Doctoral   **Applied Arts**

2014-10

A Critique of Immaterial Labour: Dublin's Independent Music Scene as a Strategic Site of Investigation

Susan Gill
Technological University Dublin

Follow this and additional works at: https://arrow.tudublin.ie/appadoc

Part of the Epistemology Commons

A Critique of Immaterial Labour: Dublin's Independent Music Scene as a Strategic Site of Investigation

Susan Gill (B.A., M.A.)

Thesis Submitted in Candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Dublin Institute of Technology

Supervisors:
Martin McCabe
Dr. Tim Stott
Dr. Brian O'Neill

School of Media

October 2014

Abstract

This study critiques the autonomist concept of immaterial labour. Both diagnostic and prescriptive, the term immaterial labour was coined by Lazzarato (1997), but became synonymous with Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) 'Empire' trilogy. They describe post-industrial labour as characterised by the production of immaterial commodities such as culture, creativity and information. Seeing it as a hegemonic form of production, accelerationist Marxists Hardt and Negri (ibid.) suggest that immaterial labour has the radical potential to restructure socio-economic life, resulting in spontaneous communism. However, their thesis has been subject to critique as it homogenises post-industrial production and lacks empirical engagement. This study seeks to address this deficit by using Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation. Independent music production became a logical site of enquiry, as its emphasis on immanent cooperation, urban life and autonomy are necessary elements of the immaterial labour Hardt and Negri (ibid.) seek to describe. Through in-depth interviews, an online questionnaire and further supplementary methods, this research gathers data on the subjective experience of immaterial labour in order to highlight possible critiques of the autonomist concept. Through an analysis of this data, this thesis argues for provisional adaptations to Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) immaterial labour, based on their concepts of self-valorisation, alienation, immeasurability and immanent cooperation.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of PhD has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the DIT's guidelines for ethics in research.

DIT has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Signature.................... Date....................

Acknowledgements

To Mam, Dad, Louise, Ruth and Miriam,

When I fell in love with Dr. Henry Walton 'Indiana' Jones Jnr. as a child, my dreams of being a dancer-neuroscientist-alien investigator were cast aside; I knew I HAD to be an anthropologist. Although I left the relic-hunting back in my undergrad years (along with the bullwhip and fedora), I set upon new adventures, discovering the epistemic archaeology of Foucault, the political geographies of Bakhtin and the cultural excavation of Geertz. Such a course of discovery was unprecedented and uncharted in our family history, but you accepted that a 'real' job was out of the question and patiently waited on the deferred rewards I promised you some day would come. This, I hope, is the first of them.

Thank you also to my supervisors Martin McCabe, Dr. Brian O'Neill and Dr. Tim Stott for the advice, encouragement and support I needed to see this through.

To my participants, for their candour, willingness and cooperation.

To Dr. Mick Wilson, for taking a chance.

To Rachel, Thomas, Clare, Karl and Pat, for the friendships we forged through common struggles and triumphs.

To Audrey, Sinéad and Rebecca, for bottomless teapots and patient ears.

To Mags, Pearse, Alan, Flatzer, and T.J., for beginning this journey with me.

And of course

To John, for believing in me when I could not. Over and over again. I love you.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

It is the aim of this thesis to provide a critique of the autonomist Marxist concept of immaterial labour, using the Dublin independent music scene as a strategic site of inquiry. Immaterial labour is a concept drawn from autonomist Marxism, or *autonomia*. Italian in origin, autonomism posits the centrality of labour within the wage/labour relation. It refers to the positioning of culture, creativity, information and affect within the post-industrial economy and has been criticised for homogenising contemporary labour forms and for lacking in empirical evidence. Immaterial labour within the autonomist tradition, is also considered to have radical potential and posits a future restructuring of the social structure (Hardt and Negri 2001a; 2004; 2010).

This thesis uses data drawn from Dublin's independent music scene in order to critique the concept of immaterial labour and overcome these deficits. It does so, through using first-hand accounts of labouring experience from members of the scene, gathered between the years 2008-2012 through both interviews and a questionnaire. This data is then utilised to point out the anomalies of immaterial labour, highlighting its deficiencies and indeed areas where it is compatible with the data gathered. Although empirically-informed, this research is primarily a theoretical contribution to *autonomia* and specifically immaterial labour studies. This thesis thus combines a theoretical framework from political philosophy with methods borrowed from the social sciences, an approach which has an historical precedent in Classical Marxism and *autonomia* itself.

The remainder of this introduction acquaints the reader with the two topics under investigation. It first illustrates the emergence of autonomist Marxism and immaterial

labour, although the concept is explored extensively in Chapter Two. It then describes the trajectory of independent music production including its current position as a de facto mode of production. This introduction then concludes by outlining the content of each remaining chapter and providing the reader with a map of the thesis.

Autonomist Marxism and Immaterial Labour

Autonomist Marxism or *autonomia* emerged in Italy in the 1970s however Italy's historical engagement with Marxism precedes it. As an intellectual tradition, Italian Marxism is particularly indebted to the dialectical approach to social transformation within Classical Marxism.[1] Suggesting that the mode of production in any given society creates not only economic conditions but social relationship, Marx's (1859) materialist approach argued that the base of society or the material conditions of production, determined society's superstructure or its normative ideas evidenced within institutions, state politics and economic policies.[2] The superstructure determines social, political and economic ideology or the dominant expressions of the ruling class (the bourgeoisie), those who own the means of production, whilst the working class (the proletariat) have no option to sell their labour power, as they have no access to the means of production. Marx and Engels ([1844] 2004) prescribed a revolutionary future characterised by class conflict, in which the exploited proletariat would eventually overthrow the ruling classes, transitioning first to a socialist and then subsequently communist state, founded on common ownership. This communist state

---

[1] Classical Marxism refers to the set of theoretical diagnostics and prescriptions set out by Marx and Marx and Engels themselves without any further interpretation.
[2] Dialectics refers to a philosophical method in which two opposing views strive to achieve truth through logical reasoned argumentation. Materialism in philosophy proposes that there is no metaphysical component to existence and that everything, including conscious thought, is a product of material interactions.

would itself eventually give way to a stateless, moneyless, classless society based upon egalitarian principles.

As both theory and praxis, revolutionary Marxism within the Italian tradition is beholden to Gramsci's ([1929-1935] 1971) concept of cultural hegemony.[3] Arguing that the values of the bourgeoisie were propagated and dispersed throughout a heterogeneous subordinated class by the dominant elite, Gramsci (ibid.) argued that culture, and not simply economic and political ideology, justified the maintenance of a status quo which favoured the ruling class, constructing this inequality as a normative model of political and economic life. Whilst Marx and Engels ([1844] 2004) proposed a radical social transformation based upon political and economic class conflict, Gramsci ([1929-1935] 1971) argued that revolt must also be cultural. Transcending the Classical Marxist prescription of a radical clash between revolutionaries and state, Gramsci (ibid.) saw the creation of a proletariat culture which critiqued ideology as fundamental to exposing social knowledge as a tool of capitalist legitimisation.

The social rest within Italy in the aftermath of Mussolini's fascism in the 1950s saw Marxist intellectuals increasingly seek alternatives to the volatile Communist Party leadership of Togliatti (Wright 2002). What later became known as workerism (*operaismo*) displaced the role of parties, the state and indeed unions within a Marxist dialectic of transformation. Intellectually, Panzieri (1976) posited that Marxism need not only be a critique of society but of itself, seeing it as the pre-eminent sociological

---

[3] Inspired by Leninism, Gramsci was imprisoned by Mussolini's fascist government in 1926, writing a series of 'Prison Notebooks' (1929-1935) during his incarceration, although they remained unpublished until the 1950s. He was the founder of the Italian Communist Party in 1921 and its first leader.

weapon with which critical self-reflection could become an important political tool. Calling for a Marxism that studied organisation, capital planning and class in its objective struggle (i.e. without party contextualisation), Panzieri (ibid.) noted that intellectual Marxism could thus have a revolutionary role. It was upon this basis, that with a number of Marxist intellectuals, Panzieri (ibid.) co-founded the journal *Quaderni Rossi* (Red Notebooks).

The "'parallel' sociology" (Pinto 1980, p.243) of *Quaderni Rossi* was evident within the social science methods and frames through which workerist ideas were explored by its authors. Montaldi (in Wright 2002) and Guiducci (ibid.) suggested that sociological enquiry was capable of producing social knowledge that existed between theorists and the working class they sought to study, as revolutionary theory they argued, "must be constructed from below in praxis and social analysis" (ibid, p.284). However fellow *Quaderni Rossi* intellectual Alquati (ibid.) criticised his colleagues valorisation of sociological theory as revolutionary praxis, seeing it only as sophisticated guesswork whilst Bologna (1977) noted that the reliance on traditional sociological methods of data collection such as interviews and questionnaires was "even if it passed for sociology, at bottom oral history" (p.31) dismissing the supposed co-constructed approach to radical transformation propagated by some workerist intellectuals. Nevertheless, the interdisciplinary approach of *autonomia,* combining philosophical theory with social science methods, has become a distinguishing feature of the field.

Whilst Rosa (1962) argued that *Quaderni Rossi* helped to demystify Marxist thought, giving the working class more sophisticated theoretical tools, Tronti (1971) suggested that "the *autonomous* organisation of the working class…is the real process of

demystification, because it is the *material* basis of revolution" ([author's emphasis] p.37). Tronti's (ibid) name was to become synonymous with the shift from *operaismo* to *autonomia.* Noting that industrial conflicts had taken on wider social affiliations with political solidarity amongst factory workers, radical students, feminist organisations etc. during the 'Hot Autumn' of 1969 and the founding of *Lotta Continua* (Continuous Struggle), Tronti (ibid.) suggested that a new phase of social revolution was erupting, one in which the proletariat determinism of Classical Marxism was being displaced by group affiliations united in common struggles.[4] Whilst still maintaining the importance of the working class, Tronti (ibid.) argued that the whole of society took on the characteristics of factory-based conflict. It is this shift from the factory floor to social life itself that characterises the evolution of 1960s *operaismo* to the *autonomia* of the 1970s.[5]

Autonomism then is characterised as series of social movements, political practices and academic theories. The Bologna riots of '77 following the killing of far-left militant Francesco Lorusso sparked a growing extra-parliamentary left movement in which disparate social movements characterised by the diversity of their conflicts, transformed Italian social relationships. These struggles beyond the factory walls created the emergence of a new Italian social consciousness and

---

[4] The 'Hot Autumn' refers a period of industrial action in Italy in late 1969. *Lotta Continua* (Continuous Struggle) was a far-left extra-parlimentary group founded in Turin in 1969 by student-workers in factories and universities.

[5] Francesco Lorusso of the extra-parliamentary group *Lotta Continua* (Continuous Struggle) was shot dead by military police in Bologna during a protest clash with right-wing protestors *Comunione e Liberazione* (Communion and Liberation). These struggles beyond the factory walls found paramilitary sympathies in the *Brigade Rosse* (Red Brigades) a Marxist-Leninist group who aimed at the foundation of a new Italian state based upon armed struggle. The Red Brigades have been implicated in numerous illegal activities from factory sabotage, kidnappings and perhaps most famously, the kidnap and murder of left-wing Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978. In light of this, autonomist leaders including Antonio Negri were arrested and charged with masterminding the killing. Found not guilty of being involved with the Red Brigades, Negri was found guilty of morally concurring with further paramilitary activity (Portelli 1985).

sanctioned the end of the 'revolutionary' paradigm and the beginning of that movement, opening up new spaces of conflict in the fields of communication, media and the production of the imagery [sic] (Pasquinelli 2004, p.2).

Thus post-industrial labour, and the intensification of culture, creativity, information and affect, in addition to the collapsing boundaries between production and consumption and the advent of immaterial commodities, has become a significant area of critique for autonomists. The section that follows, gives a brief introduction to the central theory under question throughout this thesis, immaterial labour, a theoretical prescription which claims that the current post-industrial economy contains revolutionary potential, laying the foundation for a radical socio-economic restructuring.

What is Immaterial Labour?

A thesis (in Hardt and Negri's work) and heuristic device (in Lazzarato's and Virno's), immaterial labour is a theoretical lens within *autonomia* that examines the intensification of cultural, creative and technological production and the type of social subject that such labour produces. Theoretically, autonomism frames the current socio-economic landscape as one endowed with revolutionary potential however there is no definitive consensus within the tradition as to how this socio-economic restructuring can, or will be achieved. Marx (1867) considered labour 'in itself' as a transhistorical natural phenomenon, whilst for Engels (1895-96) it was teleological, "*the decisive step in the transition from ape to man*" [author's emphasis] (p.1). Guillì (2006) too, sees labour in an apolitical sense. For him it is "being as sensuous human activity" (p.147) arguing that its primary purpose is to be creative, a productive force that reshapes our world "the fire which gives form to all beings that come out of the relationship between humans and nature or humans and technology" (p.26).

Autonomism follows in these conceptions of labour, seeing it not only as a category of political economy, but as a model for social being.

Coined by Lazzarato (1997), immaterial labour became synonymous with Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) 'Empire' trilogy. Immaterial labour is both diagnostic and prescriptive, referring to the "labor that produces the informational and cultural content of a commodity" (Lazzarato 1997, p.1). Evident within post-industrial production in two forms, in the first Lazzarato (ibid.) recognises the growing informaticisation of the industrial and tertiary sectors, which increasingly rely on communicative cybernetics, even manual labour he argues, is becoming more intellectualised. In the second, it is evident in activities that would not previously have been considered work, "the kinds of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and, more strategically, public opinion" (ibid., p.1).

Taking their cue from Lazzarato (ibid.), Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) elaborate upon his premises. Whilst agreeing that his conceptualisation of immaterial labour describes both the cultural and informational dimension of contemporary labour forms, they argue for the addition of affective and symbolic labour. In their schematisation of immaterial labour Hardt and Negri (2001a) argue it is characterised by three things, firstly that the "mute" (p.289) relationship between production and consumption has been replaced by a more responsive production process where "the production decision comes after and in reaction to the market decision" (p.290). Immaterial labour, they also argue, functions in analytical and symbolic tasks, particularly in the provision of services. As no material good is produced, this type of labour often relies on information and communication technologies that involve

problem-solving and problem-identifying activities. Lastly, argue Hardt and Negri (2004), labour has taken on a new affective dimension, premised upon human contact and affect which

> [u]nlike emotions, which are mental phenomena, affects refer equally to body and mind...[a]ffective labour, then, is labour that produces or manipulates affects...[o]ne indication of the rising importance of affective labour, at least in the dominant countries, is the tendency for employers to highlight education, attitude, character, and 'prosocial' behaviour as the primary skills employees need (p.108).

Still within the autonomist tradition, Virno's (2001) conceptualisation of labour under post-industrialism is a "complex of linguistic acts, a sequence of assertions, a symbolic interaction...[that] uses knowledge, information, culture and social relations as its 'primary matter'" (p.1). In Lazzarato's (1997) conception it is a terrain of struggle and conflict, in Hardt and Negri's (2001a), it lays the ground work for socio-economic revolution culminating in communism and for Virno (2001) it provides the conditions for an exodus from capital that "opens up a side road, uncharted on political maps" (Raunig 2008, p.8), a radical politics that unlike others, does not call for the formation of a new state structure. Thus the power that is (rightly or wrongly) ascribed to the autonomist concept of immaterial labour is this ability to move beyond a mere description of contemporary labour under post-industrialism, to a prescriptive call for socio-economic transformation.

Immaterial labour can then be said to be two things. It is a way of describing the various shifts that have occurred under post-industrialism, in particular the primacy of informational, cultural, creative, affective, linguistic and symbolic labour. It is also a sphere of discourse concerning the potential that the transformations within post-industrial labour, characterised by these attributes, hold for the radical altering of socio-economic relationships. The positive valence with which this latter

characteristic is regarded arises from positioning immaterial labour as hegemonic, the claim that it imposes a tendency on other forms of labour (Lazzarato 1997; Hardt and Negri 2001a), thus displacing the realm of industrial production as the space of radical praxis.

Both Lazzarato (1997) and Hardt and Negri (2001a) assert that immaterial labour should not be understood as a characteristic of one stratum within the labour market, but is present in its broadest sense amongst numerous sectors. However it is the way in which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) posit this which has perhaps been the most open to criticism. They argue that characteristics of immaterial production are evident in those forms of labour traditionally associated with the production of material goods, ascending not only over production, but the entirety of life. A qualitative transformation, they state, this hegemony is obscured through quantitative analysis. Returning to the autonomist's most recognisable provenance, Marx's 'Grundrisse' ([1857] 2007), Hardt and Negri (2001a) hold immaterial labour up to be "the specific form of production which predominates over the rest, whose relations thus assign rank and influence to others" (Marx [1857] 2007, p.106) therefore imposing its agency over the entirety of production and social life.

Designating immaterial labour as qualitatively hegemonic has opened up Lazzarato's (1997) and Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analysis to criticism for the manner in which it flattens various forms of labour into one cohesive plane of production. Dowling et al. (2007) have pointed towards immaterial labour's proponents for homogenising the completely disparate types of labour that they assume under its heading. They state that such a careless oversight means

> [i]mportant differences - related not only to the empirical realities of day-to-day labouring practices and their respective positions within (global)

15

hierarchies of privilege and exploitation; but also in terms of the possibilities (or otherwise) for the self constitution of antagonistic social subjects with a capacity to act in common - have been obscured in the process (p.2).

Traditional Marxist sociological categories of class and class consciousness are abandoned in favour of the autonomist revolutionary figure of the multitude (discussed in Chapter Two) and the uniformity therefore with which immaterial labour is understood, "leaves no room for making important distinctions between production and at different levels of abstraction and in different social forms" (Camfield 2007, p.22).

In his iteration of immaterial production, Virno (2001) utilises Habermas' (1984; 1987) distinction between instrumental and communicative action. He places linguistic considerations at the forefront of post-industrial labour, however the emphasis on language that Virno (2001) places on post-industrial labour is open to similar criticism as that levelled at Lazzarato (1997), and Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010). A contextual reality is somewhat lost, and in reading their claims "you'd never expect far more Americans are truck drivers than are computer professionals" (Wright 2005, p.10). Regardless of Trott's (2007) assertion that such criticism completely misses the "tendential nature of their argument" (p.203), without a critical narrative to illuminate the manner by which immaterial labour supposedly reaches a hegemonic position, the process of exodus as a logical conclusion becomes even more difficult to validate. As Camfield (2007) has remarked

> they do not really explain how counter-cultural immaterial labour is supposed to have achieved a generalised hegemony. Instead, they rely on a theoretical claim that capital always reacts to barriers posed by insurgent self-activity by usurping the latter's creative dimensions for its own purposes (p.31).

That immaterial labour is a radically new political and socio-economic constitution is also problematic (Graeber 2008) and contested by even those operating in the

autonomist tradition. Bologna (1992 *in* Wright 2005) has argued that the category of 'services' has only come into existence since they have become outsourced. Such services, when employed 'in house' were simply understood as part of the industrial manufacturing sector and therefore not under scrutiny as a distinguished type of labour. Criticism has also been levelled at the affective dimension of immaterial labour for its representation as a new ontological constitution, which de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) suggest actually obscures the social reproduction of unpaid female domestic work by categorising it in the same domain as new affective labour forms. Although autonomist feminists such as Costa and James (1975) and Federici (2004) have both broadened and deepened the autonomist Marxist approach to labour, the role of women in immaterial labour studies remains under-represented (McRobbie 2008).

As we shall see in Chapter Two of this thesis, immaterial labour has a number of constituting parts which are each subject to critique. What will also become apparent is that the over-arching criticism of immaterial labour tends to emphasise its homogenising nature, lack of specificity and absence of empirical data. Given the central role that culture and creativity are considered to have within the post-industrial economy, it is perhaps unsurprising that scholars have looked to the cultural and creative industries in order to address these deficits, indeed "one group of workers said perhaps more than any other to symbolize contemporary transformations of work: cultural and creative workers" (Gill and Pratt 2008, p.1).

This social subject is easily located within the autonomist literature regarding immaterial labour. Indeed Virno (2001) privileges "the culture industry" (p.2) as the exemplar of immaterial labour, stating that cultural and creative production

"determines the operative instruments and procedures which will then be largely applied to each corner of the social labouring process" (ibid.). The immaterial labourer is "involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms" (Lazzarato 1997, p.1) and producing the "informational…content" (ibid.) of commodities whilst holding high symbolic power (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010). Their work often derives value from its affective capacity, eliciting emotional and physical responses (Massumi 2002; Arvidsson 2007; Clough 2007) which Hardt and Negri (2001a) argue is central to immaterial production, with affect being "one of the strongest links in the chain of capitalist postmodernization" (Hardt 1999, p.90). Their labour operates, as we shall see, within the discourse of autonomy (Banks 2010), both real and imagined, and relies heavily on networking, community and creating "social life itself" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.132-133).

Despite cultural and creative industries exemplifying immaterial labour, there is by no means an abundance of scholarship in this field, nevertheless there have been some worthwhile contributions which contextualise cultural and creative labour with reference to autonomist theory. Video-games have been the subject of analysis from de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) with Embrick et al. (2012), Schumacher (2006), Bulut (2015) and Meades (2015) following suit. Arguing that video-games are the "paradigmatic media of Empire" (p.1) in reference to Hardt and Negri's (2001a) sovereign power, de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) identify games as an example of innovation "from below" (Hardt and Negri 2001a, p.62), whose story-lines often "express and reinforce the military, economic, and political logics of Empire" (de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford 2005, p.1). Bulut (2015) identifies a misconception within academic understanding of "below the line" (p.193) work and the perceived glamour of hierarchical positions in the gaming industry, and suggests that immaterial labour

is a viable lens to bridge this false distinction, as precarity is a common feature of both tiers. Elsewhere Shumacher (2006) argues that immaterial labour overstates the shift from industrial to post-industrialism, and using a case-study of lawsuits brought against developers EA, suggests that "what we are witnessing is not so much a replacement of traditional Fordist practices by post-Fordist ones as a new fusion of the two forms" (p.144).[6]

Other contributions from the cultural and creative industries include emphasis on the affective dimension of immaterial labour. Wissinger's (2007) study of fashion modelling argues that immaterial labour neglects the intensification of its affect through new media technologies, in particular the circulation of images. Through a reflexive piece on her own experiences as a waitress, Dowling (2007) questions the supposed surplus of labour that escapes capital within the autonomist thesis, arguing that even qualitative dimensions of this work are measured through financialised performance metrics. Further work from Coté and Pybus (2007) identifies MySpace (the internet's fastest and largest growing website at the time of their investigation) as a site of "immaterial labour 2.0" (p.88), a more "inscrutable variant of the kind of activity initially proposed by Lazzarato or within the pages of Empire" (p.89) which is premised upon free labour, a phenomenon the immaterial labour thesis makes no provision for. Lastly Bratich's (2010) examination of craft work argues that the pre-capitalist nature of craft work challenges the temporal specificity of immaterial labour, suggesting that its resurgence in DIY craft practices demonstrates its resilience to capitalist co-option.

---

[6] The lawsuits filed against EA were a result of a blog post on LiveJournal by 'EA Spouse,' (later identified as Erin Hoffman) detailing the amount of unpaid overtime EA employees such as her fiancé Leander Hasty, frequently engaged in.

Whilst all these contributions expand our existing knowledge of immaterial labour, music has been neglected within immaterial labour studies despite exemplifying the type of symbolic, affective, cultural and creative labour central to these debates. Independent music is particularly emblematic, with the relationship between taste formation and fashionable norms examined by theorists such as Toynbee (1993), Thornton (1995), Frith (1996), Bennett (1999), Hesmondhalgh (1999) and Kruse (2010), noting that independent music scenes are often at the forefront of more widespread cultural trends including extra-musical elements such as design, style and language.

Independent music production then, as a predicator of mainstream cultural trends, a consumer of media imagery and a node in the reflexive networked production of taste cultures is emblematic of the very type, and form of labour, that Lazzarato (1997) identifies. As we shall see in Chapter Two, there are further elements of independent music production that speak to the constituting parts of immaterial labour, and it is thus well placed as a strategic site of investigation. Whilst thorough justifications of following this research path are explained through a review of literature in Chapter Two the next section simply serves as an introduction to independent music in order to provide the reader with a basic knowledge of the practice.

Independent Music: A Short Introduction

Independent music is a strategic site of investigation within this thesis and refers to any music that is produced outside of the major three record labels or their subsidiaries.[7] It is a catch-all term, referring to both signed and unsigned artists,

---

[7] The major three labels at the time of writing are Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, Warner Music Group.

professional and amateur, those with a politicised Do-It-Yourself ethic and those who do not and incorporates musicians of all styles and genres. The advent of cheap technology in the form of reel-to-reel recording in the 1940s and 1950s saw a proliferation of independent music labels, often releasing music by and/or associated with minorities, most notably Rock n' Roll by artists such as Elvis Presley, Roy Orbison and Johnny Cash. Keen to gain a share of the youth market, the major labels refined their marketing and promotional tools, bought successful independent labels and became key figures in the 1960s continuing to grow into the 1970s. In America sales grew from being worth $600 million in 1960 to $1660 million in 1970 and in England the number of sales doubled in the same decade (Gronow et al., 1999). This growth was mirrored globally and continued right up until the end of the 1970s which marked a period of downturn for the major industry.

The major industry blamed the cassette tape for this loss of revenue as the advent of this technology meant that consumers could record music off the radio instead of purchasing it from record stores. Furthermore musicians could use now affordable multi-track recorders to record their own music and make their own cassette copies for distribution, by-passing record company's altogether (Tankel 1990). The lo-fi quality of multi-track recorders meant they were never intended to replace recording studios, however the punk explosion of the 1970s ensured their poor production capabilities become a much sought after aesthetic.

Punk music became synonymous with the Do-It-Yourself ethic, a "cluster of interests and practices" (McKay 1998, p.2) centred on reclaiming the means of production, rejecting consumer culture and preaching self-reliance. In practice, punk's rhetoric of autonomy was challenged by charges of inauthenticity from the outset and this ethic

was more imagined than real at the beginning of the movement. However anarcho-punk in the U.K and hardcore punk in the U.S.A eventually mobilised this rhetoric and materialised it. Mixing radical politics with music, anarcho-punk advocated non-hierarchical modes of organisation and bands like definitive anarcho-punks Crass, sought income for sustainability not profit, retaining full aesthetic and financial control of their work.[8] In the U.S.A. hardcore punk strived for autonomy from major labels. Early pioneers like Black Flag were one of the first to promote alternative ideals, "if you don't like the system, you should create one of your own" (Azzerad 2001, p.14), setting up their label SST and influencing a number of post-hardcore bands to do the same. The creation of alternative production modes and distribution networks evident in labels such as Dischord, SST and Alternative Tentacles arguably, "democratized access to the means of music production and provided a radical political forum nonexistent within the mainstream music establishment" (Ruggles 2008 p.15). [9]

During the post-punk years of the 1980s, independent music production flourished (Reynolds 2006). In the UK labels like Rough Trade, Cherry Red and Mute began releasing such quantities and to such success that the term 'indie' became associated with not only the methods of recording and distributing independent music, but as a

---

[8] Of Crass Berger (2008) says "Crass came along and you felt that this time, it could very well be for real. Here was a band who, for better or worse, seemed to take 'anarchy' seriously. And maybe even know what it meant" (p.7).

[9] The late 1970s punk of New York coincided with another grassroots genre that was to change the face of popular music: hip-hop. The relationship between these genres in both popular and academic literature is remarkably absent. Although the term 'DIY' is less associated with hip-hop than punk it shared the characteristics of amateurism, audience/consumer participation and autonomy before its extreme commodification in later years. The abandonment of hip-hop's influence on the DIY punk story (and vice versa) is even more perplexing due to Malcolm McLaren's (manager of The Sex Pistols) influence in New York's hip-hop scene releasing singles such as 'Buffalo Gals' stating "I always thought hip-hop was the black punk rock. It had a similar DIY aspect" (Swindle Magazine 2006, p.4). Establishing why hip-hop is almost completely neglected in DIY textual histories could not be ascertained throughout the course of this research and indicates that there is gap in this knowledge that only primary research could fill.

signifier and naming of a particular genre (Hesmondhalgh 1999), until it became more associated with British dance cultures in the 1990s. However it is the advent of digital audio work-stations, file-sharing and the mp3 file format which has shifted independent music production beyond its genre and stylistic boundaries, positioning it as a normative practice within today's industry.

This marginal to normative trajectory of independent music intervenes in a number of academic debates, including the financial decline of the major industry (Owinski 2014) and its subsequent effect on the (real/imagined) democratisation of the industry. The fall in revenue has been attributed to numerous things, with piracy, increasingly niche tastes and poorer quality music (Feinberg 2009) all implicated. Indeed the major industry response to illegal file-sharing and its effect on revenue has been charged with obscuring long-standing issues, as Leyshon states (2009) the major industry "was already struggling and on the verge of crisis. Internet piracy has legitimised the talk of a crisis of reproduction within the music industry" (p.1312). Furthermore, Grant and Wood (2004) have suggested that the major's strategy of relying on formulaic 'cash cows,' fatigued mainstream audiences and became a barrier to diverse creativity, leading to a lack of enthusiastic consumer power.

This so called democratisation has arguably let artists "control their own intellectual properties rather than surrender them for marketing and distribution costs" (Kasaras 2002, p.8). Additionally the ubiquity of new media technologies is thought to provide more avenues for independent musicians to make a living which may not have been afforded to them previously. Although Strachan (2007) and O'Connor (2008) have argued that running DIY and independent labels usually requires individuals to seek a second income, others look to the more emancipatory aspects of this altered industry

structure. McLeod's (2005) Marxist analysis of the proliferation of independent artists in the aftermath of Web 2.0 notes that artists no longer necessarily need to engage in a wage relationship with a record company, challenging major label hegemony and implicating them in the subject of the post-industrial creative/cultural entrepreneur. As artists traditionally had to pay back the cost of their production, promotion etc., they were required for their own interests and the interests of the record company to sell as many albums/singles as possible. However within this new digital media environment

> [r]ather than having to worry about selling a half million copies just to break even, an increasing number of independent musicians can make a living selling 20,000 units" (ibid., p. 530).

Whilst a number of studies suggest that artists can indeed make a liveable income under these new market conditions (Benkler 2011; Panay 2011), it is nevertheless difficult to achieve mainstream success without professional intervention (Galuszka 2012). However a "large numbers of artists who release their music on the Internet do not do it with the purpose of entering the charts or even selling any records" (ibid., p.7). Furthermore, given that much of this interaction now occurs through social media, it opens up much larger debates concerning ownership, control and power. Whilst Wesch (2007) has argued that such technological advancements are potentially liberating, these ideas are countered by claims that the discourses of creativity, collaboration and communication obscure the centrality of ownership in such participatory technology (Kleiner and Wyrick 2007; Allen 2008; Scholtz 2008), in which social media sites replace record companies as the profit-makers in the digital music industry.

It is against this backdrop that this research takes place. Whilst these debates are not central to the inquiry at hand, they nevertheless contextualise the current independent music environment, highlighting issues within the industry. In Chapter Two of this

thesis, a more focused analysis of independent music production takes place, with those concepts relevant to an analysis of immaterial labour, discussed. The next and final section of this thesis' introduction, outlines the format this thesis takes and describes the contents of its remaining chapters.

