were often associated with premieres of the work. Olivia reported that a group she was in commissioned a composer for a new piece to premiere: “We actually commissioned a piece from one of our former classmates at [conservatory] and we’re giving the world premiere at that harp conference that I was telling you about.” The musician was paid to use their specific aesthetic sense and technical skill to create work for other musicians to play.

Some musicians primarily identified as composers (“my main job is composing and orchestration,” said Ian), while others composed a bit as part of their work (“I do some composing. I’m not that good at it just yet so I don’t want to put it out there as of right now, but I would eventually like to put that stuff out as well,” said Yvonne.). Elizabeth, who did not primarily identify herself as a composer, gave seminars that helped composers write for her instrument: “I’m here in [city]. I’m doing ‘How to Write for Harp’ composition seminars to composers.” These seminars were valuable because the more people who knew how to
write for her instrument, the larger her network could be when she wanted to commission a piece.

Composing was a specific type of writing music that required creating a classical piece for a specific professional audience to perform. The task of composing was not one that every musician undertook. Some musicians, however, saw it is a large or even primary part of their work.

Networking

Classical musicians reported developing and maintaining a professional network. Their network helped them with the other tasks that were associated with their career.

Gigging often required some amount of networking to succeed, as a hirer had to find a musician and often turned to their peers to find musicians. Austin related that a teacher of his referred him for a gig that turned into many other opportunities: “People always say ‘it’s not what you know, it’s who you know’ and even in this business too, that’s very, very true. I mean, without the guy that I take piano from now, I probably wouldn’t have had a chance to get this church gig, which really was the catalyst to a lot of what else came.”

Musicians received student referrals from their network. Austin noted that directors of choirs and his students themselves referred new students to him: “Most of it is word of mouth. What’s been really nice besides word of mouth just from students themselves are some of the choirs I play for, having the directors do that.” The previous work that Austin had done resulted in relationships that could turn into new students in his studio.
Composers had to develop a network to make sure that they had enough people who wanted to hire them to compose. Fletcher related how he used his network to get a new commission:

I said to [former conservatory classmate], “Oh hey! It would be fun to do something together one day.” Then she said “Yes!” Then a few months later she came back, like, “Hey, I just wrote a grant. Can I put your name on it for writing music?” Like, “Okay.” So we got a grant, and then we got another grant, so I was able to write the music for her show and get some money to record.

The networking was valuable for composers (and all classical musicians) because people who had needs for music were able to seek out musicians to fill that need through networks.

Many of these connections were made through phone calls. Emma noted how she received a gig to do choral adjudications through her network: “The first person who called me was my high school choir director over in [place], and actually those … have been big connections.” The personal communication of a phone call, as opposed to a cold email, was important in the maintenance and activation of a network.

Having discussed the tasks that classical musicians do, I will now focus on the professional communication that supports those tasks.

Professional Communication in Classical Musicians’ Tasks

Classical musicians reported unique tasks that were a part of their professional lives. Teaching, gigging, composing, and networking each held an important role in the professional work and income streams of their careers. However, these tasks did not have a
great amount of professional communication associated with them. The four unique tasks of classical musicians relied more heavily on in-person connections and musical skills than professional communication.

**Teaching**

Musicians did not report a large amount of professional communication surrounding the task of teaching. The work surrounding the act of teaching required scheduling and setting up a program for a recital. Sylvia noted that teaching had a relatively stable schedule: “The teaching is pretty set. … That’s sort of like the architecture of this; the skeleton of my schedule, because the playing stuff tends to be less regular.” The stability of the scheduling in teaching allowed for some structure in her career. Austin noted that the schedule could change, which would require coordinating with students to change the schedule: “I teach them year-round. During the summer things definitely change up, like I’ll do a different schedule for them. You know, we can meet in the mornings and all that, and kind of find something that’s more convenient for everyone.” Creating and maintaining the professional communication element of the schedule was a part of the teaching activity.

Susan mentioned that the professional communication element of the program was part of her professional communication environment as well: “When I first opened, I did not have to worry about what pieces would appear on recital programs. Now I have to let the teachers know it needs to be family friendly.” Planning, developing, and printing the recital program was part of her work.
Gigging

Musicians who were undertaking the task of gigging used professional communication to facilitate the process of hirers finding them and for keeping themselves organized. The facilitating aspect often happened in online spaces.

Melody reported a strategic use of her website to help her get gigs: “I have, like, a blog on my website. And that’s mostly just to get better search engine optimization.” She felt that getting her website to appear in searches would help her get more gigs. Tanya reported that a professional website and third-party websites like theKnot allowed a friend of hers to get gigs: “So I have a good friend who has like a wedding group called [PS] and they – she has a pretty active website, they’re also listed on The Knot and, like, some of those other wedding websites. So they get a lot of gigs through there.”

Melody also mentioned that her Facebook use was calculated toward helping her get more gigs: “I don’t think I’ve gotten gigs through Facebook, but I have it set up so that I have reviews on there, and I think that might help people want to hire me.” Patricia felt that having a CD to distribute on YouTube would help her get gigs for her harp performances, which she called programs: “I don’t want to be on [YouTube] until I have … a CD or MP3 that I can sell. … I have been, for a year, kind of working on when I can start recording the program that I just did. I see that recording also as being a really necessary component for getting gigs of that program.” Having musical content to display was critical for her to get gigs.

Yvonne reported that she needed to use a calendar to keep herself organized: “I definitely have learned to keep a calendar in my phone up-to-date because a lot of the times I
— not that I’m forgetful, but I have so many gigs.” While others used professional communication for the purpose of reaching out to others, Yvonne needed professional communication for herself to keep the busyness of her career organized.

**Composing**

Musicians reported almost no professional communication in the act of composing, and very little professional communication surrounding the act of composing. What little was mentioned has more to do with developing and maintaining professional connections, as was mentioned in the full respondent pool above. Carl (c) mentioned that the specific professional communication element of the website helped him build his career by getting more composing work:

I think my website has been a huge help in my work. I think maybe I’ve gotten one email [laughter] from having a website. But I’ve gotten so many people who say, “Oh, I’ve seen your website. You look like a legitimate person [laughter]. You look like you know what you’re talking about.” … The website to me is like a very fancy business card.

His website helped convince people that his work was legitimate and resulted in more work. While individual musicians reported using professional communication elements in their work (such as Finale and a music notation software more generally), this particular task of actually composing music seems to be particularly uninvolved with professional communication.
Networking

The professional communication elements of networking included online resources, but primarily focused around word of mouth and in-person relationships.

Meghan expressed uncertainty about whether Facebook, website, resume, and content would help as much as in-person relationships:

I have thought about a website, because now that I have some content and I have a resume, I feel like I could. But, a lot of the musicians I know, even in [major city], who are doing what I want to do—playing full time—they don’t have, they hardly have anything. They're not even on Facebook a lot. And that's just because they've been here for years and they’ve networked. And word of mouth is always the best form of networking, but they just never needed that stuff. And so, I'm like, ‘Well, if they don't have a website, like, should I? How useful would this be?’

Meghan mentioned several different media that were possible aids in networking, but she did not know if they would be effective. Olivia mentioned that musicians needed professional communication elements and in-person networking to succeed as a musician coming out of conservatory: “Website, … business card, they don’t know how to network. They don’t know how to do a lot of things. All they have been taught their whole life for 22 years or so is that they are the best violinist, cellist, trombonist, whatever and that is enough. But it’s just not.”

Olivia considered the genres of the website and the business card as essential to a career, in contrast to Meghan.
Melody’s ideas of networking connected more with Olivia’s, as she took “yes and” approach to professional communication and in-person networking:

I started being on GigMasters. … It’s like an online resource. … People can search for different types of entertainment for their event. You have to pay for a listing on there, and then they can contact you. … And there’s another one called GigSalad as well that’s pretty much the same thing. And of course website, and networking, I guess, as well. More difficult to do sometimes, but just as important, I think.

Melody employed several different communication elements, such as a website and third-party services, to support and complement her networking.

**Overall**

Classical musicians reported few professional communication genres that were unique to their tasks. This may suggest that the amount and types of professional communication needed by classical musicians to conduct a successful career are smaller in number, or that classical musicians could benefit from employing more professional communication. It may also suggest that the type of work that classical musicians do is not one that is well-supported by written professional communication elements and is more easily supported by in-person relationships, as was reported in the networking task. The answers to the “why” of the professional communication lack in classical musicians will be further explored in Chapter 6.
Conclusion

These findings have implications for Arts Entrepreneurship and Technical and Professional Communication. Understanding the tasks and professional communication elements of indie rock and classical musicians allows for a greater understanding of the type of work that is necessary for musicians, expanding knowledge in both fields. The finding of the 184 communication elements adds to knowledge in Arts Entrepreneurship by providing details about what types of professional communication fall under the broad call for communication skills in the lives of artists and arts entrepreneurs (Essig, 2016). Differentiating these uses of professional communication by tasks that musicians reported allows some analysis of whether the professional communication was needed similarly by both subgroups.

While some professional communication was shared between musician subgroups, indie rock musicians reported needing more professional communication to do the tasks that were specific to their subfield than classical musicians did for their tasks. Indie rock musicians’ professional communication environments were suffused with many different types of professional communication elements that helped them complete their tasks, while classical musicians’ unique tasks did not require as wide range of professional communication elements. Indie rock musicians’ unique tasks of booking, promoting and distributing all focused on the audience that they had to build (the fourth task); this audience orientation has implications for why indie rock musicians use this type of communication, which will be explored further in Chapter 6. Similarly, the unique tasks of classical musician
were more focused on professional activity than activities that required a large public audience: teaching, gigging, and composing each required having someone hire the musician to do work instead of requiring the musician to develop a large public audience to buy their music. Thus, their final task of networking was important to sustain the professional networks needed to keep themselves being hired.

These separate tasks and professional communication responses complicate the research and pedagogy trajectory in Arts Entrepreneurship that looks for cross-field skills that can be imparted to artists across subfields (Pollard & Wilson, 2014) and supports the “organizing” approach to Arts Entrepreneurship which suggests that each type of arts may have its own form of Arts Entrepreneurship activity based on its own ways of doing business (Gartner et al., 2015). While some similarities of task were found across the musician groups, many tasks differed. The reasons for these differences will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

These findings also intervene in a specific ongoing discussion in Arts Entrepreneurship about what skills artists need. Knowing that different types of musicians report different communication tasks that require certain types of associated professional communication allows for a much more targeted focus on who needs “networking and collaboration and marketing communication” skills and why (p. 1). Arts entrepreneurs conducting certain marketing tasks like promoting recorded music may need to know and use professional communication elements like Facebook and Twitter adeptly, while arts entrepreneurs doing composing work may need more skills revolving around the professional
communication that maintains and activates networks, such as email. This can affect pedagogy and research in Arts Entrepreneurship. I will address this issue more in Chapter 7.

These differences between relatively closely related groups of individuals also provide some theoretical insights for extra-institutional individuals. Even closely related groups may have significant differences in the professional communication elements and tasks they need to undertake as part of their career. This makes looking at individual groups of extra-institutional individuals (Petersen, 2014) an important area for further research in TPC, as grouping extra-institutional individuals into too large a group may obscure the real differences in professional communication and work. I will return to this discussion in Chapters 6 and 7.

In this chapter, I have discussed the how and what of professional communication by describing the tasks that musicians do and the professional communication they use to do them. But while we know that indie rock and classical musicians do different things with different professional communication elements, we do not know why these two groups differ in these ways. I will turn my attention in the next chapter will turn to why these subgroups differ in the tasks that they do.
CHAPTER 6: PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION: WHY

In Chapter 5, I reported on and discussed the actions that extra-institutional musicians took with professional communication elements in their daily work. I found that indie rock musicians mentioned promotion often but not networking, while classical musicians reported networking often but not promotion. Why do the tasks of musicians in these subgroups differ? What is behind these verbs and professional communication use? In this chapter, I will investigate why musicians take those actions with professional communication, as instantiated in these research questions:

1. Why do musicians communicate?
2. Do any similarities in musicians’ exigences and professional communication responses to those exigences suggest stable sets of characteristics that would suggest the construction of an identifiable extra-institutional organizational structure or structures governing their work?
3. If so, what are the characteristics of those organizational structures?

I argue that the answer to why musicians use professional communication in the ways that they do is that their exigences are framed by the characteristics of their extra-institutional organizational structure, and these exigences require musicians to do certain tasks and use certain professional communication elements. I further argue that extra-institutional musicians of different subgroups report different tasks and different professional communication use because they are each working in different organizational structures. These organizational structures, which are sets of characteristics that must be addressed in all professional communication, provide musicians with a stable pattern of work. The
organizational structure dictates the way to do things in a business, just as the characteristics of a bureaucracy dictate the way to do work in a large organization.

By investigating the exigences that called for professional tasks and professional communication use, I found four organizational structures for musicians: the build structure, the teaching structure, the repertoire structure, and the composing structure. Each of these have individual characteristics that reframe their exigences. These individual characteristics fall under four categories that I found: the outcome of a musician’s work, the type of audience musician is trying to reach, the limits to growth, and the power structure of a musician’s professional relationships.

These findings of four organizational structures also illustrate a theoretical concern related to how extra-institutional organizational structure comes to exist. The characteristics of these organizational structures shape the professional communication that musicians do by reframing the exigences that musicians use professional communication to respond to. Because professional communication co-constitutes an organization (Doheny-Farina, 1986), the characteristics that shaped musician’s professional communication shaped the extra-institutional organizational structure for the musician. I will address this theoretical concern at the conclusion of this chapter and in the last chapter. I will also explain the implications of these findings for TPC and Arts Entrepreneurship at the end of this chapter.

Method

To discover these characteristics that resulted in organizational structure, I coded the stimulated recall interviews (Appendix B) with the terms Spinuzzi (2015) used in relation to
organizational structure: coordination, collaboration, and communication. These instances of coordination, collaboration or communication reflected exigences in their work: situations which called for a professional communication response. I then conducted a second coding pass on the segments I had just coded, describing the constraints that affected the responses to these exigences. I found that some constraints appeared in many exigences.

Then used the constant comparison method to turn those constraints into categories of characteristics. The constraints that appeared in many of a musician’s exigences were the characteristics that reframed all professional communication exigences in a musician’s life. The categories of characteristics were ways of grouping characteristics for comparison across the organizational structures. In Chapter 3, I detail the reasoning behind the mixed methods approach of this chapter and the switch in methods between chapters 5 and 6.

In this chapter, I will begin by discussing the theory relevant to this chapter. I will then display Table 11, which compares the characteristics of the four organizational structures. Following, I will compare the four organizational structures, explaining why their differences matter for the professional communication of musicians. Next, I will discuss how the characteristics operate within each organizational structure. Within those descriptions of the organizational structures, I will list and explain some exigences that are part of the organizational structures, showing how the exigences can give rise to diverse professional communication use while also shaping that professional communication use. I will use representative quotes to show how each individual characteristic frames the exigences musicians respond to and leads to unique patterns of coordination, communication, and
collaboration with audiences, peers, and industry professionals to achieve specific ends. I will close each description of organizational structure with an explanation of how the four characteristics of an organizational structure work together to reframe “scheduling a performance” into a distinctive exigence for each organizational structure.

I will finish the analysis of this chapter by explaining that many musicians participated in multiple organizational structures at once. These hybrid careers required musicians to develop what amounted to multiple careers, each with a different set of communication, collaboration and coordination patterns. I will conclude by explaining how these four organizational structures show the infrastructural use of professional communication.

Theory: Exigences, Constraints, Characteristics and Organization

Critical to this discussion is the relationship of exigences, constraints, and characteristics. An exigence “is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be” (Bitzer, 1968, p. 6). An exigence is reframed by constraints; these constraints are persons, events, objects, and relations that alter the makeup of the exigence (p. 8). Reframing an exigence with different constraints changes what type of professional communication can appropriately respond to that exigence.

In the life of a musician, the thing “waiting to be done” could be coordinating the scheduling of a performance, communicating information about an event, or collaborating to

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12 This theoretical section expands on the previous comparison of Bitzer and Spinuzzi’s work on pages 69-72.
record new music. When Benjamin (i) wants to book a show in San Luis Obispo, he encounters the venue’s website (an object), the venue’s booker (a person), all the already-scheduled concerts that will preclude him from booking certain dates (events), and a recommendation that a friend gave him about this particular venue (relations). All of these frame what the exigence is: if Benjamin has no relationship to the venue, the exigence is a cold contact about booking a show. If he was recommended to the venue by a friend who has played there before, the exigence is changed slightly to a referral about booking a show. Any change in these constraints can change the exigence.

Some constraints are idiosyncratic: they only appear in one specific exigence. This sort of idiosyncratic constraint can consist of the certain specific day that Benjamin is trying to book, or a certain specific venue that Benjamin is reaching out to. These constraints change with each exigence; the exigence of booking a show in Portland and booking a show in Seattle for the next night will have specific constraints that change, such as the date of the show, the venues contacted, the start time of the show, and other bands who may be playing the show in each city. Idiosyncratic constraints appear in specific situations, but do not appear in many situations; the exigence of booking a show in Seattle will always feature the idiosyncratic constraint of being located in Seattle, but booking a show in Portland will not feature the constraint of being located in Seattle. This somewhat silly example reveals an important point: some constraints are only applicable in a single, specific exigence.

Some constraints, however, appear in many exigences. These constraints are not idiosyncratic; they are *characteristic* in that they appear in many exigences, regardless of the
other idiosyncratic constraints that co-exist with the characteristic in an exigence. The exigence of booking a show in Seattle features the characteristic of an aesthetic experience: no matter what type of show is being booked, the product is an aesthetic one. It is unusual if an indie rock musician calls up a music venue and attempts to book an academic lecture; this sort of educational experience is not generally what musicians sell. Instead, they are selling aesthetic experiences when they are booking events. They also sell this aesthetic experience regardless of whether they are in Seattle or New York; the aesthetic nature of indie rock musicians’ work does not change when the specific exigence changes. This characteristic of aesthetic experience underlies all show booking for indie rock musicians.

Furthermore, the aesthetic nature of a musician’s work is a characteristic that underlies all exigences, not just all exigences of a type. The aesthetic nature of a classical musician’s outcome is present when the musician is trying to recruit new students, trying to book a recital for students, or teaching a lesson. This characteristic of aesthetic outcome influences every exigence that a musician encounters, making their exigences different from those who would have an educational or pragmatic product. These characteristics apply to all (or most) exigences that a musician encounters, and together they frame all (or most) of the exigences that a musician must respond to.

As suggested earlier on pages 69-72, an equivalence can be drawn through constraints that appear in many exigences and characteristics of organizational structures. I view these constraints that appear in many exigences as serving a role similar to Spinuzzi’s “characteristics” in his description of the extra-institutional organizational structure called
all-edge adhocracy (Spinuzzi, 2015, p. 59); he views the concepts of flat structure, changing composition, flexibility, and adaptivity as “characteristics on which all-edge adhocracies are built” (p. 59). Spinuzzi argues that these characteristics describe the ways that these extra-institutional individuals organize their professional efforts and professional communication efforts. I argue that these characteristics do not describe the work of musicians, and so the organizational structure of musicians is different than the organizational structure of the all-edge adhocracy. Yet this idea of organizational structure as a set of characteristics that describes the work of extra-institutional individuals is valuable.

My view of certain constraints that affect all of the exigences that a musician encounters and Spinuzzi’s view of characteristics describing how people organize their professional efforts are very similar in my mind. I argue that both describe the “natural context of persons, events, objects, relations” that give rise to exigences (Bitzer, 1968, p. 5). This fusion of rhetorical theory and organizational theory is valuable because I am arguing here and in the conclusion that extra-institutional individuals employ professional communication in the process of infrastructure: characteristics of an organizational structure frame an exigence, professional communication appropriately addresses that exigence, and then that successful professional communication (which has addressed the characteristics of the exigence and the exigence itself), becomes the foundation for future communication in a similar exigence. By becoming the model for future communication, professional communication provides infrastructure for extra-institutional individuals. The previous
professional communication tells extra-institutional individuals how to do their work in that specific exigence, just as a bureaucracy would.

If characteristics that underlie exigences transitively affect the professional communication that becomes infrastructure for extra-institutional individuals, the characteristics ultimately shape the organizational structure of the extra-institutional individual. In this fusion of rhetorical and organizational structure theories, I chose to use the term “characteristic” from organizational structure theory as a specific type of “constraint” from the rhetorical situation. Thus, I will use the characteristic in the analysis below instead of constraint.

Comparison of Organizational Structures

Before going into detail about how each organizational structure works, I will provide a comparative overview of the four structures to explain how they differ and why these differences matter. The four organizational structures are broken down into their characteristics in Table 11. Each of these organizational structures explains the characteristics that frame the exigences which call for professional communication in the life of a musician.

In other words, these organizational structures dictate how musicians do the work of being a professional musician. Each organizational structure suggests a different way of being a professional musician, however. As I will mention in the conclusion, musicians can participate in more than one of these structures at once, but some respondents in each of the groups responded that they make all or most of their money from participating in only one.
Table 11. The characteristics of organizational structures of musicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
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<th>Limits to Growth</th>
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<td>experiences, artifacts</td>
<td>Public</td>
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<td>tilted away from musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
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<td>Repertoire</td>
<td>services</td>
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<td>Composing</td>
<td>artifacts</td>
<td>professional</td>
<td>audience size</td>
<td>shared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professional Outcomes

Professional outcome is one type of characteristic. Some musicians play shows as their professional outcome. Musicians in the build structure and the repertoire structure both rely on playing music live to bring in income. However, build structure musicians provide an aesthetic experience when they play live; audience members going to a concert for a build structure musician expect to hear a specific musician play live art as the main reason for attending the concert. These musicians are paid by ticket sales. Musicians in the repertoire structure also play live shows, but they are not the focus of the event that they are hired to play. Repertoire musicians are hired to play weddings, restaurants, and events, providing support to the situation they are hired for. These musicians are hired to perform as an aesthetic service, and they are paid by people who hire them for a gig. Developing a career around these each of these types of performance requires different tasks and professional communication, as I will show below.
Build musicians have another professional outcome: aesthetic artifacts such as CDs and downloads of recorded music. Build musicians record music and monetize it by selling it in physical or digital form. Musicians in the composing structure also create aesthetic artifacts as their professional outcome, but their artifact is a score or a piece of music composed for a specific hirer. Musicians in the composing structure are hired to compose, often receiving commissions for pieces from other musicians or organizations that want to use their work in film, TV, or commercials. They can sell the records of their compositions, once they are recorded, but their primary avenue for income is the creation of the piece itself, not the selling of recordings of the piece.

Teaching musicians share a professional outcome with repertoire musicians in that they provide an aesthetic service as their primary way of getting paid, instead of creating an artifact. Teaching musicians are paid to teach music to students in the form of lessons. Teachers do not generally play live concerts or sell recorded music in the context of their teaching duties—instead, they provide the aesthetic service of music education outside a formal educational setting. They are paid by students and parents of students a fee for their work.

These different professional outcomes point toward different methods of getting paid for professional outcomes, different types of work required to create those professional outcomes, and different audiences for those outcomes. In those ways, different aesthetic outcomes change the day-to-day professional communication work that musicians must do to
create those outcomes. I will turn my attention to a comparison of the audiences for these works.

**Audiences**

Build structure musicians are unique among the four groups of musicians in that they seek a public audience for their professional outcome. The unusual nature of this audience is partially why I named this structure the build structure, because musicians participating in this organizational structure are trying to build a large public audience for their work. The more people who are fans of the build structure musician, the more money the musician can make when releasing an album or playing live shows, as more fans (hopefully) equals more sales of albums and tickets. The professional communication tasks and elements of this organizational structure focused on building up this audience and then monetizing it through concert tours and album sales.

Repertoire musicians and teaching musicians share an audience type as well as an outcome type. Both groups of musicians seek private audiences for their work. Teachers have a private audience of students; they do not build large public followings either. Teaching musicians generally do not give public lessons; the nature of aesthetic service is generally that the lesson is a private lesson, where the student can get personal attention. Thus teaching musicians need to cultivate a stable student population that they can teach, but they do not need to develop a large public fanbase. Repertoire musicians seek hiring audiences like bridal parties who will contract with them for an event; unlike build structure musicians, they do not seek to build large public audiences who follow their aesthetic work as part of their
repertoire duties. They instead need to develop professional communication elements that allow them to consistently find new events to play.

Repertoire musicians also can seek professional audiences for their work, which gives them a shared audience with composing structure musicians. Repertoire musicians can reach out to professionals such as per-service orchestra hirers, restaurant bookers, and other types of professional who seek musicians to perform on a contract basis. The professional communication required to maintain this professional audience consists of networking and maintaining relationships with professionals. Composing musicians also need to maintain relationships with professionals to get hired, but these relationships are with other musicians or managers of other musicians’ ensembles. Composers’ immediate audience for their work is the musicians who will be performing the work (although they do have a secondary audience of the people who listen to the musicians perform the work). To get hired to compose, however, composing musicians must rely on developing a consistent stream of commissions from professionals in the field, not a large public audience.

Musicians must use different types of professional communication to connect with these public, private, and professional audiences. Build structure musicians need to maintain a Facebook page with thousands of fans, while other organizational structures may find email, online advertising, or other professional communication use as more effective ways to connect with audiences.
Limits to Growth

Despite the differing professional communication elements that were needed to communicate with various audiences, three of the four organizational structures found that audience size was a limiting factor to the growth of their career (and income). Build musicians needed to continually grow their public audience so that they could bring larger audiences to larger venues and make more album sales. Growing in income required growing the size of their public audience, similarly to a standard, market-oriented business. Repertoire musicians and composing musicians also had to grow their audience size to grow in income; repertoire musicians needed to expand their network to get hired to play more often. Composers needed to expand the size of their network to get hired to compose more often. Their private and professional audiences limited the amount of work they could do, because it was hard for them to get paid for repertoire and composing work outside a hiring situation.

Build musicians had a second limit to growth on their career that was similar to those of the composing and repertoire musicians. They had to expand their professional network to be able to play more shows in more cities. The process of developing a professional network made the booking process go from cold calls to reconnecting with professional connections, which had a large effect on how often a musician was able to get booked and how much time it took to get booked. This two-pronged problem for build musicians of having audience size and professional network size constrain their career growth was one that took time to overcome.
Teaching musicians’ limits to career growth also focused on their audience, but did not consist of a lack of audience. Teaching musicians’ limits to growth consisted of a capacity issue: teaching musicians only had so much time they could teach in a week and only so many students they could schedule during those times. Even if teaching musicians had the ability to gather more students, a limit of the amount of time in a week would stop them from gathering more.

Each of these limits to growth focused on the professional relationships that musicians were invested in. While composing musicians, repertoire musicians, and build musicians could employ professional communication to develop a larger number of relationships for potential growth, teaching musicians had less of an ability to use professional communication to expand their number of relationships and thus career growth. Later in this chapter, I will report some ways teaching musicians attempt to address this capacity issue in their careers.

**Power Structure**

The final characteristic of the organizational structure that I found was a power structure. The relationships that musicians had with their hirers (be they bookers in the build structure, professionals in the composing structure, private/professional audiences in the repertoire structure, or private audiences in the teaching structure) had power relationships included in them. Teaching musicians benefitted from these power structures, while build musicians suffered. Repertoire and composing structure musicians shared power with their hirers.
Teaching musicians have the power balance tilted in their favor, as teaching musicians reported the ability to easily recruit new students to replace any that were lost. This meant that teaching musicians could set the rules of their own workplace, often setting out contracts with students that outlined the rules of being taught in a musician’s studio. If a student balked at these rules, the teaching musician could find a new student to replace the potential lost income. This setup gave teaching musicians quite a bit of power in negotiating the terms of professional relationship.

Build musicians, on the other hand, did not have much power in their professional relationships. As rock venues and alternative classical venues were in short supply in most cities, bookers of those venues could choose who they wanted to work with from a large, saturated pool of build musicians who would all like to be booked at the venue. This mandated that build structure musicians become adept at creating the types of professional communication that persuaded bookers to book them, as they had the power to persuade but not the power to make decisions about booking at rock clubs. This meant that large amounts of time were dedicated to calling venues on the phone and constructing booking emails.

Repertoire musicians and composing musicians had a shared experience of power in their professional relationships. Because repertoire musicians were providing a service and composers were providing a unique aesthetic composition for an ensemble to fill a program with, both the hirers and the hires had things to gain and lose in the negotiation of work. While composers could reach out to various musical organizations and query whether they needed anything composed, they often had to wait for people to contact them with
commission requests. Repertoire musicians also had to wait for hirers to contact them (most of the time). However, once an initial contact had been made through professional communication avenues, the negotiations of what the work would look like, how much it would pay the musician, and other details of the work took place on more even footing than in the other two organizational structures.

These experiences of power in professional relationships changed the type, persuasive strategies, and format of professional communication that these four different groups had to do. Arguing from a position of strength, weakness, or equal footing in professional relationships had an effect on the professional communication that musicians needed to do in their careers.

The characteristics of these four organizational structures shaped the professional communication that professional musicians had to do by reframing the exigences that underlay the day-to-day work of a career. In the sections below, I will go into detail about the organizational structures, providing explanations of some exigences that musicians are responding to, quotes from musicians explaining their work in these organizational structures, and a narrative section explaining the full process of a task in each organizational structure.

**Build Structure**

- **Outcome:** Aesthetic artifacts and aesthetic experiences
- **Audience:** Public
- **Limiting Factors to Growth:** Audience size, professional networks
• Power structure: Tilted away from musicians

Exigences

Some of the more common exigences that build structure musicians reported are listed below. These exigences consist of codes from both coding passes which were co-coded on individual segments. The first word is one of the three used in the provisional coding pass (coordinating, communicating, collaborating), while the second term is one of the 70 constraints that emerged from my descriptive coding pass. (I have included a slash between the terms to separate the terms.) Together they form an exigence: a situation calling for a communicative response.

• coordinating / booking
• communicating / audience feedback
• communicating / promoting content
• coordinating / money
• communicating / promoting a concert
• coordinating / distributing music
• communicating / creating content
• coordinating / audience
• collaborating / shared workload
• communicating / audience

The build structure was closely connected to indie rock musicians, but was not exclusive to them. Classical musicians also reported doing the work in the exigences of build
structure musicians: communicating and coordinating with audiences, playing live concerts for public audiences, creating content for those audiences, and distributing music for sale. The individual ways that musicians responded to these exigences in idiosyncratic situations was the day to day work of professional communication in the lives of professional musicians.

However, underlying all of these exigences are the characteristics of an ever-growing public audience to whom musicians are trying sell aesthetic artifacts and experiences, while navigating a power structure that is tilted away from them in their work. In the build structure, the size of the public audience for an aesthetic experiences and artifacts can be built up to theoretically unlimited heights. However, the musicians had to navigate a power structure that tilted away from them and work through two limiting factors to growth. Many indie rock musicians (and some classical musicians) reported participating in this organizational structure, as it is a structure that closely aligns with the logic of the large record label. However, this also entailed taking on as much of the work of a large record label on their own as the build structure musician could handle. I will first explain how each characteristic exerts shaping influence on the career of a build structure musician, and then show how the characteristics of the organizational structure work together to reframe the specific exigence of coordinating booking.

**Outcomes: Aesthetic Artifacts, Aesthetic Experiences**

Musicians in the build structure monetized aesthetic artifacts and aesthetic experiences, just as record labels do. The characteristics of the aesthetic artifact and aesthetic
experience influenced the exigences of their career, allowing musicians to pursue certain types of opportunities that would be familiar to musicians on record labels. Musicians with recorded music to sell and a desire to play live shows had to coordinate with venue owners, collaborate with other bands, and coordinate with online distribution companies (like TuneCore or Bandcamp) to get their music on digital platforms.

The aesthetic experiences could be live performances of their original material or live performances of commissioned material. These performances often took place in venues dedicated to indie rock or classical music, as well as large festival settings. “The big shows, you know, things like that [venue name] event or big art festival events, are kind of like the gateway drug as far as exposing me to new fans,” Dawn (i) said. Those venues paid musicians a flat rate or a percentage of the income from the night, which could include income from ticket sales, bar sales, or both. Musicians represented by a performing rights organization such as ASCAP, BMI, or SESAC could also earn performance royalties for performing their songs. “When I go out and perform my music, even though it's me performing it, I should actually be making royalties because my copyrighted music is being performed in public,” said Kent (i). Aesthetic experiences provided a large chunk of the pay for build structure musicians.

The aesthetic artifacts could be recorded music for sale in physical mediums (such as CDs and vinyl records), recorded music for sale digitally (on platforms such as Bandcamp and iTunes), or recorded music for streaming (on services such as Spotify and Pandora). Jeff (i) distributed his work used many digital services (“You want to add Bandcamp, Spotify,
Pandora, iTunes, Amazon on that list”), while Brad noted that he had success with vinyl: “I sell my LPs for $20 and people are more than willing to, like, buy my LP for $20 … The merch makes a big, big difference.” Some musicians monetized their recorded music through licensing for TV and movies, but Glenn (i) noted that licensing could be a difficult area to break into with a high level of competition: “That’s how all independent artists now are making money. Their money is through licensing. So as you can imagine, that [market] is super flooded as well.”

The aesthetic experience and aesthetic artifacts often intertwined, as live shows served as a vehicle for selling merchandise. However, selling music as an independent artist at shows could be a difficult proposition, as Jeff (i) noted:

People want to buy CDs at a show? Great, you know, name your price. I think ten dollars is reasonable. Sometimes I think five dollars is reasonable. Most of the time it’s, “I have eight dollars, is that cool?” “Yes.”

Jeff often negotiated prices, as he would rather flex on the price than miss a sale. Other issues surrounded aesthetic artifacts. Producing physical recorded music and physical merchandise cost a large amount of money, but the profit margins on those items could often be reasonable. Distributing music online for sale or stream did not cost much. However, digital downloads sold poorly, and streaming services paid bands fractions of a cent per play: “YouTube actually monetizes slightly better than any other online music sales, but you have to reach huge numbers before it starts monetizing,” said Mitchell (c). Regardless of the amount of money made, the characteristics of the outcomes that build structure musicians
created required them to respond to certain exigences, such as distributing recorded music to streaming services. Build structure musicians competed with musicians signed to large labels in the monetizing of artifacts and experiences, as both groups of musicians created the same type of outcomes.

**Audience: Public**

Musicians in the build structure emphasized the importance of coordinating and communicating with an audience. Contrary to other musicians, such as teachers and composers, build structure musicians had to reach out to a general audience to develop a following. The aesthetic nature of build musicians’ outcome required adapting an audience to the music instead of adapting the music to fit a need in the desired audience. The characteristic of a general audience related to the characteristic type of outcome produced. This general audience and the size of that general audience reframed the exigences musicians could respond to in particular ways. Musicians with small audiences in a given town could not send an effective booking email to the largest amphitheater in that town. The musician had to cultivate an audience until she reached the size of audience that would allow her to respond to that exigence effectively.

The musician had to cultivate and then consistently motivate a general audience to purchase an aesthetic object or experience. These coordination efforts took place through online and offline communication. Reaching out to new fans could be done by sharing shows with bands that had different audiences, earning press coverage, distributing music in digital spaces where new fans would see it, and running ads on social media. Allen’s (i) duo used
targeted Facebook ads to seek new audience: “For us it is really important to target people who have live music as an interest, because ultimately … our return really comes when somebody shows up to one of our shows in, say, Atlanta or somewhere else where we, you know, we don’t have as many contacts and aren’t bringing people to the show.”

After cultivating an audience, musicians then had to keep the audience’s attention so they could communicate information about new releases and shows to the audience. “I feel like the name of the game is just trying to hold people’s attention in everything,” said Zeke (c). This communication served to coordinate the audience, as musicians sought to encourage their audience to buy music, stream music, or come to a show via the professional communication. Brad (i) booked a show in a concert series and promoted the show in an email to his audience: “Last one sold out, so hopefully this one will sell out too, but I’m just trying to, you know, do my part to promote it and get people out.” Musicians needed to develop and coordinate an ever-larger audience because the size of the audience gave direct and indirect access to income. A large audience purchasing music directly resulted in more income. Eddie mentioned that his band played one of its most successful shows at a festival where he and his bandmates sold a large number of CDs to new fans: “We sold, I think, like a hundred CDs or a little more. … We gave out a ton of business cards. Like, we connected with people. We met a lot of people, and they said, ‘Let us make sure. How can we know when you’re playing again?’” Selling 100+ CDs is a good bit of direct income. Musicians could indirectly gain income from an audience by using the evidence of a large audience as argumentation while booking shows, as will be further explained below.
Build structure musicians and musicians signed to record labels encountered the exigence of trying to build an audience for aesthetic artifacts and experiences. The build structure musician had to take on all this work alone, instead of having a record label to work on audience development and promotion for the band.

Limits to Growth: Audience Size, Professional Network Size

The size of the audience that a build structure musician could acquire limited the exigences available to them. Musicians on record labels could rely on the record label’s imprimatur to help book shows and distribute records. Independent build structure musicians had little but the size of the audience to prove their legitimacy when trying to do tasks like booking, distributing, and seeking press coverage. Thus, one limiting factor on the success of the musician in the build structure is the ability to which they can convince audiences to support them. Once the musician builds a large audience, the musician can prove value and legitimacy to professionals in the field. Nick (i) proved his size of audience on his promotional materials by listing previous venues that his band played:

I listed these venues … a couple of the 300- or 400-person venues in [city] that other (especially West Coast) talent buyers are probably familiar with. They’re probably – the people who were playing at [the talent buyer’s] venue are probably playing [the listed] venues later in the tour. So again, just trying to establish legitimacy.

Listing previously-played large venues shows that a musician commands a big enough audience to play venues of a certain size. Nick can then make an argument by comparison to new venues in that size range that he should be booked for a show at the new venue, because
he will be able to bring out a sizable audience. More opportunities become available to musicians once they cultivate and coordinate a large audience.

The cultivation of this audience took a long time. Due to changes in technology that allowed many people to cheaply record and distribute high quality aesthetic artifacts, musicians participated in a saturated market for new music. This constraint made it even more difficult to build an audience, as potential audience members had an almost infinite supply of music to choose from (Caves, 2000). Kent (i) explained this difficulty of infinite supply by saying, “to be pulled from never heard of a band to going to see some show is hard when there is just so much out there and so much going on.” Respondents noted that their efforts at developing an audience took a long time: “I actually joke on stage almost every night now. I tell people that I quit my day job as a [scientist] to do music and it’s my get rich slow scheme,” Benjamin said. Being a build structure musician required a long game plan. The constraint of a saturated market resulted in infinite supply, which made musicians expect slow growth. Without the assistance of a record label, musicians had to organically build their audience instead of tapping into pre-existing audiences that the record label could deliver. Musicians returned to the exigence of audience growth repeatedly in the interviews.