Thesis Outline

This thesis, uses Dublin's independent music scene, as a strategic site for investigating the autonomist concept of immaterial labour. This framework, is developed through an in-depth review of literature, evident in Chapter Two of this thesis and is based upon the applicability of scholarship on independent music production to the type of arguments and discussions taking place within debates on immaterial labour. Indeed independent musicians are "symbol creators" (Hesmondhalgh 2007, p.5), taste makers who, as we have seen in Lazzarato's (2007) work, fashion consumer norms. It was also earlier stated that Toynbee (1993), Thornton (1995), Frith (1996), Bennett (1999), Hesmondhalgh (1999) and Kruse (2010), have all demonstrated that independent music is often at the forefront of more widespread musical trends, whilst Attali (1997) has noted that music in particular foreshadows shifts in dominant modes of production, thus combining two elemental features of immaterial production as imagined in the autonomist tradition.

Immaterial labour itself is said to give "form to and materializes needs, the imaginary, consumer tastes, and so forth, and these products in turn become powerful producers of needs, images, and tastes" (Lazzarato 1997, p.4). Independent music production, as a predicator of mainstream cultural trends, a consumer of media imagery and a node in the reflexive networked production of taste cultures is emblematic of the very type,

and form of labour, that Lazzarato (ibid.) identifies. [10] Placing social transformation at the base of society, immaterial labour's 'bottom up' iconoclasm is thus created by the labour that produces cultural and creative artefacts, suggesting taste-making and radical praxis exist in tandem. [11]

This thesis then, aims to critique immaterial labour, with recourse to independent music production, focusing on the lived experience of actors' labour within the Dublin scene. Although the purpose of this thesis is not to engage with examining structural relationships between major, macro, and minor producers, it nevertheless acts as a portal into the lives of those involved in cultural and creative production which has been under-theorised in an Irish context, but becoming of more interest both academically and politically in the aftermath of the 2008 recession. It does so through

---

[10] There are some interesting, but unfortunately insubstantial connections between early punk and autonomist politics. Milburn (2001) has suggested that punk was a moment of self-valorisation, which like *autonomia* "were both born as reactions to and accelerations of the struggles of the 1960s" (p.10). In fact Italy's first punk band, Skiantos, emerged in Bologna in 1975, the same year as The Sex Pistols. Like their U.K. counterparts they were creatively influenced by the Dadaist and Situationist art movements, however their surrealist, satirical punk of rebellion was born of Bologna's political environment with the Northern Italian city central to the emergence of *autonomia* (Wright 2002). Bologna was the location of Radio Alice (a pirate radio-station that broadcast features on autonomist politics, often presented by those within the movement), it was also where the riots of '77 took place following the police killing of Francesco Lorusso of far-left extra-parlimentary group *Lotta Continua*, in addition to being a meeting place for autonomist activists and academics such as Antonio Negri and Franco Berardi.

[11] There is very little literature (in English at least) that posits a connection between early independent music and *autonomia*, but there is some evidence of examples in popular culture. Late 70s British band Scritti Politti took their name in reference to the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. Releasing a record named 'Skank Bloc Bologna' and later another named 'Hegemony' referencing Gramsci's best known cultural theory, their lyrics were scattered with references to Marx, Lacan and Deleuze. Post-punk icon Mark Stewart's 1980s bands The Pop Group and Mark Stewart and the Mafia referenced Italian social developments and protests movements. Meanwhile fellow post-punks New Order took their name from Gramsci's newspaper *L'Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order) whilst Lizzie Borden's feminist sci-fi film 'Born in Flames' (1983) was inspired by Bologna's Radio Alice. The connection between punk, post-punk, and Italian social struggles at this time in the popular imagination, is perhaps best exemplified by Joe Strummer of The Clash, a band who epitomised the intersection of punk music and political sentiment. Strummer's wearing of a *Brigade Rosse* (Red Brigades) t-shirt became so synonymous with the group that in a startlingly ironic turn *Brigade Rosse* iconography is still sold as unofficial The Clash merchandise.

a series of chapters, which provide context, a framework, methodology and methods, and an analysis of findings, leading to a unique contribution to knowledge. [12]

Participants in this study are all active within Dublin's independent music scene. The term 'scene' has generally been utilised across the social sciences to describe geographic boundaries of production, creating both real and imagined parameters and necessary boundaries for the researcher. Straw (1991) suggests that the term scene be understood as a "cultural space in which a range of music practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation" (p.373) and this particular definition is apt for the trans-genre nature of current independent music production. Highlighting sociality Basagmez (2005) notes

> music scenes constitute the contexts in which meaningful social activities are generated and interpreted. They can be seen as networks of localities or social contexts, sporadic or more persistent ones...[t]he networks consist of social interaction between musicians, fans, music journalists, managers, music organisers and so on, and these can be extended nationally as well as transnationally (2005, p.93).

Whilst there are ongoing debates concerning the utility of the concept scene (Toynbee 2000; Hesmondhalgh 2005) it is not within the scope of this thesis to resolve those discussions. Thus this thesis is guided by the broad and encompassing definitions offered by Straw (1991) and Basagmez (2005).

Dublin was used as a site of recruitment for a number of reasons. Dublin has long been promoted as a musical city, indebted to the production of rock music that pervaded the

---

[12] The cultural and creative industries in Ireland have been subject to little academic and policy consideration (with the exception of tourism), however this has changed in the aftermath of the 2008 global recession and the influence of U.K. creative industries policy during Tony Blair's Labour government (1997-2007). Historically Ireland has relatively low engagement with European funding sources for the promotion of its cultural and creative sectors however in recent years, it has sought both economic and intellectual help in promoting cultural and creative industries and June 2011 saw a number of European commissioners engage in both public and private talks concerning how to mobilise these sectors.

city between 1968-1978 (Prendergast 1987; Cullen 2012). Whilst all styles and genres of music are produced in Dublin, rock music has dominated popular discussions with traditional Irish music being favoured by academics (Basagmez 2005).[13] Thus there is little scholarly interest in Dublin's diverse independent scene comparable to the popular music studies of urban areas such as Liverpool (Cohen 1994), Manchester (Bottà 2009) or Birmingham (Webb 2015).

One recent exception to this is O'Flynn and Mangaoang's (2016) report 'Mapping Popular Music' which aimed to contextualise the role that popular music has in the Irish capital, from the perspective of consumers, tourists, musicians and the music industry. Reporting that "this research has for the first time confirmed Dublin as a centre for popular music experience" (ibid., p.4), O'Flynn and Mangaoang (ibid.) note that independent music production in particular contributes significantly to the 'buzz' of the city and its branding internationally stating "[t]he subsequent success of many of these unsigned bands further underlines the symbiotic links between cultural agency, tourism and music production interests" (ibid., p.8). [14] Thus although this thesis is first and foremost a theoretical contribution to immaterial labour studies, it

---

[13] Basagmez (2005) explores the various ways in which Dublin as a musical place has been promoted for tourism purposes. She notes phenomena such as the 'Rock 'n' Stroll' trail, plaques that are placed upon the walls of buildings in the capital, which were significant in the development of musicians' careers (e.g. the venues where U2 and the Cranberries played their first gigs or the restaurant where Sinéad O'Connor worked as a waitress). Tour operators also provide the 'Traditional Irish Music Pubcrawl,' which brings tourists around various pubs to listen to Irish Traditional music.

[14] Figures at the time of writing demonstrated that Ireland spends just 0.11% of GDP on arts compared to the European average of 0.6% (NCFTA 2012).The Arts Council of Ireland provides a number of funding schemes yet popular music features very little, with preference given to traditional, jazz, classical and contemporary classical musical projects. Indeed out of the nineteen organisations funded by the Arts Council only one, First Music Contact, is involved with popular music projects.

provides a secondary contribution to knowledge by examining a neglected geographical area in popular music studies.

As discussed extensively in Chapter Two, the importance of urban space in the creation and flow of immaterial labour is central to autonomist theorisations. Having been designed to facilitate the needs of industrial labour, the city has now undergone a shift where it is a "living dynamic of cultural practices, intellectual circuits, affective networks, and social institutions" (Hardt and Negri 2004, p.154). The city within the autonomist tradition is the architecture that supports the multitude, *autonomia's* radical social subject. It is the site of multitudes' social production, fulfilling the same role that the factory did for the working class. It is thus the primary location where immaterial labour is produced and therefore Dublin, as Ireland's capital city, is a logical location from which to gather data.

As a native of Dublin city, with a preceding interest in independent music, existing social networks facilitated a number of avenues through which independent music participants could be sought, thus minimizing barriers to the field (in which social scientists are considered 'outsiders' and treated with suspicion). Using local knowledge sources also ties in with the necessarily qualitative approach this study takes engaging with "the politics of the local" (Weems 2002, p.3) which Geertz (1973) has argued serves as a basis for wider socio-cultural concerns.

In term of how this thesis is structured, this thesis makes use of the common social science format known as ILMRD: **I**ntroduction (Chapter One), **L**iterature Review (Chapter Two), **M**ethodology (Chapter Three), **R**esults (Chapter Four), and

Discussion (Chapter Five).[15] Chapter One, first provides a background for immaterial labour as a theory of post-industrialism. It does this by broadly introducing the nature of post-industrialism with recourse to its products, its subjects and its conditions. The aim of this first chapter is to provide the reader with a number of theoretical and descriptive contexts for the examination of immaterial labour, which is simply one lens through which post-industrialism has been theorised.

The second chapter, Chapter Two, provides this thesis' framework in two parts and is a formal literature review. Beginning by opening up the notion of immaterial labour this chapter discusses its various treatments and conceptualisations by those within the autonomist tradition, as well as providing both internal and external critiques of it. The aim of this chapter is to make the reader fully aware of the immaterial labour thesis as a whole, in particular those aspects of it which are most relevant to this research. The second part of this review then examines literature on independent music production, contextualising it with recourse to the literature on immaterial labour, thus demonstrating its suitability as a site of investigation.

A discussion on methodology and methods make up the contents of Chapter Three. This chapter explores the interdisciplinary nature of this research and considers some methodological issues in examining an all-encompassing concept such as immaterial labour before discussing methods. Primarily this thesis follows previous immaterial labour studies by using in-depth qualitative interviews to gather data concerning the lived experience of immaterial labour and also utilises an online questionnaire with

---

[15] The ILMRD format was borrowed from the hard sciences and became adopted by the social sciences due to its clarity and adaptability. It facilitates a logical ordering of ideas and has the ability to communicate the steps taken during the research process in a progressive manner (Wu 2011).

direct reference to Marx's (1880) 'A Workers' Inquiry.' Additional secondary methods are justified in how they bolster these primary methods of data collection, whilst the manner in which the data is analysed concludes this chapter.

Chapter Four explores the data collected through the methods described in the previous chapter. The aim of this fourth chapter is to present participants' experience of labour in Dublin's independent scene in a thematic manner. It first describes how participants related to their labour in a broad sense; as passionate labour, serious leisure and free work. This chapter then describes the motivating reasons that the independent model was used by subjects; predominantly for creative reasons and sometimes necessitated by aesthetic desires. Lastly, the modes of sociality that participants' experience in Dublin's independent scene are explored, including their aspirations for community and resistance to online means of social engagement.

The final chapter, Chapter Five analyses the data discussed in Chapter Four. It revisits the concept of immaterial labour, providing a critique based on the data which emerged from the discussions in the preceding chapter. It argues for an adaption of the concept of self-valorisation, arguing that it may not simply exist in the social relationships provided by immaterial labour, but by the self-actualising potential of participants' labour, and suggests that the experience of creative autonomy is fundamental in this regard. It also suggests a provisional adaption of immaterial labour by the inclusion of unwaged immaterial labour, demonstrating a form of immeasurability not considered within Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analysis. It then discusses the impact of this unwaged immaterial labour upon the revolutionary figure of multitude and suggests it alters the subjectivity of Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) revolutionary figure, as does the mental preoccupation with labour

described by this study's participants. Lastly this chapter suggests that the concept of social capital problematises Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) future recomposition of socio-economic life, and points to the paradoxical nature of techno-social networked production. This thesis is then summarised in a concluding chapter which discusses both its limitations and contributions to knowledge.

CHAPTER ONE

POST-INDUSTRIALISM: A SELECTED TAXONOMY

The aim of this research as stated in the introduction to this thesis, is to use labour experience within Dublin's independent music scene, as a site of critiquing immaterial labour. As immaterial labour is simply one way in which post-industrialism has been understood, it is necessary that it is explored against a much broader background. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to give a detailed taxonomy of each component of post-industrialism and what follows should not be considered an exhaustive map of post-industrial theory. These concepts have been purposefully selected instead, as they are the most pertinent to discussions of both independent music and indeed immaterial labour, therefore providing a contextual background for the theory in question and the aims of this thesis.

As a descriptive device the term post-industrialism popularised by Bell (1976), attempts to capture the socio-economic shift that occurred in the latter half of the 20th century. Signifying a break with the classical economic thought that emerged in the 19th century from theorists such as Smith ([1776] 1982) and Mill ([1848] 2011), post-industrialism in the abstract incorporates a number of trends in production, distribution and consumption.[16] Some of these trends, are explored in the three sections that make

---

[16] Classical economic thought centred on the visible socio-economic shifts that were occurring in the passage from feudal to mercantile systems of production to the modes of operation in practice during the industrial revolution. This stage was marked by sharp divisions in labour specialisation, the factory as the primary site of wage labour and the belief in market self-regulation. It was perhaps most famously critiqued by Karl Marx ([1867] 2010) who saw the emergent industrial capitalism not only as a system of production but an organiser of social relationships that benefitted few and exploited many.

up this chapter, the first of these sections discusses the products of post-industrialism emphasising culture and creativity, knowledge and information, and lastly affect and emotion. The second of these sections considers the subjects of post-industrialism, namely the consumer as producer, the entrepreneur and the flexible personality. Lastly, this chapter explores the conditions of post-industrialism including self-actualisation, precarity and governmentality.

Products of Post-Industrialism

Culture and Creativity

Culture and creativity have become central concepts in establishing the nature of post-industrial labour and its products. Predicted to be the main focus of "high-end global commerce in the twenty-first century" (Rifkin 2000, p.167) the creative industries originated first as policy concepts in the U.K. under Tony Blair's Labour-Party government during the late 1990s (Flew 2012). Until this point, Garnham (2005) states, the term cultural industries was used to denote those involved in the manufacturing of art, music and television programmes etc.[17] This shift he argues, was political. The concept of creativity allowed the incorporation of technological fields, giving empirically knowledge based work the same cultural value as those deemed artistic, and thus provided justification for producing proprietary informational

---

[17] What constitutes the difference between a creative industry and a cultural one, and its political implications is not essential to this thesis as music cuts across both in their various conceptualisations. This thesis therefore uses the European Commission's KEA 'The Economy of Culture in Europe Report' (2006). The cultural sector in this conceptualisation contains both industrial and non-industrial elements. The industrial cultural sector aims at mass dissemination and exports (e.g. books, films, sound recordings), whilst the non-industrial cultural sector describes goods that are consumed on the spot (e.g. concert, art exhibition). The creative industries use the cultural industries as a resource, where culture becomes an input into the production of goods. Creative skills are then employed to mediate cultural messages through design (e.g. album cover design, advertising).

products. Additionally by this conflation, it permitted culture and creativity to share the same "unquestioned prestige" (Garnham 2005, p.21) as the information or knowledge society.

The mobilisation of creativity can be located in the post-war economic order of the United States where "personal or even intimate traits of the employee are drawn into the sphere of exchange" (Mills 1951, p.182) and individual self-expression was perceived to be beneficial even in the most corporate of environments (Whyte 1956). Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) attribute this interest in creativity to the influence of humanist psychotherapy within post-war HR strategies later taken up by American and British economists in the 1980s. Citing Schlesinger (2007) Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) argue by the early 2000s "creativity had become not merely a discourse but a *doctrine* for policy-makers" (p.3), which relied on the culturally positive valence of the term, as noted by Williams (1965) "no word in English carries a more consistently positive reference than 'creative'" (p.19). Culture, within creative industries conception, is thought to mediate the relationship between the economic and social, "it is the terrain in which new attitudes, norms, conventions, and desires (and, of course, forms of subjectivity) are produced, contested, disseminated, and buried" (Nilges 2008, p.29).

The cultural and creative industries highlight the emphasis given to aesthetics and innovation in the production of post-industrial goods, and in turn are linked to the concept of individualisation. [18] There is much debate about whether or not

---

[18] Individualisation refers to the idea that since the latter half of the 20th century, the importance of certain social structures (e.g. the family) are diminishing, and individuals are increasingly self-determined and self-reflexive in the construction of their own socio-cultural world.

individualisation is a feature of late modernity or post-modernity (Giddens 1991; Beck 1992; Bauman 2000), nevertheless Lash and Urry (1994) have suggested a central component of contemporary capitalism is premised upon the production and consumption of symbolic products, creating aesthetically reflexive individuals. Harvey (1990) has noted that in late capitalism there is an intense "commodification of cultural forms" (p.156) whilst Jameson (1991) has argued that "aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally" (p.7). Thus the cultural and creative industries epitomise the value placed upon culture and creativity within the broader post-industrial landscape. In this environment, products that were once considered the antithesis of artistic self-expression are judged according to individualised aesthetic preferences, as Neff et al. (2005) point out in relation to software development even "[c]ode, too, can be 'beautiful' or 'elegant'" (p. 315).

This "aestheticization of everyday life" (Featherstone 2007, p.64) places cultural and creative industries at the apex of dissolving boundaries between high art, popular culture and mass commodification. Additionally, the production of niche subjectivities through the production and distribution of cultural and creative items requires more flexible, networked and convergent structural processes. Whilst what this means for the relationship between cultural/creative labour and the nature of contemporary capitalism is "complex, ambivalent and contested" (Hesmondhalgh 2002, p.3), what can be said is that whilst culture and creativity were once peripheral to socio-economic discourse they now take on a more core position at an increasingly global level (Flew 2013).

Knowledge and Information

Inseparable from the emphasis placed on culture and creativity within post-industrial society, are the informaticised networks used for the purposes of production, distribution and consumption. As Garnham (2005) above noted, creative and information based products have become increasingly conflated in the aftermath of creative industries policy discourse. The shift from industrial manufacturing captured under the term post-industrialism displaces the need for fixed geographic space in manufacturing. The deterritorialisation of knowledge (Lévy 1999), derived from a number of social, economic and technological processes sees information itself become an object of commodification (Druker [1966] 1992; 2007), whilst the concept of the network society (Castells [1996] 2009) strives to capture the mode of socio-economic organisation that facilitates the flow of knowledge between states, corporations and individuals. [19] This amalgamation of culture, creativity and knowledge makes distinct boundaries between art, information and commerce somewhat obsolete (Barbrook and Cameron 1995; Florida 2002; Pink 2008).

The concept of the knowledge economy is an extension of the information society (Druker [1966] 1992) but they should not be considered synonymously (Flew 2008). Where information increasingly becomes a significant factor in economic activity, the knowledge economy alludes to not only the commodification of this information, but also the resources that make this possible. Thus creativity is a central concept for its

---

[19] The concept of the knowledge economy has particular salience in policy creation exemplified by its use in the World Bank's 'Knowledge Assessment Methodology,' a tool that benchmarks countries and identifies their individual challenges in the transition to a global knowledge-based economy.

perceived ability to facilitate innovation, whilst education (and questions of access), are also central to knowledge economy consideration.

Products within this conceptualisation are then positioned on an information/creativity axis, perhaps best exemplified by digital media products (e.g. computer games) which require artistic, cultural and informational knowledge for their production. The basis of the knowledge economy is "the culture of innovation" (Castells 2001, p.112) that permeates various industry sectors, which Bell (1976) argues becomes the basis of social power in post-industrial society. As noted in the above section on culture and creativity, the creation of these products requires flexible networked production and impacts "all organisations within it, large and small, manufacturing and services, high-tech and low-tech, public and private" (Leadbeater 1999, p. 47). As production of this nature cuts across a range of sectors, at a policy level creating 'clusters' or 'hubs' of creative knowledge-based workers has been foregrounded within an urban context (Florida 2002; Caragliu et al. 2009).[20]

Knowledge-based labour is also considered in the production of collective intelligence, as conceived of by Lévy (1994) which he refers to as "a form of universally distributed intelligence, constantly enhanced, coordinated in real time, and resulting in the effective mobilization of skills" (p.13). The production of knowledge then is seen as a democratic project, facilitated through the information and communication networks that characterise post-industrialism. Jenkins (2007) theorises that in part, the notion of collective intelligence is gaining in ubiquity, both

---

[20] The concept of the 'creative city' was introduced by Landry (2000). An aspirational project, Landry (ibid.) conceived of a post-industrial city, in which "cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base" (p.7) creating a more ethically balanced environment that could address urban problems.

at a practical and theoretical level through the rise of participatory culture. The convergence of old and new media, online interaction, and amateur participation, based around the production and sharing of knowledge, is for Jenkins (ibid.) shaping a new type of subjectivity, open to democratic possibilities. However a number of theorists including Kleiner and Wyrick (2007), Dean (2005), Allen (2008), Scholtz (2008) and Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) suggest that the supposed deterritorialisation of knowledge is a rhetorical device which functions as an ideological tool further consolidating the capitalist mode of production.

This emphasis on knowledgeable individuals within knowledge economy discourse, and their capacity to create information-rich products has been considered empowering and liberating (Burton-Jones 2001), as it creates environments where continued learning in the workplace is valued, contributing to projects of self-actualisation. Critically however, "[t]he most valuable asset in any business in a knowledge economy is its human capital" (Manzini n.d., p.2) and thus it is also charged with creating alienated, competitive subjects bound by precarious conditions discussed further in this chapter.

Affect and Emotion

The last concepts to be understood as products of post-industrialism are affect and emotion. The concept of affective labour is rooted in autonomist feminism. Whilst sometimes conflated with emotional labour, there exists differences between the two, particularly at a theoretical level with notions of affect rooted in Spinozan (and later Deleuzean) philosophy. Massumi (1995) states

> [a]n emotion is a subjective content socio-linguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is

qualified intensity…affect is unqualified. As such, it is not ownable or recognizable (p.89).

Although feelings are personal and emotions are social, affect is considered "prepersonal" (Shouse 2005, p.2), it is non-conscious, refers "equally to body and mind" (Hardt and Negri 2004, p.108) and "is a matter of being attuned to and coping with the world without the input of rational content" (Leys 2011, p.442). Despite this difference, both affective and emotional labour inform each other.

Affective labour has arguably always been a feature of (and resistant to) the capitalist mode of production, but was largely ignored due to its gender composition, having been mostly produced by women in the home (Dalla Costa and James 1972) in the form of reproductive labour (Federici 2011).[21] Emotional labour, a related but not-interchangeable concept considers how post-industrial workers manage their constitution in order to produce affects, emotions and feelings within the consumer. Hochschild's (1983) pioneering work argued that flight attendants epitomised emotional labour as they may block their naturally arising emotions when confronted with an unreasonable passenger or turbulent flight, she said "this labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p.7).[22]

In more general terms, both affective and emotional labour are key to the creative and information based products of post-industrialism. Arvidsson (2007) and Massumi

---

[21] Reproductive labour is that which allows productive labour to take place. It pertains to day-to-day activities such as housework and child-rearing. Due to its gender composition, it has been largely ignored and devalued despite its necessity within socio-economic life and has thus become an object of increased feminist-Marxist analysis, particularly within the autonomist tradition.
[22] Hochschild's (1983) analysis in late 70s/early 80s concluded that approximately one third of all Americans were engaged in positions that require emotional labour and that it would increase, her later work (2012) validating these future projections.

(2002) both note that affect is of particular consideration within brand management strategies of cultural and creative products which "turn affect into value" (Arvidsson 2007, p.10) by carefully controlling how their products (and advertisements) interact with the consumer. The circulation of symbolic meaning, created through cultural and creative products and disseminated through information-rich networks produces affect which organises relationships, conceived of as a mode of governance by Arvidsson (ibid.). However it is the surplus production of affect within the post-industrial economy which Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) also argue creates conditions for the restructuring of capital, discussed in Chapter Two.

In considering the difference between affect and emotion in post-industrialism, one many think of affect as a product of labour, whilst emotional management is a form of labour. Culture and creative products are also affective products; music in particular is premised on affect, both in bodily responses (i.e. dancing) and in mood changes. The field of affective design (Reynolds and Picard 2001) places affectivity at the centre of human-technological interactions, whilst the increasingly communicative nature of production through techno-social networks, is thought by Hardt (1999) to circulate affectivity through the entire sphere of production. Wissinger (2007) has noted that media industries are particularly poised to distribute affective products through symbols and images, drawing on Clough's (2007) sentiment that cultural and creative industries have shifted in function. Once being thought of as ideological apparatuses Clough (ibid.) notes, they now intensify and modulate affect for the production of capital.[23]

---

[23] Clough (2007) is referring to the Frankfurt School theorists in his assertion that cultural industries function to promote ruling class ideology.

The aim of the above section is to highlight the products of post-industrialism that are most pertinent to the focus of this thesis. The mobilisation of culture and creativity as key areas of socio-economic development in post-industrial society implicates music in that it is positioned as an area of emphasis significant in the foregrounding of culture and creativity as economic forces. Additionally, as new media technologies have enabled the normalisation of independent music production, and thus facilitated change in the structure of the music industry, considering the centrality of knowledge and information in the post-industrial economy is also relevant to this thesis' goals. Lastly, music as an affective product and the emotional management that is foregrounded in sociality-based labouring roles requires a consideration of affect and emotion within post-industrialism. After exploring these relevant products of post-industrialism the following section discusses pertinent subjects of post-industrialism; that is, the type of labouring subject involved in the production of these artefacts.

Subjects of Post-Industrialism

Consumer as Producer

The consumer as producer within post-industrial analysis is located within the remit of post-Fordism (Amin 2008). As the name suggests, post-Fordism uses development within automobile manufacture as a microcosm of larger socio-economic modifications to the production process. Relying on the mass production of standardised goods, the Fordist model utilised scientific management theories such as Taylorism (Taylor 1911) to eliminate time-wasting and increase productivity by breaking the production process down into small, repetitive, unskilled tasks. [24]

---

[24] This approach is perhaps best captured by Henry Ford's statement "[a]ny customer can have a car painted any color that he wants so long as it is black" (Ford and Crowther 1922, p.72).

Workers were also paid relatively high wages to ensure they could afford the goods they manufactured, thus recognising the "necessity of taking an interest in the lives of workers as consumers as well as producers" (Watson 2008, p.92).[25] By contrast post-Fordism replaces the mute relationship between production and consumption, responding quickly to the demands of the market with ICT's (information and communication technologies) enabling more flexible production capabilities. A lexicon of descriptive terminology attempts to capture this communicative aspect. Concepts such as 'prosumption,' in which consumers take on a more productive role (Toffler 1981), 'co-creativity' where businesses centre profit-building on personalised experiences (Prahald and Ramasway 2004), and 'produsage' that regards "producers and users of content" (Bruns 2005, p. 2) as indistinct, all strive to represent the permeable boundaries between production and consumption that are thought to characterise post-Fordism. [26]

In terms of cultural and creative consumption, the docile subjects critiqued by Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), and Marcuse (1967) are replaced by active agents. Actors such as game-modders or FLOSS creators (Free/Libre/Open-Source Software) are

---

[25] Ford's Five Dollar Day program offered workers $5 per working day, almost twice the average wage of the time. A regular wage of $2.34 was for work within the factory walls. However an extra $2.66 could be earned if Ford determined that the worker was living in a manner that they approved of. As such, the Ford Sociological Department sent investigators to worker's homes to observe their hygiene, spending habits, family relationships and alcohol use, the idea being that a stable home environment facilitated a stable, reliable worker. Workers were also encouraged to save their extra money; creating consumers that could afford to buy the commodities they produced (i.e. cars).

[26] Theoretically, post-Fordism has been analysed according to three schools; the neo-shumpeterian, flexible specialisation and regulation approach. The neo-shumpeterian school as advocated by Perez (2003) and Freeman (2008) suggests that capitalist economies run in long cycles, each cycle determined by a particular techno-economic paradigm. Flexible specialisation approaches emphasise the cooperative and customising dimensions of post-Fordism whilst the regulation approach (Jessop and Sum 2006) takes a neo-Marxist stance on the social relations of capitalism arguing that regimes of accumulation (systems of production, distribution and consumption) are governed by modes of regulation (socio-cultural laws of society), until they are no longer sustainable, post-Fordism therefore thought to be a reaction to the untenable position of Fordism.

thought to represent a wave of consumers using new media technologies for productive purposes. Politically, the "emancipated spectator" (Rancière 2009, p.1) challenges the production/consumption dichotomy, positing producers as communal performers and consumers as active spectators whose interpretation of the world also transforms it, as "[h]e observes, he selects, he compares, he interprets" (Rancière 2007, p.277). Additionally customisable goods, centred on individually based requirements in which customers play a key role in the design of their purchases, have come to the fore. [27] It is a relationship that is not only evident in the vast array of petit-producers on sites such as Custom Made (www.custommade.com) and Hatch (www.hatch.com) but has also become a strategy of global multinationals. This communicative relationship between production and consumption allows customised commodities to represent highly individualised socio-cultural identities whilst the post-Fordist strategy of flexible specialisation means its regime of production can respond quickly to new forms of subjectivity. [28] Thus the subject of the consumer takes on a qualitatively different role within the remit of post-industrialism.

The Entrepreneur

The figure of the entrepreneur within post-industrial society is "the ideal of what capitalist subjectivity should look like" (Hanlon 2012, p.178); they are risk-taking, self-responsible and willing to make sacrifices with unknowable outcomes (Drucker 1984). The conceptualisation of the entrepreneur has emerged with increased

---

[27] American Google-owned mobile phone company Motorola provide customisation options for a number of their phones. American sports-wear manufacturer Nike's NikeiD range have customisation options for running shoes and accessories whilst Brazilian furniture brand TOG produces customisable goods, designed by French designer Philippe Starck with the aim to make choice "the only trend that's acceptable" (Howarth 2014, p.1)

[28] Klein (1999) has noted that the individualised products of the late 20th century were in part, a reaction to struggles for representation notably termed 'identity politics.' These intersectional struggles were not simply defined along gender, ethnic, racial, political, or class lines, but along particular subjective experiences that amalgamated two or more of these constituent parts.

dominance since the 1980s within neoliberal discourse (Martilla 2013) as an aspirational subject.[29] Although entrepreneurship is nothing novel, the subject that emerges within post-industrial theory is somewhat distinct from its previous incarnations. In its current form the meaning of entrepreneur becomes "a general role model for the social subjects' conduct of themselves" (ibid., p.4), referring not only to the practice of starting a new business venture but an ontological condition that embodies the values of the neoliberal economy. Unlike the capitalist, the entrepreneur does not risk just capital, he/she creates new combinations of already existing labour forms; they have "more initiative, more venturesomeness, and a quicker eye than the crowd (Mises [1949] 1998, p.255).

The post-industrial entrepreneur signifies a break with traditional conceptualisations. Whilst in the above paragraph this shift is observable in commentators' suggestions that entrepreneurs are aspirational social figures, analytically Hanlon (2012) locates this shift in the manner by which entrepreneurs profit in the contemporary market. Following Kirzner (2008), Hanlon (2012) states that in the current marketplace "existing opportunities and value are captured by the entrepreneur rather than created or produced by them" (p.178). This phenomenon, he states, is partially due to the regime of accumulation under post-Fordism, in which consumers increasingly become producers (see previous section) and more and more work is conducted under precarious conditions.