Professional connections also limited the career growth of build structure musicians. Professional connections served as gatekeepers to the work that musicians wanted to do. Musicians could access previously unavailable opportunities once they had developed relationships with professionals. These professional connections came in the form of venue bookers, music journalists, more successful musicians, managers, and assistants. Working
with other professionals in a collaborative venture or coordinated business partnership allowed musicians access to previously unavailable opportunities. Ryan (i) had a general manager who served this role for him: “My general manager is really a second opinion and he also finds me opportunities that—more opportunities than I would be able to find on my own.” While this type of manager relationship occurred rarely in the respondent pool, relationships of this type provided clear benefits. Other less formal relationships allowed for new opportunities as well. As Adam (i) noted, “I have always just gotten shows through word of mouth and people just emailing me and stuff.”

Collaborating with peers expanded the size of the peer network musicians had. Working with more advanced professionals allowed younger musicians access to new audiences in larger spaces or new cities. More advanced professionals who had more fans could play larger rooms with more audience capacity (such as a 750-person room instead of a 300-person room); the younger artist opening for the more advanced artist would be able to access the older artist’s large number of fans by playing before them. In a related way, a band from Wichita could play to an audience in Denver by asking a local band from Denver to share the bill (and their audience). This latter method of collaboration helped with tour booking. Jim (i) had a system for making peer contacts in new cities to play collaborative shows with:

And in each city we looked up between, you know, 10, 15, 30 bands … we found them on – it was hours and hours and hours spent – on Bandcamp. And then eventually after, if nobody got back to us from people that we looked up on
Bandcamp, we would go and see, go to their Facebook and see bands that they had played with and then contact those bands. And so that’s the way that we got, you know, people out to the shows in places that we’ve never played before. Musicians navigated the limiting factor of not having enough professional connections to keep growing a career by making and maintaining these relationships with professionals via networking.

The size of an audience and the number of connections to professionals in the field limited the ability of musicians to effectively respond to certain exigences. Where musicians on large record labels would rely on the record label’s large workforce to do some of this work, build structure musicians had to do the work of developing a large audience and professional network on their own.

**Power: Tilted Away from Musicians**

These professionals that musicians sought to connect with had the ability to deny or ignore requests from musicians, making the power balance of the build structure tilted away from musicians. Bookers and other professionals picked which musicians they wanted to work with in a way that musicians could not. Musicians could attempt to be persuasive with professionals, leveraging the size of audience or other arguments as a way to prove legitimacy. Ted (i) explained his attempts to address this condition:

I’ve just been met with a little bit of adversity on the road, just because a lot of people automatically write you off if you’re a solo act. They’re like, “Our club only books bands,” and you’re like, “Alright, well, like—but I’m good!” or like, “Alright, but,
like—I have a big sound! Like, I play a kick drum with my foot when I play!” You know what I mean? But, like, they don’t get that. They just hear “solo guy.” Regardless of the arguments musicians made, the power ultimately rested with the professional to say yes or no to the musician’s request for booking.

Musicians also felt the tools they used to reach their audience often worked against them. Musicians reported Facebook as both a ubiquitous tool to reach audiences and a tool that worked poorly for musicians. The large number of people who use Facebook makes the tool attractive to musicians, but Facebook leverages this large audience for their own gain instead of the musician’s gain. Facebook intentionally limits the number of audience members that see a musician’s post until the musician pays Facebook to “boost” the post. Lauren (i) summed up the response of many musicians when she said, “I don’t think—not that I don’t think it’s fair, I understand companies have to make money—but I think that it’s not very cool that you have to pay for your own people to see your post.” Lauren and the rest of the build structure musicians had to put up with Facebook having the power to change the rules to better suit Facebook’s needs than the musician’s. Some musicians put up with paying Facebook, as marketing on Facebook cost less than hiring a professional marketer or PR person. Others continued to use Facebook in its limited state without paying. Eddie (i) found that even less available recourse for his problem. He had earned thousands of listeners on Spotify, but could not reach them with messages within Spotify’s system. The desire for control over tools to continue developing a career echoed throughout musicians’ responses in the build structure.
Build structure musicians experienced a balance of power that tilted away from them in their careers. Musicians on large record labels also shared this concern: many musicians felt that record labels made decisions in the best interest of the record label instead of the musicians, which defeated the original “artist support” purpose of the record label. Musicians founded independent rock to respond to this concern by taking the power out of the hands of record labels. While indie rock accomplished that goal of shifting the power away from record labels in some cases, the imbalance still persisted. The power shifted to audiences and industry professionals, and those two groups became limiting factors to build structure musicians’ growth.

The Live Concert

In this section I will explain how these characteristics of the build structure work together to frame a specific exigence that musicians must respond to: booking a live concert. Musicians in the build structure reported “playing live concerts” as one of the most common exigences in their career. Musicians played concerts as the primary way of making money from aesthetic experiences in the build structure. While specific constraints varied, characteristics of playing a successful live show appeared consistently: musicians had to coordinate with venue bookers who had the power to choose or reject the booking request, then communicate the details of the concert to their public audience so they would come to the show.

Booking shows required reaching out to venues via email or phone call and asking if the venue had a show available on a specific date. Venues chose artists out of self-interest, as
the bands had to bring enough audience to the venue so that the venue made money through ticket sales and/or concessions. In addition, many more musicians expressed interested in playing venues than venues had spots for, allowing venues to be selective in their booking. These power imbalances created difficulties for musicians. Ted (i) said that professionals checked out a band’s Facebook likes as a shorthand or proxy for how large an audience a band had: “If you have, you know, 100,000 Facebook likes … a venue will book you, like, hands down.” Professional communication intervened in the vetting that took place during the booking process, as the number of likes on a Facebook page could help balance the power relationship between the booker and the artist.

Musicians could also proactively use professional communication to address the needs of the booker. Musicians had to argue persuasively through email or a phone call that they would be a good fit for the venue, either by bringing an audience to the venue or by convincing a venue booker of the band’s legitimacy even without pulling a large audience. Benjamin (i) stated that reaching out to venue owners required the right tone to offset the power imbalance:

If I went to a venue owner and said, “Hey, I would love for you to book me. I may not be as good as the people that normally play there, and I probably won’t bring as many people as you probably want, but … it would be really nice if you booked me anyway.” You have to go to them and say … “My name’s Benjamin. This is what I do. I am good at what I do. I am going to work my butt off to get as many people there as possible.” You need to reassure people all the time.
Musicians could also argue their legitimacy and potential value to the venue by including content to include in emails to bookers, such as videos. Sylvia (c) noted that, “If you're booking for, really anything, I mean, classical included these days, I think they want to see a video. People who are considering coming to your concert want to see a video. It’s audience, and bookers, and everyone sort of expects that to be something that you have as an ensemble.” Hector (c) noted that web content could impress bookers:

Places will not hire you if you do not have web content, because they have no idea what you look like, no idea if you're professional. They have no idea what you sound like, and they don't know if you have your own gear, even. Dependable enough to make the gig? … All that photography is so helpful, because, especially when you get the audience shots, and you're like, "OK, this is cool. People are listening." You know? It's so great to see those videos. To see those shots.

Photography and other web content reassured bookers that the musician was legitimate and had a real audience. The visual evidence of fans listening to the music proved that the band had a following that would come to see the band’s show. The real audience meant that the venue might make money off the musician’s presence, which registered as a favorable step toward booking the musician. Musicians responded to the exigence of booking a show with the condition of a power imbalance by using professional communication elements such as music videos, photography, CDs, stickers, and thank you notes to mediate the power imbalance between venue bookers and musicians.
The characteristics of the build structure mandated that build structure musicians go on tour. Touring solved a limitation problem because build musicians’ aesthetic objects and aesthetic experiences had limited value in a local environment where only part of their audience resided. Musicians in the build structure usually had a set performance repertoire for their aesthetic experience at any one time, limiting the amount of times a musician could play the same material locally in a small amount of time. The often-small number of local venues that musicians had enough audience to fill also limited their opportunities. Due to the audience potentially tiring of a limited repertoire and limited amount of places to perform this aesthetic experience, build structure musicians cannot play in their home area frequently. Going on tour, which allowed musicians to hit many cities in a set amount of time, allowed musicians a way to escape some of these limitations.

The booking process remained largely the same whether the musician sought to book a local show or a show in a distant city that would be part of a tour. Musicians with a small audience in a given city could only play small venues, as big venues would lose money on booking a band that cannot fill up the venue—just as in a local environment. Thus, musicians had to develop audiences in multiple cities. To develop these audiences in multiple cities, musicians looked for small venues to play, collaborated on booking shows with local bands in the desired city, or coordinated directly with their audience to play house shows. House shows offered many benefits: no venue took a cut of the money that the show brought in, the private hosts of the show took care of the promotion efforts, and the show almost guaranteed new audience members. Dawn (i) expanded on the last point:
House concerts have become like super important for me, especially when it comes to playing for new audiences. … If they really are the diehard fans, then they’re the ones who are—or at least a small remnant of them—are the ones who are going to say, “Yeah, I definitely want to put together a house concert and share your music with my friends and family and network of people.”

House shows connected the limitation of a small audience with the aesthetic experience while removing the power imbalance of the booker (by going straight to the audience to book). House shows and other booking methods helped build an audience, but maintaining that audience required return visits. Hector (c) reported that, “Building and maintaining a strong audience means you come back, like, every three months to allow interest to build up again.” Touring consistently helped develop audiences in multiple towns that could be leveraged for shows in larger venues in that town in the future.

This booking process consumed large amounts of time. Musicians often had to contact multiple, sometimes even dozens of, venues in each city. Ted (i) noted, “I really don’t like booking shows, man. It’s a real drag, and it’s a lot of time spent in front of the computer. It’s, like, not why I got into playing music at all.” Despite and partially due to its difficulty, booking shows composed an essential part of the build structure musician’s work. It took a lot of time and effort to complete due to the limitations of the build structure often working against musicians.

Touring was also not necessarily lucrative, as Quentin (i) mentioned: “You can tour for two and a half months, get home to your respective place, and immediately have to be
hustling, because you just made enough money to just, like pay the gas, and keep your butt alive, and maybe pay your home rent while you’re on tour, and that’s it.” Musicians may be adept at getting shows booked through professional communication, but the characteristic difficulty of coordinating audiences to come out to shows while on tour took its toll on the financial aspects of a musician’s career. Even when musicians used professional communication successfully to book tours, their size of audience limited their economic success and career growth.

However, musicians in the build structure developed networks of professionals over time that allowed subsequent tours to be easier to book. Brad said, “After I’ve already been somewhere and I’ve developed relationships, I don’t need that kind of, like, research. Like, you know—I don’t need to use spreadsheets. I can just use relationships.” Brad could book return tours more easily because he had broken down some of the imbalance in the relationships between him and bookers through successful aesthetic experiences. These continued relationships also addressed the limiting factor of not knowing enough professionals to get successfully booked.

The exigence of booking could be met effectively with professional communication. Once it was met effectively, that successful communication prescribed what future instances of that communication should look like. The relationships that Brad built through successful touring allowed him to tap those networks again, more easily. This process is the infrastructural use of professional communication at work: the professional communication that successfully responded to the exigence of booking in a particular city prescribed who the
communication should go to the next time that Brad booked a show in that city. Professional communication could be effective at both getting shows booked (although many bookers said no to even successful bands) and developing the expectations for future responses to the same exigence.

A good live show required more than coordinating with the booker. Musicians needed to coordinate the activities of their audience to get them to come to the show. Without a paying audience, a show would not be a successful aesthetic experience. The goal of a successful aesthetic experience required constant promotion of the musicians’ activities.

Once the show had been booked, the musician had to promote the show to an audience. These promotion efforts took a lot of time as well. Benjamin (i) explained:

And unfortunately the truth of being a professional musician is that booking shows and promoting myself via social media, via making a lot of my own posters, via anything: Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, anything—that’s 90% of what I do. I’d say 10% of being a musician is playing shows and writing songs. Unfortunately. And then when I talk to other musicians [who say], “Oh, well, music has to come first. Music, it has to be your main focus”—and I don’t disagree with that, because I wish it could be—but you are not going to be a successful touring musician if you don’t do the other things. It just won’t happen, if no one knows that you are playing. It doesn’t fucking matter how good you are if no one comes.

Benjamin noted the condition of good communication with an audience as a prerequisite for a successful musician in the build structure. The concern that no audience would show up
suggests that an audience coming to a concert is a critical condition that needs to be met for
the musician to be successful. Thus, the size of the audience and whether Benjamin could
motivate his audience to come to the show limited how fast he could grow his income.

Many musicians used social media to contact their audiences, as Benjamin did. Patricia (c) used social media to distribute information about her shows to her audience:

I have date, time, room location, building, where it is. I won’t always do street
address, but often I’ll do that too. The other thing is—the nice thing about Facebook,
then, is that I can include a link to a webpage … and I mean not my own webpage.
But usually what I’ll use those Facebook posts for is to include a link that is the direct
link to the organization where I’m performing.

While Patricia used Facebook, Maria (i) noted that she used multiple outlets to promote
shows while she toured: “I did a good bit of promoting, especially on Facebook, also on
Twitter and also on Instagram. And also on our band—we have a band Tumblr.” She sought
to motivate her already-existing audience to attend a live show. She had to coordinate her
audience to action through multiple channels of social media. Jeff (i) explained his even-
more-complex process of promoting shows to his audience:

I’m actually really tactical about it. So it’s a mix of Facebook invites, like creating an
event on Facebook. I’ll always get … a poster made or a flyer made, and I’ll make
sure it’s good. And I’ll say like, "I'm printing these and if you come to the show, like,
you can have one," and it’s usually like a nice piece of artwork. … I’ll text people and
I'm like, "Hey, I'm playing in your neighborhood. Like, it’s a Tuesday night, but what else are you doing?"

Musicians intended these multiple avenues of promotion to reach as many people as possible inside the previously existing audience to get them to come to the show. Dawn (i) noted that promoting requires consistent weekly work: “At the top of the week I’ll create, you know, artwork for Instagram. I’ll just figure out what I need to do, what Facebook events I need to create to promote a show that’s, you know, several weeks away.”

The aesthetic focus of musicians’ work made the aesthetic experience not particularly adaptable to an audience’s needs. Instead, musicians engaged in intense promotional efforts to adapt their audience’s behavior to the outcome. The musician had to cultivate and then consistently motivate an audience surrounding the aesthetic object or experience, which took place through online and offline promotion. These characteristics of an aesthetic experience and a general audience limiting the potential success of the show resulted in an exigence where professional communication could intervene.

Teaching Structure

- Outcome: Aesthetic Services
- Audience: Private
- Limit to Growth: Capacity
- Power: Tilted toward musicians
Exigences

The exigences of teaching musicians are situations that called for the teaching musician to respond with a professional communication response related to the private education of students. Here are some of the rhetorical exigences they had to respond to with professional communication.

- coordinating / money
- communicating / students
- communicating / creating content
- communicating / teaching
- communicating / audience feedback
- coordinating / students
- coordinating / teaching
- communicating / time
- communicating / money
- communicating / scheduling

Exigences that teaching musicians reported had much to do with the professional communication surrounding the work of teaching, as the communication and coordination of teaching, students, money, and the distribution of information appeared. Musicians had to respond to the exigence of teaching students by scheduling with them and distributing information to them about teaching. These exigences could be met in a variety of ways, as musicians reported using content such as websites, SMS texts, printed flyers, word of mouth,
and more to communicate and coordinate the teaching of students. These musicians had to simultaneously work with their own schedule and maintain an awareness of the amount of time they had to be teaching. As a result of these exigences, the professional communication of teaching musicians developed in a unique way.

Musicians in the teaching structure had highly different experiences of developing a career than those in the build structure. Musicians in the teaching structure provided the aesthetic service of conducting private or extra-curricular lessons, classes, or practices for student musicians of any age (but primarily under the age of 18). Physical capacity limited the growth of these musicians: musicians only had a certain amount of time each week in which they could teach students. However, musicians in the teaching structure had the ability to set out non-negotiable rules and contracts for their students, which tilted the power structure in their favor: for instance, teachers could mandate that students still must pay if students break the rules of attendance. Students had to agree to these terms to be taught. Musicians also reported that they could find new students relatively easily, making a student that quit for any reason not a catastrophe.

In this section, I will explain how each of the characteristics work on their own, and then explain how each of the characteristics work together to frame the exigence of the recital.

**Outcome: Aesthetic Services**

Musicians in the teaching structure provided the aesthetic services of teaching students in a variety of contexts: private one-on-one teaching, private group teaching, extra-
curricular choir teaching, assisting in schools as a part-time job, or teaching classes as part of a nonprofit organization. The outcome was “the lesson,” and it could be delivered in multiple ways. Tanya (c) explained the various ways she taught students in her career:

I have a couple who live close to me, and they pay a little extra for travel. And I just, like, literally two students who I’ll travel to them, and they’re just right next to each other and close to me, and close to—I prefer that they come to me, but, you know, I do what I can, so. [laughter] And then I have another—one day a week I teach at a private school, so I have three students there. And I also sometimes will play with their orchestra and kind of help out their string program there. Yeah, and then, oh, and then I work at a Suzuki Strings program, so I help out with their little orchestra, which is like an elementary school, little baby orchestra. They’re adorable. And I have right now just a couple students through them. ... I just made them a website, so hopefully I’m going to get some new students from that.

Tanya’s teaching roles expanded across geographical areas and different institutions, but each role revolved around teaching students music. This outcome contrasted with the build structure’s outcome, as the teaching structure musicians generally did not record or distribute their lessons for sale. The experience of taking a lesson differed from the aesthetic experience of the build structure; students in the teaching structure paid teachers to teach them, not perform for them. These outcome differences framed the exigences of the two structures differently, as I will show below.
Audience: Private

Musicians in the teaching structure had a private audience, in that the audience for their work consisted of a specific group of people who had invested money and time in the outcome ("the lesson"). While anyone can walk into a live performance or listen to recorded music on Spotify, walking up to a teaching musician and asking for a drop-in lesson is less of a common situation. Instead, the private student audience often had longstanding arrangements with a specific teacher. Teaching musicians recruited these students to their studios with the goal of maintaining a stable number of students taught at any one time.

Before the audience for a teaching musician can stabilize, recruitment of musicians must happen. Claude (i) reported that he got his start working for an organization before going solo:

It got to the point where, you know, you build your name as an independent musician, independent teacher. You build your name up in the community. And people—I was getting less of, like, people walking in to the music store, and just like, "Hey, I need piano lessons, who you got?" It was mostly me bringing them in to the music store. So at that point, when I reached that point and saw that, like, "Okay, they aren't giving me students, I'm bringing my own students, and they're taking a cut of that," that was—I just really didn't need them anymore. And so I just went completely independent.

Claude’s ability to develop a community of students interested in taking piano lessons specifically from him allowed him to become extra-institutional. He developed his own
personal following that became his own personal teaching studio, then earned more money as an extra-institutional individual than he could as an employee of an organization. Claude was not alone in starting a studio by using the professional connections that organizations provide. Tanya (c) coordinates the recruitment of her students by maintaining good professional networks with people employed in large organizations:

Mostly again word-of-mouth. So just making sure that I’m kind of maintaining good relationships with school orchestra teachers is really important, because, you know, I talk to them a lot and I say, “Okay, so if you have someone who you think would benefit from private lessons or you think is getting more serious about it, then send them to me.” So they’re always trying to—the teachers at the schools where I help out—they’re always trying to send me students, because they want their kids to take private lessons too, so it’s like a really mutually beneficial thing. Because they want to send me business, and I want to help them improve their program, so we work together trying to do that. But it’s hard to get kids to take private lessons, because they’re so busy, so … It’s mostly word-of-mouth.

Tanya also reported that her students collaborate with her efforts on gaining students by recommending her to other students: “I get a lot of students from other students, which I think is really good, because that means they like what they’re learning, so that’s nice.” Members of the private audience recruited other people to be a part of the private audience, making referrals a lucrative part of the teaching structure.
The in-person nature of the connections and the referrals led to a lack of need for some digital tools. Tanya reported that, “I also have a website, but I don’t think that I’ve ever gotten—I mean, I haven’t had the website up for a long time, but I don’t think that people find me through my website. I think that they get referred to me and then look at my website and then think that I’m legit and then come to me. So if that’s what it’s being used for, that’s fine, that’s still good.”

Austin (c), who taught piano and took lessons from a more advanced teacher, agreed that a website served little purpose for a teaching musician other than to deliver necessary, static information about teaching:

The guy that I take piano from, who is just beyond busy, he has so many students; he has so many gigs; he has so many things to do. His website looks like it’s from, like, 2001. He has no need to update it, because again, once people see it and know that he’s good to go, the website doesn’t really do much for them.

Emma (c), who runs an extra-curricular, regional choir, found that social media did not help develop the base of students who became their choir: “We have found that social media is not awesome for our customer base, you know. It’s almost like it’s in between the parent generation and the singer generation. And based on our data, singers come to us because teachers recommend that they do or friends recruit them.” Emma and Tanya both found students through referrals and teacher recommendations more often than through their digital professional communication elements.
Mitchell (c) also relied on referrals to develop a student audience, but he used digital media to garner those referrals: “What I do in terms of teaching, it’s all pretty much word of mouth. Every now and then I might go onto Facebook and say, ‘I’m accepting new students,’ you know? And then, I usually get a lot of response. And about 30 percent of that response actually pans out to something. So, you know, Facebook—and, you know, Craigslist is a way this shows up, too—usually, you get big response, then, what pans out from that is a smaller percentage of what that response shows. When you're reaching thousands of people, that's sorta how it’s gonna play out.” Mitchell leaned on technology more than other teaching musicians, but he still depended on reaching out to his direct networks through digital media as part of the way he found new students. Tanya found jobs through referrals as well:

Stephen: “So these sectionals. How did you, kind of, get the job as sectionals for three different schools?”

Tanya: “Well, one is my former orchestra teacher from when I was in middle school, who I was saying was a good contact for me. Another one I got from a referral from another cellist who was a little overscheduled. And so she sent one to me, which was nice of her. So there’s definitely a community of cellists and cello teachers, and we help each other out, if we can. If you have something you can’t do, you send it to somebody else.”

Stephen: “Cool. And then you said there was a third school as well?”

Tanya: “Yeah, probably also a referral from my former teacher.”
Musicians relied word of mouth referrals more than social media or websites to develop their audience.

Teaching structure musicians enjoyed stable student audiences that often stayed with the teacher for a long time. This stability further minimized the need for digital media recruitment tactics in the teaching structure, especially in comparison to the great extent with which build structure musicians employed digital media to build their audience. Claude (i) suggested that he saw each student as a long-term investment: “Now I pretty much just teach kids. I stopped teaching adults. It's just because I've been doing [lessons] eight years, and I've kind of seen what works for me. And I look at each student as kind of a long-term gig.” This stability existed because students usually signed on for long periods of time, such as a year or indefinitely. Claude also said: “Usually I keep students on average two years plus, now. So there's not a lot of turnover. … You don't have to see 100 people a year or anything to make ends meet. I can have, I'll likely have 50-60 students in a year's time.” This audience stability and subsequent economic stability meant that teaching musicians spent less time and effort on marketing and promotion to their private audience than a build musician spent promoting to a general audience. Instead, more time could be spent providing the actual service of teaching. These musicians need time to be teachers.

Due to the private nature of the audience, teaching musicians did not need to engage in extensive public audience development (a la build structure musicians). The outcome of “the lesson” required less marketing than live performances, because teaching musicians
needed a smaller audience to develop sustainable income from their outcome than build musicians needed for their outcomes.

Limit to Growth: Capacity

All musicians in the teaching structure had to deal with the characteristic element of capacity. These musicians could only teach a limited number of students, because the nature of a one-on-one lessons created a natural cap of how many students could be taught in a week. “I have a pretty finite amount of time to teach, pretty much from right after school till about seven or eight, since most of my students are pretty young,” said Austin (c). He continued later: “At this point, I think I have about 24 [students] and with all the other jobs I’m doing, that’s about as much as I can take on. Again, with that limited timeframe of working through right after school till about seven or eight-ish.” Claude (i) also found a limit to his capacity over time:

So I’d teach six, seven days a week sometimes, you know, be driving really far out of the way to do it. Now, I’ve built things up to where I have full-time hours. For me, full-time—it's different for everyone. For me, I keep my full-time hours to about … Monday through Thursday. That's all I teach. And I'll teach, usually teach somewhere between 32 and 40 students a week. So about, on average, 8-10 students a day. …

Typically, my hours then are between 2 and 8 p.m.

Teaching structure musicians had a hard cap on the amount of available teaching time composed of their audience’s availability and the number of hours in a day. This time problem made their limitations more concrete than those of the build structure: Build
structure musicians are constrained by the current size of their audience and professional networks, but those could keep growing over time to theoretically unlimited heights.

Teaching musicians cannot create more hours in a day; a day contains only so many working hours in it. Many musicians implemented methods to adapt and adjust to the amount of hours available in a week and the subsequent cap in income. William (c) noted that he had considered ways of getting more students (and more income) in his week:

Find a way to teach more than one student, because there’s no limit to how much money you can make if you can teach more than one student. Maybe you can do that by having other teachers work with you. You can do that by group lessons, putting more kids in the room and teaching them at the same time, kind of like they do with karate or dance. And, you can do that by giving them access to online tutorial videos.

I mean, there’s a lot of different ways you could do that.

Susan (c) adopted a strategy similar to William’s idea about working with other teachers. She partnered with other teaching musicians to create a boutique teaching school. After getting the partnership off the ground, the collection of extra-institutional individuals started to become more and more like an institution:

It wasn't long and people said, "Do you have someone who can teach guitar?" So, I asked someone to come to teach guitar. And then someone, I couldn't handle all the piano students—I was referring them away. So we bought more pianos and put pianos in another room. And then from there, it just seemed like suddenly there were all
these people, and all these people knocking on the door, and saying, "Can I teach here?" We took over the dance studio [next door], which gave us 2400 square feet, and then 8 years ago we broke through the wall and added a connector to give us 6200 square feet. We have 24 teaching rooms, I believe. Two of them are 600 square foot studios, and 22 of them are smaller rooms.

The individual teachers all still taught their own courses with their own students, but the school handled some of the overhead and thus took some of the funds from the student bills. It became a sort of hybrid institution, where individuals had some involvement in the physical space and organizational structure of a bureaucracy but also had many of the same freedoms of an extra-institutional teaching setup.

Austin (c) chose a different strategy than building partnerships to coordinate students, time, and money. He had decided to decrease the number of students he taught and simultaneously raise his rates to cover the loss of income. This adjustment allowed him to stay at the same financial income level while also allowing him more time to work on teaching his students:

I’m going to make my studio a bit more streamlined and focused. I’m only going to allow myself to have about 20 or so [students]. And I’m going to raise my rates in the sense that I want to spend more time outside of when I teach preparing stuff for these students, like catering to their specific learning styles, what they’re focusing on. Typing up things for them to practice, and much more customized to their specific, again, style of how they learn and how they move forward and all that. And so but
them paying that extra money, I don’t have to teach as many people and therefore I can invest that extra time.

Austin’s desire to adjust the amount of students he had and the amount of money he charged reflected the capacity issue.

These variable approaches to capacity suggest that teaching musicians each had to consider their limited capacity as part of growing a career.

**Power: Tilted toward Musicians**

Because musicians in the teaching structure had relative ease finding new students and a requirement to be paid for their scheduled hours, they could make rules for and implement contracts with their students without alienating their audience. As a result, musicians in the teaching structure had the power balance tilted toward themselves. Musicians could make decisions looking out for their own best interest and still get paid.

Claude (i) explained that his website included necessary information for students to know before hiring him: “These rates are current, though. That’s what I’m charging here. And then my policies are just basic—letting people know how I run things. What to expect. The different fees that there might be. Cancellations. Absence things. Breaks that I do.” Making non-negotiable rules and regulations for the audience to follow is a luxury largely unavailable to musicians of other structures.

Austin (c) had not yet implemented a set of rules with his students, but he planned to implement them as part of his upgrade to the way he ran his organization: “And so to coincide with [changing rates], I’m going to do what my piano teacher does, where he does
have a list of all of his, kind of, rules and rates and all that, and what’s expected out of the student and what’s expected out of the parents. And everyone has to read that and sign it.”

Developing a contract with students and parents allowed Austin to design stability into his work environment, knowing that each of his students had agreed to a set of rules that organized his work situation the way he wanted it, instead of set the way his audience wanted it.

Musicians in the teaching structure had the unusual good fortune among musicians to see the power tilted in their favor. The students and their parents accepted the rules that the musician set out because they desired the musician’s services. This situation resulted in a favorable power relationship for musicians. If students balked at the rules, then the musician could seek out another student to replace the income relatively easily. As a result, musicians in this structure had the ability to choose their hours, set their own rates, and lay down rules that worked in their favor. The teaching structure is the only structure I found where the power tilted this far toward the musician.

I will now explain how these characteristics reframe the exigence of booking a show into the specific teaching structure exigence of putting on a recital.

The Recital

The recital is an event where students of a teaching musician perform a public concert of their skills to an audience that usually includes their friends and family, as well as the friends and family of the other students the musician teaches. The communication and
coordination surrounding the event display the nature of the teaching musician’s organizational structure.

The recital can be whenever and wherever the musician chooses it to be during the year. Austin found that he could set recitals whenever he wanted, although he had a schedule he generally kept to: “I’m going to have it be a recital that’s when people go back to school, so we can have the entire summer to prep and all that, so a little bit out of the ordinary. Usually I do them in December and June.” He had the power to make those sorts of decisions about when events occur, while musicians in other structures often could not make those sorts of decisions. Teaching musicians also largely had the ability to choose where the event would be held. Unlike the build structure musicians’ struggle to get a venue booked, musicians booking a venue for a recital often paid for the use of the space. This guaranteed income for the venue made the teaching musician valuable to the venue and gave the teaching musician more leverage than a build structure musician in a similar process of booking.

The power relationship between the teacher and the students showed up in the recital. By providing an aesthetic service instead of an aesthetic object, teaching musicians could leverage their expertise and position as teachers to make requests and even set rules for their student audience in relation to the event. “I generally just have to send out an email telling them where it’s at, and when it is, and what to wear, and so on and so on,” said Austin. A build structure musician is rarely in a position to tell the audience for a live concert what to wear. Some teaching musicians even had the power to pass the costs of booking down to the
students. Susan (c), who shared a recital with several other teachers, charged students to participate in the recital: “We had six recitals at the [local theater] last year in April. And they have to pay to be in the recital, because we have to rent the hall. It's expensive.” The student absorbed this cost as part of the aesthetic service that the musician provided.

Picking work for students to perform at the recital represented one of the most complicated issues of the recital prep process. To prep students for the recital, Austin explained that he spends time picking out pieces for each student to play that fit their skill level and ability, teaches them to play the piece, and coordinates all of the students’ different learning speeds so each student ends up ready for the recital. This process comprised a large part of his aesthetic services to the student. He explained:

I think the main thing as of late has been trying to find a balance of when you pick out the piece for them to work on. Because you’re having to juggle the kids who are learning really easy pieces that might get them down in like a month, versus kids who are playing harder stuff, where it can take many, many months. And so, I’m just like, “Okay, I need to start this person now,” or, “I’m going to wait here, so this kid doesn’t get bored with their piece.” Or if they do learn it fast, should we go on to a different piece and have them play two? Or… – That’s probably the biggest factor.

This process required Austin to coordinate his skills as a teacher, his audience’s needs, the amount that he could teach each student on a weekly basis, and his power to choose what would be best for the student. Each of the characteristics of the organizational structure wove into the process of developing content for the recital.
The capacity of the teacher limits some of the constraints of the recital. Musicians must possess a large studio providing aesthetic services to many students for the recital to sign up enough performers to justify the cost of renting a space. However, the number of performers a teacher can bring to the recital is limited to the number of students a teacher teaches at one time. The number of attendees for the recital is related to the teacher’s student capacity, as the nature of the private audience is such that families and friends of the students primarily attend the recital.

Because of the private audience for the teaching musician’s work, the recital is not a public event in the way that build structure musicians’ events are public. The audience for the student recital is largely assured, and the event needs little promotion. This audience stability varies dramatically from the build musicians’ events, where build musicians try to get anyone who is a fan of their work in a specific geo-located area to show up for an event. However, the teaching musician does need to contact each of the students with information about where the event is and other details. So while information detailing the event is sent out, it is sent out to a specific number of individuals with a vested interest in the recital. The communication surrounding the situation could still break down and cause issues, despite the ability of teaching musicians to control the situation of the recital. Tanya explained a situation with a recent recital:

We recently had a recital also, so I had to send out a bunch of recital announcements. … Some people were like, ‘Yeah, I got it.’ Some people didn’t respond. I probably should have made sure that everybody responded, because one of my students forgot
to show up to the recital. ... Her mom went out of town and she like forgot to tell her
dad or something.

While teaching musicians had more capability than build musicians to assure an audience for
their recital, the results still could pan out imperfectly.

After all of the scheduling, planning, and promoting, the recital can occur. The
aesthetic service that the teacher provides for the students is on full display in the recital. The
recital is a demonstration of student skills, but also a demonstration of the teacher’s teaching
ability. Tanya takes pride in seeing her students improve, as displayed at recitals:

I also just love watching my students improve. So to me that’s just like—really, it’s
so great to see someone who came to me a year ago who, like, couldn’t sit up straight
to play their cello for 30 seconds who goes and plays, like, a two-page, three-minute-
long piece in recital with piano and sounds great. So just, like, last week my kids had
their recital, so I mean that’s pretty great to me.

The quality of the teaching that Tanya provides is of intrinsic value to her, and of extrinsic
value to the student.

This work of booking the room, choosing the music, contacting the parties, and
holding the recital is shaped by the organizational structure that holds the career of a teaching
musician together: the providing of aesthetic services to private group of students, the size of
which is limited by the teacher’s capacity and the decisions the musician makes about how
much work to take on.
Repertoire Structure

- Outcome: Aesthetic Services
- Audience: Private, Professional
- Limits to Growth: Audience Size
- Power: Shared

Exigences

The exigences of the repertoire structure musicians called for musicians to respond to situations that involved acquiring paying work, making sure the hirers were happy with the work, and making professional connections to maintain a steady stream of work. Some of the exigences they reported were:

- coordinating / booking
- communicating / audience feedback
- coordinating / money
- communicating / legitimacy
- communicating / time
- communicating / creating content
- communicating / audience
- communicating / soliciting work
- coordinating / making connections
- coordinating / offered connections or opportunities
The professional communication that responded to these exigences was concerned coordinating performances: booking, soliciting work (which I defined as reaching out to someone or creating professional communication with the intent of getting hired for a gig), and being offered connections/opportunities by peers or other professional connections. These professional communication situations could be responded to orally (in phone calls) or digitally (by placing ads on websites like GigMasters or theKnot, or by emailing people). Legitimacy was also an important element for repertoire musicians, as they had to appear professional and skilled in order to convince people to hire them. The many professional communication elements used to connect with professional contacts and secure professional work in this organizational structure attest to the diverse professional communication responses that musicians used to respond to these exigences.

I gave the repertoire structure its title because musicians in this organizational structure must routinely display the ability to quickly learn, perform, and maintain repertoire for performance at events or in support of other musicians. Hirers call on musicians to perform in situations where the musical performance is not the main draw of an event, and the musician’s personal presence is not the deciding factor in booking. Hirers instead look to hire musicians that can provide a service. Because hirers had to seek out musicians to start the scheduling process, private and professional networks limited the amount of work repertoire musicians could get. However, repertoire musicians shared power with their hirers after the scheduling process started, as hirers needed the skills of the musician and the musician wanted the work.
Outcome: Aesthetic Services

Repertoire musicians provide aesthetic services in the form of hired performances. I count these performances as aesthetic services instead of aesthetic experiences because the performed music the musician provided usually did not compose the main draw of the event. Instead, hirers seek out musicians to provide support music for weddings, parties, restaurants, and events. The ability and willingness to play a wide repertoire that would fit with these types of events made repertoire musicians well-suited to this type of work.

Melody’s (c) website contains a list of songs and pieces that she is able to play at weddings:

I wanted to show [hirers] my versatility, and that I was willing to learn some things that might not be thought of as playable on the harp or something. And also to help them, like, start thinking about things other than the classics at weddings, you know. If they are thinking they really wanted a specific song but they couldn't have it because of a harpist or whatever, then I try to convey that.

Melody uses her website to communicate that she is able to play a wide range of songs, in the hopes that this versatility will help coordinate the hiring process.

Hirers sought out repertoire musicians as players in recording sessions, video shoots, and tour support for larger outfits. Yvonne (c) learned to play repertoire in classical and popular milieus so that she could be a flexible musician, able to participate in many diverse opportunities: “My whole goal was: I want to play everything.” Repertoire musicians offered the ability to respond quickly to a new musical request as part of their aesthetic services, as Meghan said:
This past weekend I had a singer-songwriter hire me to play with her in, like, a live music video, which was awesome, because she gave me the demo, and I made up my part, and we practiced beforehand. And of course, she’s hiring me, and I want her to be confident about everything. And so, it was a really good balance of like, making sure she’s happy, but also having creative freedom.

While the situation worked out well for Meghan and the hirer in this instance, musicians often found it difficult to strike a balance between doing what the hirer asked and also being able to keep the work interesting. Tanya (c) explained that some people do not like taking wedding gigs because music chosen by other people is often not interesting:

Tanya: Some people hate [weddings], but I think they’re fun.
Stephen: Cool. Why do some people hate them?
Tanya: Because the music is boring. So it’s not like quite as artistically rewarding sometimes. But I don’t know. I feel like you can make anything interesting, because there’s so much to — especially playing a string instrument, there’s always stuff to think about, like, working on your tone and your vibrato and what else. So you can play something really boring and still make it good. And especially when you’re playing with other people, trying to really be together and work on your ensemble and communicate, like non-verbal communication. So I don’t know, I still like it.

The service nature of the work made the work less interesting to some musicians, as people rarely chose complex and interesting work to play for weddings. However, Tanya found ways to make herself interested in the music, despite the service aspect of it.
**Audiences: Private, Professional**

Private and professional audiences hired repertoire musicians. These two groups both needed the repertoire musician’s skill of a large and adaptable repertoire, but the two audiences had slightly different reasons for needing that skill.

Private audiences sought out repertoire musicians for the services they could provide to an event. Third-party websites, such as The Knot or GigMasters, often made the connection between hirers and repertoire musicians, because the websites allowed musicians to display their services for viewing by potential hirers. Melody (c) implemented advertising on GigMasters to find gigs: “So sometimes they book you straight away through GigMasters, after they get the first email. But most of the time they email you back and ask a couple of questions and things.” Musicians used these third-party services because musicians often lacked a relationship with a specific audience before being hired for a particular service.