---

[29] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to give a detailed account of neoliberalism, but it is understood to be a form of economic liberalism that emerged in the 1930s in the aftermath of the American depression, but did not take hold at a governmental level until the 1980s. It refers to a variety of theories and practices that advocate the deregulation of markets, free trade and privatisation. It is closely associated with the economists Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009).

In another schematic Peters (1992) has noted that within post-industrialism, the entrepreneur is a "metanarrative, a totalizing and unifying story about the prospect of economic growth and development based upon the triumvirate of science, technology and education" (p.11). As seen previously in this chapter culture and creativity have become central concerns of the post-industrial economy, thus Peters (ibid.) definition could be plausibly expanded to include those categories. Like Hanlon (2012), Leadbeater (1999) sees entrepreneurship operating as a method of value capture as "creative industries…are driven…not by trained professionals but cultural entrepreneurs who make the most out of other people's talent" (p.49). Additionally, the notion of entrepreneurship within cultural and creative industries epitomises Martilla's (2013) understanding of the entrepreneur as an aspirational social role,

> [e]ntrepreneurship in these sectors means to have creative ideas and to pursue them in a commercial way, with the purpose to make a profit. However, the profit alone is not the driver, it is the creativity and the possibility to build something, the self-fulfilment or being able to pursue your own creative interests (H.K.U. 2010, p.10).

In the U.K. McRobbie (2007) has noted that small-scale creative entrepreneurial activities with a DIY ethos emerged in three waves in the aftermath of British punk which proved to be "incubators for experimenting in creative self-employment" (ibid., p.1).[30] She argues that having become "disembedded from employment in large-scale social institutions" (ibid.), sub-cultural entrepreneurs, internalise failure and "only has him or herself to blame if the next script, film, book or show is not up to scratch"

---

[30] The three waves McRobbie (2007) refers to are a) 1985-1995: mostly females creating fashion pieces at home to be sold at markets, b) 1995-2002: multitaskers influenced by cultural policy and the expansion of networked culture, c) 2002-onwards: the underlying logic of the third wave is the idea of the 'One Big Hit,' a single project that will outdo all others in the highly competitive cultural/creative labour market.

(McRobbie 2011, p.64), thus individuals must increasingly " 'be' their own structures" (ibid.).[31]

However, the entrepreneur within cultural and creative industries is bound to a rhetoric of self-actualisation which is discussed further in this chapter, thus it is endowed with a particular prestige (Davies and Sigthorsson 2013) in which the figure of the creative entrepreneur monetises self-expression. This production of identity, says Horning (1999) is key to the creation of the entrepreneurial self in late capitalism in which subjects themselves become products. He states "[i]dentity, made of information and cultural meanings, begins to become the most important product" (p.3), in which cultural constructions of 'cool' or 'hip' create non-economic forms of capital and affect itself becomes currency.

The figure of the entrepreneur as a subject of post-industrialism and emerging as an aspirational figure within neoliberal discourse impacts this thesis, as the study of DIY culture involves taking control of the means of production. Thus this study of Dublin's DIY music producers contributes to these arguments surrounding the entrepreneurial subject, in particular their subjective experience, the manner in which self-expression is mobilised as an economic product and additionally the way in which self-organised labour is realised.

The Flexible Personality

The last subject of post-industrialism to be considered in the formation of a conceptual framework is that of the flexible personality. Autonomist Marxists locate the shift towards flexible labour within a European context during wide-spread and disparate

---

[31] McRobbie (2011) is making reference to Gidden's (1984) structuration theory which posits a reflexive relationship between the social structure and the agency of individuals.

social struggles of the 1970s, in which "the process of autonomisation of workers from their disciplinary role has provoked a social earthquake which triggered capitalist deregulation" (Berardi 2003, p.2). The demands for "self-management and self-determination at work" (Shukaitis 2010, p.2) fought for by a number of disparate groups under various terms such as 'the refusal of work' or 'wages for housework' has been said to increase labour's valorisation in parallel to further exploitation.[32]

Schwartz (1999) has argued that notions of affective, creative and intellectual autonomy have become increasingly important to labour within Western Europe.[33] Labour within this geographic region he maintains is now expected to be meaningful and interesting, and autonomy (both real and imagined) places emphasis on the degree to which individuals feel they can express themselves and organise their own labour. Berardi (2003) notes that central to the concept of autonomy is precarity, which as discussed further on in this chapter, is considered negative in its contemporary schematisation. He argues that at its conception, precariousness was understood to positively impact the worker, who, not restricted by the specifics of industrial discipline, was free to engage with the labour process in a flexible manner. However whilst once a resistance strategy, in which workers fought for self-determination, flexibility has now been incorporated into the circuits of capital.

---

[32] The 'refusal of work,' as a term is associated with Italian autonomism however it is not a strategy advocated by all within the tradition. It refers to worker's engaged refusal to be exploited under the conditions of capitalist production. Of particular note is the 'Hot Autumn' of 1969 in which a series of factory strikes in Northern Italy demanded better pay and working conditions. The term 'wages for housework' grew out of the International Feminist Collective, based in Italy. Its central argument was based on the fact that housework and childcare is the base of all industrial work, and thus should be economically compensated.

[33] Social psychologist Schwartz (1999) compared how cultural values impact the meaning of labour within forty-nine nations around the world. Seven types of values were identified, structured along three polar dimensions: Conservatism vs. Intellectual and Affective Autonomy, Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism, and Mastery vs. Harmony.

This co-option of antagonism is considered a central feature of capitalist logic. Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) have argued that each era of capitalism requires the incorporation of the previous era's critique in order to justify its appetite for expansion. Holmes (2001) sees this incorporation in the 'ideal type' of the flexible personality.[34] For Holmes (ibid.) the flexible personality is the hegemonic subject of post-industrialism, engaged in networked organisation in opposition to the bureaucratic hierarchies that marked the industrial age. Alienation too, is overcome he states, as communication and creativity are encouraged through productive networks. Even corporate environments begin to think of their employees in qualitative terms, and

> [r]ather than coercive discipline, it is a new form of internalized vocation, a 'calling' to creative self-fulfilment in and through each work project, that will now shape and direct the employee's behaviour (p.6).

As production no longer needs a fixed geographical space (in the developed West) and information, culture and creativity are increasingly a source of value production, Holmes (ibid.) suggests that a flexible employment system using flexible personalities as subjects, is a response to the specific mode of value capture in late capitalism. In keeping with Harvey's (1990) suggestion that creativity is central to the flexible accumulation logic of post-industrial capital (as noted previously in this chapter) in which persistent innovation is key to the post-modern aesthetic and thus its value creation, Holmes' (2001) "culture ideology" (p.15), is central to this particular schematic of post-Fordism.

The flexible personality incorporates some of the prestigious traits of the entrepreneur but creates value for the corporation, rather than capturing it her/himself. Nevertheless,

---

[34] The notion of an 'ideal type' is associated with anti-positivist sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920). It refers to an abstracted and constructed approximation that deliberately accentuates and selects certain elements of a phenomenon or subject.

the creation of a personal brand is key to the communicative, networked flexible worker (Hearn 2008). This self-branding

> is purely rhetorical; its goal is to produce cultural value and, potentially, material profit…[t]he practice of self-branding is clearly expressed and delineated in current management literature as a necessary strategy for success in an increasingly complex corporate world (ibid., p.198).

The concept of self-branding is of particular importance within cultural and creative industries discourse, as labourers' self-expression is often embedded in their symbolic products. Broulitte (2012) has noted that the creative industries policy of the Labour government (1997-2007) modified Holmes' (2001) notion of the flexibility personality to create a new ideal type; a worker whose labour was close to their authentic self, who could self-organise, and have a number of transferable skills. By positioning this ideal type outside the language of markets and corporations, Broulitte (2012) argues that socially and economically productive individuals were produced within a rhetoric of self-actualising/realising labour.

Within in this section, a selected number of post-industrial subjects were considered. Chosen for their relevancy within this thesis' framework, the consumer as producer gestures to the productive capacity of music fans within independent music which has been further co-opted as a value capturing strategy with independent music's normalisation. The entrepreneur and the flexible personality, also point towards the self-determination and organisation within the independent remit, and thus are of consideration in a study that posits the centrality of subjective experience in labour. In the final section of this chapter, the conditions of post-industrialism are discussed.

Conditions of Post-Industrialism

Self-Actualisation

As discussed previously in this chapter demands for worker self-management and self-determination, in combination with a series of social struggles, resulted in a shift in the organisation of labour in a European context from the 1970s onwards. The spirited dissent of 1960s counter-culture, and everyday forms of worker resistance (bad-time keeping, purposefully low productivity etc.) Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) argue, created calls for more worker autonomy, flexibility and self-expression. These characteristics which have become synonymous with post-industrialism were typically depicted as strategies for overcoming the alienation of industrial production. This sense of alienation was located in Marx's ([1844]1927) concept of *Entfremdung* (estrangement) which argued that people feel alienated from their human nature (*Gattungswesen* or species-being henceforth) due to the exploitative conditions of capitalist production.[35] However the emphasis on culture, creativity and technological innovation within post-industrial discourse, mobilises notions of self-actualisation in opposition to the alienation of industrial production. Within psychology the idea of self-actualisation refers to a number of related concepts that all in some way refer to

---

[35] Workers were thought to be alienated according to Marx ([1844]1927) in the following ways **a) From the products of their labour:** products are determined by the capitalist class, the worker does not determine what is made, or why it should be made and production is simply a means to gain monetary reward, **b) From the process of their labour:** how a product is made is determined by the capitalist class, industrial production is broken into small repetitive, non-skilled tasks, so the worker does not have the psychological satisfaction associated with specialisation, **c) From other workers:** as specialisation is not a requirement of the worker, they are directly tradable, thus the workers themselves are commodified. This produces conflict as the worker is in competition with other workers for wage-labour whilst additionally removing any chance of worker collaboration and reducing collective organisation **d) From him/herself:** humans have an innate *Gattungswesen* (species-being) which naturally facilitates a wide range of interests, particularly those that are creative and contribute to psychological well-being. However under a capitalist mode of production this need is oppressed by the above three forms of alienation.

the manner in which individuals can realise their highest potential. Whilst he did not coin the term, it is mostly commonly associated with Maslow's ([1954] 1987) 'hierarchy of needs' theory which argues an individual's final level of psychological development can only be attained when their basic material needs (food, shelter etc.) have been met first. .[36]

As previously noted the positive valence associated with creativity lies in its perceived ability to outwardly produce and make visible the inner, personal and clandestine aspects of human experience. This capacity for individuals to use creative production as a vehicle for self-expression, positions creative and cultural industries amongst debate on their propensity for overcoming the alienation of industrial production. Inglehart (1977) predicted that post-industrialism would signify the emergence of new socio-economic values, in which workers would increasingly seek the capacity for creative self-improvement, placing self-actualisation at the centre of labour. Whilst working conditions under factory life were considered miserable and monotonous, and "removed from one's heartfelt concerns" (Hage and Powers 1992, p.10), we are told that "such complaints are heard far less frequently" (ibid.) in contemporary socio-economic life.

Whilst critically this somewhat immutable, positive, socio-cultural attachment to creativity can place its workers within a precarious position (discussed in this section), McRobbie (2007) has argued that more "independently defined work…also becomes

---

[36] Self-realisation is a concept related to self-actualisation within psychology however it has more spiritual connotations. Referring to a condition in which the individual becomes free from external pressures, self-realisation is a significant concept within Eastern religions such as Sikhism, Buddhism and Hinduism. Despite being an altogether different concept from self-actualisation, the two are sometimes used interchangeably.

a source of self-realisation" (p.3). Fieldwork by Henning and Holder (2014) demonstrates that a rhetoric of self-actualisation framed their participants' labour as a non-alienating activity, "they experience the non-alienating qualities of their work even under current conditions of an intensified economisation of the 'aesthetic' sphere" (p.1). Similarly, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) have noted the self-expressive capabilities of this type of work can provide "a basis for respect and recognition…which in turn can help nourish the worker's sense of self-esteem, and over time, contribute to projects of self-realisation" (p.221-222). In terms of independent creative and cultural production, Duncombe (1997) suggests that producers within independent networks speak about their production in a manner considered "truly fulfilling: work in which you have complete control over" (p.94) which he sees as a prerequisite to the restructuring of capital. Categorising this as "another ideal of work…in a word: non-alienated labour" (ibid.) he considers independent production as a form of rejection. By attempting to redefine labour Duncombe (ibid.) argues, independent production escapes the drudgery of working for the profit of someone else, thus containing the capacity to provide psychological and emotional rewards.

This capacity for self-actualisation envelopes cultural and creative labour within a discourse of vocation and passion, and indeed the common circulation of the term 'labour of love' has been identified by Freidson (1990) as a manner of coping with a mode of work that also brings with it many undesirable qualities. Indeed the challenges that this type of labour brings argues Menger (1999), only serves to intensify this romantic attachment to the creative process. It is considered only worthwhile if it is strenuous, difficult and uncertain. He states

self-actualisation through work, which makes artistic activity so attractive, occurs only if the outcome is unpredictable…[and] the possibilities of personal invention are wide open (p.558).

Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) have noted that the reason the perplexity of creative work, though sometimes distressing and tough, connects producers to their labour in a way that unspecialised industrial production does not, is due to the consuming nature of overcoming difficult tasks. The tenaciousness with which creative producers pursue their labour allows them "to achieve states of pleasurable absorption in their work that are the opposite of the alienated clock-watching that many of us dread in labour" (p.132), and they have noted that musicians in particular are most likely to experience an all-consuming sense of connection to the labour process.

This interest in cultural, creative and informational post-industrial labour and its capacity to overcome alienation through self-actualisation is also evident in more general terms. The work of theorists such as Dyer-Witheford (2004), Negri (2005) and Bratich (2010) have all called into question the relationship between the current socio-economic landscape and Marx's ([1844]1927) concept of species-being. [37] Dyer-Witheford's (2004) conceptualisation centres particularly on the circulation of information through techno-social networks, in which the species-being of human nature is realised in the creation of open-source software which acts in direct opposition to the capitalist logic of proprietary forms. Negri (2005) as we shall see in the next chapter, locates it in the surplus of affectivity produced within the immaterial economy, whilst Bratich (2010) sees DIY craft-work as an "ontological accumulation

---

[37] Labour only makes up a portion of this renewed interest in Marx's ([1844] 1927) species-being. The advent of feminism, anti-globalisation movements, the rise of radical Islam, and the Chiapas conflict amongst a multitude of other social struggles, all feature in the reconceptualisation of species-being and what it means for the global restructuring of capital.

of species-being" (p.303) containing within it, the power to act by reconstituting its subjects as those capable of self-valorisation, infusing the "immanent needs and desires of the producing community" (p.312) through personal and social attachment to their labour. However as the next section demonstrates, the emphasis placed upon self-actualisation within post-industrial labour, is also charged with obscuring exploitative structural relationships within contemporary economic organisation.

Precarity

The concept of precarity refers to "the explosion of short-term temporary and part-time jobs issuing from the economic crisis of the mid-1970s" (Gonick 2011, p.1), but also includes conditions of instability, low wages, underemployment and "ambient insecurity" (Horning 2012, p.2).[38] The imposition of precarity within post-industrial society is arguably

> a capitalist response to the class struggle of the sixties, a struggle that was centred on the refusal of work…[i]t was a response to a cycle of struggle that challenged the capitalist command over labor, in a sense realizing the workers' refusal of the capitalist work discipline, the refusal of a life organized by the needs of capitalist production, a life spent in a factory or in office (Federici 2008, p.2).

Thus precarity is considered a neoliberal reaction to the calls for self-determination which characterised the disparate social struggles of Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, as previously noted in this chapter. In tandem with the rise of precarity as an object of discourse, is the 'feminisation of labour.'[39] Whilst the concept of feminisation refers to a number of post-industrial trends, Standing (1999) uses it to refer to the shift towards flexible, precarious, non-guaranteed labour, arguing that within post-

---

[38] Horning (2012) is referring to Innes (2004) idea that a feature of contemporary social control is the manner in which subjects are always in a high state of alert, both cognitively and emotionally.

[39] The term 'feminisation of labour' not only includes notions of precarity but also incorporates an increase in women joining the work force as well as the rise in affective labour previously discussed in this chapter.

industrial society "a key feature of labour market flexibilization has been a relative and absolute growth of non-regular and non-wage forms of employment" (p.596). A move towards part-time, non-guaranteed, and lately, 'zero-hour' contracts once allowed women who were primary caregivers in the home, more opportunities to enter the workplace. Yet the negatives associated with this type of work (low wages, poor career advancement, migration) have meant that labour inequality remains a clear issue. It is argued that the 'feminisation of labour' can be read as an increase in this type of labour which now transcends gender divides. What was once a mode of labour that was most prominently found amongst women, is now becoming a de facto manner of organising production. As Standing (ibid.) says "the reality is that men's position has become more like that of women" (p.599) highlighting the trend towards precariousness within post-industrialism. It is also for this reason that recent academic interest in precarity is charged with overlooking its gendered history. [40]

Like Standing (ibid), Haraway (1991) also draws attention to a global restructuring of labour in which characteristics that had normally been ascribed to female jobs now come to determine the post-industrial economy. She suggests "to be feminized means to be made extremely vulnerable; able to be disassembled, reassembled, exploited as a reserve labour force; seen less as workers than as servers" (1991, p. 166). Haraway (ibid) sees this as facilitated (but not caused by) an increasingly interdependent relationship between humans and technology. Globally, she argues that manual work or that which is associated with male labour, is becoming increasingly informaticised.

---

[40] In recent years the problems associated with 'zero hour' contracts are becoming more visible in the public domain. 'Zero hour' contracts do not oblige the employer to give employees a set number of hours per week, thus employees are effectively 'on call.' Companies such as McDonalds, Domino's Pizza, Burger King as well as institutions such as Buckingham Palace and the Tate Galleries all use 'zero hour' contracts.

Thus men, as women have, find themselves in increasingly precarious employment positions and "[w]hite men in advanced industrial societies have become newly vulnerable to permanent job loss" (ibid).

The concept of precarity has also emerged in relation to the growing emphasis placed on culture and creativity within post-industrialism, in particular the mobilisation of self-expression values (Inglehart 1977). Charged with being ideological devices that facilitate exploitation, Tokumitsu (2014) notes "[n]othing makes exploitation go down easier than convincing workers that they are doing what they love" (p.7). Ursell (2000) has noted that media industries graduates often engage in free work for production companies, in the hope that it will be recognised and rewarded whilst Paterson (2001) suggests that the short-term contracts associated with precarious creative employment means workers are in a perpetual job-seeking state, even during times of employment. Neff et al. (2005), McRobbie (2007) and Hesmondhalgh (2011) have argued that contemporary cultural and creative industries operate according to an internalised 'one big hit' logic, in which workers accept their precarious conditions in the belief that the next product or the next job will be successful enough to create more stable working conditions.

In a seminal essay, Terranova (2003) explored the contribution of free voluntary work to the economy of post-industrial society, suggesting it was work that is both "enjoyed and exploited" (p.33) and she notes that in particular the internet

> has given ideological and material support to contemporary trends toward increased flexibility of the workforce, continuous reskilling, freelance work, and the diffusion of practices such as 'supplementing' (p.34).

As previous sections of this chapter have mentioned, the cultural and creative economy is inseparable from the knowledge and information circuits that organise, produce and

disseminate cultural and creative labour. Thus according to Terranova (ibid.), new media technologies help normalise precarious working conditions.

Whilst the previous section of this chapter examined self-actualisation as a condition of the post-industrial economy, this section highlights how such self-actualisation has been considered an ideological device which obscures precarity. In the final part of this section, the above discussions are contextualised within the concept of governmentality.

Governmentality

Foucault ([1978-1979] 2008) developed the notion of governmentality to refer to the manner in which techniques and rationales are organised and normalised for the purposes of producing governable subjects. An extensive concept, it is particularly Foucault's (ibid.) neoliberal subject *homo œconomicus* that is of pertinence in this discussion on the conditions of post-industrialism. In the era of late capitalism, Foucault (ibid.) maintains that the labouring subject is explicitly bound to a discourse in which he is "being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of [his] earnings" (p.226). Thus *homo œconomicus* is an "entrepreneur of himself" (ibid.), which describes "all activity as forms of personal investment, all consumption as production, and rendering all actors as entrepreneurs of the self" (Dilts 2011, p.1). Following Foucault ([1978-1979] 2008) Donzelot (1991) locates a specific form of governmentality; pleasure in work. He notes that in the aftermath of industrial capitalism work becomes "good in itself: as a means towards self-realization" (p.251). However he cautions that the purpose of the changes which have occurred within labour under late-capitalism are "not to transform the organization of production, but to change the relation of individuals to their productive

58

work" (p.256). Whilst Donzelot (ibid.) diminishes the role of organisation within neoliberal governmentality, Knights and McCabe (2003) suggest that organisation has a key role to play, in particular the increasing social nature of post-industrial labour stating that an emphasises on teamwork impinges "upon individuals so as to shape not only how they behave but also how they think, derive meaning and understand the world" and in doing so appealing to "their autonomy, unity, sociability and desire for a more enriched work experience" (p.1587).

On a more individual basis, Tokumitsu (2014) refers to the notion of pleasurable work as the "do what you love" (p.2) ethos, in which subjects overcome the alienation of industrial production through self-actualising/realising work. Yet she argues, finding pleasure in work is a form of governmentality as it disguises precarious labour within a discourse of vocation and passion, thus facilitating "the most perfect ideological tool of capitalism" (p.7). In particular cultural and creative industries and their emphasis upon self-expression, actualisation and realisation has led McRobbie (2007) to state

> [i]n the UK at least, this seeking out of ones own creativity, as a kind of inner self, is a dominant feature of contemporary governmentality. Within a framework of subjects relevant to this practice of cultural governance the new self is defined as primarily productive and creative, the two become inseparable with the latter compensating for the exhaustive dynamics of the former (p.5).

Thus Lazzarato (1996) argues, the subjects of neoliberal governance find themselves bound by an authoritarian discourse in which "one has to express oneself, one has to speak, communicate, cooperate and so forth" (p.2) particularly in cultural and creative work. For Lazzarato (2011), "this idea of the individual as an entrepreneur of her/himself is the culmination of capital as a machine of subjectivation" (p.9), in which the internalisation of neoliberal ideology creates a subject that seeks to continually improve and invest in itself.

Within this schematic, consumption also becomes productive by means of attempting to continually recompose the individual. Branding then, is seen as a powerful tool of neoliberal governance (Arvidsson 2005; Begg 2012) producing subjectivities in which even ideological antagonism is co-opted. Begg (2012) notes that branding, which has come to increasingly characterise post-industrialism, is an affective form of governmentality in which the production of affect (see previous) produces subjects who have normalised the commodification of social life. According to Arvidsson (2005) through cultural and creative branding this normalisation "works from below by shaping the context in which freedom is exercised" (p.255), thus producing a form of governance which is "less obvious" (ibid.) than other forms. [41]

This section highlights how both self-actualisation and precarity, as conditions of post-industrialism, have been critically understood as operating for the purposes of producing governable subjects within neoliberalism. Continuous investment in the self, pleasure in work, teamwork and self-expressive labour are all considered as methods through which neoliberal governmentality operates, which is also reproduced in the commodification of affect and consumed through branding devices. These conditions of post-industrialism provide a context for exploring the experience of labour within Dublin's independent music scene in order to critique immaterial labour.

---

[41] Struggles for social and political representation along ethnic, racial and gender lines in the latter half of the twentieth century termed 'identity politics' provided niche marketing opportunities which culminated in lifestyle branding during the 1990s. Klein (1999) notes

> [t]he backlash that identity politics inspired did a pretty good job of masking for us the fact that many of our demands for better representation were quickly accommodated by marketers, media makers and pop-culture producers alike… [o]nce we'd embarked on a search for new wells of cutting-edge imagery, our insistence on extreme sexual and racial identities made for great brand-content and niche-marketing strategies. If diversity was what we wanted, the brands seemed to be saying, then diversity was exactly what we would get. And with that, the marketers and media makers swooped down air-brushes in hand, to touch up the colors and images in our culture (p.87).

Conclusion

As this research is concerned with the nature of labour within Dublin's independent scene, this chapter explored a range of phenomena in connection to post-industrial labour. In doing so, the aim is to establish the backdrop of this research and situate immaterial labour within a field of existing discourse. This section used a selected number of concepts including the products of post-industrial labour (culture and creativity, knowledge and information, affect and emotion), the subjects of post-industrial labour (consumer as producer, the entrepreneur, the flexible personality) and the conditions of post-industrialism (self-actualisation, precarity and governmentality). These concepts are non-exhaustive but simply provide a contextual background for immaterial labour which will be explored in the next chapter, thus grounding it within a wider field of research.

CHAPTER TWO

IMMATERIAL LABOUR AND INDEPENDENT MUSIC: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As stated, the aim of this research is to critique the concept of immaterial labour within the autonomist tradition, using labour experience within Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation. This chapter functions as a formal literature review which positions the aim of this research within the relevant scholarly literature. A "formal literature review" (Leary 2004, p.78) offers a number of purposes, they contextualise the research within an already established field, provide justification for the research question, and show that the research undertaken can be considered a contribution to the field. This chapter then, creates the conceptual framework which structures the logic of this thesis.

In order for this chapter to fulfil these aims, it is divided into two sections. The first examines the topic under investigation, immaterial labour, through a comprehensive critique of the concept by breaking it down into its constituting parts. It demonstrates two over-arching criticisms of immaterial labour, its homogenisation of disparate labour forms, and lack of empirical engagement, which exposes a considerable opportunity for a contribution to the field. The second section, through an exploration of relevant literature, demonstrates the utility of using independent music production as a site of critique. Whilst the first section of this literature review is embedded within a very particular theoretical framework, that is the immaterial labour of autonomism, this second section is more interdisciplinary in nature. This reflects the field of cultural and creative industries research, which borrows from cultural studies, sociology,

anthropology and critical theory amongst other disciplines and is not faithful to any one tradition.

Exploring Immaterial Labour

What constitutes immaterial labour, has already been discussed in the introduction to this thesis. As demonstrated, it refers to a set of theoretical arguments within the autonomist Marxist tradition that aim to describe the current post-industrial socio-economic climate and its proposed radical potential. Affective, informational, creative and cultural, immaterial labour in *autonomia* consists of activities which previously existed outside the capital-wage relation. These characteristics are also thought to inform industrial production (Lazzarato 1997), providing immaterial labour a hegemonic position within the current global economy (Hardt and Negri 2001a) and qualitatively transforming the labour process. Its supposed revolutionary potential lies in its linguistic emphasis (Virno 2001), its reliance on human communication (Hardt and Negri 2001a) and its utilisation of subjectivity for value creation (Lazzarato 1997).

It is the purpose of this section then, to provide the background context for the research aim and provide a broad justification for its emergence. In order to do so, it looks to a number of themes within the autonomist conceptualisation of immaterial labour and identifies their problematic issues. Literature is primarily, but not exclusively drawn from the autonomists Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007), and Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004), due to the privileged position they give immaterial labour in their own work, thus providing the most developed arguments on the subject within the tradition. Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) in particular are foregrounded, as they have provided the most comprehensive and complete scholarly work on immaterial labour within *autonomia*.

Immanent Cooperation

The term immanent cooperation refers to that aspect of immaterial labour which is inherently social. Rather than being organised by an outside force (i.e. capital), the social relationships created by production in the immaterial economy are, according to Hardt and Negri "completely immanent to the labouring activity itself" (2001a, p.294). In the post-industrial economy where "the dialogic word is installed at the very heart of capitalist production. Labour is interaction" (Virno 2001, p.2) the notion of immanent cooperation has been conceived of in three different iterations, the network, the community and the general intellect, all of which are discussed below.

The network refers to a set of socially productive relationships, a consequence of production no longer reliant on fixed geographical space. The post-industrial network is both global and local, with communication between nodes vital to the production process. In the autonomist tradition it is both the locus of contemporary power (Lazzarato 2004) and site of emancipation (Hardt and Negri 2001a). The network, does not simply produce commodities, it entails a "whole set of cognitive and affective flows, by the intellectual and emotional potentiality of our bodies" (Pasquinelli 2011, p.3), which Hardt and Negri (2001a) claim has the capacity for self-valorisation.[42] Thus the network in immaterial labour is considered a liberating mode of organisation, containing within it a capacity for action that is not determined solely by capital intervention.

---

[42] Self-valorisation in the autonomist tradition refers to activity that is not simply reactive to capital but is autonomous and self-determined.

The characteristic of immanent cooperation within immaterial labour, is also found in the autonomist reconceptualisation of the commons.[43] Produced by the necessity of networked production, the commons in *autonomia* refers to

> a radically new social system in which reproduction stems from the direct participation of communities of producers reclaiming, sharing, and pooling resources of various types, driven by values fundamentally opposed to those embedded in the capital circuits: solidarity, mutual aid, cooperation, respect for human beings and the environment, horizontalism and direct democracy (De Angelis 2012, p.xiii).

The commons "are necessarily created and sustained by communities" (De Angelis 2003, p.1), in which subjectivities are transformed into common struggles against co-option and enclosure (Federici 2012), and in Hardt and Negri's (2001a) conceptualisation, these common struggles are manifested in the experience of immaterial labour. Whilst old notions of community used nationality, race or sexual preference etc. to create common bonds between individuals, community in the immaterial economy is created through the products and processes of immaterial labour, they are "the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships" (Hardt and Negri 2004, p.139).

Overcoming fundamental differences based upon old notions of community, through common, networked, labouring experiences, creates for Hardt and Negri, a "love" (2010, p.180) of alterity, singularities acting in common relationships that "composes [them], like themes in a musical score, not in unity but as a network of social relations" (p.184). Hardt and Negri's (2010) conceptualisation of the commons takes on a somewhat ontological dimension. Taking their cue from Spinoza ([1677] 1996), their

---

[43] The commons previously referred to natural resources such as land and water that were not privately owned but over which 'commoners' had rights. Currently, particularly in the academic sphere, the commons not only refer to natural commons, but also to cultural and informational commons such as music, language and certain types of computer software (i.e. linux), often referred to as artificial commons.

project they say, is centred on love as both a philosophical and political concept. Love is a "process of the production of the common," "an economic power" and "an action, a biopolitical event, planned and realized in common" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p. 180). A love of alterity, they suggest, produces singularities in a common relationship. Love therefore, as a power, is both what the common exerts and creates. [44] Capital's role then, in the immaterial labourer's encounter with 'otherness,' is to capture, rather than produce value. [45] In these new community formations, value is "increasingly accomplished without the capitalist intervening in its production" (ibid., p.141) but through the appropriation of surplus, non-rival, linguistic, informational, affective, cultural, creative and symbolic goods. Social media interactions provide a useful example for understanding this particular phenomena where it is the unpaid and

---

[44] Unfortunately to really get at what love means in the context of their revolutionary endeavour, one needs to have more than a passing knowledge of Spinozan philosophy, a criticism that is also levelled at Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) counterparts Deleuze and Guattari (1972; 1980) which Harvey (2009) has additionally pointed out as a limitation of their work. Harvey (ibid.) has also suggested that

> it is precisely because Spinoza did not have to be so concerned with such mundane things...[such as how to organise the word market]...that his formulations are so attractive. They permit Hardt and Negri to bypass consideration of the material basis of revolutionary endeavours in favour of abstract and, at the end of the day, somewhat idealistic formulations (p.214).