Similarly, audiences lacked relationships with professional musicians before they sought out a musician to hire. Instead of developing networks of private audience members that a musician would return to repeatedly, musicians in the repertoire structure often had private clients who only needed them once for a specific event. However, these one-time events could still result in a larger network for the repertoire musician through positive reviews and word of mouth referrals. Melody followed up with hirers via email after the event to “ask them for a review, because that's what my business is basically based on, is getting positive reviews.” The positive reviews helped her get more work from other one-time hirers looking for musicians for weddings and events on those third-party resources.
Acquiring professional work required tapping a professional audience. Meghan (c) explained that she used a professional network to get gigs:

I, like, owe my life to Facebook, because there are multiple, like, Facebook groups. Like, there's one called “[city] Gig Finder” and then “Young Entertainment Professionals” or “YEP of [city]” and people post all the time: “Hey, I need a videographer for this thing” or a violinist or whatever. And so, I have either found those things, or friends have tagged me in posts, or when I first moved up here, I introduced myself on YEP and said, “I’ve played with these people and I’m available for A, B and C.” And the singer-songwriter that hired me, she saw that and said, “Hey, like, let’s just give this a go.” So, pretty much most of them Facebook, and then a couple word-of-mouth, like connections that I’ve had.

Some of Meghan’s connections in her new town came from investing in a Facebook group and seeking out possible areas of connection with existing professionals. Unlike being hired for events by private audiences, Meghan could return to these networks of professionals when seeking more work. Meghan had gone on tour with several indie rock bands as a support musician and was in the process of contacting them again for more work when I talked with her. She explained that creating and then activating her professional networks took time:

I know that the best way, I mean the best way with anything, is to make genuine, real relationships first. And sometimes putting my name out into a sea of people, like that Facebook group, works. But I am willing to do that occasionally as long as I’m trying
to invest my time and energy into, like, real relationships. And that’s still frustrating because that takes time, and I get impatient. And it almost has to be, like, trusting that gigs are going to come down the road for you, regardless of the relationship.

The relationships that she built up with professionals could turn into more gigs down the road, but it was a slow process. Regardless of the speed, Meghan hoped to be hired by these professionals. Patricia (c) also suggested that developing these long-term professional relationships with hirers helped her develop a career: “Any place that has hired me, anybody that I think has referred me for a gig, anybody … that I just think that has been supportive in one way or another, I try to send them at least once a year—and not at Christmas—a thank you card.” Getting hired back in the future required maintaining relationships with professional hirers.

Musicians in the repertoire structure had some similarities to build structure musicians in that they had to build up networks of professionals to develop their career. However, these repertoire musicians rarely sought a public audience for their work. The people who hired them sought the public audience, and the repertoire musicians helped them play gigs and create content to reach that audience. These needs made the repertoire musician’s relationship to industry professionals different than that of build structure musicians, who needed to develop good relationships with industry professionals as an intermediate step to reaching their public audience. Repertoire musicians needed good relationships with industry professionals directly, so that they could get hired. This subtle difference in orientation to audiences shifted the exigences that repertoire musicians faced;
repertoire musicians rarely booked events, but had to find build structure musicians who had already booked a show and needed support musicians.

Repertoire musicians serving a private audience had a different orientation to their audience than a teaching structure musician who also provided aesthetic services. The teaching structure musician had long-term, stable relationships with their intended audience for their service, while repertoire musicians had short relationships (often only one event) with their private audience. This short-term relationship changed the nature of the exigences that came their way, as repertoire musicians consistently looked for new work from private audiences instead of focusing on a stable, small, private audience. This type of short-term relationship contrasted with the long-term relationships that repertoire musicians built with professional contacts. These shifts in how repertoire musicians related to their various audiences made their organizational structure differ from other structures.

**Limit to Growth: Audience Size**

The size of the two-pronged audience constrained musicians in the repertoire structure. Their work with weddings and events depended on the audience seeking them out. Musicians could advertise in more places to increase their exposure, but largely they had to depend on work seeking them out. This waiting process differed from the teaching and build structures, as musicians in these structures had the ability to reach out to new audiences consistently—even if it consumed time. This limiting factor of the audience needing to seek the musician out meant that the repertoire musician’s schedule could often be erratic, as Melody noted about how often she played gigs:
I guess an average would be once a week, maybe twice a week. Yeah. I feel like they come in clusters. Like sometimes I'll have a lot, and sometimes I'll have really nothing going on. Like there was one week at the end of April ... where I had eight gigs in one week. So that was kind of crazy. Like this weekend, I have a wedding, and that's it for this weekend.

The audience had to seek out the repertoire musician for hire as needed, limiting the repertoire musician’s ability to work consistently.

Repertoire musicians’ musician-support work depended on how many professional connections they had that might hire them. This inability to create their own work meant that even successful repertoire musicians continually built networks to stay in consistent work. Meghan (c), who lives in a city with a large music presence, noted that she saw a person who routinely supported a famous national touring band looking for work in a Facebook group during the band’s downtime. Meghan found this experience “sobering” because, “I guess I assumed that people that high up have work all the time, and I know that's not necessarily true. That even, like, some of the … best, most talented people, musicians or otherwise, will go—can go long periods of time without finding anything. So yeah, it's kind of sobering realization.”

The type of services that repertoire musicians provided resulted in certain types of limitations. They lacked the ability to pitch work to venues or seek out new students to develop more income. Instead, they had to expand their professional networks and get their
name out to potential private audiences, then wait. This set of limitations differed from the limitations of other organizational structures.

**Power: Shared**

Even though musicians had to wait to hear from potential employers, repertoire musicians had a shared experience of power during the initial and subsequent conversation. The hirers needed the skills that the musicians had, which gave the musicians some right of refusal due to busyness or low pay. The hirer and the musician often performed a collaborative negotiation over the process of getting hired and setting rates. As William noted:

So [brides] say, "Hey, you know, how much?" And I’m like, "Well, how many guests do you have?" And they'd say well, "We’re going to have 150 guests." I say, "Oh my gosh, you have that many guests! You at least have to have at least a trio or a quartet." So now, they've got some information, they're like, "Oh, I didn’t know that you needed that many musicians, you know, I didn’t know that before." So, now we can give them a price for that. If I come back and say, "Well, you know, it depends." "Depends on what?" Well, duh, *of course* it depends. They don’t know what it depends on. I have to tell them what it depends on, and I have to give them a sense of the value, like they got an education too.

Repertoire musicians explained and negotiated the rates of the performance with their audience, giving them a shared experience of power with their audience.
The Wedding Gig

Repertoire musicians reported commonly playing music at weddings. The characteristics of their organizational structure made it so that they could effectively play weddings, as private audiences sought out musicians to provide an aesthetic service for a one-time event whose terms could be negotiated by the musician.

To play weddings, musicians had to advertise formally or through word of mouth. William explained that he earned a large amount of work through a third-party, wedding-related website:

I have a listing in a paid service like Wedding Wire, and a bride goes there and finds the vendors and then clicks on my link and it takes her to my site. And that, I think—I think that has brought in more money, that website, than the others have.

Because repertoire musicians sought private audiences who would need their services once on a specific day, musicians had limited ability to choose their audiences based on previous work with that audience. Musicians also had little way to influence audiences to choose them other than advertising. However, the advertising worked, due to the aesthetic service nature of the repertoire musician’s work and a never-ending stream of weddings that needed music. As William said: “I usually play about 30 weddings a year. So, not every weekend, but most of it.” Musicians effectively mitigated the exigence created by the confluence of the audience’s desire to possess the services that repertoire musicians delivered and musicians’ need to wait for audiences to contact them by advertising on third-party websites. This
exigence reflects some of the shared power balance and audience limitations that repertoire musicians had to deal with in the scheduling process.

Musicians could get work for weddings without directly advertising by expanding their professional network to get referred into opportunities. Tanya received wedding gigs through this method:

I have a good friend who has like a wedding group called [PS] and they—she has a pretty active website. They’re also listed on The Knot and like, some of those other wedding websites. So they get a lot of gigs through there, and they have kind of—it’s not a string quartet, it’s like a group of string players. So they do quartets, or duos, or trios, or whatever they need. And so it’s me and one other cellist, and we kind of like rotate whoever, whoever is available. And then they have probably four or five violinists and a couple of violists and, you know, just whoever is available. And so she tends to send me—my friend who runs the group—probably in wedding season two to three, four weddings per month.

Having a professional network allowed Tanya to get paid for work that someone else coordinated.

In the absence of professional networks coordinating for them, repertoire musicians needed to negotiate with audiences to determine the details of the performance. Some of these details had to do with the expertise of the musician and the lack of audience knowledge about musical concerns, according to Patricia (c):
There are some basics that people don’t think about when they’re hiring a harpist. Especially outdoor work and how that affects the instrument. They kind of think that all instruments are equal in terms of playing them outside, and they’re not. But a harp is particularly not well-suited to being played outside.

To solve this information problem, Patricia listed information on her website about what she can and can’t do with her harp, so that potential brides knew some information before they contacted her. As a result, some of the negotiation topics could be addressed even before a phone call or email occurred. However, more negotiation goes on when audiences directly contact the musician. William explained how he negotiates two hours of pay instead of one hour of pay in a conversation with a bride:

The cocktail hour is another way of solving a problem. "Hey, what will you be doing after ceremony? Will you be staying around for pictures?" "Yes, we will." "Oh, you know sometimes, there's, like, this awkward pause while the guests are waiting to start reception. So, a lot of other brides" (social proof) "will have the musicians stay and play a cocktail hour. What would you think about that?" "Oh, my gosh, well, you know, if other brides are doing this, and, yes, there is nothing for them do while we're finishing pictures, so sure." Education. Now they understand why they would pay for two hours instead of one.

This sort of negotiation existed because musicians and audiences in this structure shared power. In the build structure, the power often lay with the booker to set conditions, while in the teaching structure the power rested with the musician to set the rules. In the repertoire
structure, the audience and the musician shared power and negotiated agreements. Melody discussed the negotiations in her own version of the cocktail hour: “That would cost more, because there would be at least two other musicians there as well. So they'd have to pay for them. Probably just $100 each for more. We could negotiate it, but...” The nature of power, audience limitations, aesthetic services, and private audiences came together to create a situation where the terms could be hammered out mutually by the parties involved.

This negotiation process often resulted in decent pay, as Olivia (c) noted: “I get paid better, much better playing a weddings than I do an orchestra concert, much better.” She subbed for various orchestras as a repertoire musician, but found that weddings paid better, potentially because of the service nature of the wedding versus the entertainment nature of the orchestra.

Repertoire musicians’ organizational structure gave them a different set of characteristics to respond to in the exigence of booking an event. The characteristics of the repertoire structure came to bear on the exigence of booking a show in a way that constrained and enabled the professional communication use of repertoire musicians in particular, distinctive ways.

Composing Structure

- Outcome: Aesthetic artifacts, aesthetic services
- Audience: Professional
- Limits to Growth: Audience
- Power: Shared
Exigences

The exigences of composing musicians revolved around acquiring work, just as the repertoire structure musicians’ did. Some of their exigences were:

- communicating / audience
- coordinating / booking
- communicating / promoting content
- communicating / creating content
- coordinating / offered connections or opportunities
- coordinating / commissioning
- coordinating / audience
- coordinating / distributing music
- communicating / legitimacy
- coordinating / time

The exigences of coordinating commissioning, coordinating connections/opportunities that were offered to the musician, and communicating legitimacy were all implicated in the quest for work. Composing musicians could respond to these exigences with professional communication in a variety of ways. They could stay in touch with their professional contacts (who doubled as their audience) to seek commissions, as well as create content for their digital properties to promote and display the legitimacy of their previous work. The development of a network and a body of work to display legitimacy to that network in the hopes of developing more work was a main goal of these musicians.
Composers’ organizational structure is built around providing an aesthetic artifact that fills a service need: composers write music for other musicians. Whether the final outcome of a composer is a completed score of a newly invented piece of music or a string part in someone else’s song, the organizational structure of composing depends on professionals who will commission new work from composers. This orientation to the audience makes the composer’s main outcome an artifact (a score) or a service (a newly composed and performed section of audio) instead of a public performance. The composer’s audience is a professional one, as the composer seeks to be known by those professionals making decisions to commission or select work for performance. Their career growth is limited by the size of their professional network. They share power with organizations seeking to commission music, as organizations often seek out the composer to ask if the composer is available. The organization can choose not to commission from the composer, or the composer can turn down the commissioning request, but both sides come with things to lose and gain when negotiating a commission. This negotiation process makes the power relations more equal, as both hold some power.

**Outcomes: Aesthetic Artifacts, Aesthetic Services**

Composers create aesthetic artifacts and provide aesthetic services. Composers create work that can be performed by other musicians; while composers occasionally perform their own work, the more common goal of a composer’s composition is to be performed by other musicians. The score, which is the actual text that musicians read, is one artifact that
composers create. Fletcher (c) noted that the nature of this artifact is changing as technology changes:

With composing, you are never really done. You are trying to work until the latest possible deadline for you to print the piece, so that you can always make changes and keep making changes and make changes. And, you know, it’s you *always* keep revisiting a score. … You could just keep updating the PDFs because, like, I worked with—I had a commission last year for soprano and string quartet, and all of them were on iPads, so I just kept updating things until, you know, even as they were rehearsing. I would give them a slightly different version, you know, after the rehearsal just, you know, to do changes that we had discussed.

The score was a plastic artifact. It could be changed as the musicians and the composer developed the piece for performance. The aesthetic artifact never fully stabilized.

Composers also can create, perform, and record music as a service. Composers who write for movies, television shows, advertisements, and other people’s songs all contribute work to a professional looking for a composed piece of music. Composing all of or contributing a part to an original score for a movie or television show is common, as is developing music for advertisements and video games. Some composers also create orchestral parts for pop songs. Ian (c) noted of his current work situation:

Right now, it’s turning into 60/40. Like, 60 is more song arrangement, orchestration, and composition. And 40% right now at, like, video games, television, stuff like that.
So it's divided right now. Hopefully we’ll get at a 50-50, or where the numbers change 60 to 40 on the opposite end.

Ian wanted to be developing more work for video games and television, but his current network allowed him more work in the song orchestration realm. As he developed his network to be larger and more developed in terms of getting work in video game scoring, he continued to take work for song orchestration. He delivered a particular aesthetic service of composition to both audiences.

**Audience: Professional**

Composers had to work with other professionals to place their music either in other musicians’ hands or in a setting where it would score some other action. This end goal made the development and coordination of professional networks a critical element of the composer’s work.

Quentin (i) suggested that people sought to hire him for composing work because he brought a unique type of work to the table:

If people who are looking at me who have that thing where, either they’re looking to hire me for a film or they’re looking to hire me for a documentary or a commercial piece that’s a little bit outside the box, they can come to this website, see everything that I’ve done, see the composer page, and know kind of—and get a good idea of the gamut of it.

His website provided a way for his professional audience to understand the types of work he composed and determine whether they wanted to reach out to hire him. Ian (c) also suggested
that his website helped professional contacts determine whether he would be a good fit for them:

That’s what I would hope people … take away. Just that we can contribute something that they—I mean, that’s why they’re looking, because we have something they don’t have, and we can add it to their project, and elevate what they’re doing.

Ian’s audience depended on him for composing skills that they lacked. This audience for his work would hire him to compose, not come to a live show of his. This professional audience also minimized the need for a public face for composition, as he noted:

The hard part is that we aren't very much into all that [social media]. We aren't artists, so it's not something that we feel as strongly about. Most of our work is not going to come from Facebook. Neither will it be from Instagram. It was kind of more at the time. We should be probably be putting up more, because that’s where the technology and the world is at right now. But we’ve been doing pretty well so far without the use of those.

Ian and his composing partner eschewed most social media, because their audience sought contractors outside social media. Their audience differed from that of a build structure or a teaching structure audience, but similar to the audience in the repertoire structure. The nature of composers’ work required coordinating and collaborating with a music industry professional to acquire work, but this coordinating and collaborating happened largely outside social media.
Carl (c) noted that he had to coordinate with organizations by reaching out to them and seeing if they had any slots open for future compositions in their programs.

I try to have a good, sort of, connection before I send an email. So if I don't really feel like I have a good chance of hearing back, I might not. Or I'll wait until, say, like, I've met someone in the organization to have a part of the email that can at least be like, "Oh hey, I've been connected to this," or, "I've been thinking about you," or, "I went to a concert that had one of your pieces in it." That sort of thing, a connection to be made rather than a sort of cold email.

Carl considered a cold email ineffective in making connections. Fletcher also noted that email became a necessary but difficult part of the composer's life: "So you kind of play the long game of you know, of the composer, the creator. You just keep doing things and people don't respond or don't read your emails, it's fine. You're not there because of that one person." Fletcher suggested that in the long run people recognized his work and hired him for commissions or put his work into programs, but that it took a while to break through with some of the professional audience.

As a result of the professional network being the audience, making and maintaining connections became a huge part of the job of the composer. However, this need to meet continuously meet people also meant that he ran into bad contacts as well. As Ian (c) noted:

I have always been a talker and always been somebody that likes people. I love people, I like making friends, and I like people. And I think the one thing that this industry did for me was show me all the bad people. Because it showed me the liars,
it showed me the snakes, it showed me everything that I thought I had to be and chose not to.

Ian noted that a lack of business savvy presented problems for him and many other musicians early in their careers. The day-to-day business practices blindsided musicians because they did not expect to conduct business negotiations with representatives of large bureaucracies. Yet, Ian dealt with record labels often as an independent orchestrator of string parts for pop songs. He explained this situation:

I think everyone starts off musically and they don’t understand that there is a business. And I think the hardest lesson was learning that I wasn’t going to be doing all music, that I actually had to learn how to stand on my own in a business environment, especially in a label setting, because labels are very—it’s business.

Ian furthermore suggested that young musicians lacked a clear grasp of the audience or how to coordinate work with that audience when the musicians first leave their education:

And the other thing is that [music schools] don’t really delve into what you need in the real-world application of this industry. They don’t teach you the business, they don’t teach you. I can’t tell you how many times I’m talking to kids and—granted they’re like 25 or 24, but they’re kids coming into this—and they are wide-eyed, ready to go and they can’t fucking get work or make enough money because they haven’t been taught how to negotiate something. They’re still—it’s almost like they come in, “I’m not worth asking to make a living, I’m worth what you think I’m worth.” And that’s not how it works.
Composers had to deal with a professional audience that sought specific types of work, which sometimes resulted in a difficult negotiation. Composers had to communicate with and coordinate these connections to acquire work.

**Limit to Growth: Audience Size**

As Fletcher, Ian, and Carl noted above, the size of the professional networks and the ability to get people in the professional networks to use or place their music limited further growth in their career. These professionals comprised their entire audience, so the size of their audience limited their career growth. This one-and-the-same relationship between the audience and the professional network varied from the build structure’s problem of professional networks as a limiting factor. In the build structure, musicians need to access professional networks so they can then access their audience. In the composing structure, the final audience that composers need to convince to get paid is professionals in the network. So while professionals form a limiting factor in both the build and composing structure, the nature of the relationship to those professionals is different in both structures. Composers instead show similarities to repertoire musicians, in that they both must work with professionals as the end audience. However, repertoire musicians and composing musicians offer different aesthetic services and artifacts, making their limits to growth work on slightly different logics.

Fletcher noted that the limiting nature of professionals choosing his work meant that developing a career took a long time. As he said:
My career is kind of funny because, it’s kind of like the long game, it’s kind of like the Bernie Sanders kind of game. Maybe by the time I am 75, I am going to get somewhere, because, you know, the reality is I have known so many people, they know my music. Sometimes I get booked to play shows because like 10 other groups have played my music on their series, and it takes that kind of confidence building for someone to book me. The music becomes something that the audience knows and loves and then finally they can book the real guy to play the real piece.

Fletcher said it took a long time to get his work from “known” to “played” and then from “played” to “hiring him to play it.” Fletcher kept a small group of musicians on hand as his band to play concerts of his composed music, a slightly unusual arrangement for a composer.

I will further discuss this hybridization of careers in the last section of analysis in this chapter.