[45] The 'Other' is a key concept in philosophy and anthropology and whilst both disciplines have different genealogies of the concept (and indeed different trajectories), the manner in which it here is transdisciplinary. The 'Other' (or the 'constitutive Other' as it is sometimes referred), is capitalised to emphasise its differentiation from the 'Self.' For Hegel ([1807] 1979) 'Otherness' or separateness is required in order to construct the 'Self.' In anthropology the 'Other' takes on a different connotation and is founded upon the discipline's roots in imperialism. The process of 'Othering' according to Said (1994) was used as justification for the subordination of colonised peoples, the differences of the 'Other' (the colonised) highlighted in language, culture, skin colour or religion served political purposes for their subordination by imperial powers. The idea of the 'Other' has also been used in gender studies (de Beauvoir [1949] 1977) and psychoanalysis (Lacan 1966).

unsolicitied labour of the consumer who, through sharing information, provides value which is extracted by the corporation (Dean 2010). [46]

Immanent cooperation also features in autonomism's revisit of Marx's ([1857] 2007) general intellect. Signalling a future in which networks of communication would replace living labour, Marx (ibid.) suggested that the "general productive forces of the social brain" (p.709) meant that human knowledge would become enclosed within machinery, thus expanding leisure time. The general intellect according to Marx (ibid.) would facilitate communism through a breakdown in exchange value, where commodities could no longer be quantified according to their socially necessary labour time. Pointing towards mass intellectuality as a feature of really existing general intellect, Virno (2002) notes that under late capitalism cognitive faculties are prime forces of production, however rather that advance communism, he suggests that capital has expanded into leisure time, where cognition itself becomes a "productive 'machine'" (2002, p.2). Perhaps more optimistically Lazzarato (2004) argues that mass intellectuality, born out of a struggle for self-valorisation and the demands of capital, takes as its precondition, the general intellect. For this reason he argues, activities once afforded only by the governing classes (i.e. the efforts that produce fashion, art or public opinion) now become produced by social knowledge, creating a

---

[46] Within economics, goods are theorised as existing on a rival/non-rival continuum. A rival good is one in which its consumption by one individual prevents its consumption by another. There is a high cost attached to the production of each rival good (e.g. if one consumer buys a television it prevents another consumer from buying that television. Therefore the maker must produce another to fulfil the 2nd consumer's demand). In contrast, the consumption of a non-rival good by one consumer does not prevent it being consumed by another and the cost of creating the product for multiple simultaneous consumption is relatively low, or nothing at all (e.g. satellite TV channels). In recent years the concept of anti-rival goods has come into parlance (Weber 2004) to describe the opposite of a rival good. An anti-rival good is one that increases in value the more it is used. These goods are usually (but not exclusively) made by an individual for common use where the more the good is shared, the more benefit it contains to the producer and its common users. (e.g. open-source software).

threat to capital by the "economic, productive and political threads woven around immaterial labour" (p.3). In this case, the division of labour based around bourgeoisie tastes and the industrial manufacturing of these goods by the proletariat, is displaced by the capacities of open-informational networks and the centrality of symbolic production to the post-industrial economy, thereby problematising old distinctions of class-based labour.

Critics of immaterial labour have noted that the emphasis on immanent cooperation neglects a number of negative aspects of post-industrial production. Fellow autonomist Berardi (2010) has argued that the necessity of social interaction within networked production, rather than being an emancipatory tool induces "pathological effects in the social mind, saturating attention time, compressing the sphere of emotion and sensitivity" (p.2). Influenced by Jameson's (1991) notion of postmodern schizophrenia, Varnelis (2008) notes that the lack of temporality within networked forms of organisation means that subjects disappear into the network and become constructs "of the relations it has with others" (p.148). However perhaps the most persistent criticism levelled at the network within immaterial labour, is the lack of empirical evidence to support it. Additionally, the network is used to describe discrete practices which may have little in common, as Camfield (2007) has argued the notion of networked production within the service industry does not correspond to an external reality, in fact the "egalitarian distributed networks are nowhere to be found in the franchised firms in which so many service workers are employed" (p.20). The network, nevertheless, is a "dominant cultural logic" (Varnelis 2008, p.145) which Benkler (2007) has suggested is an unrealised tool for autonomy. However this expansive use of the network concept, has an homogenising effect on those phenomena it seeks to describe. As Lovink and Rossiter (2005) point out, it

might be useful for enlightenment purposes, but it won't answer the issues that new media based social networks face. Does it satisfy you to know that molecules and DNA patterns also network? (p.2).

The commons as a feature of immaterial labour's immanent cooperative dimension has also been criticised as a neoliberal, ideological device in order "to 'save' neoliberalism from itself" (Caffentzis 2010, p.25). Furthermore, the production of the commons is always threated by enclosure methods (such as artificial scarcity, IP protection etc.) which Lindenschmidt (2004) posits acts as a "counter-revolution" (p.1) to the common utopia of Hardt and Negri (2001a). Although Bratich (2010) notes that the notion of the commons gives us alternative conceptual tools to rethink how subjects may organise in the contemporary economy, the prescriptiveness of their nature calls for some informed deductions to be made. Likewise the notion of mass intellectuality as a feature of immaterial labour requires more tangible evidence in order to enable a more thorough dissection of the concept. Dyer-Witheford (2010) contends that mass intellectuality as schematised by Negri (1991) and Lazzarato (2004) is perhaps most visible in "participation management" (p.490), in which automation replaces the quantitative dimension of labour, and emphasis is placed upon the qualitative cognitive faculties of human intellect. However such analysis still relies on an homogenisation of labour processes which do little to identify the specificities of post-industrial production.

The Multitude and Biopolitical Production

Within autonomism, the subject that performs immaterial labour is the multitude, replacing the Marxist emancipatory figure of the proletariat. Taking Spinoza's ([1677] 1996) ontological conceptualisation of the multitude as their starting point, Hardt and Negri (2004) suggest that the multitude is not an homogenous group, rather it is collectivity marked by individualised variances, as they state it "is composed of

innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or single identity" (p.xiv). An oppositional figure in the regime of networked sovereignty they call 'Empire' the multitude organises collectively through common "social behaviour" (Negri 1991, p.i), one incarnation of which is immaterial labour. Brought together through the production of relationships, culture, information and affect, composed of all the diverse features of social production, the multitude necessarily creates things in common, without which communication in the immaterial economy would be impossible. Within the scheme of immaterial labour, it is the aim of the multitude to experience self-valorisation. Like Hardt and Negri's (2004) multitude, Virno's (2002; 2004) conceptualisation is the social embodiment of revenge against totalitarian regimes of power and is "characterizing every aspect of associated life: the customs and mentality of post-Fordist labour, language games, passions and affects, modes of understanding collective action" (p.1). A more complex subject than Hardt and Negri's (2004), Virno's (2002; 2004) multitude is not simply a struggled response to capitalism but communism also, and seeks a third way free of both these forms of social control.[47] The multitude as the producer of immaterial labour is also key to the autonomist conception of biopolitical production. In Hardt and Negri's (2004) schematic

> [i]t might be better to understand [immaterial labour] as 'biopolitical labour,' that is labour which creates not only material goods but also relationships and ultimately social life itself (p. 111).

Drawing on Tronti's (1996) concept of the social factory, Foucault's ([1978-1979] 2008) notion of biopower and Marx's (1867) theory of real subsumption, biopolitical

---

[47] Use of the phrase 'the third way' here simply implies an alternative to capitalism and/or communism which are often thought to be mutually exclusive. The phrase itself is loaded, and can refer to any and all political positions that somehow try to reconcile right-wing and left-wing ideologies but is commonly associated with the Clinton and Blair administrations, at a rhetorical if not absolute level.

production within autonomism refers to the production of forms of life, of which immaterial labour is a key constituent. Tronti (1966) developed his concept of the social factory during the key Italian social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, where dissident activity and solidarity campaigns permeated the walls of the factory.[48] Suggesting that capital subsumes social life through the fluid relationships between factory and society, Tronti (ibid.) envisioned a restructuring of socio-economic life by means of a "strategy of refusal" (p.247), a refusal to sell labour power, "giving more weight to the conditioning and disciplining of labour, or the pre-commodified form of working subjectivity" (Palazzo 2008, p.13).

Negri's (1989) adaptation of this concept is that of the socialised worker, a new form of subjectivity exemplified by casual, freelance and networked production. The socialised worker is, for Negri (ibid.), the individual, its multiple is the multitude. However a shift from discussions on the social factory or socialised worker, to that of biopolitical production within autonomism, is visible with the introduction of immaterial labour, with Negri's (ibid.) own work exemplifying this change. Owing its theoretical genesis to Foucault's (1976; [1978-1979] 2008) notion of biopower (meaning power over bodies), biopolitical production is arguably seen as the social condition that allows immaterial labour to become qualitatively hegemonic. Biopower in disciplinary society, according to Foucault (ibid.) is extended through a range of *dispositifs* (the school, the prison etc.) structuring thought, prescribing social norms and creating docile bodies which are easy to govern.[49] However Deleuze (1992)

---

[48] Incredibly little of Tronti's work has been translated into English and sources debate whether or not he ever used the term that has become synonymous with his work 'the social factory.'
[49] Disciplinary society is for Foucault (1976; [1978-1979] 2008) the logical consequence of a passage from pre-modern sovereign powers (monarchies etc.) in which forms of punishment were public (i.e. executions) to capitalist modernity in which social norms are enforced through institutions.

contends that such regimes have been in decline since the beginning of the 20th century, overtaken by "societies of control" (p.3). Operating according to a much more permeable logic, rather than enclose bodies within physical spaces, societies of control exploit the openness and mobility of networked society, creating a new form of governance in which freedom is a prerequisite.

This Deluezean influence within immaterial labour is evident particularly in Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) turn from biopower to biopolitics. Where the former is a mode of governance (Lazzarato 2002), the latter is the socio-economic production of life itself. Biopolitical production is where "life is made to work for production and production is made to work for life" (Hardt and Negri 2001a, p.31) and where capital control extends into the sphere of social production. Not simply diagnostic, but a rationality that "prepares the ground for a new political subject" (Lemke 2011, p.71), biopolitical life in Hardt and Negri's (2010) understanding is not "limited to the reproduction of capital as a social relation but also presents the potential…that could destroy capital and create something entirely new" (p.137). Criticising the superficiality of Deleuze's (1992) argument, they maintain that as capital expropriates value "through biopolitical exploitation that is produced, in some sense, externally to it" (Hardt and Negri 2010 p.141), the means of production, may also become the means of resistance.

This resistance, they contend, is anthropological in nature and is first concerned with basic necessities such as food and water. Within the immaterial economy "[e]veryone needs to work with languages, codes, ideas, and affects - moreover to work with

others, none of which comes naturally" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.308).[50] Thus an advanced intellectual infrastructure is required, as is free migration, enabling the communicative relationships where the multitude learns social cooperation in addition to autonomous organisation. This schematic, accelerationist in nature, see capital's inevitable downfall as a consequence of its own power. In order for capital to survive post-industrialism, Hardt and Negri (ibid.) contend it must foster the power of the multitude through biopolitical production in education and training, communication and cooperation, social encounters with alterity and the accumulation of the common.[51]

Hardt and Negri's (ibid) biopolitical production transcends Marx's (1861-1864; 1867) notion of real subsumption.[52] When capital cannot expand any further beyond its current parameters, Marx (ibid.) argued that it

> gradually *transforms* the social relations and modes of labour until they become thoroughly imbued with the nature and requirements of capital, and the labour process is *really* subsumed under capital (p.1).

Biopolitical production then, in Hardt and Negri's (2010) expansion of social life within the immaterial economy, seemingly overcomes real subsumption through creating the artefacts of life itself, and affect, information, culture and creativity

---

[50] In conjunction with these social and intellectual infrastructures according to Hardt and Negri (2010) an open network of information and culture must also be created to enable the capacities of the multitude to be put into practice. Thus, open physical layers (access to communication networks), an open logical layer (open codes and protocols) and an open content layer (cultural, scientific and informational) should exist to counter the privatisation of the common and to allow subjectivities the means of encountering alterity.

[51] A number of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) reforms to increase biopolitical production sound suspiciously like movements that have tried to create a view of capital as a tool for the facilitation of positive life improvement. Eco-capitalism, green-capitalism, punk-capitalism and liberal communism, all have rhetorics of cooperation, altruism and in the case of punk-capitalism; autonomy. However what differs in Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) argument is the accelerationist dimension of their overall project.

[52] Formal subsumption for Marx (1867) occurs when capital inserts itself into the existing, social and material relations of production. Although much of the labour process continues as before, the means of production become monopolised by capital and thus forces workers into a wage-relation.

surpasses capital's ability to enclose them. However both the multitude and the notion of biopolitical production are fraught with deficits, often charged at their abstract nature. Theoretically, Grattan (2011) has criticised Hardt and Negri's (2004) multitude for a "strange dismantling of Spinoza's thought...that robs it of much of its revolutionary lustre" (p.6). The initial incarnation of the Spinozan multitude by Negri (1991) argues for affective labour as potentially revolutionary "if affect is the 'power to act'" (Grattan 2011, p.7). Grattan (ibid.) argues that such a shallow reading of Spinoza ([1677] 1996) neglects the concept's complexity. Affect in Spinoza's (ibid.) conception is the power to act or be acted upon, in both positive and negative ways. Hardt and Negri's (2004) version only sees affect as a positive quality, thus ignoring the heterogeneous world that Spinoza ([1677] 1996) imagines. Quickly moving towards a conceptualisation of affect as aiding the self-valorisation of labour, this dual nature of affect is disregarded and "the very real possibility of delirious encounters that render us weaker and more afraid does nothing to actually rid the world of those forces" (Grattan 2011, p.8).

Furthermore, the multitude as a revolutionary force lacks class consciousness, a concept vital to subsequent understandings of Marx's (1867) proletariat. Lukács ([1923] 1990) developed the notion of class consciousness to describe the process by which social classes determined their capabilities and potential. Arguing that the proletariat could be deemed the first class to achieve consciousness due to their on-going struggle with capitalism, Lukács (ibid.) maintained the bourgeoisie would never be able to achieve it as their lifeworld was premised upon a false consciousness produced through ideology. Defending the multitude as first and foremost a class-based revolutionary subject Negri (2003) states

> multitude is first of all a class concept, then also a political concept. In so far as it is a class concept, multitude puts an end to the concept of working class as a simplistic concept, as a mass concept (p.1).

However this does not satisfy the lack of consciousness within the autonomist reimagining of the multitude. Marx (1867) held the development of class consciousness in accordance with his immiseration thesis, that the gradual worsening conditions of the proletariat would alert them to capitalism's exploitative nature, and force them to realise the structural inequalities behind the system, thus making a proletariat revolution inevitable.[53] Thus whilst the multitude may be a unity of disunity affiliated through common labour forms and the struggle against such, its necessary fragmentation through space (i.e. the network) and in the pursuit of such radically different goals makes the emergence of a common consciousness difficult to fathom.

Homogenisation is also a key criticism within the notion of biopolitical production. Hardt and Negri's (2001a) assertion that immaterial labour is better understood as biopolitical labour, makes any distinction between disparate labour forms obsolete. This point is taken up by Rabinow and Rose (2006) who say that Hardt and Negri's (2001a) notion of biopolitical production "can describe everything but analyse nothing" (p.199). Furthermore Camfield (2007) suggests that biopolitical labour fails to make distinctions between the varying forms of production it encompasses, and therefore the varying modes of sociality it creates. This suggests that there are deficits in the autonomist conceptualisation of multitude which could be addressed by examining specific forms of immaterial labour.

---

[53] Marx never used the terms 'immiseration' or 'class consciousness' himself, despite both becoming associated with his work. He did however distinguish between 'class in itself,' a group of people who inhabit the same relational space in the means of production, and 'class for itself' an organised group in pursuit of goals.

Autonomy and Exodus

This final part of this chapter's first section, logically follows the multitude and biopolitical production, focusing on how immaterial labour is thought to facilitate an exodus from capital. The central feature of autonomist thought, that labour can dispense with the capital/wage relation, is based on the premise that labour 'in itself,' when a source of self-valorisation is where workers can realise their own autonomy. However, labour is also completely immanent to capital 'in itself.'[54] This double constitution, in Hardt and Negri's (2001a) terms means that

> [t]he refusal of exploitation - or really resistance, sabotage, insubordination, rebellion and revolution - constitutes the motor force of the reality we live, and at the same time is its living opposition" (p.209).

As immaterial labour is biopolitical, they maintain the inside/outside nature of capital changes and exploitation becomes unquantifiable. Within post-industrialism, capital extracts value "through biopolitical exploitation that is produced, in some sense externally to it" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.141). Their central argument in this regard is that seizing the means of production (when what is produced is symbolic, communicative and affective) is a process of exodus from capital, a step towards the autonomy of labour. Despite capital shifting from a profit to rent model (Pasquinelli 2010), as capital is no longer a creator of value, its external extraction is limited through processes which facilitate autonomy and self-valorising labour. The subject that facilitates this process, the multitude, is a composition of all the subjectivities of networked, immaterial labour whose capacity for cooperation rests upon the

---

[54] This double constitution, labour's inside/outside nature, for Marx (1867), completely determined the space of capital and the type of social relationship it creates.

production of the common with 'Empire' operating simply as "an apparatus of capture" (Hardt and Negri 2001a, p.61).

What is at stake for Hardt and Negri (ibid.) is an "anthropogenetic" (p.267) exodus from capital facilitated through the immaterial labour of multitude, in particular knowledge-based forms. During the hegemony of industrial production, Marx (1867) argued it was the role of the capitalist to organise cooperative production. However, as cooperation is no longer organised by the 'outside' but immanent to immaterial production itself, Hardt and Negri (2004) maintain its radical power is afforded by its potential autonomy from the capital/labour relationship.

In contrast Neilson and Rossiter (2005) have suggested that the imposition of precarity within post-industrialism suggests that immaterial labour facilitates capital consolidation rather than escapes it. Furthermore Camfield (2007) problematises Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) seemingly unflinching position on self-valorisation aided by disintegrating boundaries between work and the social by suggesting that "the time of paid work is expanding, pushing deeper into the time of life" (p.20). From within the autonomist tradition further criticism is also levelled at Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) accelerationist schematic and complicit multitude. As their biopolitical subject increases productivity, Prozorov (2007) deems its autonomy an impossibility and argues "any resistance to biopower must therefore abandon all valorisation of production and productivity" (p.134) suggesting that Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) proposal becomes "bewildering, when we attempt to concretise its purely theoretical affirmation...it is quite unfathomable" (Prozorov 2007, p.133).

Pointing to Virno's (2002; 2004) notion of an engaged withdrawal as perhaps a more possible mode of exodus from capital, Graeber (2004) argues that from a historical perspective, the most popular forms of resistance have been through "slipping away from its [capital's] grasp, from flight, desertion" (p.61). For Virno, biopolitics is always exclusively capitalist and the term itself fetishised. He states,

> my apprehension, my fear, is that the biopolitical can be transformed into a word that hides, covers problems instead of being an instrument for confronting them. A fetish word, an 'open doors' word, a word with an exclamation point, a word that carries the risk of blocking critical thought instead of helping it. Then, my fear is of fetish words in politics because it seems like the cries of a child that is afraid of the dark…,the child that says 'mama, mama!', 'biopolitics, biopolitics!' I don't negate that there can be a serious content in the term, however I see that the use of the term biopolitics sometimes is a consolatory use, like the cry of a child, when what serves us are, in all cases, instruments of work and not propaganda words (p.12)

It is clear, for Virno (ibid.), that biopolitical production in Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) schematic does not contain the potential for an exodus from capital. For Virno (2002; 2004) exodus is only possible in a non-dialectical manner, grounded in civil disobedience "actualized as leave-taking, as defection" (Raunig 2008, p.4). Seeing an alliance between the general intellect and political action, Virno's (2004) post-Fordist virtuosity however also neglects the specificity of what is required to create an exodus from capital. His political virtuosity is empty, an alluded to but never fully defined concept, as he

> seems satisfied to focus on the content of production rather than its relations, ...whenever he is drawn on his concrete politics there is little that is a threat to capital, merely suggestions to drop out from 'certain forms of waged work and consumerism,' perhaps trying to become petit-bourgeois (Aufheben 2008, p.8).

Despite this criticism it may be that Virno (2002; 2004) does not necessarily categorise a set of concrete conditions for exodus as there is no single manner in which his third way might manifest. Berardi (2009) points to this aspect of his work, "[e]xodus is the point of change in political perspective according to Virno, a new process of

autonomy, there is not only *one* way of escaping" (p.3). Whilst not from the autonomist tradition, Gorz's (1982) strategy of exodus speaks in some way to a number of the issues problematised here, by transcending the notion of work and simultaneously reclaiming labour 'in itself.' Although never using the term self-valorisation, Gorz (ibid.) does suggest that work 'in itself,' labour that is for its own sake "love, pleasure or satisfaction" (p.53) is radical in its autonomy. In contrast to the autonomist preoccupation with sociality and the production of the common, Gorz's (1982; 1985) exodus places emphasis on the individual as an autonomous being, freed through passionate, non-alienated labour. He maintains that there are aspects of individual existence that are ultimately clandestine because it "involves areas of experience which, being essentially secret, intimate, and incapable of mediation, can never be had in common" (1985, p.90). When Gorz (1982) speaks of exodus, he does not mean

> the end of what everyone has become accustomed to call 'work.' It is not work in the anthropological or philosophical sense of the term. It is not the labour of the parturient woman, nor the work of the sculptor or poet. It is not work as the 'autonomous activity of transforming matter', nor as the 'practico-sensory activity' by which the subject exteriorizes him/herself by producing an object that bears his/her imprint. It is, unambiguously, the specific 'work' peculiar to industrial capitalism: the work we are referring to when we say 'she doesn't work' of a woman who devotes her time to bringing up own children, but 'she works' of one who gives even some small part of her time to bringing up other people's children in a playgroup or nursery school (p.2).

Gorz's (ibid.) position though has been criticised for allowing "to return through the back door the unwelcome guests he has so resolutely thrown out through the entrance" (Shershow 2005, p.59). Whilst Gorz's (1982) position may be somewhat forgiven for its lack of political mobilisation given the individualised existentialist current that runs throughout his work, Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) exodus through common labouring practices is much more difficult to render revolutionary, given that Virno (2002; 2004) has noted how the concept of biopolitics has been given an all-

encompassing quality which shuts rather than opens a door to discussion. Although Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) neo-Marxist accelerationism suggests a return to Marx's (1857) original conceptualisation of labour 'in itself' it is reductive in its treatment of labour as revolutionary 'in itself.'[55] Again, the forms of autonomy which may facilitate such exodus are ignored, likely due to the lack of empirical engagement to bolster the immaterial labour thesis, whilst its homogenisation neglects to debate that some forms of immaterial labour may be more ideally suited to this process.

Contribution to Knowledge

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, one of the many purposes of a formal literature review is to contextualise the aims of the research within the necessary scholarship, and demonstrate that the research conducted fills a fundamental gap in our knowledge of the phenomena at hand. Two distinct short-comings have been identified in the exploration of immaterial labour above and in the interest of clarity, need restating. Immaterial labour, within Hardt and Negri's (2004) conceptualisation is thought to create common bonds between disparate individuals which transcend old notions of commonality through race, sexuality etc. This claim is one which has little supporting empirical evidence, opening up an avenue for possible critique. Through examining labour experience within independent music, which since the advent of Web 2.0 around 2003 has found itself at the apex of discussions around the

---

[55] Marx (1867) located labour 'in itself' as a transhistorical, naturalistic phenomenon whilst for Engels (1895-96) it was "the decisive step in the transition from ape to man" [author's emphasis] (p.1). Despite the critical, political, economic approaches of both Marx (1867) and Engels (1895-96), including their joint endeavours, they consider labour first and foremost teleological. This axiomatic approach to labour provided them with a monist ontology which would be further explored through a materialist lens. The dialectical approach of Marx and Engels ([1844] 2004) foregrounded labour as a natural phenomenon first before its place as a historical force in a radical communist future was considered.

democratisation of cultural/creative production, it is possible that this empirical deficit is somewhat addressed.

Furthermore both Hardt and Negri (2001a) and Lazzarato (2004) contend that with the advent of mass intellectuality, labour in the general sense takes on a qualitative dimension. Such a proposition fails to distinguish between various labour forms and creates an homogenisation of post-industrial labour, thus eradicating points of difference. Again, this claim is one which has been subject to little investigation, providing an opportunity for this thesis to make a contribution to knowledge in this regard. Lastly, the concept of biopolitical production, the social form of immaterial labour which provides an opportunity for exodus in Hardt and Negri (2010) and Lazzarato (2004) has been charged with being a "purely theoretical affirmation" (Prozorov 2007) flattening post-industrial experience and providing no empirical confirmation of life under these conditions. Thus by using labour experience within Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation, this thesis addresses geographic specificity and a distinct form of labour (independent music production) through an empirically-informed study of the Dublin scene, thereby addressing these shortcomings.

The next section of this review sees a change in scope and focus. It reviews scholarship which examines independent music production within the cultural and creative industries and demonstrates its applicability as a strategic site for investigating the shortcomings in immaterial labour.

Independent Music as Site of Critique

The introduction to this thesis demonstrated that cultural and creative workers exemplify the shifts in production, distribution and consumption captured under the

term post-industrialism. Thus scholars who have sought to investigate immaterial labour's shortcomings have looked to the cultural and creative industries to address these deficits, and the work of scholars such as de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005), Schumacher (2006), Wissinger (2007) and Dowling (2007) amongst others discussed in this thesis' introduction, have expanded the field of immaterial labour studies in this regard. Whilst video games, service work, advertising and modelling have all featured in these contributions to knowledge, music production has yet be used as an analytical tool for examining the logic of immaterial labour, despite its logical applicability.

Thus this second part of the literature review, contextualises relevant research on independent music production within the literature on immaterial labour in the previous section. As previously noted, this section is interdisciplinary in nature, reflecting the field of cultural and creative industries research which borrows from a number of traditions. The goal of using this purposefully selected literature is to provide a justification for the research aim, to critique immaterial labour using labour experience from Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation.

However, before examining literature on independent music production it is worth first exploring music as a cultural artefact in itself and why it should be considered in discussions on immaterial labour. Although all forms of cultural and creative production are considered affective within *autonomia*, music in particular has been socially constructed in this way. Indeed Hesmondhalgh (2013) has suggested that music holds a privileged place amongst other forms of artistic expression as it "often feels intensely and emotionally linked to the private self" (p.4) existing in the realm

of emotion and affect.[56] This Romantic, transformative view of music, and its producers means that it is nearly always "perceived as having positive value in some deeper sense" (Finnegan 1989, p.332), with labels that negatively identify the production of other cultural pursuits such as 'arty' or 'horsey,' (ibid.) having no musical equivalence.[57]

It is this (real/imagined) capacity for music to express the inner-most experiences of its producers which provides this thesis with a unique research opportunity. Traditionally music production has been understood within a structure/agency discourse (Gilbert 2004; Hesmondhalgh 2013) and Bennett (2008) suggests that the legacy of the Frankfurt School has hindered the emergence of alternative frameworks. Whilst there exists literature within social anthropology on the affective dimension of music in everyday life (Grossberg 1984; DeNora 2000; DeChaine 2002) these scholars have tended to focus on music consumption rather than production. Nevertheless DeNora (2000) identifies the capacity for music as commodity to transcend its commodity form whilst Hesmondhalgh (2013) and Gilbert (2004) argue for a specificity to music, differentiating it from other cultural products through a capacity to overcome its cultural coding. In this way music problematises the semiotic

---

[56] The difference between affect and emotion within the social sciences is very much influenced by Spinozan, and later Deleuzean philosophy which considers emotions as personal feelings which then become social. Affect, by contrast is considered "prepersonal" (Shouse 2005, p.2), "a matter of being attuned to and coping with the world without the input of rational content" (Leys 2011, p.442). Massumi (1985) refers to affect as "unqualified…it is not ownable or recognizable" (p.89) unlike emotions which he considers a "socio-linguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal" (ibid.).

[57] The Romantic Period (late 18th century- late 19th century), was considered to be a reaction to the Industrial Revolution and the rationalisation of human nature during the Enlightenment era. Simultaneously a literary, artistic and intellectual movement, Romantic philosophers such as Goethe (1749-1832) and Schopenhauer (1788-1860) elevated music above all other forms of creation due to a belief in its transcendental nature.

approaches to culture found within the Barthes-inspired cannon of cultural studies literature.[58]

As such it is ideally positioned as an emblematic example of immaterial labour. Music as an affective asignifying commodity is suited in particular to Lazzarato's (2006) understanding of affective labour, which itself is influenced by the work of Guattari (1996). Guattari (ibid.) argues that capital is a dualistic semiotic category which exerts its agency in two ways. In the first, it produces identities (via categories like nationality, gender, profession etc.) providing us with subjectivity through signification. In the second, it functions by "capturing and activating pre-subjective and pre-individual elements (affects, emotions, perceptions) to make them function like components or cogs in the semiotic machine of capital" (Lazzarato 2006, p.1). Music, for Lazzarato (ibid.) is implicated in this latter process, it is an expression which goes past the "subjective *individualizing* limits (of people, their identities, roles and social functions) within which language seeks to confine and to which it tries to reduce them" (p.2). Following Guattari (1996), this positions affective goods as those which can circumvent subjectivication, as the semiotic information does not "pass through linguistic chains but via the body, postures, noises, images, mimicry, intensities, movement, rhythm, etc." (Lazzarato 2006, p.2).

There is therefore a logic to positioning music as a rational site of immaterial labour, as *autonomia* and music as affect in the social sciences both attempt to circumvent the

---

[58] To illustrate this point, Gilbert (2004) points to the consumption of African-American political hip-hop by white youth. Using the group Public Enemy as an example, he notes that "semiotics has no answer to this riddle" (p.5), a phenomenon in which the subversive black nationalism of the group, and the explicit content of their music and merchandise was met with complete indifference by their white audience.

reducibility of affective artefacts to economic discourse. Music's capacity to be asignifying, places it in a somewhat unique position amongst other cultural and creative forms of production with a propensity to be the type of autonomous production Hardt (1999) imagines to escape real subsumption within the capitalist valorisation process. However independent music in particular is most suited as a site of critique in this regard, and the remainder of this review explores the literature on independent music production contextualising it thusly and justifying the research aims, thereby providing the conceptual framework which structures the logic of this thesis.

Participatory Culture and Immanent Cooperation

This section suggests the suitability of using independent music production as a site of investigating immaterial labour, due to the normalising of its producer/consumer interactions, evident within the wider shift towards "participatory culture" (Jenkins 2006, p.2) which speaks to the concept of immanent cooperation within immaterial labour.

Immaterial labour, as demonstrated within the first section of this review, relies on cooperation, communication and community in order to proliferate, as Hardt and Negri (2004) state, this type of labour "always directly constructs a relationship" (p.147), making immaterial labour socially productive. Thus the "production of affective networks, schemes of cooperation…is an economic power" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.180) creating for Lazzarato (1997) a new mode of cooperative organization which Virno (2001) further identifies as the "actual foundation of all praxis" (p.3). Cooperative production therefore, is immanent to the concept of immaterial labour and its realisation in the "common" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.100). Whilst it has

already been noted that Virno (2001) suggests that all forms of labour are cooperative within a capitalist mode of production, Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) and indeed Lazzarato (2007) point to an intensification of this type of socio-economic activity due to the supposed post-industrial hegemony of immaterial commodities, with a communicative relationship between production and consumption, key to this cooperative practice.

Independent music production is a suitable site of investigating immaterial labour based both upon this immanent cooperation and its intensification, particularly the communicative relationship between production and consumption. Although traditional accounts of music fandom place consumer production as existing in an oppositional (Fiske 1992) or deviant (Jensen 1992) context, pitting "good fans" against "bad consumers" Hills (2002), the normalisation of social practices once only associated with independent music scenes suggests

> in the present context…fan interests and industry interests feeding off of and reinforcing each other, rather than acting in opposition (Théberge 2006, p.6).

Within popular music studies, the production of textual artefacts by consumers was referred to as a shadow economy filling the gaps made by mainstream culture (Fiske 1992). Thus fans have been understood in a contradictory manner, conceptualised as both anti-consumers and specialised consumers, resistant to capitalist production of texts, yet dependent on these texts. Whilst fan production within the major industry was visible within such things as fan club membership (Peterson and Bennett 2004) much fan-based production existed largely within marginal independent scenes (Spencer 2005). Indeed these low barriers to participation were evident particularly in artefacts such as the fanzine which became synonymous with punk and later riot grrrl

music scenes.[59] Permeable relationships between artists and fans within independent music scenes, are visible too in the relatively small size of gig venues, as Thompson (2000) has remarked, it suggests "in material form…desire to resist the physical distances between popular performers and their audiences" (p. 15).

However as Théberge (2006) has remarked, the relationship between fans and artists within the mainstream music industry has, in recent years, become to take on characteristics once associated with only independent music scenes, suggesting a co-option of these qualities, whilst simultaneously increasing fan/artists interactions within an independent context. The intensification of fan/industry relationships, visible particularly through online interactions, is understood by Jenkins (2006) as a feature of "participatory culture" (p.2). Like related concepts (the prosumer, produser, co-creator) participatory culture emphasises the creative potential of the consumer which Draper (2007) suggests demonstrates the emergence of a "music 2.0" (p.137) escalating fan production and participation through digital media technologies. Examining one type of fan production, blogging, Baym and Burnett (2009) have argued that fan-based labour within independent music scenes, has impacted the major industry which has begun to model itself on these low barriers to consumer participation. They state

> this kind of voluntary fan effort can be seen throughout the music industry, and speaks to the fundamental changes that global industry is experiencing...[t]he music sector is just one sector with a business model radically disrupted by the ever-increasing connectivity and voice of those who were once easily categorized as audiences, market or customers (p.3).

---

[59] Fanzines (or zines for short) a portmanteau of fan and magazine are amateur-produced publications published by fans of a particular cultural phenomenon for consumption by other fans. The first fanzines began circulating in the 1930s by science fiction consumers to compensate for the irregularity of professional publications (Coppa 2006). Elementary in fostering the collectivity and participation that punk grounded itself in, they were also necessary as a means of self-representation.

Independent music scenes are therefore key sites of examining the phenomenon of participatory culture and questions of fan-based labour, and speak to a number of features embedded within immaterial labour, namely the dissolution of boundaries between production and consumption (Hardt and Negri 2001a) and immanent cooperation (ibid.). The intensification of fan/artist relationships within the current music industry has modelled itself upon the low barriers to participation within independent music production, and highlights how this mode of production has normalised certain aspects of participatory culture in a musical context. Given that one of immaterial labour's most defining characteristics is that cooperation is enabled by the productive processes itself, as supposed to solicited, the current independent musical landscape, premised upon such features, suggests its applicability as a site of critique.

Indeed Coté (2011) has argued that the type of prosumption occurring through online social networking is actually a form of "immaterial labour 2.0" (p.169) a more intense version of the immaterial labour described by *autonomia*. Thus independent music production is implicated amongst the forms of cooperative production found within the autonomist concept of immaterial labour, giving it credence as a logical site in which to investigate the largely theoretical phenomena. Furthermore, as this thesis examines the lived experience of independent music labour, it considers how producers themselves make sense of the intensified participatory dimension to their labour, which has largely been ignored in favour of consumer analyses (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

The 'Scene,' Biopolitical Production and the Metropolis

This next section, suggests that although new media technologies have shaped the production, distribution and consumption of independent music production, it is still inevitably tied to urban spaces. This inextricable link between the city and independent music, and debates surrounding symbolic capital and regeneration strategies, suggests that independent music is a suitable area of investigating immaterial labour, due to the emphasis placed upon the biopolitical nature of the "metropolis" within Hardt and Negri's (2010, p.153) work.

The concept of biopolitical production has been explored and critiqued in the previous section on immaterial labour, however to fully understand this concept, it is imperative that it is contextualised with reference to the metropolis. The metropolis, a city that has significant political, social and economic impact within its surrounding areas, takes on a radical dimension within *autonomia* where it is considered "[o]ne vast reservoir of common wealth" (ibid., p.153). This biopolitical metropolis both produces and is produced by the skills, affects, information and symbol creation elemental to immaterial production. For Hardt and Negri (ibid.) the metropolis is fundamental to the multitude's capacity for social transformation, it is they argue, "the skeleton and spinal cord of the multitude" (p.249) being to the multitude "what the factory was to the industrial working class" (p.250).

Virno (2001), like Hardt and Negri (2010), points to the metropolis as a privileged site of immaterial production. Focusing on the linguistic elements of the post-industrial economy, Virno (2001) sees the metropolis as the place in which "the coinciding of labour and linguistic communication radicalises the antinomies of the dominant mode of production, rather than weakening them" (p.2), however unlike Hardt and Negri

(2010), Virno (2001) neglects to subject the metropolis to any considerable analysis and indeed it is entirely neglected across the work of Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007). Imperative to Hardt and Negri's (2010) radical project however, the metropolis is the key site of immaterial labour, and thus an analysis of labouring experience within Dublin's independent music scene enables a theoretical critique based within such an urban landscape.

Despite advances in new media technologies, shifting the boundaries of independent music production across globalised techno-social networks and indeed shaping participatory culture (as discussed in the previous section), high-density urban areas are still fundamentally important in the clustering of sounds, styles and scenes (Cohen 2007). As Bennett (2002) has demonstrated, even scenes that extend virtually online are still embedded with the sense of place and locality from which they arose. Shank's (1994), Straw's (1991) and Cohen's (2007) seminal works on independent music scenes, suggest that their local (and indeed translocal) systems of production take place predominantly within urban settings, as city living provides the type of infrastructure necessary to their success, thus pointing to Hardt and Negri's (2010) biopolitical framing of city life.

Whilst globalised techno-social networks of production, distribution and consumption certainly shape and modify immaterial labour and independent music production, geographic specificity is still fundamental to understanding how both operate. In terms of music production, this is especially evident within both urban regeneration projects which foreground a city's unique sound (Basagmez 2005) and larger scale economic

projects which foreground musical vibrancy (Bottà 2009).[60] Initiatives which attempt to link local media industries with political strategies shows a "clear positioning of popular music within the so-called 'creative' or 'symbolic' economy" (ibid., p.96). As such, there is a shift from independent music's marginal or oppositional status to its consensual and normative role within urban production, placing it firmly with the immaterial labour of Lazzarato (2003) who suggests that such marginalised activity, formerly understood as leisure, or vanity pursuits, now occupies a more centralised role within the post-industrial economy.

Independent music production is therefore implicated in the symbolic economy of the post-industrial city, as Bealle (2013) notes, contemporary scholarship recognises "music as a component of post-industrial urban planning, observing its explicit appearance in revitalization initiatives and, less explicitly, gentrification (p.1)."[61] Furthermore, independent music scenes are also implicated in the 'creative city' field of economic analysis, as Florida (2002) states ''finding ways to help support a local music scene can be just as important as investing in high-tech business and far more effective than building a downtown mall" (p. 229).[62] Cities within the post-industrial economy, argues Thrift (2004), are expected to have a 'buzz' in which the "active engineering of the affective registers of cities has been highlighted as the harnessing

---

[60] This is evident in bids for the 'European Capital of Culture' in which a European city is chosen by the European Union to host a number of cultural events for one year. In 2004, a study by the European Commission found that cities which hosted enjoyed long-lasting positive effects including socio-economic changes and cultural transformation.

[61] Gentrification refers to a phenomenon of urban renewal in which the restorations of properties leads to an increase in residential desirability and thus higher rents, resulting in a demographic shift in which the original residents of an area can no longer afford to live there, and are replaced by middle-to-high income earners.

[62] A number of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' studies have highlighted the relationship between music scenes, urban regeneration and gentrification. See Bottà's (2009) work on the 'Madchester' music scene within Manchester during the late 1980s, Cohen's (2007) analysis of Liverpool's musical legacy on the development of a new creative industries quarter and Shaw's (2009) critique of government interventions designed to prevent gentrification of Melbourne's independent music scene.

of the talent" (p.60). Independent scenes are fundamental in this engineering of affect, relying on culturally inscribed links between place and sound (Bennett 2002; Basagmez 2005).

The city's sound, and its production in the scene, also factor into what Harvey (2013) calls a city's symbolic capital "special marks of distinction that attach to some place, which have a significant drawing power upon the flows of capital more generally" (p. 103) and are produced primarily through cultural production which is considered native to that specific place, yet can also be understood and consumed by a globalised marketplace.[63] Furthermore, as Cohen (2007) has demonstrated, this symbolic capital creates ambient conditions for certain types of labour. The historical legacy of popular music in Liverpool she states, means that the attitude of the city's young people was that you "might as well pick up a guitar as take exams, since your chances of finding full-time occupation from either were just the same" (ibid., p.3).

Hardt and Negri's (2010) metropolis, the "primary locus of biopolitical production" (p.244) is directly productive which Negri (2010) suggests is in creative and cultural endeavours, "[m]usic, human connections" (p.3). The production of independent music on city branding, on its affective capacities, resources for cooperation, regeneration and labour mean that it is an exemplar of the type of immaterial labour Hardt and Negri (2010) see as compositing the life of the metropolis. Additionally the new social formations which Negri (2005) has argued are exemplified through alternative networks of urban production, are visible in the primacy placed on independent music within creative city discourse and will be further illuminated by

---

[63] Harvey (2013) adapts Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital as possessed by the individual to include collective forms.

this thesis' emphasis on the lived experience of independent music labour. It is suitable therefore, to offer itself as a critique of immaterial labour, opening up a number of disparate and related analyses, speaking to immaterial labour's homogenisation, lack of empirical backing and disregard for geographic specificity.

Autonomy, both Real and Imagined

This final section suggests that independent music is a suitable site for investigating immaterial labour due to its emphasis on autonomous production, real and/or imagined. Independent music has always distinguished itself through this sense of autonomy, however complex. Immaterial labour meanwhile foregrounds the increasing autonomy of post-industrial production as a revolutionary praxis and is central to the concept's radical restructuring of socio-economic life. Independent music as a productive practice, therefore, is well positioned as a form of cultural and creative labour to provide a theoretical critique of immaterial labour due to its concern with autonomy from the outset.

Within *autonomia* labour itself is considered a source of self-valorisation, as Hardt and Negri (2004) state "[e]ven when labour is subjugated by capital it always necessarily maintains its own autonomy" (p.50). New forms of autonomy, they suggest, are formed with each transformation of the labour process and it is their hypothesis, that the current socio-economic landscape is approaching a moment of crisis, in which new types of revolt are occurring within immaterial production. Like Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), Lazzarato (1997) also sees autonomy as an exodus from subjectivation and locates this capacity within "polymorphous self-employed autonomous work…who is him or herself an entrepreneur" (p.5).

With regard to the cultural and creative industries, autonomy has largely been conceptualised in two ways,

> first, autonomy from economic values, the creation of art in relation to its own inner gods rather than the idols of the marketplace; and second, autonomy from the false and inauthentic 'culture' that arises in and through the marketplace, the seedy demon born when the ignorant tastes of the people mate with the fiscal lust of the capitalist (Slater and Tonkiss 2001, p. 152-3).

Theoretically, Banks (2010) notes three dominant approaches to theorising this autonomy. The first, the critical theory approaches of the Frankfurt school, in which "cultural workers were likely to be compromised in their efforts to obtain freedom by virtue of the coercive and instrumental demands of an industrial system" (p.4) noted that whilst creative autonomy was possible it was inevitably co-opted by major industries (Adorno 2000), arguing autonomous production has declined in recent years, subsumed by aggressive market philosophies which see culture and creativity as purely commercial pursuits (McRobbie 2002). Secondly, Banks (2010) notes that autonomy has been understood as a "regulative principle through which workers might be more subtly encouraged to accept the necessity of capitalist forms of production" (p.5), where actors are trained to accept and reproduce the conditions of their labour. Lastly, Banks (ibid.) suggests that studies of autonomy within the academy, have been heavily influenced by the sociology of Bourdieu (1983) in which creative and cultural workers appear to refuse the pursuit of economic gains, which provides exactly the economic rewards it purports to discredit.[64]

---

[64] According to Bourdieu (1983) fields of cultural production are relatively autonomous from the social structure of which they are part, they are located within what he calls the "field of power" (p.37). The more autonomous a field of cultural production, the more it obeys its own logic, and hierarchical system. However, although fields of cultural production may retain a great deal of autonomy from the wider social and economic structure "one of the most significant properties of the field of cultural production...is the extreme permeability of its frontiers" (p. 43).

Within independent music studies, this autonomy, both real and imagined rests upon the immanent cooperation of actors' labour, thus implicating independent music as immaterial labour even further. Thornton (1995), Hesmondhalgh (1999), Cohen (2007) and O'Connor (2008) have all noted in their studies of independent music scenes, that it is cooperation between subjects, in the form extended social networks of production, which creates and sustains the scene. As Hesmondhalgh (1999) states "[p]ost-punk independence had maintained its distance from major capital by forming alternative networks of distribution, marketing and manufacture" (p.39), which is not organised by capital, but by the cooperation between social subjects. O'Connor's (2008) study of independent punk labels further consolidates this perspective, albeit within a Bourdieun framework, arguing that the necessity of cooperation, creates alternative forms of capital (primarily social capital) which facilitates independent labels' autonomy from major label networks, even if this autonomy can be somewhat contested.[65]

Whilst the above understands autonomy in the context of distribution, a number of scholars have explored the notion of creative autonomy within independent music production. Studies of creative autonomy in this regard, have tended to examine the tension between the creative desires of independent musicians and commercial success (Cohen 1991; Hesmondhalgh 1999; Toynbee 2000). Cohen's (1991) study of rock

---

[65] Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between three forms of non-economic capital, social capital "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p.248) cultural capital (habits and dispositions that promote social mobility e.g. style of dress) and symbolic capital (legitimised recognition, prestige or renown achieved when an individual fulfils obligations embedded within the social structure e.g. a war hero). The crux of Bourdieu's (ibid) argument is that various forms of non-economic capital have the capacity to transform into each other and also into economic capital. He argues that social capital is "made up of social obligations" (ibid.,p.243) and "membership in a group" (ibid., p.246) which provides its members with social support of long term benefit to the individual. Bourdieu (ibid) sees an economic base to his theory, in which the acquisition of social capital is economic in desire although not reducible to it entirely.

musicians in Liverpool demonstrated the creative negotiations that some musicians feel need to be made, where experimental desires are shelved in pursuit of economic reward. Yet Toynbee (2000) has suggested that much music scholarship overstates this tension, and argues many independent musicians are content to engage in music production for its own sake as "the level of activity cannot be explained by economic forces alone" (Toynbee 2000, p.27). Such scenes, he argues, function as proto-markets, spaces of cultural production which are never fully commodified, but dependent on a surplus of free labour.

Further scholarship within independent music studies examines autonomy in terms of actors' labour and has come to the fore recently in debates surrounding the role of new media technologies in independent music's normalisation. Taking his cue from Becks (1992) concept of individualisation, Hracs (2011) has suggested that as such, independent musicians now find themselves "governed by their freedom" (p.2) in which independent musicians "conduct themselves according to the imperatives of economic rationality and self-sufficiency" (p.4). In reference to cultural and creative work, Oakley (2014) calls this phenomenon "forced entrepreneurship" (p.145) in which there is a "need for people in rapidly changing industries to adopt worsening working arrangements" (p.149). Using the London rap scene as an example Speers (2016) argues that entrepreneurial autonomy is not necessarily an aim for the independent musician, but imposed upon them by a new Do-It-Yourself imperative forcing artists to diversify their roles and become marketers and promoters.

Such perspectives on creative and cultural work has been criticised for being needlessly reductive, especially in regards to the debates concerning the nature of autonomy within post-industrial society, as Gill and Pratt (2008) state

"[i]n creative work, the ethical imperative to act autonomously, as a self-directed individual, and to obtain meaning (be it 'purely' aesthetic, personal or social) is too easily dismissed as an expression of organized and compulsory individualism, and less often seen as a means for self-aware human subjects to try and influence art and culture, the workplace or the wider social world in ways that might be viewed as self-realising, radical, socially progressive or politically challenging" (p. 13).

Thus there is a considerable opportunity for this research to contribute to this gap in knowledge by examining a mode of creative work, independent music production, within a radical context. Autonomy in independent music, whether in the form of distribution networks, the type of creativity expressed, or in self-directed entrepreneurial activity is directly relevant to the autonomist imagining of immaterial labour, where debates concerning self-valorisation are central. The tensions at the centre of these debates call into question the type of "antagonistic but also constructive" subjects (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.26) made possible through immaterial labour. Furthermore, the inside/outside nature of independent music production places it logically as a site of investigating immaterial labour and its (real/imagined) capacity for exodus through its proposed autonomous, self-valorising activity. With recourse to the lived experience of this labour, this thesis therefore offers a critique of immaterial labour's notion of autonomy in the context of independent music production.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to situate this work within an existing body of research, however it is split into two quite distinct parts, each with a particular objective. Jesson et al. (2011) note that there are many types of literature reviews and the deductive manner in which this review is conducted is in keeping with their idea of a formal "conceptual review" (p.15), which aims "to synthesise areas of conceptual

knowledge that contribute to a better understanding of the issues" (ibid.). Thus this literature review first starts with the concept under examination, immaterial labour in the work of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), which are its foremost proponents, Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007) and Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004). Thought to be a mode of production which is now hegemonic in post-industrial society, immaterial labour is that which produces the cultural, creative, informational, symbolic and affective dimension of commodities. However it is not merely a descriptive device. Immaterial labour is thought to prescribe a revolutionary future that restructures the socio-economic relations of capital, and in its most radical conception, paves the way for a communist future.

Immaterial labour is thought to function primarily as a communicative and cooperative action giving the immaterial labourer the capacity to organise their own work, and ultimately valorise the products of their own labour (Hardt and Negri 2001a). These products are inherently social, producing a 'common,' meaning that production can be said to be biopolitical, in which capital extends itself though the fabric of social life. However within the autonomist tradition, this is simply a precursor towards autonomy, as the common nature of immaterial labour is thought to create a surplus of value that will facilitate an exodus from capital.

This chapter broke the concept of immaterial labour into its constituting parts, and it became apparent that whether in discussions surrounding networked organisation, biopolitical production, or autonomy the same criticisms surfaced. These are, overwhelmingly, that immaterial labour homogenises post-industrial production to the point that it lacks any critical explanatory power (Rabinow and Rose 2006; Caffentzis 2010; Grattan 2011) and suffers from a dearth of empirical investigation (Camfield

2007; Prozorov 2007; Graeber 2008). In order for a meaningful critique of the concept to take place therefore it must overcome both these issues and be specific in the subject it uses for analysis, whilst having some empirically-informed dimension. The second part of this chapter attempts to address this issue, and is signified by a change in tone and scope. Whilst the first section evaluated scholarship on immaterial labour, highlighting its deficiencies, this second part was less systemic in approach and fulfilled a different function required of literature reviews. As Lawrence and McEvoy (2016) state "[a] literature review uses two types of argument to build its case. The first argument builds the findings of the case. The second argument forms the case's conclusions" (p.7).

As Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007) and Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004), all argue that cultural and creative production is the epicentre of immaterial labour, it was logical to suppose that this sphere of production could provide those conclusions. This was bolstered by scholarship outside the autonomist tradition which places cultural and creative work at the centre of post-industrial shifts in social transformation. It was concluded that independent music could provide a contribution for multiple reasons, in a way that other forms of cultural and creative production may not be capable of and thus provide a conceptual framework to guide the remainder of the research.

Firstly music as a cultural artefact is highly affective. Whilst it is firmly embedded within the realm of signification, it also has asignifying qualities which make it irreducible to economic or ideological frameworks, placing it within the type of affective production Hardt (1999) and Hardt and Negri (2001a) supposes real subsumption. Secondly, the shift toward participatory culture (Jenkins 2006) and

intensification of fan/industry relationships in the aftermath of Web 2.0 speaks to the communicative relationship between production and consumption thought to characterise immaterial labour. Thirdly, independent music's dependency on urban life and its role in regeneration (Florida 2002) and in creating the symbolic capital (Harvey 2013) of a city suggests it applicability in a critique of immaterial labour which is dependent on the social production of the metropolis. Lastly, both the real and imagined autonomy that is assigned to independent music production, highlights its logic in a study of immaterial labour, as autonomy, is a necessary condition for the process of exodus, particularly in the work in Hardt and Negri (2001a).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

As previously stated, the aim of this thesis is to critique the autonomist concept of immaterial labour and does so through utilising the labour experience of producers in Dublin's independent music scene. This chapter explores both methodology and methods. It first explores the methodological approach of Marx's (1880) 'A Workers' Inquiry' and the workerist and autonomist concepts of co-research, before situating this thesis' methods in the context of previous immaterial labour studies and highlighting the uncertainties of this research. This chapter then describes the methods used to collect data in order to fulfil the aim of this thesis and explains the analyses methods used to decipher it.

Situating Methodology: 'A Workers' Inquiry' and Co-Research

This thesis combines examines a theory from political philosophy, highlights its deficiencies with reference to cultural and creative industries scholarship, and attempts to come to a conclusion with conventional methods borrowed from the social sciences. It therefore operates across two disciplinary domains with precedence in the autonomist tradition.[66] The concept of what constitutes an academic discipline is not fixed, and is subject to contestation and debate, however disciplines are mostly understood to denote "a self-imposed limited field of knowledge" (Cohen and Lloyd

---

[66] Cultural and creative industries scholarship is largely interdisciplinary and combines a number of theories and methods from the social sciences.

2014, p.189) contingent upon intellectual engagement. Differing in their area of scholarship, methods of enquiry and epistemological stance (Schommer-Aikins 2003), academic disciplines create self-referential boundaries with which to contexualise focused areas of study, they are "any comparatively self-contained and isolated domain of human experience which possesses its own community of experts" (Nissani 1995, p.119). Disciplines however, can be permeable, with concepts, theories and methods being pervious, creating new boundaries and positional fields. [67]

The blurring of disciplinary boundaries is further complicated by the combination of two or more disciplines to propose an area of enquiry, such as is utilised in this piece of research. Terms such as multidisciplinary, cross-disciplinary and transdisciplinary, all serve to accommodate a fusion of knowledge across disciplinary lines. This research in particular defines itself as interdisciplinary, as it uses a combination of two or more disciplines in order to create a synthesised approach to understanding the concept of immaterial labour.[68] Such an approach to enquiry tends to occur due to the fact that "real-world problems do not come in disciplinary-shaped boxes" (Jeffery 2003, p.539) and there are often "multiple ways of framing the issues" (Dewulf et al. 2007, p.3).

This interdisciplinary research approach has been adapted from previous scholarship in immaterial labour studies. Exploratory research, which identifies problems and

---

[67] The relationship of academic disciplines to social power/knowledge was famously critiqued by Foucault ([1972] 1982) who argued that the emergence of disciplines was linked to historically conditioned discourses that order reality.

[68] Stember (1990) suggests that integrated research strategies be differentiated in the following manner: a) multidisciplinary involves two or more researchers from different disciplines working together, b) interdisciplinary utilises a combination of two or more disciplines to create a synthesised approach to the object of study, c) transdisciplinary attempts to create new frameworks beyond disciplinary theories, methods and concepts and d) cross-disciplinary which analysis one discipline, from the perspective of another.

suggests ways of overcoming them, in fields where little is known (Shields and Rangarian 2013), was initiated after first establishing the central criticisms of immaterial labour, its homogenisation of disparate labour processes and lack of empirically-informed study. Thus any worthwhile contribution to knowledge would need to address these two issues.

Immaterial labour is a concept drawn from political philosophy which "elaborates principles and models intended to show how politics ought to be" (Besussi 2012, p.i) indeed it provides

> prescriptive principles meant to show which actions individuals ought to perform…justifying its theses by providing the agents it addresses with reasons for recognizing the appropriateness of its proposed principles and models (ibid.).

By its nature then, political philosophy attempts to consider the ideal conditions for proposed models of social and political life. By contrast, the social sciences have no one goal and are characterised by diversity, however a consistent aim of social science research, as stated by Ragin (1994) is to improve and refine theories about the nature of social life, often through empirical or empirically-informed research.

The political philosophy of Marx (1880), used the methods of the social sciences in order to inform his theoretical understanding of working life within the factory. Autonomism has followed in this tradition and whilst immaterial labour is almost entirely theoretical, *autonomia*, despite being located within the discipline of political philosophy, is largely interdisciplinary in nature, having adapted Marx's (ibid) methods from 'A Workers' Inquiry.'

An investigation of French factories and their working conditions, Marx's (ibid.) inquiry gathered data by publishing a questionnaire within the worker's magazine '*La Revue Socialiste*' consisting of 101 questions aimed at workers, asking them to

describe and reflect on their treatment within the factory. By asking worker's directly and seeing their experiences described in their own words, Marx (ibid) suggested that the precise nature of exploitation could be understood, stating "that they alone can describe with full knowledge the misfortunes from which they suffer" (p.379). The questionnaire, was intentionally designed in a progressive manner, so that evidence of exploitation was accumulated and brought to the worker's attention "thus making the worker conscious of his predicament giving him a chance to solve it" (Burnham, et al., 1938 p.1).

Italian workerists modified Marx's (1880) approach in their attempts to understand the labouring crises during the 1950s and 1960s. Taking inspiration from Marx's (ibid.) attempt to empathise with the worker's perspective, workerist researchers adopted a methodological approach they called co-research (Wright 2002). In order to gain perspective from the worker's point of view, workerist theorists secured jobs within factories. Information was therefore gathered in a multi-method manner, derived not only from researcher's direct experience on the factory floor, but through formal and informal interviews with co-workers. The aim of co-research however, was not simply to assess the nature of exploitation in factory life by gathering the subjective experiences of workers. It attempted also, like Marx (1880), to make exploitative practices obvious to co-workers, raising their awareness and incorporating them into the workerists' (and later autonomists) political agenda. As Negri (2008) states co-research meant

> using the method of inquiry as a means of identifying the worker's levels of consciousness and awareness among workers of the processes in which they, as productive subjects, were engaged. So one would go into a factory, make contact with the workers, and, together, with them, conduct an inquiry into their conditions of work; here co-research obviously involves building a description of the productive cycle and identifying each worker's function within that cycle; but at the same time it also involves assessing the levels of

exploitation which each of them undergoes. It also involves assessing the workers' capacity for reaction – in other words, their awareness of their exploitation in the system of machinery and in relation to the structure of command. Thus, as the research moves forward, co-research builds possibilities for struggle in the factory (p.162-163)

Marx's (1880), workerist's and autonomist's methodological strategies share a number of commonalities, being both descriptive and qualitative in their approach. Descriptive research seeks to "increase understanding of a phenomenon from another experiential perspective" (Tarzian and Cohen 1998, p.150) whilst a qualitative approach "seeks to obtain viewpoints and personal feelings from the participants of the study…and to focus on people's experience" (McDonald 2009, p.46-47). The focus of qualitative research then, is to get closer to the actor's perspective. Their desires, feelings, ideas and understandings of the world they inhabit, are foregrounded as the "empirical starting point is the subjective meanings individuals attribute to their activities and environments" (Flick 2002, p.17). Common to both 'A Workers' Inquiry' (1880) and co-research then, is that theory is adapted through empirically-informed engagement with workers themselves.

Both strategies were of course, overtly political in their goal and were specifically aimed at increasing the worker's consciousness of their own exploitation through facilitating both reflective and reflexive practices. However unlike the industrial capitalism under investigation within these modes of inquiry, the theory under investigation in this thesis, immaterial labour, is considered less alienating and exploitative than its forbearer (but alienating nonetheless). Furthermore, rather than taking place within a specific temporal and geographic context, this labour is neither confined to the hours associated with a working day, nor fixed spaces. Additionally, the workers subject to these modes of analysis were all engaged in waged labour, and as Chapter One of this thesis noted, the boundaries between paid and unpaid work have

become permeable. Nevertheless, these strategies have helped create a dialectical relationship, adapting and modifying theory through empirically-informed research, and providing valuable accounts of worker's subjectivities.

Previous Research and Methodological Uncertainties

This descriptive and qualitative approach is evident within the few empirically-informed immaterial labour studies that exist, with the interview as a mode of data collection in particular, dominating these studies. De Peuter and Dyer-Witheford's (2005) study of the game development industry in Canada, which took as its premise that the gaming industry is the paradigmatic industry of Hardt and Negri's 'Empire' (2001a; 2004; 2010), aimed to understand the conditions of digital game labour. Looking at the pleasures associated with the 'work as play' mantra that permeates the industry de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) conducted "personal interviews with about forty games workers, including producers, artists, programmers, designers, testers, studio executives, and owners" (p.5) to conclude that creative expression and flexibility was balanced against excessively long working hours and work-related stress.

Examining the modelling industry as a form of affective production Wissinger (2007) suggests that models not only mediate consumption, but are "bought and sold in a circulation of affects that plays an important role in post-industrial economies" (p.251) adapting Hardt and Negri's (2001a) notion of affective production. This is made possible she argues, by the model's ability to shift and modulate responses to demands by photographers and designers. She bases her modified conception of affective production by attempting to understand the lived experience of fashion models and their production networks based upon interviews with models, agents, photographers,

advertising executives and a number of other individuals working within the fashion industry.

Further work from Hearn (2010) tested "the limits of the immaterial labour thesis with reference to reality television programming, specifically the hit MTV show The Hills" (p.61). Hearn (ibid.) suggested that the unquantifiable labour of Hardt and Negri (2001a) supposedly present within affective, symbolic and cultural labour was not to be found within the practices of either the TV stars themselves or the behind-the-scenes staff. Instead, she argues that through the need to produce personal identities as brands, measurement systems are still necessary so that "no matter how diffuse or social that labour might be…this imposition continues to produce the alienation and exploitation of many for the benefit of a few" (p.65). Hearn (ibid.) comes to this conclusion, based on an analysis of the interviews she conducted with three members of the shows production staff, whose lived experience demonstrates an absence of the radical potential immaterial labour purports.