Fletcher also noted that it sometimes took a very long chain of connections to result in a single piece of work. As he related:

[Dancer 1] was at this concert, and my dad was at this concert. My dad and [Dancer 1] know each other from years ago. My dad introduced me to [Dancer 1], then my dad gave a CD of mine I believe to [Dancer 1] or something like that. … anyway [Dancer 1] passed along my CD to this choreographer from Canada named [Choreographer] who ended up coming to one of our shows, who ended up coming to a bunch of other shows of ours. Then [Choreographer] asked me write some music for a ballet. She said, “Can you come up with us to a three week residency at the [x]
Center in [city]?” and I said, “I can’t, because that residency is right around the time when our first child is due and so I can’t leave the country.”

She said “Fine,” so she ended up using some of my pre-existing music for that project, and we ended up collaborating on another project down the line. But that first project that we did with [Choreographer], there was a dancer in it named [Dancer 2] … we kept in touch for years. [Dancer 2] moved back to [hometown] to be with family and to start a modern dance company in [hometown]. And when she had her first public show she commissioned a score for me for that. Then we did a second piece a year and half later, which was what this was. …

God, I feel like an old man telling all these stories. "Well, back twenty years ago, I met this person and that person introduced me to that person and that—you know, it was easy back then.” I love them. So, I mean, some of these things have a really long chain.

The long chain of connections allowed him to coordinate his work.

While Fletcher did not enjoy that hirers passed him over and long chains of connections required time to develop, he noted that not being physically hired to perform sometimes presented itself as a benefit. Performing organizations could perform his old and new commissioned work without him being there, which allowed him more time to do other moneymaking activities, like playing a concert. He didn’t even need to attend all the premieres of his commissions: “I didn’t go to that either. I had a concert in [city]. So, you know, that’s kind of one of the nice things of being a composer, is that you have things that
happen kind of in spite of your presence sometimes.” This specific quirk of how a composer works allowed growth to happen despite not physically being present.

Musicians reported that tapping a connection a second time once a relationship had developed resulted in an ongoing relationship and ongoing opportunities. Austin (c) noted that he’d like to work with an organization again, in reference to some orchestration work he created for a school play:

Yeah, I definitely do. And again, the person, I think she really feels like I’ve pulled them out of a jam and being able to kind of help refine some of what she had made already, they seemed to be pleased with that. And that seems to be a big thing too—it’s not having necessarily tons of different gigs but just the same gigs kinda happening year after year after year. Like a lot of the bands and orchestras and choirs, I’ve been working with them for probably five or six years now and just slowly tacking on some extra ones here and there.

Size of audience for the work limited musician career growth. However, Fletcher noted that he also had gotten to a point where his network worked in his favor:

Things have been evolving for the past few years where there’s always kind of stuff going on. I’m surprised by it myself. You know, there’s premieres of things. I am surprised myself that I get asked to write new pieces every—it’s completely strange to me to have a slate of commissions, you know, a few months out of work, like, that I have to write. And I have to think, “Well, do I have enough time to write this?” Which, you know, of course, you make time to write it whether you sleep or not. That
doesn’t really matter. (I do try to sleep because otherwise it’s kind of hard to write.)

I’m adjusting to this. I didn’t use to have that many concert commissions. We used to write music for student films and other little things. I never had commissions for concert works. Then all of a sudden they started happening. One kind of begat another, I guess. I don't know. It’s kind of a lovely thing. It’s really wonderful.

The size of the professional network that the composers had to tap to get commissions and get their work selected for performance limited composers’ work opportunities. However, once the network grew large enough, the work appeared more consistently. Composers could stay busy. This growth style differed from the build structure, where continued success required a larger and larger operation to handle the work of larger and larger audiences. Instead, the professional networks allowed composers to get more and more work without having to expand their professional operation too dramatically.

**Power: Shared**

Similarly to the repertoire structure, composers found themselves in situations where they shared power over the negotiating process of acquiring work. Both sides of the negotiation had things that they could offer to the other that could not be easily replaced: the composer brought a distinct aesthetic point of view, and the commissioning organization brought a desire to see new work made. These mutual needs allowed the two sides to negotiate and collaborate on the development of work.

Carl sent an email to a contact two years after he had talked with him last to seek more work, displaying the dance of shared power between the two parties:
I wanted to, primarily kind of just be a more visible presence again. To check in and say, "Hey, I'm still out here, if it jogs your memory of something that I would be good for, let me know." But also to say more specifically, "If there's any opportunities for writing a new choral piece or showing you some old choral pieces, let me know.” And he actually did write back about—almost a month later. But he said he'd be interested in seeing other works, but he may have an option for a new piece in February. And I have yet to follow up on this one, just to see what might be best for a follow up. … So, he basically offered, there's an opening in February to write a new composition. He's not 100% certain about it yet, but this would be the instrumentation. And I'll obviously write back and say, "Oh yeah, that totally sparks my interest." But as it's not like 100%, I'll probably have to follow up a couple more times and say, "Keep me posted on this.”

Carl wanted the work, but he had to get approval from the person commissioning. The person commissioning sought Carl’s work, but had to seek it within the context of other constraints. This negotiation and collaboration occurred through a long chain of professional communication (in this case, email). Both sides wanted to work with each other, but the process of negotiation took time and effort to get to a point where both sides confirmed their participation.

Fletcher had quite a bit of collaborative work lined up. He couldn’t get his work played without the performing organization, but they couldn’t play his work without him creating it:
I have another orchestra piece that is due November which is premiering in [city] in January or March or something of next year. Then I have some arrangements that are due July of some gypsy music for a concert here in [home city]. Then a dance piece that I wrote—and this I don’t have to do anything for—the dance piece that I wrote that we premiered in January in [home city] with [dance company] is being played all over Europe this summer.

Ian had the same sort of collaborative situation with hirers. As he notes, “We can write for symphonic orchestra classically. I mean, I just did a baroque piece for [A]. I did a classical composition for [BL], and I just got hired on by [BW] to do another classical composition.” These power relationships required equal consent from both parties, which set the composing structure in a similar vein as the repertoire structure and apart from the build and teaching structures.

The Commission

Composers commonly booked events securing a commission for new work from a performance organization. The nature of the professional network as both audience and limiting factor to growth, and the score as the particular type of aesthetic artifact that composers produced resulted in few places for composers to ply their new works without an organization or performer asking for a new piece. Composers had to develop collaborative power relationships with other professionals to end up with a new work being commissioned and performed.
Carl explained the intertwined process of how two different commissions came to exist: “The chain of events actually started at my [non-music] job. I was behind the register and a friend of the store came in, who works in a public programming job for the city of [X].” This professional had the ability to be a contact in Carl’s professional network, expanding his network and potentially becoming a person who could give him a commission.

She said, “You should come to the [venue] and get a tour of spaces there, because we need more creative people to do”—like, what they call, like, "activation spaces."—“While there’s not operas or musicals happening, like, usually the theatres are empty. So we want to try to and get performance groups, and dancers, and yoga classes, and beer festivals and stuff in there, so see what—it might inspire you.”

This potential professional contact displayed the collaborative, negotiated nature of power relationships in the composing structure. The woman invited Carl to consider if the opportunity that they had would be a good fit for Carl’s work. Carl decided to take them up on the offer to investigate the opportunity: “And along that way, I kept talking with them and they actually commissioned me for a piece, so, like, a sound installation in one of the theaters.” The negotiation is present in “I kept talking with them,” which led to the organization commissioning a piece. But as Carl investigated this opportunity, he found another opportunity:

I was on that tour checking out the theater, and amidst the people in the tour group was the head of the Gay Men’s Chorus. So we all introduced ourselves in the circle and then made, like, a mental note to say hi to that guy after, because I had a piece for
choir, and I just said, “Oh, I might like, send it via email or whatever. Introduce myself.” So it was nice to meet them, and we ended the tour, and I decided, “Okay, this theater is going to work for my project.” And then we set up a meeting with the Gay Men’s Chorus director.

Carl’s network expanded to include professionals who could deliver potential future opportunities as a result of being present in his current opportunity: he ran into the head of a chorus that might be interested in his work. He had an aesthetic artifact that he could pitch to the group, which might help them fill a future concert schedule. The chorus director could choose to accept it or reject it, but Carl decided to try anyway. He continued:

And he ended up not liking the piece that I had showed him but said, “We actually need a piece for our festival in the opening ceremony.” So they made a whole new commission for me and asked the, like, National Choir people to fund it. So it was a long tag of events, usually like a – you have to know somebody to know somebody, but it was introductions along the way.

The chorus director rejected the piece, but turned the table back to Carl and asked to commission a new piece. Negotiation of artifacts and services with an audience rarely occurred in the build and teaching structures. While repertoire structure musicians could negotiate some details of the performance with the audience, the amount of variables that could be negotiated within the work of the composing structure made for a unique organizational structure. These collaborative negotiations about the artifacts of the composer’s aesthetic vision gave the composer and the commissioning organization a tight
relationship. This relationship furthered the ability of the organization to expand the
composer’s professional network, as happened with Carl.

These characteristics of the composer’s organizational structure made booking an
event look different than any of the three other structures. The close relationships between
the professional contacts and the composer made for a collaborative, shared-power
relationship.

Hybrid

While some musicians reported involvement in only one organizational structure,
many reported involvement in multiple structures. These sorts of hybrid careers required
musicians to become adept at coordinating, collaborating, and communicating with multiple
audiences about multiple outcomes. Each of these organizational structures required
distinctly different coordination and collaboration skills with distinct audiences. Each
organizational structure can be considered a single job, in that one an experienced musician
could make a full-time career from participating in any one of the organizational structures
on its own. However, many musicians had not made it to the point in their career where a
single type of organizational structure provided the money they needed to be a full-time
musician in just one structure. Musicians had to be adept not at just one “job,” but multiple
“jobs,” while they developed each of the organizational structures. While some
organizational structures had similar or complementary characteristics, these organizational
structures largely featured different characteristics and exigences, which require different
tasks and professional communication use.
Hector (c) reported that he made enough money to be a full-time musician by making money from performing (in both the repertoire and build structures) and teaching (teaching structure):

People should know that—I'm not in it for money, but I feel great, and now it's bringing in money. And it has for a while. And I have a kid! I can't do free work. I used to take a lot more cheaper work, and that wasn't as satisfying … or had side jobs. But the past five years, I've been able to do it with performance and teaching.

Fletcher noted that he “split” his career between the repertoire, teaching, and composing structures, and that it was all intertwined in his mind:

I end up playing sessions and making arrangements fairly often. It kinda depends, again every end of the week in my strange career is really different. Every week I have performances or recording sessions or composition arrangements kind of projects. Everything is kind of going at the same time. Some weeks I have a ton of performing work and somehow I have to squeeze in composing or arranging work. Some weeks I have a ton of composing work and somehow I still have to run to a few rehearsals and/or teach or something. I really have a hard time saying which is the dominant … arm of my work because it’s so integrated, and it’s hard to split.

In addition to these structures, he mentioned elsewhere that he keeps a band so that he can play his own music at concerts. This outfit implicated him in the build structure as well.

Some organizational structures had some overlap in audience, which allowed success in one organizational structure to help with success in a different organizational structure.
Tanya reported that her development of the repertoire structure allowed her more success in her teaching structure:

So I feel like most people who I know who are freelancers and especially teachers have a website up. I don’t really expect to get a lot of gigs through the website, but I definitely hope that it’s sort of like a first – like a face to present to prospective students. So I have, kind of, geared towards more teaching, so I have a bio on there, like a teaching philosophy statement, some pictures of my students and my studio, and then I have a blog that is, it’s just, like, my professional blog. So if I do something, like a cool performance, I’ll, like, take a picture and put it on there with, like, a caption, so that people coming to look at me as a prospective teacher would say, “Oh okay, cool. She’s doing this and this and this, that’s interesting. Here’s her students and they look good.” And I have some reviews on there and stuff. So just mainly if someone contacts me for lessons, I can say, “Oh, hey, if you want to learn more about me, look here!” And hoping that current students will maybe forward that along and people will see that.

Having a picture of her performing, which does not directly pertain to teaching, allowed her legitimacy in the eyes of people who might want to hire her as a teacher.

However, skills did not always overlap, as the coordination, collaboration and communication skills needed for the various organizational structures sometimes did not reinforce each other. Tanya reported that her website rarely helped her book gigs, so her audience knowing that she participated in the teaching structure did not help the growth of
her repertoire structure career. Meghan (c) reported that the skill of making connections to develop her repertoire structure differed from the skill of doing promotional work for her neo-classical band:

I’m better at like, the real relationships versus the self-promotion-y type of stuff.

Also, like, that is very, very new to me. I’ve been playing cello for a long time but it’s only been the past year that I’ve been thinking, how do I market myself as a musician? I’ve never—I never did any of that in college or like the five years in between college and last year, and so it’s definitely a new concept for me.

Meghan had to create relationships and market her musical outfit. She felt that these two tasks differed, and that she found more success in one than the other. She described participation in two separate organizational structures, so it makes sense that she may be good at one and not as good at another. She could still develop skills that would cause the success of both organizational structures to grow, but she reported that the skills developed separately.

Yvonne (c) noted a difference between the classical music world and the pop music world, particularly as the classical music world relates to the repertoire and teaching structures and the pop world relates to the build structure:

I noticed a lot of my classical friends will try to stay away from social media, just because a lot of the older ones are like, “Well, I don’t have time for that,” and a lot of the younger ones are just like, “Well, I mean, what is there to really do?” But it is a
whole different thing because the classical world is very interesting, and it is a lot different than the contemporary world of music. So they are two different things. Quentin also found that life in two structures at once required a complicated dance. He included his build structure work, [A], and his composer life on his website, but felt unsure about including both on a single website. The duality of his participation in two organizational structures affected the way he thought about the website:

Because I really wanted to separate my composer life—which has a lot of stylistic stuff that’s not under the use of [A]—separate that from [A], which is really a defined thing. And I have other friends who do the same thing, so it’s kind of—the precedent is there for me for doing that, and feeling comfortable with it. Yeah, so that has kind of, that question has shaped some of my choices with this. It’s something I still wrestle with.

He split his professional identity between two organizational structures in practice. As a result, he could not decide whether he wanted them to be united under a single name or split apart as two separate entities. Musicians commonly reported this sort of awareness of being pulled in two different directions while trying to create a hybrid career.

Musicians who expected to make a career in one organizational structure found themselves unexpectedly tossed into a situation where they had to participate in multiple organizational structures at once. Sylvia (c) explained her first year as an extra-institutional individual like this:
So I had one trial at an orchestra – you know I played like five or six concerts that year. And I’ve subbed with a bunch of orchestras. I did, I think, not a lot of teaching that first year. I started doing more teaching the second year. And I was just a little bit bored and like, underworked performance-wise, so I started a chamber group called [H] which was mixed winds, strings, piano. And there was [number] of us. … And then we started doing concerts in a church in [city], which is where I was. And then over the next four years I was in [state] … So those concerts we just booked ourselves and we did most of the advertising for. And then we started getting hired to do, like, chamber series and festivals around the state. And then we sort of reduced to a trio for a while—flute, oboe, piano. We did a CD in 2009, and we self-funded that. We just had the extra money, you know, extra money from gigs and playing. So we just paid for it. And that I think was a real turning point for CDs, because that year I think we made our money back within – I don’t know – 6 months or a year selling those CDs at concerts.

Sylvia developed a career in music by being a part of the teaching structure, the repertoire structure, and the build structure all at once. She summed up her reasoning behind turning to this type of varied work: “I became an independent musician because I did not have a full time job with an organization that would make me not an independent musician.” While she was involved in multiple organizational structures at once, it was not clear if any of them were helping each other; Sylvia’s report identifies them as all happening simultaneously but not overlapping much in terms of relationships or tasks.
Carl echoed the concern about the reality of careers failing to follow expectations, as his composing career was still developing: he made about half his money from music and half from other ventures—a non-music artisan business and a non-music part-time job. Olivia (c) responded that she found the multiple organizational structure lifestyle to be standard for musicians: “I don’t know, maybe that’s what the 21st-century musician is, a very busy person who wears a lot of hats.” Hector had adjusted to the reality of a multiple-income-streams life: “The economic climate is very different from what it was, and the music industry is very different from what it was. You no longer are just relying on, like, a big check, you’re relying on a lot of smaller checks from people to pay for your stuff.” This adaptation responded to the realities of developing multiple structures at once—Hector participated in the build structure, the teaching structure, the composing structure and the repertoire structure (through a seat with a semi-professional orchestra).

While some people felt thrust into a hybrid career, some people had purposefully chosen—even sought out—a hybrid career. Elizabeth (c) explained how she became a hybrid career musician:

I was also asked by friends to improvise over tracks, play film scores, play indie bands. And then once I graduated from my master’s program, I was not as attracted to the full-time channels that classical music offered for me, for this purpose. And that was orchestral repertoire, being an orchestral musician 90% of the time or being a full-time teacher 90% of the time. I really liked the idea of piecing together a diverse
career that allowed me to explore diverse types of music and continue to develop as a person.

While acknowledging that many people create a slightly hybrid career—90% this, 10% that—Elizabeth sought out a career that encompassed the build structure and the teaching structure. She built her own following by creating a brand out of the new material she commissioned and recorded, as well as guest-performed as a feature musician in other orchestras and ensembles. She taught the occasional student as well. She traveled often to accomplish all of this, keeping all of the balls in the air at the same time.

Olivia felt that new musical students must understanding the hybrid nature of careers: “Conservatories in schools of music aren't preparing students for 21st century careers. And I believe that we should be, ‘cause, you know, a lot people graduate and don’t have jobs or don’t know what to do or end up not being in music at all.”

While some musicians slot neatly into one of these organizational structures and inhabit it exclusively, some musicians participate in more than one organizational structure. This idiosyncratic combination of structures creates a hybrid career. While the hybrid career may be the experience of some or many musicians, it is not its own structure with definable characteristics. Instead, it is indicative of participating in multiple organizational structures at once, much like being employed by two businesses or working full-time and freelancing on the side. Gaining new work as a composer and gaining new students as a teacher require communicating and coordinating with different types of people. While it may be possible for musicians to make relationships with people that cross over into multiple organizational
structures of their lives, the professional communication work that each organizational structure required was largely idiosyncratic, with little crossover.

Instead of creating a separate category for each hybrid individual, looking at the exigences each person is responding to helps organize and understand the type of work they are conducting. These organizational structures can then be stacked on top of each other: it’s possible to teach, compose, perform, and record on other people’s work as part of a single career, but each part of the career requires separate tasks to be done and networks that need to be mastered for advancement in that element of the career.

Conclusion

This chapter considered three questions:

1. Why do musicians communicate?

2. Do any similarities in musicians’ exigences and professional communication responses to those exigences suggest stable sets of characteristics that would suggest the construction of an identifiable extra-institutional organizational structure or structures governing their work?

3. If so, what are the characteristics of those organizational structures?

The answer to the first question of why musicians communicate the ways they do was that their professional communication is shaped by characteristics of exigences: constraints that appear in each of their exigences. Musicians must respond to these characteristics, in addition to the idiosyncratic constraints specific to each situation, to respond appropriately to the exigences before them. Their tasks—the pattern of action they use to respond to an
exigence—include professional communication that is shaped by those exigences. So musicians use professional communication the ways that they do because underlying characteristics distinctive to each type of musician mandate certain issues must be attended to in all communication.

These characteristics frame the exigences and thus shape the professional communication of individuals. However, these characteristics also shape the overall organizational structure that musicians report. This shaping of organizational structure occurs because of the reciprocal function of professional communication that co-creates an organization (Doheny-Farina, 1986). I argue that this reciprocal process takes place in extra-institutional individuals as well as in bureaucracies. This reciprocal process allows professional communication to create organizational structures for extra-institutional musicians and allows me to display four different types of organizational structure in this chapter.

I further argue that the process of professional communication creating the organization for extra-institutional individuals is the process of communication as infrastructure. Instead of professional communication creating material artifacts that result in large bureaucracies’ patterns of work, professional communication creates the expectations for future communication that are extra-institutional individuals’ patterns of work. Professional communication that has effectively responded to the characteristics of an exigence becomes the grounds for future professional communication in that exigence. However, because characteristics cross all exigences, the characteristics are not only
predictive of communication in that exigence in the future. The characteristics can also be predictive in situations that the professional has not seen before, as the characteristics will form a starting place for new communication in a new, but related, exigence.

I offer one example of this process, then will discuss this more in the next chapter. Norman (i) shows how he uses email as he approaches the process of trying to get press in a country he had never worked in before. He had booked a concert in Portugal, but had no previous press contacts in Portugal. To get promotion in that country, he turned to an old email that he had used for booking in different countries, and used it as a starting place: So next step is I would go to my Gmail, and … I would draft an e-mail, but I would go to my Gmail to look at a past email that I drafted. Sort of look at, look at and analyze it. Because I already know the results I got from last time, so I would try and figure out what made that successful for some things and what made it unsuccessful for certain things. And also re-read it, because … maybe you’ve changed. Or maybe this is a different project and you wanna focus on a different type of energy or vibe. This is the infrastructural use of communication: Norman is using past communication that was fit for a previous exigence in a new exigence because the constraints of the exigence (an aesthetic experience to a public audience, which requires promotion). The characteristics that made the previous email effective were the starting point for future communication in a new exigence, even as Norman acknowledged the various idiosyncratic constraints (“this is a different project”). The infrastructural use of professional communication allows extra-
institutional musicians to develop consistent ways of working even without a bureaucracy mandating those consistent ways of working.

In addition to the theoretical findings of this chapter, I found four organizational structures. The build structure, the teaching structure, the repertoire structure, and the composing structure each feature characteristics that frame their exigences in distinctive ways. These four unique organizational structures helped explain why musicians were reporting different tasks and professional communication in Chapter 5: the characteristics of their different types of work required different tasks and professional communication responses. These characteristics were grouped into four categories: the aesthetic professional outcome of a musician’s work, the type of audience musician is trying to reach, the limits to growth, and the power structure of a musician’s professional relationships. I argue that these organizational structures exist next to other structures investigated in TPC, both extra-institutional and institutional (Edenfield, 2016; McDaniel & Daer, 2016; Spinuzzi, 2015), as organizational forms that professionals can adopt.

One of the reasons that I argue that these extra-institutional organizational structures can be applied outside of this specific dissertation is that these organizational structures were not specific to indie rock or classical musicians; involvement in these organizational structures crossed over both groups. While I started out with two subgroups (indie rock and classical music), these organizational structures did not perfectly connect with those subgroups. While many indie rock musicians gravitated toward the build structure, classical musicians reported being involved in the build structure as well. Similarly, indie rock
musicians reported being involved in the composing, repertoire, and teaching structures. If musicians of multiple types can participate in these structures, it could be possible for professionals of any arts type who encounter similar characteristics in their work to participate in these organizational structures.

This finding of organizational structures within professional music gives some support to the entrepreneurial mindset model. It may be possible to teach skills of Arts Entrepreneurship across art forms, but not by focusing on the assertion that artists have a single set of entrepreneurial skills they need. Instead, understanding that artists of different art forms, who are trying to innovate in specific yet similar ways (such as offering work and tools to other artists) may have similarities in the types of work they need to do. This understanding may allow description of an “entrepreneurial mindset” needed for that type of work. Composers, who create work for other artists to use, may have similar characteristics, exigences, tasks, and professional communication needs as arts entrepreneurs making musical equipment, ballet choreography, or painting studio space—who are also offering work/tools for other artists. This finding also complicates the organizing approach to Arts Entrepreneurship; individual arts may have individual ways of creating value, but there may be different types of work that create different types of value within a single art form. This means that organizing may be a good approach, but it needs to be adjusted to acknowledge multiple types of value in an art field. Another adjustment: I suggest that types of value making may be similar across art field, instead of distinct to a specific art field. For example, composers and playwrights both create work for other people to perform; their ways of
organizing their professional work may be similar. It may even be true that playwrights and composers may have more in common with each other than they share with the actors and musicians performing the works they create—as actors and musicians are creating a different type of value. I will discuss this issue more in chapter 7.

This chapter sought to understand why musicians communicated in the ways they do. The findings of multiple organizational structures that guided their work had implications for the day-to-day work they did, but also the fields of TPC and Arts Entrepreneurship. I now turn my attention to conclusions of the full study.
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

This dissertation set out to answer four different research questions related to the professional communication of extra-institutional musicians, who are *professionals who communicate* instead of professional communicators. The questions were:

1. How do extra-institutional musicians use professional communication? What tasks are musicians doing with professional communication? Do similarities or differences in tasks exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)

2. What professional communication do extra-institutional musicians employ? What professional communication elements are they using? How are those elements involved in the professional tasks of musicians? Do similarities or differences exist between indie rock and classical subgroups? (Chapter 5)

3. Why do musicians communicate? Do any similarities in musicians’ exigences and professional communication responses to those exigences suggest stable sets of characteristics that would suggest the construction of an identifiable extra-institutional organizational structure or structures governing their work? If so, what are the characteristics of those organizational structures? (Chapter 6)

4. What are the implications of musicians’ extra-institutional organizational structure(s) for the study of extra-institutional individuals? What are the implications for the pedagogy of Arts Entrepreneurship? What are the implications for genre theory? (Chapter 7)

Having explored questions one and two in detail, I now turn to question three in detail. Investigating the what, how, and why of extra-institutional individuals’ professional
communication resulted in a discussion of how musicians organize their careers with organizational structures created through and by professional communication. Individual musicians are not unique in their professional situations, as they share organizational structures with other musicians that face similar exigences repeatedly. Neither are musicians as a class unique, as the organizational structures identified in this dissertation may be present in other fields that share the same exigences. As a result, musicians are a valuable case study of a group of individuals who, over time, lost significant organizational support and yet largely replaced that organization on their own. This replacement allowed them to continue doing the type of business that their industry does. This study has implications for several different areas of research and pedagogy in TPC and Arts Entrepreneurship, which I will outline below.

Topics for Discussion

In this section, I will provide a short overview of each implication I will discuss in this chapter.

By looking at why extra-institutional musicians were using professional communication, I found that extra-institutional musicians replace the organizational support that they lost with the infrastructural use of professional communication. Professional communication has already mentioned the reciprocal use of communication to create organization (Doheny-Farina, 1986). I extend this argument to extra-institutional individuals, 13

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13 This study focused on musicians’ replacement of the professional communication tasks that organizations previously did; organizational support such as IT management, HR functions (such as insurance), and financial accounting fell outside the scope of this study. More research may find that musicians are doing these things on their own as well.
arguing that the professional communication of extra-institutional individuals creates organization in a reciprocal manner that I call the process of infrastructure. The process of infrastructure is the process by which extra-institutional individuals learn what parts of the relationship between the individual, exigence, and professional communication are critical for the success of professional communication in their field (Star & Ruhleder, 1996). The organizational structure is the result of that process: a set of stable characteristics that point to those relationships that the work of professional communication has identified in many exigences. This finding implicates professional communication as a critical element of professional stability for extra-institutional individuals and expands our understanding of how extra-institutional individuals do their professional communication.

I argue that the finding of multiple organizational structures for musicians suggests a new method of studying extra-institutional individuals in TPC: grouping extra-institutional individuals by the exigences they face. The four organizational structures that I found did clearly map on the two subgroups I assigned at the beginning of the study, because musicians from both subgroups reported involvement in each organizational structure by responding to shared exigences. This method allows for comparison of extra-institutional individuals across fields and expands the field’s methodological tool set. TPC pedagogy can benefit from the findings of this dissertation as well. I argue that these distinct types of professional communication usage reported by musicians can expand our knowledge of what professional communication looks like in an era of diverse student outcomes. Teaching students how to respond to professional exigences that appear in 21st century work by using strategies drawn
from research is a continuation of TPC’s interest in teaching students what they need to know for their careers.

This study has implications for Arts Entrepreneurship: The finding of multiple organizational structures for musicians suggests a more fine-grained method of researching musicians, as well as providing a wider angle on which to study Arts Entrepreneurship across art forms. This last finding of organizational structures within two types of music suggests refinements to the entrepreneurial mindset (by challenging the notion of a single set of entrepreneurial skills applicable across art forms) and Gartner’s conception of organizing in art forms (by complicating the view of each art form possessing distinct ways of making value).

Each of these previous findings relate to the why of professional communication in the life of the extra-institutional individual, but the what and how also have implications for Arts Entrepreneurship scholars and teachers. The taxonomy of verbs and professional communication elements can add to the ongoing conversation about what communication is necessary in Arts Entrepreneurship.

The last implication of the what, how, and why of professional communication in extra-institutional musicians relates to genre theory. I argue that some sort of organizational structure is necessary to create stabilized-for-now professional communication genres, even if the structure is not bureaucracy. The infrastructural use of individual professional communication elements created a level of organization that allowed typified responses to recurrent exigences to appear, defining unique genres for each organizational structure.
These genres served the exigences of the specific extra-institutional organizational structure well, but do not necessarily transfer well outside the specific organizational structure that allowed them to exist. These genres that are specific to organizational structures allow scholars to bypass hierarchies in favor of the respondents’ own understanding of what is and is not a genre that fulfills a recurrent exigence in their organizational structure. I will discuss several examples of these genres briefly.

Communication as Infrastructure for Extra-institutional Individuals

The development of organizational structures for extra-institutional professionals who communicate could not happen without professional communication playing a role in the process of infrastructure. The process of infrastructure creates organizational structure for extra-institutional individuals in the absence of other material artifacts. The chronological steps of the process look like this:

2. Exigences shape professional communication.
3. Successful professional communication shapes future communication in similar exigences.
4. Over time, successful professional communication shapes future communication in very dissimilar exigences.
5. The characteristics of the successful professional communication that guide communication in all exigences are relied upon as organizational structure.
This process allows extra-institutional individuals to do their jobs in repeatable ways, bringing stability to their professional communication and work tasks. I will explain this process below.

Spinuzzi argued for extra-institutional organizational structure in *All Edge* (2015). His mechanism for explaining the creation of extra-institutional structure was activity theory. In chapters 2 and 6, I explained how rhetorical concepts could support the idea of organizational structure as well. I now turn toward a different area of expansion and interpretation of organizational structure theory. Spinuzzi talks about the need of his extra-institutional individuals for physical infrastructure, service infrastructure, collaborative and social infrastructure, benefits infrastructure, and self-structure (Spinuzzi, 2015, pp. 183-185). I agree with many of his assessments of the needs of extra-institutional individuals, but I suggest a different type of infrastructure than all of these: the process of infrastructure.

Extra-institutional individuals generally cannot request other organizational resources with which to respond to exigences—they cannot appeal to a superior. They must respond with available professional communication elements. This extra-institutional reliance on professional communication gives professional communication a special role in the way that extra-institutional musicians develop their professional career: it is the core component of the process of infrastructure that creates organizational structure.

The process of infrastructure is the process by which those characteristics of an organizational structure stabilize into the form where musicians can rely on them to guide their work. The process starts with individuals appropriately addressing exigences with
professional communication by responding to the constraints of that situation in their communication. Musicians recognize that an exigence is affected by many constraints. Some constraints are idiosyncratic to the situation, such as the availability of certain dates in a calendar month for a show. Some constraints are characteristics that appear in many exigences, such as the build musicians’ continuing need to find ways to monetize an aesthetic experience, which requires booking live shows. These characteristics are the constraints that a musician has to respond to every time, regardless of the other, more specific constraints that are idiosyncratic to that exigence.

The build structure exigence of booking a show for a tour will manifest different specific constraints for Salt Lake City and Austin—different venues, different bookers, different bands to collaborate with on booking—but the characteristics of selling an aesthetic experience to a general audience while dealing with the size of audience and size of professional networks as limiting factors and the power tilted away from them. Those characteristics reframe each of the experiences of booking: if they are not attended to appropriately, the exigence will go unmet.

These characteristics are instantiations of relationships between people, objects, and ideas: the characteristic of audience type points out relationships between the individual, other people, and the product or service being sold. These relationships must be adequately addressed in each successful professional communication element; in other words, the exigence that is framed by these constraints must be appropriately addressed with professional communication. This shaping of the exigence by characteristics is the first step
in the process of infrastructure, and it happens as the individual assesses the situation and prepares to write.

The second step of the process is the creation of the first professional communication response to the exigence: the musician creates the professional communication response with these characteristics in mind, hoping that the professional communication response will respond appropriately to the idiosyncratic constraints and characteristics of the exigence and thus succeed.

The third step of the process, the success or failure of the professional communication response to that exigence, will influence the musician’s future response to that same situation, either by starting from the same place as the first response or formulating a new response that changes parts of the communication deemed as failing. When musicians respond to characteristics appropriately with professional communication, they are solidifying the professional communication element as a place to start in the future. When someone booked a show successfully with an email, they started their next tour with the same email starter. When Mitchell (c) needed new students, he returned to the same set of methods (Facebook and Craigslist) as he had before. The response that had successfully addressed both the characteristics and idiosyncratic constraints of an exigence was the starting point for the next time.

The fourth part of the process of infrastructure is that the characteristics that are shared between professional communication responses to situations can structure not only new instances of previous exigences, but structure the response to new exigences by giving
musicians the characteristics of organizational structure as a starting point for all new
communication in any exigence (new or old). That professional communication response
stabilizes not just a single response to a single exigence, but a set of relationships between
the characteristics of the organizational structure: people, tools, events, and social
expectations. This set of relationships must also be maintained and developed in other
exigences that share the same characteristics but differ in the specific details.

I argued at the end of Chapter 6 that Norman did this by reviewing old emails that
addressed similar exigences effectively or ineffectively, then started from those emails to
make a professional communication response for an exigence he had never addressed before.
If a musician knows how to send a successful booking email that sells the product to the
audience in light of the power imbalances and limits to growth present in the organizational
structure, a musician can start from a stable standpoint of “selling the product to the audience
in light of the power imbalances and limits to growth” in any situation—and then develop the
communication further in response to the idiosyncratic constraints. This is the final step of
the process of infrastructure at work: the development of successful professional
communication in multiple exigences over time stabilizes the work of professionals via the
characteristics of their organizational structure.

Communication creates organization through the process of infrastructure: it
prescribes activity so much that it allows individuals to lean on the characteristics of
organizational structure even in new settings. This is one reason that organizational structure
exists—it stabilizes work by offering a standard way of doing things. This stabilized,
standard way of doing things is efficient, as people do not have to reinvent the wheel every time they encounter an exigence and can instead rely on the organizational structure to direct the course of action. Bureaucracies maintain this structure through characteristics like hierarchies and strict lines of communication. Teaching musicians maintain their structure through time management strategies and contractual relationships with their students. Composers maintain their structure through negotiating power relationships with professionals who may want to commission them for a work. Extra-institutional individuals maintain this structure by understanding the characteristics that underlie the exigences of their career and tailoring their communication to respond to those characteristics.

Professional communication holds relationships in place in an extra-institutional setting through the process of infrastructure, ultimately creating organizational structure (Star & Ruhleder, 1996). The infrastructural professional communication use of extra-institutional individuals must both create the organizational structure and then communicate within it. This makes professional communication deeply important in the lives of professionals who communicate, because successful professional communication creates the infrastructure that lets musicians rely on the characteristics of organizational structure that guide future communication.

Professional Communication across Extra-institutional Individuals

Scholars in Technical and Professional Communication study extra-institutional individuals, but these individuals have largely been studied on their own in relation to a larger concept in professional communication (Petersen, 2014; Van Ittersum, 2014). I argue
that looking at the organizational structure of extra-institutional individuals will allow for comparison across extra-institutional individuals of different fields. Understanding whether organizational structures, exigences, and professional communication are similar across multiple groups of extra-institutional individuals will allow for deeper insights on work in the 21st century and pedagogy for students going out into the 21st century work environments.

Grouping extra-institutional individuals by the exigences, characteristics and organizational structures they face is an additional way to study extra-institutional professional activity in addition to grouping them by field. Spinuzzi's *All Edge* (2015) suggests that extra-institutional individuals of different fields are involved in the all-edge adhocracy organizational structure: web designers, technical writers, search engine optimization specialists, and consultants all displayed similar characteristics of their work that reframed the exigences and professional communication in their careers. The item that ties them together is not that they all work in the same field, but that their work is defined by the characteristics of how they work (e.g. flat structure in relation to other professionals, flexibility, et al.). Spinuzzi’s focus was on the all-edge adhocracy as a structure that cut across fields. In finding multiple new organizational structures, I call for scholars to not just look for how the all-edge adhocracy or any of the four structures I found fit with fields (a top-down approach), but to focus on how characteristics shape the work of professionals in many fields and investigate whether those characteristics align with already-identified or as-yet-unidentified organizational structures (a bottom-up approach). I am not suggesting that Spinuzzi took a top-down approach, but suggesting that this would be one way to do further
research on organizational structures. I argue for the bottom-up approach because it can reveal many possibilities: If extra-institutional individuals fit with organizational structures that already exist, then understanding of that organizational structure can be deepened. If new ones are identified, then our understanding of how professional communication works to organize the careers of extra-institutional individuals outside an organization is strengthened.

Organizing individuals by the problems they face in their careers allows for strategies of communication to appear across fields that address the same types of problems. This cross-field response is possible because the characteristics of the build and teaching structures are not distinct to musicians: they can be enacted by anyone with similar problems and similar professional communication responses. This finding is important for scholars in technical and professional communication who study extra-institutional individuals like freelancers, consultants, amateurs, entrepreneurs, bloggers, and artisans (Brady, 2011; Lauren & Pigg, 2016; Palmer & Killingsworth, 2002), but it is also important to teachers of TPC.

Understanding the ways that professional communication works to organize the work of extra-institutional organizational individuals in newly identified or existing organizational structures creates new pedagogical avenues for teachers in TPC. Students graduate into a world that is increasingly suffused with professional communication and diverse organizational structures in which to ply the trade of professional communication (Blythe et al., 2014; Brumberger & Lauer, 2015; Pigg, 2014). (This is to say nothing of the many students who will go into fields where they need to be professionals who communicate.)
Understanding the organizational structures and professional communication that goes on in them allows TPC teachers to adapt their pedagogies to the shifting economic and organizational conditions that students find themselves in. These organizational conditions have been shifting almost since the inception of TPC as a field, so knowledge of these shifting conditions is nothing new to TPC (Johnson-Eilola, 1996). However, extra-institutional organizational structures offer one more area where we can provide education to our students about the careers they will be going out into (Murphy, 2015).

Culture, Organizational Structures, and Arts Entrepreneurship

The four organizing structures that musicians reported did not arise out of thin air; instead, they reflect longstanding traditions of pedagogy and practice in the arts. Composing, gigging, teaching, and performing to public audiences are concepts that are taught to musicians in conservatories and music schools throughout the United States, the nation that is the focus of this study. As such, the careers that musicians described in these organizing structures are not groundbreaking to scholars who emerged from or continue to be institutionally affiliated with conservatories. However, the systematic understanding of what defining characteristics shape the professional tasks and professional communication elements of these previously-identified careers provide benefits to conservatory education and to arts entrepreneurship education.