These studies demonstrate, that like 'A Workers' Inquiry' (1880) and co-research methods, worker's own testimonies provide valuable insights with which immaterial labour can be critiqued and thus there exists a reflexive relationship between theory and empirically-informed research. However, the ambiguity of independent music production, made even more so due to its normalisation, brings with it numerous uncertainties within the research process, and the outcomes of this thesis are perhaps more ambivalent than previous scholarship within immaterial labour.

Unlike the workers discussed by de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005), Wissinger (2007) and Hearn (2010), independent music producers exist on a spectrum ranging from amateur to professional. Thus degrees of participation and remuneration are

heterogeneous in this regard, whilst some participants may be employed full-time within the sector, others may need to supplement their income with part-time or even full-time jobs outside of the sector.

The advance of the new media technologies and their role within independent music production, means that music producers often occupy numerous roles, requiring them to shift registers depending on the task at hand. The participants of this study also work across numerous genres, from punk and traditional Irish music, to hip-hop and house, which may impact how the notion of independence is constructed, depending on the genre's legacy. Furthermore, the privileging of youth in independent music scenes (Hesmondhalgh 2007), the high costs of living in Dublin and cuts to the arts since the 2008 recession, make it difficult to ascertain participants' sustainability within the scene, with the pursuit of alterative career paths likely.

Additional uncertainties are also present with respect to how participants' may choose to speak about their activities. The concept of 'selling out,' in which (real/imagined) artistic authenticity is sacrificed in pursuit of economic gains, has strong associations with independent music (Thompson 2001), yet now competes with the positive valence of post-industrial cultural and creative entrepreneurship.[69] All of these issues raise questions as to the types of generalised information necessary to gather data and whether or not workers who operate across such a diverse spectrum of practices can offer a valuable critique of immaterial labour without simply replicating the problems of its homogenisation. This also means that this research, whilst borrowing the

---

[69] It was noted in the previous chapter that Bourdieu's (1983) suggests that actors on artistic fields often appear to disavow financial compensation which brings the economic success that have appeared to reject.

methodological approach of Marx (1880) (and later autonomist theorists), is quite difference in scope. Nevertheless, by following in the traditional methods used to inform autonomist Marxist theory, this thesis hopes to make a contribution to the limited and sparse field of immaterial labour studies.

Data Collection Methods

Qualitative Interviewing

This thesis was shaped by preceding research in the field and used interviewing as a primary method of data collection accordingly. As already discussed, co-research within the autonomist tradition relies heavily on both formal and informal interviewing, which in turn has characterised the immaterial labour studies research of scholars like de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) Wissinger (2007) and Hearn (2010). This research therefore aims to contribute to the field of immaterial labour studies, by following similar methods.

As the immaterial labour thesis has little salience outside the academy, it needed to be operationalised in order to facilitate the in-depth interviews and online questionnaire. To aid in this process Maxwell (2004) suggests conducting pilot interviews "with people as much like your planned interviewees as possible, to determine if the questions work as intended and what revisions you need to make" (p.93). A total of four pilot open-ended and unstructured interviews were conducted with Dublin-based independent musicians in order to refine the researcher's technique in asking questions that have a heavy academic bias. Furthermore, unlike 'A Workers' Inquiry' (Marx 1880) and the co-research methods used within early autonomist research, the aim of this research is not to simply validate existing theory (i.e. about the nature of exploitation) but to explore avenues of critique. Keeping the design open and flexible,

reflected in the unstructured nature of these interviews facilitated a "[g]eneral understanding of the problem...when very little is known" (Klenke 2008, p.126) and was utilised to reveal "[i]mportant issues...that eventually can guide further inquiries" (ibid).

To narrow down the focus of research a further ten pilot surveys were conducted through MySpace (www.myspace.com) which at the time of this thesis' conception was "[o]ne of the most important social networks to the music industry" (Dhar and Chang 2008, p.3).[70] The survey was a basic data gathering exercise. The only criterion for participant inclusion was that they were musicians living in Dublin who did not have a contract with a major label or major label subsidiary. A degree of snowball sampling also took place, in which participants were asked if they could recommend other suitable subjects for participation. The pilot study was an important learning experience for the researcher, and influenced the type of questions and how they would be asked in the in-depth qualitative interviews and online questionnaire which were to follow.

Relying on open-ended questions and the building of a rapport with interviewees, the interviews themselves were non-standardised and differed according to the individual dynamic found in each interviewer/interviewee relationship.[71] To begin a dialogue, the researcher made use of grand tour questions (Brenner 2006), opening questions that established the direction the interview would take by initiating a general

---

[70] In the years that followed, MySpace (www.myspace.com) dropped dramatically in popularity with the largest social networking site at the time of writing being Facebook (www.facebook.com) with Twitter (www.twitter.com) in second place.

[71] Whilst every effort was made to keep questions as open-ended as possible, given the informal nature of the qualitative interview some closed-ended questions were inevitably asked in accordance with the conversational flow.

discussion. More often than not, the opening question used throughout this research was

> "tell me about your involvement with music, what is it you do, how did you get started?"

By beginning in such a manner, various lines of discussion were facilitated, most of which were unique to the individual being questioned, enabling "openness to adapting inquiry whilst understanding deepens" (Patton 2002, p.262). Subsequent questions were asked using what is termed an "interview protocol" (Yin 2010, p.139) a set of themes or topics that the researcher wishes to cover which acts as a memory aid and prevents conversational tangents but without the rigidity of a structured interviewing technique. The interview protocol contained conceptual statements, as well as individual points that needed to be covered and is visible as Appendix A.[72]

A total of twelve interviews took place, ten were conducted in a public space such as a bar or café, one at the researcher's home at the request of the participant and another took place at a participant's workplace, again at their request. Each individual was given a choice of where to meet as their comfort was paramount, both from an ethical point of view and to illicit the best responses possible (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2010). Incentives were also offered to each participant, in most case the offer of food and drink as compensation for their inconvenience (Lapan et al. 2011). Each participant was given an information sheet detailing the content of the study such as its aims and who the information would be made available to (see Appendix B). Participants also signed a consent form after being given the opportunity to ask any questions or voice

---

[72] The interview protocol used throughout all interviews was a sheet of paper with broad themes that needed to be covered, which the researcher could refer to as and when needed. Such a device can also have a psychological effect on the person being interviewed giving the impression that this is a formal study, balancing the informal atmosphere of the unstructured interview. Yin (2010) suggests that this can be of enormous benefit, as without a formal prop "a participant may not take you as seriously and might be inclined to ignore your query" (p.139).

any concerns they may have, complying with the Dublin Institute of Technology's ethical regulations (see Appendix C).[73] All interviewee respondents were given the opportunity to remain anonymous, however all twelve candidates waived this right meaning that their real names are used throughout this thesis. Interviews lasted approximately one hour and were recorded with a digital recording device for the purposes of transcription.

Selecting Interview Participants

A short list of approximately seventy suitable candidates was drawn up when this research began, with possible participants noted through secondary means (i.e. through magazines, online blogs etc.). This list was then narrowed down to thirty and contained a mixture of independent gig promoters, musicians, label owners, bloggers and information services. [74] A total of twelve candidates were then selected from this list using "criterion-based selection" (Le Compte and Preissle 1993, p.69) where the researcher creates a list of the "attributes essential" (ibid., p.70) to the study and finds corresponding participants. The criteria for selecting interviewees was as follows:

a) Both non-musicians and musicians must operate primarily in Dublin city.
b) Musicians selected must be engaged in actively recording and releasing music (to distinguish them from hobbyists).
c) Musicians selected must not be signed to a major label/major label subsidiary.
d) Non-musicians must actively contribute to the "networks…or social contexts" (Basagmez 2005, p.93) of independent music in Dublin.

---

[73] The reader should note that ethics forms were submitted whilst this thesis still had the working title 'DIY Music Practitioner as Interface: Networks, Community & Biopower' and some information has since changed.
[74] Candidates were cut down for various reasons for (e.g. one potential interviewee had a contract on an independent label that was a subsidiary of a major label and therefore unsuitable, yet this was not known at the time). Others were cut in favour of more representative samples (e.g. a one album release label that had subsequently folded was cut in favour of a label that had numerous releases).

In combination with the above criteria, participants were selected for their own specific potential contribution to this thesis and thus individually suitable cases were purposefully selected as

> [t]he logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry (Patton 2002, p.230).

Although bias occurs as the researcher chooses candidates that fit their pre-conceived notions, in this case that participants could be said to be involved in independent music production, it was necessary to purposely sample to open up the field of enquiry so other methods (i.e. online questionnaire) could be designed. A list of participants and their basic information can be seen at Appendix D.

Online Questionnaire

Whilst qualitative interviewing was the primary method used in the immaterial labour studies of de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) Wissinger (2007) and Hearn (2010). Marx's (1880) 'A Workers' Inquiry' demonstrated the utility of using a questionnaire in order to gather information on the experiences of working life and thus after interviews were conducted an online questionnaire was created using Google Forms, a screen-shot of which can be seen at Appendix E.[75] An introductory section at the beginning of the questionnaire explained the purposes of the project, as well as indicating to the participants that their answers would be made available to the general public in future through publications (e.g. academic journals, books etc.). The questions were designed based on the responses of the in-depth interviews and contained a mixture of heavily dominant themes and themes which were not addressed

---

[75] Google Forms is an online spreadsheet that can be modified for various purposes included questionnaire use.

by interview adding up to twenty-one questions in total. Despite not being a mixed-methods thesis, such an approach borrows from its methodological frame, in which the decision to employ a further research method is made after one method of data collection has been engaged, also known as sequential implementation (Speziale et al. 2010).

This enabled the researcher to construct a questionnaire based upon the information already received through the qualitative interviewing process, thereby creating a more complete picture of the phenomena at hand, by designing questions that both filled the gaps left by the interviewing process, and elucidated that which had become of apparent importance. The online questionnaire was also utilised to garner generalisations about the necessary lived experience of independent music participants which could not have been gathered due to the small sample size of interviewees. An advantage of using online questionnaires in this manner is "the ease of acquisition of participants and the ease of access for participants" (Petrick 2009, p.5).

Selecting Questionnaire Participants

Participants for the questionnaire were self-selected. This can be a disadvantage because of the high level of voluntary participation in online qualitative questionnaires, meaning that a large number of unsuitable participants may respond (Petrick 2009). [76] However in this thesis, such self-selection was thought to not only be unproblematic but in fact sought after and was one of the primary motivators for its

---

[76] In a study of qualitative vs. quantitative responses to online questionnaires by Reja et al. (2003) they described qualitative questionnaires as having major disadvantages; the need for extensive coding, more missing data and more diversity of answers, however such disadvantages in this thesis were overcome. Although extensive coding is needed, this is simply a question of time and labour. Partially missing data was incurred by one respondent adding up to 2.7% of all respondents and in three of the twenty-one questions they were asked (14.2%). Overall in the seven hundred and seventy-seven answers received the percentage of questions that were not responded to adds up to 0.386%, a significantly small proportion.

use. As this thesis focuses on subject experience, it was imperative that individuals who self-identify as independent practitioners be included, even if their conceptualisation of independence did not fit with the researcher's pre-determined criteria. Participants in this instance were therefore purposely unsolicited individually. All respondents were given the option to remain anonymous, although all thirty-seven participants waived this right. Throughout the data analysis stage however, online participants were given pseudonyms by the researcher which is indicated by an asterisk.[77] Such a decision was employed due to the "disinhibition effect" (Suler 2004, p.321) that is known to occur with online participation.[78]

Using a self-selecting sampling technique is not without its problems, the most obvious being that those who volunteer are not representative of the social group under study. People may self-select on the basis that they are the ones who have free time, are more sympathetic to research projects or mis-identify themselves as the target group. However it was hoped that the voluntary self-selecting process would encourage participation from those who thought they had a contribution to make to this study and that this would be evident in the quality of their responses (Bailey 1994). Furthermore it was envisaged given the ambiguity of contemporary conceptions of independence, the problem of mis-identification could shed light on how independent

---

[77] In order to create pseudonyms the researcher selected the top one hundred boys names, girls names and surnames for 2013 in Ireland from http://www.ireland-information.com and used sequential ordering to assign them to each online respondent.

[78] The disinhibition effect is a general term that covers various forms of online behaviours in which people act in ways that they would not ordinarily act in face-to-face situations due to a perceived sense of freedom in the online realm. Examples range from sharing intimate personal details to unwarranted criticism and threats. Thus the decision to give participants pseudonyms was in order to protect them, should they have responded in a manner that was not in keeping with their usual demeanour.

production is currently perceived, especially if the participants did not comply with the preconceived notions of the researcher.

In order to garner responses to the online questionnaire the researcher approached two individuals who had been interviewed. These interviewees were asked to distribute the questionnaire in any way they saw fit, and were chosen as they are popular gatekeepers within the Irish independent music scene. These were:

- **Jim Carroll**
  'The Irish Times' journalist and blogger
  Jim Carroll advertised the questionnaire on his online column, 'On the Record' and on Twitter.

- **Naomi McArdle**
  'The Sun' journalist and 'Harmless Noise' blogger
  Nay McArdle advertised the questionnaire through Twitter and Facebook.

Further help in questionnaire distribution was sought from two further sources:

- **The Contemporary Irish Music Centre**
  Archive and resource centre for Irish composers
  Advertised the questionnaire on their Facebook page.

- **'The Journal of Music'**
  Cross-genre based government funded magazine focusing on Irish composers, writers and musicians.
  Advertised the questionnaire on their Facebook page, Twitter and online magazine.

Like Marx's (1880) decision to publish the questionnaire for 'A Worker's Inquiry' within a magazine that targeted the type of politically aware factory workers he wished to gather experience from, the decision to utilise these four channels to advertise was purposefully similar. However whilst Marx (ibid.) wished to recruit factory workers, this questionnaire aimed at recruiting individuals involved in independent music production. The assistance of these four channels was sought as their differing target demographics meant that a large amount of musicians and non-musicians operating

within an independent mode of production could be reached. Jim Carroll's 'On the Record' online column is closely associated with rock, indie and punk genres, whilst Naomi McArdle's 'Harmless Noise' includes more electronic, hip-hop and post-rock elements. Similarly the Contemporary Irish Music Centre foregrounds contemporary classical composition whilst 'The Journal of Music' includes traditional Irish, folk and experimental styles. Therefore the online questionnaire was advertised to a wide array of musicians and non-musicians operating in numerous musical genres (see Appendix F).

Other Methods

A number of other methods were used to in order to bolster the data from both the interviews and online questionnaire. Qualitative content analysis of three of Ireland's most popular music blogs was conducted within the 2008-2014 research time-frame, although the majority of research took place between 2009-2012. Such an approach is advantages because "large volumes of textual data and different textual sources can be dealt with and used in corroborating evidence" (Elo and Kyngäs 2008, p.114). Three blogs were chosen for analysis, these were:

- **'Nialler9'** (www.nialler9.com)
  Ireland's most read music blog with approx. 35,000 unique visitors a month. Contains a mixture of Irish and global, independent, DIY and major label music.

- **'On the Record'** (www.irishtimes.com/blogs/ontherecord)
  'The Irish Times' online column/blog discussing all types of music based news with a particular emphasis on Irish music.

- **'Harmless Noise'** (www.harmlessnoise.ie)
  One of Ireland's most influential blogs about DIY and independent music.

All three emphasise their commitment to Irish independent music (whilst also contextualising it within the global blogging/independent/DIY sphere), yet none of

them exclusively write about independent music. Thus their content is at the crossroads of the local/global, DIY and independent/major label industry, providing a contextual reality for the independent music activities that are under investigation and articles for analysis were chosen for the specific contribution they could make towards this thesis. The choice of these three blogs also provided an overview of a number of different genres all operating within an independent mode of production (electronic to rock, indie to rap etc.), thus they allowed exploration of independent practice across genres. In addition the three chosen for content analysis also blog consistently about the non-musical aspects of the music industry (i.e. discussions on labels, managing, financing etc.). [79]

Additionally, sources of information that could be deemed useful to the study were incorporated even if they did not warrant any systematic methodological considerations. Thus observation was utilised when opportunistically available. For example,

- **Attendance at 'Hard Working Class Heroes' (HWCH) Panel Discussions (2008-2013)**
  HWCH is a festival held in Dublin every October since 2003. Funded by the Arts Council and run by First Music Contact a government-funded advice service for independent and DIY musicians, it showcases independent music over a three day period. In conjunction with live shows, HWCH also runs panel discussions in which industry experts speak about the challenges facing independent musicians today.

- **Attendance at 'Independent's Day' (2009-2012)**
  Annual DIY zine, record, comic, film and information fair run by a number of zine writers at Dublin's food co-op.

---

[79] Blogs are themselves conceived of as products of a DIY approach to cultural production and in popular music studies are often characterised as an extension of zine culture. An early adopter of blogging and one of its most famous early examples, the now unavailable 'The Misanthropic Bitch' which appeared on the internet in 1997 referred to the blog itself as a zine.

- **Participation in 'The Future of Music' Panel Discussion at Kilkenny Arts Festival (2010).**
  This was a panel discussion that sought to open up a dialogue about the future of the music business. Also on the panel were music managers, journalists and musicians.

A research notebook of these events was also kept, detailing thoughts and experiences, utilised not only a memory aid but also to add further gathered data to the qualitative interviews and questionnaire (indicated by 'r.n.' when referenced). Keeping up to date with Irish music publications was also important as this particular field of enquiry is undergoing rapid change and adjustments in the field of popular independent music activities had to be noted as they happened. It was necessary therefore to keep up with popular text-based resources, both in print and online. Throughout the course of research, the following resources were utilised and relevant articles were kept for further use. Although this is not an exhaustive list, this selection should indicate the type of material that was used for background research.

- **'The Journal Of Music'** (www.thejmi.com)
  Cross-genre based government-funded online magazine focusing on Irish composers, writers and musicians.

- **'State'** (www.state.ie)
  Popular online music magazine with an emphasis on music news and reviews.

- **'Hot Press'**
  Ireland's only music-based popular culture magazine.

- **'Le Cool-Dublin'**
  Free online and print culture magazine.

- **'Totally Dublin'**
  Free online and print culture magazine.

Coding the Data

Each data set was analysed in a qualitative manner and it was necessary that analysis follow inductive (as opposed to deductive) methods of information extraction. [80] Inductive reasoning moves from "specific observations to broader generalizations and theories...[i]nformally, we sometimes call this a 'bottom up' approach" (WCFSRM 2013, p.1). Inductive analysis then is a logical necessity when the focus is upon the experiential dimension of a phenomenon.

As each data set was analysed in a qualitative manner, strictly closed coding techniques were not utilised, which would hinder the emergence of participants' voices. Instead, preliminary codes came from the participant data itself, thus the lexicon of relevant words (and ideas) increased with analysis. In terms of what coding is or what its attributes are, throughout this research it was understood to be

> most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana 2008, p.3).

As participants' own subjective experience was paramount, a predefined coding system was not utilised initially as it was impossible to know what type of terms, words and concepts would be made explicit prior to the data collection. Therefore coding vocabulary evolved throughout the course of research and as more was known about the phenomena at hand.

For the in-depth qualitative interviews, the first stage of coding was conducted in a similar manner to that described by Saldana (ibid) in which descriptive codes that refer

---

[80] Deductive reasoning, often referred to as a 'top down' approach starts with broad research considerations and through the research process narrows down these considerations (e.g. a theory) into a testable hypothesis that is assessed through data gathering. It reaches a logical conclusion that can be considered truthful, if its initial premises (or hypotheses) are indeed truthful.

to a data set's content are used. Below is an example taken from an interview conducted for this thesis with the number one (1) used to correspond to a descriptive code.

e.g. (1) I don't consider it work because I enjoy it. It's a personal thing. I really enjoy seeing a band, I really enjoy walking into a venue where there may not be many people there and you're seeing a band you know nothing about and are blown away.

> (1) Work (Not Enjoyable)

As only twelve interviews were conducted, the manageable size of the data collected meant that the interviews could be simultaneously coded (ibid). This meant that in certain interview statements, not only a descriptive code (1) was used, but a process code indicating an action (2), or initial code indicating a feeling or experience (3) was also assigned. [81] Lastly a directional code, one that indicated a correspondence/contradiction to immaterial labour (4) was applied. These codes were then clustered according to theme for later analysis.

e.g. (1) I don't consider it work (4) because I enjoy it. It's a personal thing. I really enjoy (2) seeing a band, I really enjoy walking into a venue where there may not be many people there and you're seeing a (3) band you know nothing about and are blown away.

> (1) Work (Not Enjoyable)
> (2) Going to gig
> (3) Surprise/Enjoyment
> (4) Biopolitical Production

Coding for the online questionnaire was conducted in very similar manner, but with the important difference that they were also cross-coded. This meant coding each completed questionnaire separately, to get a holistic view of the participants' overall experience using the same process as coding the qualitative interviews. However subsequently, the summary of answers for each individual question were also coded, as the questionnaire itself was structured, thus lending itself more easily to this type

---

[81] In larger data sets sometimes these codes are implemented in a sequential manner. However as not only was the quantity of data in this selection quite small, the thesis heavily emphasises participant experience which does not always lend itself so easily to artificial distinctions between processes, experiences etc. and thus coding was carried out in a simultaneous manner.

of coding than the semi-structured interviews. This step was invaluable in clustering together emergent themes as demonstrated by the below examples.

Q.5 What do you think is the social perception of your activity?

e.g. People see it as something you just do for (1) fun and that it's a bunch of lads and ladies having the craic but they don't perceive the (2) amount of work involved or the (3) attitude you have to take.

(1) Fun
(2) Work (Ignored)
(3) Work Attitude

e.g. People think it's easy, that you're having a (1) great time, but you're also treated like rubbish by the people who frequent the bars in which you are booked to perform (2).

(1) Easy/Fun (Imagined)
(2) Badly Treated (Real)

Coding for the content analysis of blogs was conducted in a similar manner also, however it could be said to differ slightly, as the method itself has a particularly loaded lexicon, specific to the content analysis method. Three styles of coding within qualitative content analysis are usually recognized; conventional which uses codes exclusively derived from text data, directional which uses a theory or concept from the research framework and summative which counts and compares key words (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). A mixture of conventional and directional coding was most appropriate for the purposes of this study. Conventional codes were used to extract primary data phenomena whilst directional codes were used when a piece of data directly/indirectly corresponded/contradicted elements of this studies conceptual framework

e.g. On the Record: Introducing Music 3.0 (2012)

Long before the tech industry (1) introduced the notion of disruption (or constructive disruption as I've heard someone describe it), DIY activists have been showing that you don't have to rely on other people or vested interests when you have the (2) power to do it yourself.

(1) Tech. Disruption
(2) Autonomy

Conclusion

This chapter is designed to explain and justify the methodology and methods utilised throughout this thesis. It was noted that this work is interdisciplinary, using social science methods to critique a concept from political philosophy as precedented within the autonomist tradition. However it also noted that interdisciplinary research and indeed the use of social science methods, has a long tradition within this field, stretching as far back as Classical Marxism. It was suggested that a qualitative approach, based upon participants' subjective experiences and expressed in their own terms, has a provided the field with rich contributions borrowed from Marx's (1880) 'A Workers' Inquiry' and the workerist and autonomist strategies of co-research. This chapter also demonstrated that contemporary immaterial labour studies have followed in this tradition, by privileging first-hand accounts of labour experience as a means of critiquing and adapting theory.

This chapter then discussed methods. Open-ended, in-depth qualitative interviews facilitated participant narratives without any rigid imposition of autonomist language allowing the critical dimension of this thesis to come through in participants' own terms. The researcher also sought to overcome the imposition of their own bias towards academic-based definitions of independent music production through the use of a self-selecting online questionnaire and in addition, the data gathered through this method created a more complete picture of the phenomena at hand. These methods were inductively coded using the participants' own language first and the language of the conceptual framework second. The next chapter of this thesis explores the results of the data collected through the methods described in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPLORING LABOUR IN DUBLIN'S DO-IT-YOURSELF MUSIC SCENE

This chapter discusses, in a thematic manner, the primary data collected through the methods explored in Chapter Three. Throughout this chapter, a number of headings are used in order to organise topics, which were created in a reflexive manner. [82] Given the exploratory-descriptive nature of the research design, unprescribed and unintended pathways of discovery unfolded throughout the research process, and information that did not lend itself easily to a rigid classificatory system was in abundance. Therefore, data headings should be considered general but contain within them nuances and peculiarities individual to each participant voice. Direct quotations from the interviews and online questionnaires are used in addition to secondary material "so that the reader can make a connection between analytical findings and the data from which they were derived" (Mills et al. 2006, p.11) bridging this chapter and the next.

What constitutes independent music must be restated in order to contextualise this data. In the first instance independent music as a form of cultural and/or creative production is premised upon controlling the means of production. In the context of music, this control could be understood as the possession of home recording devices, or increasingly, digital audio workstations that use basic computer functions to record and produce music. The second feature of independent music culture emphasises a permeable boundary between producer and consumer. This is evident in the manner

---

[82] Ryan (2006) suggests that the manner in which data is organised and presented is always done so with some degree of bias.

in which consumers become producers and create extra-musical artefacts that circulate to define the scene. As suggested in this thesis' introduction the production of zines is indicative of this permeable boundary, as are the increasingly diffuse manners in which producers connect with consumers through social media. The last characteristic of independent music identified through secondary research is that of autonomy, evident in the manner that independent music cultures have traditionally positioned themselves as antagonistic to mainstream cultural and creative industries. As previously declared this autonomy may be real and/or imagined but functions at a rhetorical level to denote a degree of separation from industrial signifiers (i.e. in the case of music, major record labels).

The goal of this thesis to use labouring experience within the Dublin independent music scene, to critique the autonomist concept of immaterial labour. This chapter embraces the polyphonic nature of subject participation, in addition to the contradictions, nuances and ambiguities that arose throughout the analysis of data. As this chapter demonstrates, a plurality of participant voices suggests that independent music labour within Dublin is experienced as passionate labour, leisure with a work ethic, and as a form of unpaid and underpaid activity. It is both a necessary practice and a desire for creative autonomy, but also a form of labour that causes stress and mental preoccupation. Independent music labour in Dublin additionally materialises a desire for community based upon the working friendships it creates. Lastly, it is a form of labour that resists the demands of social media technologies, despite having been simultaneously normalised, in part, by them. What follows in the remaining sections of this chapter is the organised data, which will be used in the next chapter as a means of critiquing immaterial labour.

Passionate Labour, Serious Leisure and Free Work

This first section details the manner in which members of Dublin's independent music scene related to their labour and allowed for a plurality of experiences to emerge from the data collected. Throughout the course of research it was discovered that a number of participants felt a strong, passionate and emotional connection to their activity. Experiencing engagement within the scene as a 'labour of love,' this personal attachment was evident amongst a wide range of participant types (i.e. from paid professionals to unpaid amateurs). Questionnaire respondent Aoife Kennedy* is a promoter who organises music and literary events in aid of an Irish charity. As the founder of the organisation she also works with two other individuals, and saw this collective endeavour as one in which she could combine her passion for the independent music scene with community efforts for a charitable cause, "[the organisation] came out of a need to do something that I believed in, and I wanted others to feel included in" (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Kennedy's* dedication to her activity was obvious "[i]t is a labour of love - that is probably the best way to describe it" (ibid.).

A full-time music promoter, Sarah Wilson's* motivation for her involvement was based upon her prior engagement with the Dublin scene in which she "saw artists playing events that were not run or promoted very well" (Wilson, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April). Her aim was to provide a better gigging experience for musicians, of this she said "I would describe it as a pleasure..[i]t's a lot of work..but I guess I've had the vision of where I want it to go" (ibid.). Self-described "D-I-Y-er" (Quinn, E.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April), Eoin Quinn* is a freelance jazz guitarist who has been operating according to a DIY logic for thirty-seven years. Despite feeling that "[i]t's

mentally and physically draining, the hours are atrocious, the money is nonexistent and it bleeds you of any sort of social life" Quinn* stated "[i]t's certainly something that I love doing" (ibid.). David O'Connor,* who organises small, intimate gigs in people's homes, suggested that although he used to perceive what he did as a leisure activity, it was beginning to take on labour characteristics, he stated "the truth is that it matters to me much more than my 'real' job (O'Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

This sense of love and passion was a primary motivator for engaging with independent music production, evident in participant responses, "I love making music and playing it. It's a real passion" (Murphy, C.* 2012. online quest., 19th March), "the feeling of rocking out, jamming with friends, playing favourite licks from various bands, my enjoyment of music is purely self indulgent, I love playing" (McCarthy, D.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Rock drummer Stephen Dunne* noted how the DIY ethic and independence as a mode of production is placed within this love of music,

> I love music. I love playing the drums. I love coming up with the drum ideas for a piece of music. I love jamming. I love performing rehearsed songs in front of people and getting a reaction out of them. I love people who love music. D.I.Y means you can keep doing these things (Dunne, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April).

In addition to experiencing their engagement as a form of passionate labour, a number of participants noted how their labour was an extension of themselves and facilitated self-expression. Shane Gallagher,* a solo rock/blues guitarist said that for him, "[i]t's part of who I am just in the same way that, for example, my sense of humour is part of who I am" (Gallagher, S.* online quest., 2nd April). Freelance journalist, guitarist and label owner Adam O'Brien* noted "I do it because to not do it would be a betrayal of myself" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), whilst Aaron O'Neill,* a rock guitarist said "[i]f I think about it though, the alternative always seems pretty

grim; I can't imagine not making music (O'Neill, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

For others being involved with Dublin's independent scene was experienced as a way of understanding themselves, solo artists Shane Gallagher* and Jordan Connolly* stated "for me, music is primarily a way of understanding and interpreting my life" (Gallagher, S.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April) and "I find it very hard to make sense of the world, and music seems to be the only way I can emotionally communicate this. Once I let it out, I can be at peace" (Connolly, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Rock guitarist James Smith* explained how his involvement with independent music was fundamental to his sense of self

> [t]he Iggy Pop speech about punk rock sums up how I feel about creating music, 'when I'm in the grips of it I don't feel pleasure and I don't feel pain.' That sounds really wanky but it perfectly describes how everything else shuts off and I'm just playing music in that moment (Smith, J.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).[83]

Whilst the above participants experienced their engagement as a form of passionate and self-expressive labour, others made a distinction between labour and leisure activities. John Murray* is a choral director, secondary school music teacher and musician. Murray* drew boundaries between his work (choral direction, music teacher) and his leisure activity (musician), but argued that his work allowed him to conduct his leisurely activities in a meaningful manner. He said

> [m]y professional engagements as a musician/choral director/teacher pay for my creative pursuits and I have no issue or desire for anyone else to invest in my career...I am achieving what I want to and having a very interesting and creative life (Murray, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Jordan Connolly* is also a professional musician and producer who works in order to pay for his engagement with independent music production. However on his activity

---

[83] The participant is referring to an interview with Iggy Pop conducted by Peter Gzowski for CBC in 1977. It is available to view at http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/music/punk-rock-comes-to canada/gzowski-interviews-iggy-pop-1.html (accessed 02/01/2014).

he stated "[s]eeing it as leisure does not motivate me to think creatively" (Connolly, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Whilst arguing that commercial success is not a driving factor in how he operates, Connolly* simultaneously suggested that his activities were taken very seriously, with all the earnest intent of a paying job despite them not being a source of income.

For these participants, despite perceiving independent music production as fundamentally a leisure pursuit, it was clear that it required a serious and labour-like engagement. Such was evident in Patrick McLoughlin's* assessment of his activities. McLoughlin* operates as a songwriter, producer and guitarist in a rock band and argued independent music production, even if a leisurely pursuit, should be engaged with in a labour-like fashion, "it's a leisurely pursuit! But you need to have a work ethic though - songs don't write themselves" (McLoughlin, P.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). McLoughlin* went on to suggest that taking his activity seriously, was a prerequisite if anything was to transpire from it,

> Steve Jobs said "Great Artists ship" [sic] - he was building computers, but his point holds a lot of water for me. Finishing something and getting it out there is very important. If i [sic] had a penny for every lazy band who talked about their music the whole time but never seemed to actually roll up their sleeves...talk is cheap. I prefer to let my music do the talking for me (ibid.).[84]

Also uncovered throughout the course of data analysis, was that independent music labour amongst members of the Dublin scene was experienced as a lifestyle in which there was little division between labour and leisure activities. Daniel O'Reilly* is a freelance jazz saxophonist who stated "I don't really have a strong distinction between working and not working - all is one" (O'Reilly, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

---

[84] The saying that participant McLoughlin* is referring to is actually thought to be 'real artists ship' purported to be a slogan at Apple computers meaning that it is not good enough to simply have an idea, one must be able to put it into production.

Adam O'Brien*, who runs a record label, plays the guitar in a rock band, whilst writing freelance articles about Dublin's independent scene remarked "I'm trying to work towards a Ruskin-ite idea of no work/leisure separation therefore retaining a strong sense of value in my life" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). [85] Interviewee Angela Dorgan, CEO of First Music Contact, a government-funded advice service for independent musicians, also felt regarding her professional work that "there's no point in pretending there's any kind of line between, you know, work and life…it is me and I am it" (Dorgan, A. 2012. pers. comm., 2nd April). [86]

Other participants experienced their engagement with Dublin's independent music scene as both labour and leisure, depending on the activity in question. Interviewee Ciarán O'Gorman, bass player with rock band Shove said it "depends on when you're working on something. If you get a new idea it's fun but if you're three or four weeks into the same idea and not getting anywhere its work" (O'Gorman, C. 2011. pers. comm., 30th Nov.). Conor Murphy* a songwriter and guitarist in a pop-rock band conceived of his activity as labour/leisure in the following way,

> [w]hen your [sic] working away to get a song finished or a set for a gig it's very work minded and you kind of have to treat it like a part time or full time job depending on the work you're currently putting in. But once it gets to the stage where you can relax and play your songs in front of a crowd its very much leisurely (Murphy, C.* 2012. online quest., 19th March).

---

[85] Participant Adam O'Brien* is referring to the Ruskin Colony, a socialist utopian project located in Tennessee in the late 19th century.

[86] The concept of independence as a lifestyle was in some part shaped by attendance at the 2010 Independent's Day fair. The annual Dublin event is housed in Dublin's food co-op, a consumer-run cooperative in operation since 1983. Held since 2009, it is a "D.I.Y fair of zines, records, and info stalls with workshops, screenings performances and exhibitions" (www.independentsdaydublin.blogspot.ie). One of the stalls at the 2010 event was selling copies of the stall-owner's Master's thesis on the nature of zine production. When asked, by this researcher about the nature of his thesis, the stall-owner explained that his thesis rejected the binary schematic of zine writing as a leisure practice (in opposition to labour), and proposed it as a lifestyle practice (r.n.5).

Interviewee Jim Carroll, also differentiated between labour and leisure according to the type of activity in question. Carroll is a journalist and blogger with 'The Irish Times,' a national daily broadsheet newspaper, and his 'On the Record' blog is "probably one of the most influential on music" (Irish Examiner 2005, p.5) within Ireland. Known for his support of independent and DIY scenes at home and abroad, Carroll stated that a typical day for him is "spent in front of a laptop…in a tiny box in my house" (Carroll, J. 2012. pers. comm., 8th Feb.). Whilst Carroll gets paid for writing, much of the activity that informs it is based upon unpaid first-hand experience, such as going to live gigs. Of this he said "it's so funny cos I don't regard that as a job...I'm in a very lucky position" (ibid.). Carroll explained how a plethora of unquantifiable knowledge and leisure experiences are utilised for paid labour at a later date

> I try and see as much stuff as possible. Em in a lot of cases you know I would end up seeing stuff two or three times in a space of a couple of months just to see what's changed or what's come on. A case in point would be a band called Girl Band who I saw last September and I've seen three, four times since and each time, it's just seeing what's changed, seeing what's come on because I think they're really, really good...I may not write about Girl Band...but there will come a time that I probably will interview them and all that kind of stuff you seen, all the kind of way they I suppose, you know, worked, that's invaluable (ibid.).[87]

Carroll pointed to the phenomenon of unpaid work, despite not necessarily seeing it as inherently problematic. However other participants had mixed experiences of both underpaid and unpaid labour. Niamh Collins* founded and promotes the largest independent music festival in Ireland, which has taken place just outside Dublin every year since 2006. Born out of a club night that Collins* used to run in the city, the

---

[87] Coincidentally post-punk band Girl Band, are signed to fellow interviewee James Byrne's label Any Other City and Jim Carroll is co-founder of The Meteor Choice Music Prize for which Byrne's band Villagers were nominated in 2011.

festival is dedicated to showcasing independent and DIY musicians/bands from around the country, taking place over three days to a five thousand strong audience where "[a]ll the crew work for free" (Collins, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). She said

> I sometimes would look at it like a job that has huge responsibilities and my life career but it doesn't pay so you are actually doing it purely for the joy of doing it yourself with your friends (ibid.).

Robert Johnston* a promoter, DJ and producer of house music stated "I spend probably 70-80 hours a week working…which is fine because I love it but the hours I put in are not reflected in the money I make" (Johnston, R.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Johnston*, discussed how problematic this underpaid/unpaid labour can be, as in his experience venues often expect "free work" (ibid.), and are unwilling to pay for their acts,

> [i]n the UK, Germany, Spain etc. DJs/Bands get paid. Always. Other countries accept that you NEED music in venues. So those playing it have to get paid. This is not the case in Ireland. And it's gone too far. So myself and some of my peers have put the foot down and started demanding money for our time. Still most promoters and venues are reluctant to pay up so I took the law into my own hands and now nobody plays at my gigs for free (ibid.).

Interviewee Simon Bird, an electronica/hip-hop producer and DJ had similar issues when it came to monetary compensation, "we'll agree to do certain things with gigs and for example they might say they're going to pay you…then you play the gig and you don't get that money" (Bird, S. 2012. pers. comm., 21st March). Even though Bird regards what he does as a job, "it's a job that doesn't pay" (ibid.). The stress of working for little monetary reward was noted by Nathan Clarke* a sound engineer and producer, he said "I have a partner and a son, and I have to work a lot for little money and little promise of ever getting enough money to support us" (Clarke, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). The burden on family life was also expressed by interviewee Naomi McArdle who writes the Dublin-based music blog 'Harmless Noise,' its

primary focus being DIY and independent rock, hip-hop and electronic music. A single mother with two children McArdle makes very little money from her writing and in 2011 felt unable to continue. In a final blog post she remarked

> I've been doing too much for free for too long...If I were a musician I could sell albums but as a blogger, I can't take money for the posts I write. It's unethical and not the reason why I'm doing it. I just hoped for other opportunities that never materialised (McArdle 2011, p.1).

Despite taking up a paid position as an entertainment writer after retiring the blog, McArdle left this job and reinstated 'Harmless Noise.' During the course of our interview she remarked "there have been periods where I just do it. I don't get paid for it and I just continue to do it very diligently" (McArdle, N. 2012. pers. comm., 14th Feb). McArdle previously worked for 'Hot Press' (Ireland's only popular music magazine), in paid employment and began writing about music "because it was necessary and it was a job" (ibid.), yet she acknowledged that her engagement with independent music went beyond this, "since finding out about the independent scene, it's something to live by now...it's a lifestyle, it really is a lifestyle now" (ibid.).

The absence of monetary payment detailed above meant that some participants did not feel supported by their families. Festival organiser Niamh Collins* suggested that sometimes, her family "find it hard to see how you can be so passionate about something that often doesn't pay" (Collins, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April.). Rock guitarist Conor Murphy* shared a similar sentiment "people don't understand that you have to treat it like a job and keep pushing it" (Murphy, C.* 2012. online quest., 19th March). Adding to these concerns, post-metal guitarist Thomas O'Carroll* also noted "that relationships suffer because of the extra financial pressure put on people involved with DIY" (O'Carroll, T.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April) which was shared by freelance journalist, guitarist and label owner Adam O'Brien,* "[n]ot having much

money, ever, is also an issue which can make sustaining relationships with people who have good jobs difficult sometimes" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

The lack of financial reward was particularly noted as a source of stress in participants' responses. Mark Moore* a promoter and solo musician said that wondering "how you're going to find the money for all the people who are crewing for you, how you'll pay for a venue, where you're going to get enough money for rent etc." (Moore, M.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April) can be a considerable worry. Rock guitarist Aaron O'Neill* shared a similar sentiment "there's usually no, or very little, money involved; it can be stressful that you know you will most likely be out of pocket at the end of it" (O'Neill, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). Stephen Dunne* a rock drummer noted that it is "[d]epressing because although I want to stick to my guns and make the music I want, it may not be enough to survive" (Dunne, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April). Thomas O'Carroll,* a guitarist in a post-metal band, and the band's manager explained how the lack of monetary compensation affected him,

> [w]hat is more stressful than anything else is the financial side of it. Venues in Ireland will very rarely pay DIY bands/promoters from their profits at the bar, any money has to be collected directly at the door. This differs from the majority of the rest of the world, where the efforts of the bands/promoters who put themselves on the line, are much better rewarded. THIS is stressful. I've lost count of the amount of times that DIY gigs have made a loss, ultimately falling on the shoulders of genuinely hard-working, well-minded people who are really doing their best to help the local scene. It's really harsh that these people aren't properly rewarded within the community and that the money goes to the people who are generally much more concerned with their margins, than the development of a local scene. Maybe this is the nature of business and shows a certain naivety on our part, or maybe it shows the greedy, cynical nature of capitalism (O'Carroll, T.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

From the above section, it is evident that in terms of how participants relate to their experience of labour, a number of different phenomena emerged. It was clear that some participants felt a strong emotional connection to their labour and considered

their engagement with Dublin's independent music scene as a passionate endeavour. For some, this sense of passionate labour, was considered an extension of themselves and facilitated their desire for creative self-expression. Others, considered their engagement to be a more leisurely pursuit, however they explained that even a leisurely engagement with independent music, required them to have a labour-like mind-set. A further area, the experience of underpaid and/or unpaid labour was also explored in this section, and whilst some did not necessary perceive this phenomenon as problematic, it was evident that issues around the lack of monetary compensation for certain practices, caused participants a significant amount of familial and personal stress.

Creative Control and the Necessity of DIY

The aim of the preceding section was to illuminate the manner in which members of Dublin's independent music scene related to their activity. This next section emerged through data analysis, when it was noted that thematic motivations for operating in an independent manner naturally arose during the course of the in-depth interviews (and later used for designing the online questionnaire). Therefore, if the experience of labour within Dublin's independent scene is to be understood, it was considered important to give participants the opportunity to explain why they found themselves operating according to an independent mode of production.

As discussed throughout, as a mode of production independent music has become normalised in recent years and is utilised by musicians of all styles and genres. However one interviewee, James Byrne indicated that for him, utilising an independent model was an ethical consideration. Byrne is a drummer with indie-folk band Villagers and is perhaps the most mainstream successful musician that took part

in this study (including both interviewees and questionnaire respondents). His band Villagers have won an Ivor Novello award (2011) been twice nominated for The Barclaycard Mercury Prize (2010; 2013) in the U.K. and have also been nominated for The Meteor Choice Music Prize (2011) in Ireland.[88] Having toured with high-profile artists such as Grizzly Bear and Tracy Chapman, the band is signed to independent label Domino Records.[89] Byrne also runs a record label called Any Other City (which released Villagers first E.P.) and spoke of being inspired by hardcore punk labels in the way he ran things,

> the labels I would have grown up being a fan of, inspired me, would very much have been of the, ones like Dischord, Rough Trade, SST you know they're all labels that were run by one or two people, set up on tiny crappy budgets built up from nothing...you're not empire building, you just want to put out a record (Byrne, J. 2012. pers. comm., 27th Feb.).

However Byrne spoke of other factors that had influenced the manner in which his label operated. Not only trying to emulate the labels that he admired as a teenager, Byrne's family environment was also a factor in how he decided to run Any Other City, "there's always a political element in most things I do anyway, quite an active family, quite a unionised family" (ibid.).

The inclusion of Byrne's voice in this particular section is to provide contrast. As his motivations for using an independent mode of production are the exception in this study, it further illuminates the normalising of independent production, the strive for creative control and the necessary adoption of the practice by other participants. It was

---

[88] The Ivor Novello awards are presented by the British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Authors and are awarded for excellence in song-writing and composition. The Barclaycard Mercury Prize (formerly The Mercury Music Prize) is awarded by the British Phonographic Industry and British Association of Record Dealers for the best album from the U.K. and Ireland. The Meteor Choice Music Prize was co-founded by one of this study's participants, journalist Jim Carroll and is funded by the Irish Music Rights Organisation (IMRO) and the Irish Recorded Music Association (IRMA). It is awarded for the best album from the Republic of Ireland or Northern Ireland.
[89] Domino Records is an independent record label founded in London in 1993.

indeed, a desire for creative autonomy which motivated respondent Adam O'Brien,*

a freelance journalist who writes about Dublin's independent scene. O'Brien* also

owns and runs his own record label and plays guitar in a rock band. He explained

> I work entirely for myself. I play in bands for the love of it, we put on our own gigs and book other bands to play here. As a journalist I cover the acts that I'm genuinely interested in and who I genuinely respect, preferring not to follow release or hype cycles. Making that work well enough to pay my rent is my primary concern these days. As a record label owner, I only promote that which I love. I hand-pick artists, get the releases made up, get friends to design them, put the covers in the cases, send them to shops, do the press, everything. It doesn't get much more DIY (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

For these participants independence was an approach that involved exerting creative

control over the various aspects of their activity. Freelance jazz musician Daniel

O'Reilly* stated "I organise performances, engineer and produce my own music, take

care of design, build and maintain several websites. That sounds like DIY to me"

(O'Reilly, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). Music teacher, choral director and

solo artist John Murray* also noted this creative aspect

> there really only is one reason why I engage in DIY production and promotion. As a musician I think their [sic] is a self-driven or selfish need or desire for control of the medium. We cannot control an audience's reaction but I can control how my music meets those who listen to it (Murray, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Interviewee Naomi McArdle, a Dublin-based writer who blogs under the moniker

'Harmless Noise' spoke about her unpaid labour previously in this chapter. Part of her

reason for operating in this manner was her disenchantment working for the Dublin-

based website 'Entertainment.ie' (www.entertainment.ie), partly-owned by

newspaper 'The Irish Times' which provides coverage of cinema, TV, live music,

exhibitions, comedy etc. She said

> when I went to 'Entertainment.ie' they were very clear in that I could totally carry on the way I was and they didn't want to interfere with anything that I'd been doing (McArdle, N. 2012. pers. comm., 14th Feb).

However McArdle went on to discover that it was her following and not her content that 'Entertainment.ie' were interested in

> just before Christmas...they said to me then we can't afford to pay you to continue the way you are so what else can you do? You can alter your content; write more about bands like Imelda May and The Coronas which is exactly why I started in the first place, because those kinds of bands are getting too much coverage (ibid.).[90]

McArdle also used to work for 'Hot Press' Ireland's only popular music magazine. Part of the reason she left, she claimed, was because she was put under exactly the same type of pressure she now found working for 'Entertainment.ie.' During her time at 'Hot Press' she says she

> realised there's so much great music going on here in Dublin that isn't really given much attention in the media...contrasted to what I see 'Hot Press' publishing in the magazine and realised there was a real need for a hub of online commentary about things that wouldn't normally be seen because of status and word counts and so on (ibid.).

Having become disenchanted with the mainstream focus of 'Hot Press' and 'Entertainment.ie' McArdle returned to blogging and restarted 'Harmless Noise' in order to maintain greater control over the music she covers and evidently feels passionate about

> I do cover the popular stuff everybody wants to hear but I also make sure to balance that out with stuff that no-one will have heard of that does need to be got out there (ibid.).

Whilst creative control was much sought after by the above participants, independence was also experienced as a necessary choice within Dublin's independent music scene. The concept of independence as a necessary practice was brought to light during a documentary screening at The Button Factory a mid-sized gig venue located in Temple

---

[90] Imelda May is a rockabilly singer/songwriter from Dublin who has enjoyed considerable national success and a degree of international success also. The Coronas are a Dublin indie rock band that have become known for their Christmas shows every year. In December 2011 they played a record-breaking six nights in row in Dublin's Olympia Theatre.

Bar.[91] Charting the "essential and necessary rise of do it yourself independent music culture" (Byrne 2011, p.1) the documentary entitled 'A Joyful Slog' had been funded by the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland.[92] It consisted mainly of interviews with independent and DIY musicians/bands, speaking of their experience of operating in such a way. Despite individual nuances present, an overarching theme regarding motivation emerged; that independence was not a choice, but a necessity. In the opening scenes of the film a member of Dublin-based instrumental post-rock band The Jimmy Cake said

> we're making music that essentially wouldn't be released by anybody but ourselves, independence is almost an artistic necessity rather than a lifestyle choice so to speak (Dermody 2012).

The decision to engage within an independent mode of production out of pure necessity was a topic that came up in an interview with Gavin Prior. Prior runs Deserted Village a record label he founded with his band mates during his time in Murmansk an experimental, improvised rock band, which was set up with the sole aim of releasing the band's music. Over time however, the Deserted Village label has grown and released a number of albums for other bands and promoted numerous shows. Now, as founder of band United Bible Studies, Prior runs the label almost entirely on his own. On its origins he stated

> [y]ou have to be DIY, cos we had all these recordings for our first release and we had no choice, no one else was going to release it, because especially then there wasn't a scene for that (Prior, G. 2012. pers. comm., 15th Feb).

---

[91] Temple Bar is a gentrified medieval part of the city on the South-side of the River Liffey that has long been promoted as Dublin's cultural hub. Temple Bar was regenerated during the 1990s by Temple Bar Cultural Trust, then a private company (now absorbed by Dublin City Council) employed by the Irish government. Temple Bar Cultural Trust are still a strong presence in the area, owning many properties and organising multiple events throughout the year.

[92] Funding had been sought by Barry Lennon, a member of Dublin-based DIY label The Richter Collective and First Music Contact (discussed previously). The full documentary is available on YouTube from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgvGuRfsoJ8 (accessed 29/07/2012).

James Smith* a guitarist in a rock band, reasoned that he operates in an independent manner because "DIY is cost effective and good results can be obtained with a laptop and some decent mics" (Smith, J.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), however the lack of cost was not his only motivation, he stated that there is also "a huge sense of satisfaction gained from DIY projects" (ibid.). For Chloe Doyle* a singer and guitarist in a riot grrrl inspired pop-punk band, engaging with an independent mode of production was "solely necessity" (Doyle, C.* 2012. online quest., 31st March), as she stated "it seems to be the only choice if you want to actively gig and produce music (ibid.). Vocalist and guitarist in a rock band, Ciarán Fitzgerald* noted "it is very much a case of if we don't do it ourselves, no one else is going to do it" (Fitzgerald, C.* 2012. online quest., 4th April), whilst Cathal Dean,* a fiddle player in a folk band noted that his activity was necessitated by the lack of support for Irish-based musicians. He said he operates in an independent manner

> because the music industry in Ireland has always been so fragmented. The major problem for musicians like myself are airplay for our recordings with less than 7% airplay on all radio stations annually for Irish music nationwide...we must seek to generate employment for ourselves (Dean, C.* 2012. online quest., 14th April).

The experience of autonomy, both as necessity and creative control, brought with it some negative psychological and emotional stresses. In addition to the stress caused by lack of monetary compensation explored in the previous section, it transpired that a number of participants felt that operating within an independent mode of production also meant that their activity was mentally consuming and thus they felt unable to disengage from it. Pop-rock guitarist Conor Murphy* said "I feel like I need to be doing something more when there is nothing more I can do" (Murphy, C.* 2012. online quest., 19th March) whilst rock vocalist Patrick McLoughlin* stated "I'm kinda paranoid about getting stuff done...I'm always listening to music and trying to pick

up ideas (McLoughlin, P.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Home event organiser David O'Connor* suggested "it's not like work that you can leave behind at the office and go home, and I'm constantly looking out for ideas/venues etc. so in that sense it never ends" (Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

A number of participants explained how being involved with music interfered with their sleep, Nathan Clarke* a producer and sound engineer said "I get in horrible loops at night trying to sleep if I've been working on music. It's not possible to articulate the details of this....but it's awful" (Clarke, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Daragh O'Farrell* a rock bassist spoke of being unable to take a break until he was happy with a particular piece of music,

> I cannot rest easy until a song or idea is bashed out in practice. There are constant ideas/improvements that I think can be done and I constantly cannot sleep at night and have to go over ideas with my guitar at 4 in the morning (O'Farrell, D.* 2012. online quest., 4th April).

In addition to participants' inability to 'switch off,' the creative and commercial control associated with independent music labour was also considered a source of internal, self-imposed pressure. Stating that doing "things in a DIY fashion you don't have a brand or a venue or such to hide behind. If the event is shit it's down to you and nobody else (O'Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), home event organiser David O'Connor* pointed to a sentiment shared by a number of participants. Because "you don't have backing it is all on you" (Lynch, R.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April), "trying to meet self-imposed deadlines can be tough, especially if you lack self-discipline (O'Neill, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). Working alone for rock guitarist James Smith* was a source of anxiety "I only ever get stressed when I'm on my own...[t]he frustration of working on your own can be quite depressing" (Smith, J.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), whilst taking on too much work for writer and

festival curator Aoife Kennedy* meant she stated "[i]t is exhausting, sometimes I feel like I am trying to squeeze three lives into one, and the stress actually adds to the exhaustion" (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). However these negative feelings were offset by the rewards of partaking in Dublin's independent music scene,

> working in this kind of way really puts a lot of pressure on you, your ideas and your ability to execute them. Some days it'll all get on top of me and I'll wonder why I bother. A week later I'll be super-positive again. It comes in cycles and when things are quiet or ideas get rebuffed or nights fail, then it can be really tough to pick yourself up again and try something new. It's usually worth it though and the payoffs are huge (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March).

This section demonstrated from the data collected throughout the course of research, that labour within the Dublin independent music scene is experienced as primarily a method of maintaining creative control over work, or a necessary choice for those whose musical activities are perceived to be outside mainstream interests. Thus the independent mode of production granted participants the experience of autonomy over their activity. However this sense of autonomy also created a great deal of stress and mental preoccupation for them. In addition to the lack of financial reward discussed in the previous section, the internal pressure to succeed placed psychological and emotional demands upon members of Dublin's independent music scene.

Community, Working Friendships and Social Media

This final section, discusses the manner in which the social aspects of independent labour were prioritised and experienced by members of Dublin's independent music scene. It transpired throughout the course of data analysis that independent music labour is inherently a social activity in which participants hold a strong desire for community creation, which is further evident in the way they experience the reciprocal working friendships that facilitate engagement. However despite social media being

implicated in the normalisation of independent music, participants' responses suggested a degree of resistance to this mode of social contact.

It was a desire for community creation that encouraged some participants such as interviewee Anthony Dillon to become involved with independent music in the first place. Dillon has written the zine 'Loserdom' with his brother since 1996 when zine culture in Dublin was at a particular height (Redmond 2009).[93] The zine itself deals with a range of socio-political topics combined with music reviews and interviews with independent musicians/bands. It began Dillon explained, due to his increasing awareness of independent music culture within Dublin city and his desire to contribute to it in some way,

> I used to hang around in Freebird Records on the quays a good bit...there used to be alot of newsletters and free sheets and zines there for sale and for free there and I used to pick them up and learnt about the Dublin scene then and like I kinda felt that this was a way I could contribute and get involved, was going to gigs for a while but it was getting more progressively independent some of the gigs I was going to, I used to go to The Mean Fiddler and then I found newsletters and zines and would start going to gigs in The Attic or Charlie's bar (Dillon, A. 2012. pers. comm., 17th Feb).[94]

For Dillon, getting involved with the independent scene gestures towards its polyphonic character. Whilst collective and common, the nature of independent

---

[93] Due to a combination of the 2008 recession and a changing music industry, many of the outlets where zines could be purchased have now closed down (i.e. small gig venues, independent record shops etc.).
[94] Freebird Records was an independent record shop operating on the North-side of the Liffey since 1978. Relocating to Temple Bar in the 2000s, it operates now as a small concession shop within The Secret Book and Record Store in Dublin's Wicklow St. The three venues that Dillon refers to have all since closed down. The Mean Fiddler is now The Village and still operates as a bar and live music venue. Charlie's was a rock/metal bar which closed down in the late 1990s. The Attic was a small rock bar that closed down in 1998 and replaced by the White Horse Inn. It gained notoriety for being the first venue in Dublin to put on a gig for a then unknown band called Green Day to approximately forty people. Of the legendary status that was to follow this gig, Niall McGuirk of Hope Promotions who organised the event said

> if all the people who said they saw Green Day when they played with Dog Day in The Attic were actually there then the already unsteady floor in the venue would definitely have collapsed. On the day we lost £50 and the floor was perfectly safe (McGuirk 2004).

production is also thought to be that which allows highly individualised modes of expression. He stated

> [a]t that time I felt that I could offer opinions about music that wasn't being covered or maybe it was but we just wanted to do it our own way...I suppose we just wanted to express our own opinion (ibid.).

Like Dillon, questionnaire respondents Aoife Kennedy* and Niamh Collins* also pointed towards this double motivation for their activity; to enable them to create something they felt passionate about whilst simultaneously contributing to a sense of community. Kennedy* is a promoter who organises music and literary events in aid of an Irish charity and as previously stated in this chapter she sees her activities as combining her passion for the independent music scene with community efforts for a charitable cause. Like Dillon, Kennedy's* motivation came from a desire to be part of, and facilitate in the creation of community

> [the organisation] came out of a need to do something that I believed in, and I wanted others to feel included in. I got very dispirited with the same venues, the same segregation that is in some ways present, people in certain musical styles often stay within their own world (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Kennedy* here was pointing to what she perceived to be stark genre divisions existent within Dublin's independent music scene, which despite its normalisation she felt were still evident

> from Hip-Hop to Trad to Indie [sic], I wanted to offer an alternative, that wasn't beholden to any scene or venue or promoter or style. I wanted to involve everyone, and to rotate it to interesting venues, to rediscover our city, and make it so that people feel they are part of a real community (ibid.).[95]

A number of participants also felt that being located within an urban environment facilitated the community aspect of their activity and was of fundamental importance

---

[95] Trad here refers to Irish Traditional Music, a generic catch-all term for various forms of Irish folk music.

to networking with other members of the scene. Home events organiser David O'Connor* stated that living in the city "is important from the side of staying in touch with what's going on, what venues are open to what etc. (O'Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), whilst freelance jazz-bassist Cian O'Doherty* suggested "[i]t is easy to get out of touch living outside a city. Communication with other musicians keeps everything alive" (O'Doherty, C.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Living in the city, for these participants was necessary in order to meet people with similar interests and goals as "a wider span of like-minded people will influence your idea's [sic] and options musically" (Burke, M.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Meeting like-minded people was also considered necessary at a more practical level, as solo artist Jordan Connolly* stated

> the style of music I am interested in, living in a city is much easier because I was able to find (even by accident) people who have the same tastes as I do. I could never play my music in my hometown of Tullamore. There is no demand for it (Connolly, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

He went on to note that living in Dublin was also important for collaborating with other independent artists as it "operates almost entirely away from the more popular [sic] commerical [sic] musician scene" and "between like-minded musicians for [sic] various backgrounds and standards of living" (ibid.). Promoter Sarah Wilson* also pointed to the importance of living in the city

> I've met a lot of people who are DIY'ing in the music scene and we collabertated [sic] with [three named music promoters] it's a great little community once you get into it (Wilson, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April).

However a complaint held by many participants was the lack of space within Dublin city. Musician, freelance journalist and label owner Adam O'Brien* noted "[t]he main elements blocking a flourishing DIY-culture, on a level with the UK or the USA [sic], would be lack of non-traditional venues, lack of an audience for marginalia" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). Participants pointed to the absence of non-

traditional spaces within Dublin city, compared to others, lamenting the fact that most music is performed in pubs and clubs. Music writer and festival curator Aoife Kennedy* argued

> [w]e are very behind the times compared to places like Berlin or even London in this regard, because we don't utilise our empty spaces well, because of all the red tape. People are very fearful about allowing one-off events, or evolving a culture around it - I think perhaps because they associate, in a very incoherent way, "DIY" ethic with squats and raffia shoe wearing hippies! (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Niamh Collins* a charity festival organiser, also noted that Dublin "could do with much more artist spaces such as Berlin boasts…these urban spaces are vital for bringing artists together to collaborate" (Collins, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Guitarist Jamie O'Connell* commented on the utilisation of art spaces stating "things are probably looking up. Loads of new semi-informal art spaces have opened up in the last two or three years (O'Connell, J.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April). The use of non-traditional venues was a notable topic amongst participants, "I think there could be a greater culture of using spaces such as café's/galleries etc. as venues (O'Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 30th March), whilst solo rock musician Aaron O'Neill* said "I prefer shows that happen in spaces that are not primarily pubs so gigs in houses, bookshops etc. are far more interesting, both to organise/play in and to attend" (O'Neill, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). The lack of space, both traditional and non-traditional, was experienced by these participants as a hindrance to the emergence of a vibrant independent music culture in Dublin, "[t]here are only a handful of venues that will promote original music" (O'Farrell, D.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Chloe Doyle* a guitarist and singer in a riot grrrl inspired pop-punk band also acknowledging this stated "I don't think there's enough room…for a DIY scene to flourish. There's always somebody who will complain about noise, or demand you have a fire cert." (Doyle, C.* 2012. Online quest., 31st March). House music DJ and producer Robert

Johnson* additionally pointed to some bureaucratic issues regarding the use of spaces in Dublin, he said

> the infrastructure is there but we're not allowed use it. There's so many unused buildings around town that could be making money with gigs but alas…[n]ot only that but we must be the only place in the western [sic] world that never has street parties. The government make it very difficult to do anything that isn't trad musc, [sic] sport or meat markets (Johnston, R.* 2012. Online quest., 4th April).

Despite the lack of appropriate spaces for music purposes "the sense of community in the music industry is really prevalent in Dublin" (McCarthy, M.* 2012. Online quest., 2nd April) with interviewee James Byrne, drummer with band Villagers stating

> I love the city, there's so much going on I just love it as place. And I kinda think that's what makes Dublin special. Cos it's not like any other city, it's my home and it influenced me a lot, the place, the people. It's very much a guiding point that I put out bands from Dublin and I've only ever put out stuff from Dublin bands…it's really a Dublin-centric thing…artists always move to cities cos there is a buzz there…Dublin gets all the influence from everywhere, mates coming back from Berlin…you can play the same ten venues over in Dublin…it's really good for growing friendships and a scene whatever that is whether its music or art or fashion or whatever (Byrne, J. 2012. Pers. Comm., 27th Feb.).