Conservatory education has been accused by those inside and outside of arts entrepreneurship as not providing sufficient professionalization to young musicians. While attempts have been made to correct this error, there is not much large-scale research that
conservatories can use on what the day-to-day professional needs of musicians are. This research, which aligns with the types of careers that conservatories and the culture of the arts as a whole expects for students, fills in some details about what characteristics musicians should prepare for and what types of professional communication they will need in their tasks.

This research can also benefit arts entrepreneurship by pointing out that these organizing structures are the structures from which arts entrepreneurs innovate. Harding’s model of arts as community development is helpful but not enough: community development can look like the performer-centric performances of the build structure, the lessons of the teaching structure, the musical support of the repertoire structure, or the new compositions of the composing structure. Beyond serving the community, creating any unique experience is going to incorporate one or more of these organizing structures in terms of what the product is, who the audiences is for the work, what will limit the project’s growth, and what the power relationships between the musician and other people are. Understanding what the important characteristics of each organizing structure are can help musicians more quickly identify how to develop innovative projects by knowing where the important aspects of the project are that need to be addressed. Detailing the relationships between career types, characteristics, and professional communication will allow for a deeper understanding of how innovative arts entrepreneurship projects come to be.

Many indie rock musicians do not have the formal training or deep background in the culture of the arts that many classical musicians do. However, popular music has a culture
and history of its own that dictates the ways that indie rock musicians make a living. Similarly to classical musicians, the importance of these findings for indie rock musicians and scholars who study them is not that musicians go on tour and sell recorded music, but that certain characteristics need to be addressed throughout the professional communication of an indie rock musician. Understanding what is needed for successful communication allows for indie rock and classical musician’s professional communication to achieve its ends and further the musicians’ careers. While arts entrepreneurship cannot take credit for the “discovery” of these organizational structures, the details of what these structures require from musicians in terms of professional communication are important for conservatories, arts entrepreneurship scholars, and musicians of all stripes.

Organizational Structures, Entrepreneurial Mindset, and Organizing

The multiple organizational structures that I found for musicians suggest a more fine-grained method of researching musicians (and all artists) in Arts Entrepreneurship. The two frameworks of Arts Entrepreneurship that I have been considering, entrepreneurial mindset and organizing, both can be extended by findings in this dissertation.

The finding of multiple organizational structures for musicians that entail unique characteristics, exigences, tasks, and professional communication elements suggest that the entrepreneurial mindset would have to be very general to speak to the work of each of these groups of individuals (McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Pollard & Wilson, 2014). Even opportunity identification as a general concept that can be applied to all of the organizational structures has very specific instantiations in each organizational structure (Brandenburg et
al., 2016). Opportunity identification in the composing structure requires networking and identifying needs that the composer can fill; opportunity identification in the build structure requires identifying innovative methods of building audience to leverage for booking and sales. (It can be argued that these organizational structures are not actually Arts Entrepreneurship, as Arts Entrepreneurship entails creating new products and opportunities that didn’t exist before. I would respond to this argument that new opportunities can happen from novel responses to idiosyncratic constraints and characteristics within existing exigences; a further discussion of where opportunities and novelty lie is beyond the scope of this dissertation.) But I do think that the entrepreneurial mindset is valuable and can be applied effectively to Arts Entrepreneurship education.

Concepts of the entrepreneurial mindset applied within individual organizational structures, however, is a way to adapt the entrepreneurial mindset to the needs of students. It can be argued that this is the work of the entrepreneurial mindset, that artists must take general concepts and apply them within their specific setting. While I believe this is true, giving students more focus for these mental efforts by situating entrepreneurial mindset concepts within organizational structures is a starting place to introduce them to these concepts.

At the same time, the fact that indie rock and classical musicians both reported involvement in each organizational structure suggests that an organizing model of Arts Entrepreneurship that focuses on individual art forms may be making too large of a grouping in its unit of analysis (Gartner et al., 2015). Individual art forms may contain multiple
different ways of creating value. Those groups of artists making their careers by approaching a single type of value making in the field may have more in common with other artists of other fields doing that sort of value making. Quentin, an indie rock musician composing for advertisement and film, had similar exigences and professional communication as Fletcher, a classical musician composing classical music for premiere. Elizabeth (c), reported doing the work of recording and promoting music in the build structure, just as many indie rock musicians (like Jim and Maria) did. These musicians had more in common with each other across fields than they did with musicians in their field who were making careers in different ways (such as teaching or gigging). Further investigating these potential ways of value making in music could help music students understand many ways of making careers in music. Studying potential multiple ways of making value in multiple other art forms could reveal different organizational structures in fields like visual arts, theater, dance, and more. These findings would present concrete details of what artists’ work looks like in a variety of organizational structures within a single art form. Meanwhile, we could apply the organizing idea not just to art fields, but to the various ways of making value that cross across art forms.

Professional Communication in Arts Entrepreneurship

As it is important to understand how professional communication creates organization for extra-institutional individuals, it is not helpful if artists don’t know what individual professional communication elements will be asked of them to make that organization. The taxonomy I created can start the conversation of what professional communication elements are needed for extra-institutional artists (Essig, 2016).
The topic of what musicians write is a vexing one for artists, as musicians do not generally get into the music business to do professional communication. However, large numbers of texts attest to the importance of professional communication in the life of the musician: branding, marketing, promotion, merchandising, scheduling, networking and more (Byrne, 2012; Krasilovsky, Shemel, Gross, & Feinstein, 2007; Owsinski, 2011; Passman, 2015; Schwartz, 2005). Indie rock musician Benjamin noted:

And unfortunately the truth of being a professional musician is that booking shows and promoting myself via social media, via making a lot of my own posters, via anything: Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, anything—that’s 90% of what I do. I’d say 10% of being a musician is playing shows and writing songs.

The existence of numerous professional communication elements in musicians’ work had effects on musicians’ professional lives, as they felt underprepared for the steep learning curve and large amount of time dedicated to professional communication.

Classical musicians had the same problem: Sylvia (c) mentioned that she had to do a large amount of communication for her two ensembles on a regular basis: “So for every concert [Group A] or [Group B] is playing, I’ll do marketing: press release and e-mails, emailing people individually, social media posts.” She summed this up by saying: “There’s just, like, a lot of office work – a lot of computer work. And I can’t say I’m terribly organized about it except that I just keep a to-do list and try to stay on top of it.” Musicians had to use much professional communication, but they did not see themselves as writers. They firmly fell within the professionals who communicate space, as they communicated as a means to
continue playing music professionally. Furthermore, classical musicians felt that their conservatory degrees did not prepare them for any of the business tasks they would have to do, much less these many types of writing and oral communicating that comprise much of the work of a musical career.

This leads to a mismatch: musicians want to play the best possible music to be successful, while best practices suggest that they should play the best possible music and be professional marketers to be successful. As a result of this mismatch in the desires of musicians and the best practices of those seeking to advise them, it is worthwhile to ask what types of professional communication extra-institutional musicians are actually doing.

The aesthetic nature of the build structure musicians’ artifacts and experiences resulted in sophisticated, complex professional communication use to market an aesthetic outcome to a general audience. But not every artist needs sophisticated marketing practices. Teaching musicians did not need to aggressively market their lessons, and the types of marketing that composers and repertoire musicians conducted differed from the types of marketing that may be expected from teaching musicians.

This means that understanding the individual types of work that individuals are doing can reveal what specific types of writing we should be teaching to Arts Entrepreneurship students, not because a resume is Arts Entrepreneurship (it’s not), but because we will know what sorts of communication supports the work students want to be doing. This sort of work can be done in any sort of framework for Arts Entrepreneurship, not just organizing or the entrepreneurial mindset.
Genre in Extra-institutional Organizational Structure

Earlier in the dissertation I side-stepped the concept of genre. However, I now want to return to genre in the light of extra-institutional organizational structure. Because individual organizing structures have different characteristics undergirding exigences, these characteristics can create recurrent exigences from which to draw genre names that are specific to an organizational structure, even if those names are fuzzy and may not be the same across different organizational structures.

Genre emerged from the organizational structure of the bureaucracy, as genre theory largely developed from the technical and professional communication field that primarily took place in bureaucracies (Kimball, 2017). The structure of the bureaucracy dictates repeated uses of professional communication in response to repeated problems, because the bureaucracy is set up to enforce routine completion of highly specialized tasks. The organizational structure of the bureaucracy is extremely favorable for creating a stable environment that encourages genre formation and stability (Schryer, 1993).

The identification of professional communication genres can only be done in an organizational structure with defined exigences, as genres are created in response to recurrent exigences and then stabilize around a form that satisfies that exigence. This defined, repeated exigence is what an organization, institutional or extra-institutional, provides. For example, the build structure includes characteristics that result in the exigence of “coordinating booking” being framed in the same way repeatedly. Because the recurrent exigence is framed in the same way repeatedly, build structure musicians can learn to send booking emails that
respond to present and future exigences of booking appropriately. With the teaching structure framing the recurrent exigence of “communicating soliciting work,” teaching musicians expect that an online ad on websites like GigMasters or theKnot which worked to secure work once will work again in the future. These genres are responses to specific exigences that appear as a result of the stable framing of recurrent exigences by specific organizational structures.

The specific technologies that musicians use (such as theKnot) do not create or stabilize the genre; the characteristics of the organizational structure, which are platform-agnostic, are what repeatedly appear in exigences and guide the communication choices professionals make. A specific technology is then an idiosyncratic constraint on the professional that can vary from exigence to exigence. The platforms and technologies that house genres can and do change rapidly, but the stability of musicians’ work patterns is not based on the technology. The stability of genres is based on the characteristics of organizational structure, even if a technology is implicated in the genre.

Because organizational structures shape genres, these genres are specific to each organizational structure. Identifying all the ads that musicians put together would not result in identifying the same genre: Nick (i) put together Facebook ads trying to solicit house shows from his audience, which has a very different exigence than trying to get hired for a wedding gig. These are both ads, but they serve very different purposes in the specific organizational structures of musicians. Knowing what organizational structure and what exigences within that organizational structure gave rise to the ad or the specific type of email
can allow scholars to categorize these genres as socially-defined responses to recurring exigences.

However, extra-institutional structure is not a panacea for defining extra-institutional genre use. The organizational structures that extra-institutional individuals developed resulted in genres that addressed exigences effectively, but the idiosyncratic nature of these genres does not suggest we can find shared genres across organizational structures on shared platforms such as Facebook. These genres do not neatly fit with categorization across organizational structures because they draw their names from the exigences they fulfill: album promotion Facebook post, concert promotion Facebook post, booking email, student information flyer, referral phone call. These are genres, in that they perform a social action that is present in a repeated exigence. However, these genres often do not exist in differing organizational structures. “Content promotion Facebook post” is not relevant to teaching musicians, as they do not promote recorded music or music videos very often, but it is relevant to build structure musicians. “Informational email to students” is not a genre that build structure musicians write, because they do not teach students. Teaching structure musicians, however, see “informational email to students” as a common genre they write. These genre names come from the tasks that are completed by the professional communication.

These genres defined by the work of professionals in those organizational structures, however, feature less-than-specific genre names and less-than-discrete boundaries to their generic conventions. This is because people reporting use of professional communication are
not as specific and discrete as genre scholars would like them to be. The problem that the musician is trying to solve with the communication defines what the genre of that communication is. Further research on individual genres in one or more organizational structure may challenge this assessment of fuzzy edges, but in this study I found very fuzzy terminology to describe actions that multiple musicians were taking (Bonini, 2009).

For example, musicians in the build structure reported using Facebook often. They used Facebook to promote their work, such as a concert, an album to buy, or some other piece of information. People called this “using Facebook” or “promoting on Facebook” instead of calling it “creating a Facebook promotional post.” However, Facebook solved the exigence of mass promotion. If the Facebook post effectively distributed information, then musicians remembered elements of that post and included those elements in the future (such as including a video or an image in a post). Professionals within an extra-institutional organizational structure used communication in repetitive ways to respond to repeated exigences. These musicians assigned names to genres via a fuzzy, imprecise naming system which revolved around the goals of the communication (Zucchermaglio & Talamo, 2003). This system encountered particularly fuzziness because musicians did not participate in a bureaucracy that could standardize the names and functions of genres.

Instead of trying to catalog the posts of individuals into top-down categories or getting caught up in the medium/mode/platform hierarchy (Graham & Whalen, 2008), asking individuals what problems they are trying to solve with their communication and how they expect that communication to respond to that exigence names genres in the extra-institutional
individuals’ life. This question explains what the social and professional expectations surrounding the creation of the genre are and whether the intended audience for the genre received it well. This analysis does not solve the classification hierarchy problem that caused me to need communication element as a term (Catenaccio, 2012), but it does move in a different direction. Instead of categorizing platforms, modes, and hierarchies, focusing on extra-institutional individuals’ understanding and labeling of their own responses to their social actions where they may be found as part of their work is a way to investigate genres outside the hierarchical problems.

Conclusion

This dissertation has discussed the what, how, and why of extra-institutional musicians' professional communication. These findings have implications for extra-institutional individuals, extra-institutional professionals who communicate, arts entrepreneurs, Arts Entrepreneurship teachers, and rhetorical genre scholars. Much as musicians can play songs with chords, musicians can create a career with professional communication.
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**APPENDIX A: GRAND TOUR INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**

**Interviewer:** __________________
**Participant number:** ________________
**Recording number(s):** ________________

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**Research Project**

A Media Production Ethnography of Self-Employed Artists’ Business Practices

Stephen Carradini, Principal Researcher
North Carolina State University

**Initial Remote Interview Format**

**Introduction**

The purpose of this interview is for us to understand the way that you, as a self-employed, independent artist build and maintain your career. I will start by asking you to tell me the history of how you became an independent musician, then I will ask you some open-ended questions based on your response. I will be recording your answers on this computer, but all of your responses to the interview questions and survey will be kept confidential. If you don’t want to answer a question, feel free to say so and we will move on to the next question. I will not be recording the video of this video conference. You are free to stop the interview if you do not want to continue. Do you have any questions before we begin?

*[Begin recording]*

The audio recording is now on. Do I have your consent to record this interview? Thank you.

*[Turn to the next page to begin the interview.]*
Part I: Virtual Tour of Online Promotions Presence

In this first part of the interview, I’d like to talk about the various ways that you promote yourself, do business, and conduct your music career.

1. To start, can you tell me the history of how you became an independent musician, starting with when you began to play music? What projects are you currently involved in, or what positions do you currently hold?

2. Thanks for giving me that overview. I’d like to know what sorts of work you do in each of those projects/positions. Let’s talk about [position or project]. What are the types of work you do in relation to [position or project]? Where would you start? What would be your workflow?

   Participant begins to speak about various tasks. If a task requires the computer, the participant can open the computer and direct the researcher’s attention to important aspects of the site or software, or just talk. The researcher would ask follow-up questions like:
   - Why do you use this software?
   - What would be your workflow to get that task done, in order?
   - How and when did you start using this software/service? How did you learn to do this?
   - Do you use this software for non-business purposes? If so, how is your business use different than your non-business use?
   - How does your audience respond to you on this software/service?
   - How often will you check for audience response when you complete this action?
   - What parts of this software are most or least helpful? Why?

   The participant will outline the action that would be taken and answer follow-up questions.

3. That’s helpful information. What else do you do in [position/project]?

   The participant will repeat the process until there are no more virtual sites in that line of questioning.

4. Let’s talk about [position or project]. What sorts of work do you do for that project? What would those events and tasks be? Can you take me through those processes as well?

   The participant will use the computer to show the researcher other tasks and events via speaking or via using the computer.

   The researcher will repeat this process until there are no more projects/positions to discuss.

5. Thanks for showing me that. Are there any other tasks you do as part of being a musician? Can you show me how you do that? If so, let’s look at them now. If not, let’s move on to the second part of our interview.
Part II: Workflow

In this section of the interview, I will ask big-picture questions about your work and career. The goal of these questions is to understand how and where you do the work of your career, both online and offline.

_These open-ended questions may lead to the participant referencing the computer or looking something up on the computer. I will ask clarifying and follow-up questions based on the participants’ responses._

1. What type of technologies do you use to do your work? How often do you use them? Why do you use one or the other?

2. What do you feel are the most effective business strategies that you employ? How are they effective? Why do you think they are more effective than other strategies you do?

3. What are your goals with your business tactics? Do you have particular benchmarks in mind?

4. Where do you use your technologies? Are there physical locations that you are located when you do your online work? Do you do them on the move, or do you have stable physical spaces that you associate with that work? Some of both?

_Throughout these semi-structured four questions, I will be asking follow-up questions and following the lead of the participant. I will ask questions about these topics, but they may not flow in this order or in this exact wording._

Those were all of the interview questions. Thank you very much.

Do you know of any artists that I might be able to contact about being involved in this study? I’m particularly interested in people who might have different strategies or different ideas about music business than you.

Thank you for those suggestions. Can I let them know that you recommended them to me?

_If yes:_ Thank you. I appreciate that.

_If no:_ Ok. I will contact them without mentioning you.

_[Leave recorder running in case the interviewee makes any significant comments at the end. Turn off recorder when the conversation as finished. Point out that the recorder was still running; record his/her verbal consent to keep the end of the conversation on the recording._

Remember, I will follow up with you in a few weeks to schedule a follow-up email for a few weeks to a month from now. Thank you again for being a part of this research.
Follow-up Remote Interview Protocol
Thank you for meeting with me again. All the previous statements about the first interview are still true: you can refuse to answer questions you are uncomfortable with, and you are allowed to discontinue the interview whenever you would like. Did you bring materials for us to look at? Thank you very much for that. Do I have permission to record this interview? Thank you. This interview will allow us to look at these documents specifically and discuss how you write them and how they relate to your career. Can I save these documents to my computer and use them as part of my analysis? This will require me taking a screenshot of websites.

Let’s look at the first document. Can you pull it up on your screen and share your screen with me? If that doesn’t work, I can pull it up and share my screen with you. (If the respondent refuses: Okay, then can you pull up the document on your computer? I’ll pull it up on my computer, and we’ll talk through it together without screensharing.)

Thank you. Let’s look at the first document.

Participant and interviewer look at a document on the screen.

1. Can you describe this document to me? Why did you select this document? Why is it important in your career development?

2. How did you make this document? Why did you make this document? When did you make this document? Do you feel this is a good example of this type of document?

3. Have you made this sort of document before? How often do you make this sort of document? How did you learn to make this document?

4. What are your goals with this document?

5. Why did you write this specific section?
   a. Follow up questions on specific sections of the writing

6. How does this document relate to your [previous comments about this type of document]? How does this document relate to [other types of documents]?

Can we move on to this next document?

These are semi-structured interviews, so I will follow the artist’s line of thought. I will ask all these questions in some order. After they have finished talking about the first document, I will move to the second, third, and fourth documents, as the case may be.
Thank you for letting me look at these documents. Can I keep these and use them for my own analysis as well as your analysis?

[If yes: Thank you very much!]
[If no: Thank you for letting me see them and talk about them with you.]

Thanks again for telling me about your business practices. Can I follow up with you if I have further questions about the content of our first or second interview?

[If yes: Thank you very much. I will let you know if I have more questions.]
[If no: Thank you very much for letting me have two interviews’ worth of your time. I will not contact you with more questions again. I will send you a copy of the research once it is done.]

That is all my interview questions.

[If yes: Thank you!]
[If no: Thank you very much for your time.]

I appreciate you being a part of my research. My next step will be to conduct member checks: in a few weeks I will send you some preliminary results, and I’ll ask you to confirm that the findings seem realistic to your experience. This process is an important part of verifying qualitative research, so it would be a help to me if you would take some time to verify that my findings make sense with your experience. If not, you will be able to explain to me what I didn’t get correct or what doesn’t resonate with you.