From these responses, it is evident that participants desired a sense of community within the Dublin scene and the lack of available space seemed to impinge upon this. Spaces in which to meet like-minded people were considered important, as independent music labour within Dublin is based upon a high degree of sociality and the creation of working friendships. Solo act and rock band guitarist Aaron O'Neill* said it's "very important; independent music is, for better or worse, built around concerted efforts to contact like-minded people, making friendships as well as 'working' relationships" (O'Neill, A.* 2012. Online quest., 30th March). Reciprocity was considered fundamental to keeping these working friendships stable, as manager and post-metal guitarist Thomas O'Carroll* stated it is

> important to show people that you're willing to put yourself out there, keep an open mind and do stuff off your own back. This develops a relationship based

on respect for what you can see each other are doing, not just what you say you're doing (O'Carroll, T.* 2012. Online quest., 2nd April).

A network of peers if "you actually make friends with people, respect them…and be willing to reciprocate favours" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. Online quest., 30th March) was thought to be of considerable importance, as it was perceived to play a role in how successful an independent musician could be. Writer and promoter Sarah Wilson* noted "never burn bridges, it will always come back to bite you on the ass" (Wilson, S.* 2012. Online quest., 3rd April) and house DJ and producer Robert Johnson* pointed to the informal networks within the scene "[i]t's everything! Dublin is so small. Most people get gigs based on who ya know. 90% of gigs work like that. So if you don't know anyone you don't get gigs!" (Johnston, R.* 2012. Online quest., 4th April), as did solo electronic musician Ciara Brennan* "I was very lucky through word of mouth…[m]y friends are in bands so I think we have a ready to go network" (Brennan, C.* 2012. Online quest., 4th April). Being in an independent band, meant for anti-folk guitarist Michael Byrne* that informal networks were of great consideration

> [t]he more people you know…more of a chance you have of getting gigs/meeting new people I think it's very important to network, to get yourself out there, especially if you don't have a record company trying to push your music to make money (Byrne, M.* 2012. Online quest., 30th March).

Rock guitarist Aaron O'Neill* stated "I've definitely had friendships built, initially, entirely around some musical activity" (O'Neill, A.* 2012. Online quest., 30th March) whilst freelance jazz saxophonist Daniel O'Reilly* said "the more you are out and about, at gigs and doing stuff the more time you are spending with people whose company, hopefully, you enjoy and form strong friendships with" (O'Reilly, D.* 2012. Online quest., 30th March). Rock guitarist Jamie O'Connell* noted how the friendships facilitated through his engagement with the scene created a sense of community, he

said "I have formed close bonds with a lot of people through this. I feel like I am part of a community within the city" (O'Connell, J.* 2012. Online quest., 3rd April). House DJ and producer Robert Johnson* explained how the friendships created through his scene activity differed from others,

> The electronic music community in Dublin is so small that every single person I know (my long term girlfriend, my best mates, everyone I know), I know them because of the music, the gigs, the parties, the tunes. It's beautiful really. I have no mates from work, school or where I grew up. I call such mates Automates. Because you don't choose them, you're [sic] know them by default. Whereas I hand picked all my friends (Johnston, R.* 2012. Online quest., 4thApril).

These working friendships were built on joint shared interests and reciprocity. The relatively small size of Dublin city facilitated the creation of these informal networks by providing a sense of community that supported participants in their independent music endeavours. These relationships contrasted sharply to a number of responses to questions around the use of social media for networking purposes and community creation. Notions of inauthenticity abounded in discussions surrounding social media use, evident in interviews with Jonathan Savino and Matthew Nolan. Savino is a vocalist/songwriter/guitarist with alternative rock band Hypergiants and a music promoter for Captains Live, a music venue that is part of the Captain America restaurant chain in Blanchardstown, a Dublin suburb. He stressed that using aggressive promotion through the use of social media was an inauthentic way in which to create a fan-base, "when you see bands who are like 'oh get your friends to like us,' I really don't like that. I don't do that. It's dishonest, people don't care" (Savino, J. 2012. pers. comm., 3rd Feb.).[96] However Savino pointed to what he considered a contradictory

---

[96] Niall Byrne who writes Ireland's most read independent music blog Nialler9 (www.nialler9.com) warned musicians/bands against using aggressive social media promotion. In a section of his blog entitled 'band tips' (which incidentally is also used on the FMC website) he stated "[k]eep self-promotion light and regular...a constant barrage will just put people off" (Byrne 2012, p.1).

situation within the current independent music environment, in which using social media was perhaps the only way to gain attention from fans/consumers,

> I think you have to sell out to make it, you have to be popular to make it. It's kinda like, it's all like school all over again. You see bands coming here and they're rubbish, they're rubbish but they've got four hundred people with them (ibid.).

Savino argued that as an increasing number of musicians/bands are choosing to operate according to an independent logic, there is increased pressure on them to both promote and differentiate themselves. Suggesting that sometimes there is no other option for musicians but to engage with social media and exploit producer/consumer relationships, he also argued that musicians have to increasingly position themselves as brands in order to distinguish themselves from the countless other independent musicians on the internet, thus actually hindering community creation and turning musicians/bands into competitors. Speaking about self-branding he said,

> you know like when you buy a Nirvana T-shirt you get a logo that represents the music but also when you hear the name Nirvana you also think of what Nirvana sound like. You go to McDonalds, you know what you're getting. You know what I mean? No, everything's a brand...you have to sell out, definitely. You have to be a complete whore (ibid.).

Whilst Savino above, maintained some kind of grudging acceptance of the role that social media plays in current independent music, interviewee Matthew Nolan felt somewhat different as his band 3epkano, a classical/post-rock band that play live music scores to silent movies, have explicitly shied away from using a strong social media presence to promote themselves. Of this he said

> you can get sucked into it, especially social networking sites, trying to advertise your show, trying to build a relationship with fans if you want to do that, we don't do that but I know a lot of people who spend hours and hours a week doing that (Nolan, M. 2011. pers. comm., 7th April).

During the course of the interview Nolan maintained that having a strong online presence places a lot of demands on independent musicians, whilst his band prefer to

"cultivate certain professional creative relationships in a slower but I think much more meaningful way" (ibid.). Nolan argued that the increasing digitisation of independent production can add pressure to musicians which would not have been there previously,

> yeah, maybe that is a partial downside to the DIY ethic. I mean 15-20 years ago it was just a question of going and getting a pile of flyers and doing flyering and putting up a few posters and trying to get into the 'Dublin Event Guide' or 'Hot Press' or whatever you could get a listing into and that was it, that was your promotion (ibid.).

Interviewee and rock guitarist Ciarán O'Gorman noted that sometimes social media can actually hinder ability to get gigs in live venues. He said "[t]hey'll go to Facebook and see how many people you have following you…[i]f they haven't heard of you, you can't get gigs" (O'Gorman, C. 2011. pers. comm., 30th Nov.). Solo artist Patrick McLoughlin* also had some reservations about the use of social media "I personally am not on Facebook - by choice. However I recognise that it has its practical uses. So, grudgingly I set up a Facebook page to publish my music" (McLoughlin, P.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April), whilst charity events organiser Aoife Kennedy* said

> I am not great at this anyway, because I can be very shy, and have never done it…I was always very anti music-scene, and there really is a scene in Dublin, and consequently networking would make me feel ill, I just don't. I eschew social media entirely - but then the two people who help me…set up a couple of pages on the internet, to let people know about the nights, because they made a valid point that it was about the [the charity], and the creative community, and not me - I really hate that world and have never even seen our pages, but I understood their point. Even then, they only put up the basic information, there isn't really interaction with the public as such (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April)

The concept of online social networking also came up with interviewee Angela Dorgan, who as previously mentioned runs First Music Contact, a government funded advice centre for DIY and independent musicians. She discussed a conversation she recently had with other industry professionals "it was about frustration with people who set up twitter accounts but then have an intern run it" (Dorgan, A. 2012. pers. comm., 2nd April). Dorgan was quite disapproving of musicians who have social media

accounts to communicate with fans but who do not utilise the tool themselves, "I think if you're going to do it do it. If you're not, don't" (ibid.). For Dorgan, social media allows musicians/bands and their fans to connect in a more intimate way, it can "give you an opportunity to present you as an entirety to someone and not just the musician" (ibid.) however such interaction needed to be meaningful and authentic she thought, with social media used for primarily commercial purposes considered disingenuous.

Participants also talked about what they perceived to be the inauthenticity surrounding fan-involvement through social media.[97] Interviewee Paul Hosford, spoke of fan-involvement as embodying the negative aspects of social media connectivity.[98] Hosford, a full-time news and current affairs journalist whose engagement with the independent scene is on a part-time basis, is the singer, songwriter and guitarist in indie-rock band Last Second Magic. He stated

---

[97] The concept of fan-involvement was an element of interest in this study, having previously been discussed in this thesis introduction, however the trajectory it would take within this research was due to an encounter with an audience member at the 2010 Kilkenny Arts Festival after a panel discussion, of which this author was part, on 'The Future of Music'. The panel discussion was organised by future interviewee Matthew Nolan of 3epkano, a post-rock instrumental band. Nolan curates the Wired strand of the Kilkenny Arts Festival, a ten day festival that has run in Co. Kilkenny for forty years and which promotes live music, theatre, dance and visual art amongst a multitude of cultural and creative endeavours. An audience member approached this author after the discussion and spoke of a well known and moderately successful Dublin-based musician, Ben Martin* who was using consumer feedback in order to produce his latest album. Martin* was conducting an experiment over a number of months in which he played different versions of new songs to a live audience once a month, and fans voted using his web-page on which version they enjoyed the most. The most liked versions would be recorded for Martin's* third solo album (r.n.6).

[98] As we saw in the introduction to this thesis fan-funding is a type of collaborative endeavour in which musicians/bands request that their fans donate money in order to cover the production cost of a forthcoming album or tour. In return fans receive incentives based upon the amount of money they donate, which may range from a visit to the studio where the artist you supported is recording, to personalised artwork, gig tickets, t-shirts etc. Marginal DIY music cultures have always informally used fan-funding of sorts, however in the current musical landscape it is used by musicians of all genres and levels, from hobbyists to professionals. The web-based platforms for fan-funding such as Kickstarter (www.kickstarter.com), Pledgemusic (www.pledgemusic.com) and Indiegogo (www.indiegogo.com) are remarkable in their newness. Whilst Artistshare (www.artistshare.com) is a precursor, launched in 2000, the remaining platforms were created throughout the course of this research (e.g. Indiegogo in 2008, Kickstarter in 2009 and Pledgemusic also in 2009).

[w]e could all just pour money into focus groups and create the most scientifically most perfect band...I think that's a really interesting idea but it's totally false (Hosford, P. 2012., pers. comm. 28th Nov.).

Hosford maintained that consumers/fans were becoming too involved with the production process which whilst on one hand has the power to both eliminate risk for the band/musician also sees them take on more servile roles. He said

[y]ou've arrived at the idea by popular opinion and it's not an election...[i]t's a risk like, being in a band should be a risk...where do you stop like? Do you start letting people into the studio then to help you sort out the album? (ibid.).

Fellow interviewee and music journalist Jim Carroll also dismissed such a strong level of involvement through social media from music fans

I would describe that as a gimmick. That's a PR gimmick, that's fucking ridiculous...you can't dictate to someone what to do with their music...[i]f they want to say how a song is written they can fuck off and write it themselves (Carroll, J. 2012. pers. comm., 8th Feb.).

Resistance to fan-involvement through social media was highly evident in a number of other participant responses, particularly when asking consumers/fans for financial aid arguing that fan-funding "shouldn't…be the main source of production costs" (O'Sullivan, J.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). Teacher, choral director and solo music John Murray* thought

a musician should be able to off-set his or her creative work through education work such as teaching etc. [t]here is this notion that musicians are entitled to live on the generosity of others (Murray, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Mark Moore* a live music promoter argued "[i]f the band don't want to go the extra mile to raise the money themselves…then I have a very hard time believing that they really want to do it" (Moore, M.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April), whilst rock vocalist and guitarist Patrick McLoughlin* stated "I don't really buy into it. You don't need money to record any more. You need a laptop and a decent microphone." Chloe Doyle* a vocalist and guitarist in a pop-punk band was also suspicious of the use of fan-funding

> [f]or some reason it makes me cringe. I understand the importance of finances in terms of recording, releasing and touring, but if a band believes in themselves I think they should be open to investing their own money. If a band relies on fan-funding schemes such as 'kickstarter' I think they run the chance of becoming lazy and not giving the fans what they deserve (Doyle, C.* 2012. online quest., 31ˢᵗ March).

Other participants pointed to the type of pressures that using fan-funding might bring, although it "sounds idilic [sic]" (Dunne, S.* 2012. online quest., 3ʳᵈ April), rock drummer Stephen Dunne* stated "in reality I'd say it's a pain in the arse" (ibid.). Aaron O'Neill* a solo folk musician argued "I think it's fine but I wouldn't have the energy or performative ability to complete all the tasks associated with it, namely the 'rewards' aspect of it" (O'Neill, A.* 2012. online quest., 30ᵗʰ March), whilst home event organiser David O'Connor* thought that "there is certainly added pressure to deliver and the responsibility [sic] to make those who fund an event to feel part of it" (O'Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 30ᵗʰ March). One of this study's interviewees Simon Bird utilised the model in 2012. Originally from the South-West of England, Bird has been quite prolific, producing five E.P.'s in the space of a year. In 2012 he re-released his last E.P. 'V' on vinyl after a successful 'Fund:It' (www.fundit.ie) campaign.[99] Bird shied away from suggesting that he may use the model again in the future "it's something I wouldn't want to do anytime soon. Just because I don't want to get a reputation for that" (ibid.). Bird spoke of feeling quite uncomfortable with the

---

[99] Fund:It is a fan-funding/crowd-sourcing platform funded partially by the Irish government's Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, The Arthur Guinness Fund, The New Stream Programme of Business to Arts and The Merrill Lynch group. An investment vehicle of Guinness (Owned by Diageo), the Arthur Guinness Fund is open to social entrepreneurs that in some way are striving to improve their communities. The New Stream Programme is an online resource that seeks to enhance arts funding and management in Ireland which is part of Business to Arts. Patronised by Irish president Michael D. Higgins, Business to Arts is a not-for-profit initiative aiming to create partnerships between businesses, individuals and the arts by diversifying income streams. Its board of directors includes members of Allianz insurance, Bank of Ireland and Deloitte. The Merrill Lynch Group is a wealth management division of Bank of America. Fund:It makes deductions from all pledges (e.g. 5% admin fee on every pledge made, 3% payment processing and bank charges).

entire process, however having given what he considered to be worthwhile incentives (in the form of hand-painted album sleeves) he said "I don't feel quite as stingy cos I mean everyone that has donated has got a copy of the vinyl now so I kinda feel that they got something out of it" (ibid.). However Bird's reluctance came from his uneasiness with asking for financial support "it's difficult to approach people and say 'I need money.'"(ibid.).

This final section of Chapter Four discussed how the social aspects of Dublin's independent music scene were experienced by its members. Evident was a strong desire for community creation, indeed it was this desire that motivated a number of participants to get involved with independent music culture. However the lack of viable space within Ireland's capital was understood to impinge upon this community creation. Fixed geographical spaces were considered important to participants; the independent music scene is built upon working friendships and thus meeting like-minded people is much sought after. Yet social-based interaction using online means was experienced as somewhat inauthentic by participants, particularly when used for aggressive promotion or involving consumers/fans within the production process. This participatory dimension to independent music labour, which has accelerated and intensified through the use of social media is considered a somewhat disingenuous way of producing, despite its mainstream popularity.

Conclusion

It has been the overall purpose of this chapter to present the data collected throughout the course of this research which was gathered utilising the methods discussed in the previous chapter. By organising the data in this way, before it is analysed in the next chapter, it was the aim of this chapter to allow the voices of Dublin's independent

music scene participants to be heard, and their experience illuminated. The data presented here demonstrated that participants within Dublin's independent music scene related to their labour in a number of ways. A rhetoric of love and passion was evident throughout and a number of participants could not separate their labour from their sense of self, expressing that it was simply 'part of them.' Others however categorised their activity into labour and leisure depending on the particular element in question, whilst others viewed it primarily as serious, work-like leisure. Additionally, this research uncovered participants' experiences of underpaid and unpaid work and the stresses and interpersonal conflicts that this involves.

Motivational factors for engagement with the scene were also uncovered, with necessity and creative control featuring heavily. Also some ethical concerns were alluded to as independence was predominately experienced as a method of maintaining creative autonomy and a necessity for musicians who felt their particular type of music to be outside the tastes of mainstream audiences. Their internal pressures and inability to 'switch off' indicated the consuming nature of operating within an independent manner.

Lastly the social nature of labour within Dublin's independent music scene was explored. A sense of community within Dublin city itself was of considerable import to participants, who noted that a lack of available spaces within the capital hindered community creation. Working friendships proved to be a foregrounded phenomenon within participant responses, based upon conditions of reciprocity. Whilst social media could be considered an important networking tool for independent musicians, participants noted that the aggressive use of it as a promotional tool was considered an inauthentic way of operating and this notion of inauthenticity was intensified in

participant responses to fan-involvement through online means. The next chapter of

this thesis, uses this data to critique the autonomist concept of immaterial labour.

CHAPTER FIVE

REVISITING IMMATERIAL LABOUR

This last chapter is where this thesis' contribution to knowledge becomes apparent. Through an analysis of autonomist literature in Chapter Two, it was evident that immaterial labour was subject to two over-arching criticisms. The first, was a deficit of empirical evidence within *autonomia* itself, which is further compounded by the dearth in subsequent immaterial labour studies. The second criticism, was the homogenous way in which autonomists treat various types of labour, failing to distinguish between disparate labour forms and lacking in any temporal or geographic specificity. This thesis seeks to address these two fundamental criticisms by using Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation and in particular, the labour experience of Dublin's independent music producers to provide a critique of the autonomist concept.

This chapter then reviews and re-examines the concept of immaterial labour in light of the data gathered and explored in the previous chapter. Thus, this chapter assesses what types of provisional judgments on immaterial labour are made possible with the information gathered from Dublin's independent music scene. Such judgements can only be tentative, immaterial labour as a theoretical prescription for social transformation is unfalsifiable. Its all-encompassing nature and pre-occupation with the intangible aspects of labour such as language, creativity and information render it incapable of undergoing rigorous empirical testing. What is possible however, is to re-examine some of immaterial labour's constituting elements with reference to the lived experience of Dublin's independent music producers and critique its potential as an

explanatory and prescriptive framework. The remainder of this chapter then is comprised of three parts, with each highlighting an area of immaterial labour which is critiqued through the data explored in the previous chapter, followed by a conclusion which summarises this chapter's main arguments.

Self-Valorisation and Unwaged Immaterial Labour

From the data discussed in Chapter Four it was apparent that independent music producers experienced a sense of self-actualisation through their work. As noted in Chapter One, the concept of self-actualising labour within post-industrial theory suggests a form of labour that is less alienating than that of industrial production. McRobbie (2007) Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) and Henning and Holder (2014) have all argued that creative and cultural labour forms have the capacity to be experienced in this way, as a realisation of aesthetic, psychological or emotional needs, despite being heavily commodified and existing in tandem with precarious work conditions. This thesis suggests, that this self-actualising quality experienced within the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers' speaks to Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) concept of self-valorisation and also highlights a deficiency in their understanding of alienation within the immaterial economy.

There is the necessity for some clarity here concerning the use of the terms self-actualisation and self-valorisation. The tentative nature of the argument that follows might permit slippage between the two which is not its intention. Self-actualisation, as discussed in Chapter One, is a concept found in psychology referring to the fulfilment of one's potential and the psychological and emotional rewards that it brings. As such it features heavily within the literature surrounding creative and cultural work. Self-valorisation, on the other hand, is an ambiguous, undefined

concept within *autonomia,* and loosely refers to labour which is done only for its own sake, is not solicited by capital and where individual's labour escapes capitalist valorisation. It is an unwieldy concept but is in general understood to mean labour 'in itself.'[100]

The self-actualising dimension of participants' labour was clear in the passionate language they used to describe their activities in Chapter Four. They stated things such as "[i]t's certainly something that I love doing" (Quinn, E.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April), "It's a real passion" (Murphy, C.* 2012. online quest., 19th March), my enjoyment of music is purely self indulgent [sic], I love playing" (McCarthy, D.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April),"[i]t's part of who I am (Gallagher, S.* online quest., 2nd April), "I love music. I love playing the drums (Dunne, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April) and "it came out of a need to do something I believed in, and wanted others to feel included in" (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Whilst Marx ([1844] 1927) suggested the conditions of capitalism alienated us from our species-being, Gorz (1982) in Chapter Two argued that labour 'in itself,' conducted only for its own pleasure could valorise the human condition. This potential he argued, is achievable through individualised productive acts, irreducible to the sociality of what we understand to constitute work. There are similarities with what Gorz (ibid) describes as productive practices which are never fully common due to their intimate personal nature, thus somewhat escaping capital's grasp, and the accounts of immaterial labour from Dublin's independent music producers. Built upon

---

[100] In Classical Marxism the term self-valorisation traditionally referred to the production of surplus value by labour, in which the self in question is capital itself. Autonomists, through theoretically shifting power to labour and diverting it from capital, began using the term in a way which meant that the self now refers to labour.

intimate, personalised, self-expressive practices, their music-making is highly meaningful, whilst additionally blurring the boundaries between productive work and life itself. Thus there is the potential for the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers to operate, at least partially, outside of an economic logic, thereby locating it within the self-valorising discourse of *autonomia* which returns to labour as an "eternal natural necessity" (Marx in Lukács 1980, p.v).

Whilst not elaborately discussed within the work of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007), and Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004), the concept of self-valorisation is fundamental to the emancipatory qualities of immaterial labour. This is especially true of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) work, who see self-valorisation as an immanent necessity to a radical restructuring of socio-economic life. As previously noted, self-valorisation in *autonomia,* though poorly defined, refers loosely to labour that is conducted for its own sake, as Cleaver (1971) suggests it is "self-activity that carried within it the basic positive, creative and imaginative reinvention of the world" (p.1). The treatment of this concept in Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) however, is profoundly abstract and indeed Wright (2002) has suggested that the concept in Negri's work is too obtuse to have any explanatory power.

Yet given the fact that the autonomist's future is premised almost exclusively upon post-industrial labour's capacity to valorise itself, means that it cannot be simply dismissed as a concept too ambiguous to critique. It is after all, the foundation upon which Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) build their spontaneous communism, despite their perfunctory treatment of it. What can be said about their understanding of self-valorisation is that it is considered predominantly as social in nature, as Toms

(2008) argues it is "a form of reappropriation based on the separation of co-operative labour from capital" (p.435). Thus their concept of labour 'in itself,' is premised upon its ability to form networks of cooperation which are immanent to the labour process itself. The ambivalences of self-valorisation within their work also suggest that labour 'in itself,' contains some sort of individualised autonomous capacity, however this aspect is never developed, abandoned in favour of a still under-theorised, but nevertheless more comprehensive preoccupation with the social.

This thesis then, suggests that the creative, psychological and emotional rewards, experienced by members of Dublin's independent music scene, indicate a form of individualised self-valorising experience. It argues that self-actualising labour, could potentially, contribute to self-valorisation. It does so provisionally, and only with reference to the experience of this study's participants and thus does not make this claim in a general sense. Given how unexplored self-valorisation is within Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) work, it is immensely difficult to expand upon the concept, as its treatment is so limited. However, certainly present in participants' testimonies is something that at least resembles the "pre-commodified form of working subjectivity" (Palazzo 2008, p.13) of *autonomia's* labour 'in itself.' Thus whilst there is more emphasis on self-valorisation as a common act, the capacity for self-actualisation through labour (or the presence of emotional, psychological and aesthetic rewards) represents the possibility of alternative ways of operating 'outside' capital and potentially valorising labour in the process. Individualised, self-actualising processes conducted as labour 'in itself' may present a possible avenue for exodus before alterity is united through the common experience of immaterial labour (Hardt and Negri 2004). As Gorz (1982) attests, there are productive practices which are felt

as individualised experiences first, leaving behind something which cannot be held in common when such labour transmutes to become a form of social production.

The presence of a self-actualising discourse within the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers, also provisionally problematises the concept of alienation within Classical Marxism. Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) are quite perfunctory in their engagement with alienation. Like the concept of self-valorisation in their work, it is both fundamental to their immaterial labour thesis, yet paradoxically ignored. They have stated

> [a]lienation was always a poor concept for understanding the exploitation of factory workers, but here in a realm that many still do not want to consider labor – affective labor, as well as knowledge production and symbolic production – alienation does provide a useful conceptual key for understanding exploitation (p.111)

That Hardt and Negri (ibid.) see immaterial labour as alienating is clear, they suggest that despite the social relationships formed through immaterial production, it "does not make all work pleasant or rewarding" (ibid., p.111). Yet 'pleasant or rewarding' is precisely how the immaterial labourers' of Dublin's independent music scene conceived of their work. Despite Hardt and Negri (ibid) suggesting that within the current socio-economic climate "the worker is increasingly further removed from the object of his or her labour" (ibid., p.292), evidence from participants demonstrated the exact opposite of this. In actuality, participants experienced their labour in an intensely passionate manner, in opposition to the detachment which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) suggest characterises this hegemonic form of production. This possibility for self-actualisation therefore arguably escapes the alienating conditions of capital labour and whilst other dimensions of their activity may be subsumed, this individual, self-expressive aspect 'in itself,' the realisation of species-being is featured firstly (if not

subsequently) as a personalised experience. As Bratich's (2010) theorisation on DIY craft-work argues

> species-being, taking its own powers (crafts) as objects of will, consciousness, and practice has a development that encounters capital without being reduced to its interruptions and forms of violence (p.312).

The data collected and explored in Chapter Four therefore suggests a provisional critique of immaterial labour based on these observations. Firstly the self-actualising quality of Dublin's independent music producers' labour could possibly indicate an alternative aspect of self-valorisation which is not developed within Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analysis. More akin to labour 'in itself,' it suggests that the aesthetic, emotional and psychological attachment to labour experienced by participants, points to an experience of labour that is not wholly subjugated by capital. Secondly, this self-actualising potential calls into question the uncritical manner in which alienation is used to describe the experience of labour within the immaterial economy. Again, a lack of critical engagement with the concept within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) work is illuminated with the presence of self-actualising immaterial labour amongst Dublin's independent music producers, suggesting that a more nuanced approach to alienation within post-industrialism is needed with the autonomist remit.

However, there are significant contradictions within the data gathered and explored in Chapter Four, which in turn highlights contradictions within the concept of immaterial labour itself. One of these conflicts is the precarious nature of work within the immaterial economy and a significant aspect of this mode of production in the experience of Dublin's independent music producers is unwaged immaterial labour. Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) obscure the exploitative nature of unpaid work by homogenising all forms of production within the concept of biopolitical production.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the concept, both in the work of Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004) and Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) refers to the socio-economic mechanisms through which social life itself is produced, as stated "life is made to work for production and production is made to work for life" (Hardt and Negri 2001a, p.31). Despite suggesting that all immaterial labour is biopolitical, that is, it generates forms of life, both Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004) and Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) only consider waged labour in their analysis.[101]

Significant however in participants' experiences of labour, was the presence of uncompensated work. Noting this, CEO of First Music Contact, Angela Dorgan stated that it worried her "the amount of work that happens in the artistic and creative communities that's not monetised" (Dorgan, A. 2012. pers.comm., 2nd April). Even those participants whose primary source of income was based upon engagement with the independent music scene, depended on unpaid forms of labour in order to do their job. Journalist Jim Carroll for example, spoke of attending gigs frequently in order to inform his column with 'The Irish Times.' Others spoke of the expectation that some work should done for free within the scene, both Robert Johnston* a promoter, DJ and producer of house music and Simon Bird, an electronica/hip-hop producer and DJ, suggested that promoters and venues especially, were not forthcoming in compensating them for live performances. Furthermore, blogger Naomi McArdle stated that she had always hoped that writing for free about Dublin's independent music scene, would lead to job opportunities, suggestive of the 'One Big Hit' logic

---

[101] Dalla Costa and James (1972) Federici (2011) and Marazzi (2011) have all written on the place of unwaged labour in the post-industrial economy framed by autonomist discourse, however their emphasis on care work does not provide a useful framework for this thesis.

that Neff et al. (2005), McRobbie (2007) and Hesmondhalgh (2011) have argued characterises certain forms of cultural and creative labour.

Although scholars such as Terranova (2003) and Fuchs and Sevignani (2013) have explored the contribution of free labour to the post-industrial economy, the tendency has been to do so in binary terms (i.e. free versus waged labour). However data from Dublin's independent music scene suggests that such a gap is artificial, as the producers within this thesis, often engage in both with little distinction. Designating immaterial labour as simply waged labour (Hardt and Negri 2001a; 2004; 2010) is therefore problematic. Like Brown (2012), this thesis posits the existence of unwaged immaterial labour, in place of terms such as 'free work' in order to underline "its productive efficiencies and profit making capacities…while at the same time stressing that it goes unremunerated" (p.96).[102]

The degree to which both waged and unwaged immaterial labour are dependent on each other then, in this particular case, suggests the necessity for a provisional adaption of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) notion of immeasurability which they understand in two ways. Firstly, the immaterial nature of post-industrial products themselves defy quantification as they are produced by the intangible resources of affectivity, creativity and culture. Secondly, capital, they argue, has shifted from a profit to rent model, obfuscating value extraction. This thesis proposes the existence of a third immeasurable concept within immaterial labour, that of unwaged immaterial labour, different in nature to the free work encompassed within the concept of

---

[102] Brown's (2012) work examines the biopolitics of unwaged immaterial labour in relation to the user-generated content of photo-sharing website Flickr.

biopolitical production which is treated within Hardt and Negri's (2010) work as a somewhat different stratum of value production.

Unwaged immaterial labour then, has implications for the type of subjectivities produced by biopolitical production, creating working norms and conditions which are not captured by Lazzarato's (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007) or Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analyses. The concept of an autonomist biopolitics then, loses its capacity as a prescriptive framework for failing to incorporate unwaged immaterial labour and giving credence to Virno's (2002) criticism in which he states that the term biopolitics is a "word that hides, covers problems…that carries the risk of blocking critical thought" (p.12), a sentiment shared by Rabinow and Rose (2006) and Camfield (2007). Within a theory which sees the conditions of exploitation and emancipation as one and the same, unwaged immaterial labour surely alters the accelerationist trajectory of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) by highlighting a form of subjectivation which is not represented within their work. Whilst Hardt and Negri (2004) do state "the unemployed, and the underemployed in our societies are in fact active in social production even when they do not have a waged position" (ibid., 2004 p.131), their failure to examine how both waged and unwaged immaterial labour inform each other, in favour of the all-encompassing concept of biopolitical production, means that the nuances of their constituent subject, multitude, are ignored.

One way in which the experience of unwaged immaterial labour visibly changes this subjectivity is within the realm of interpersonal relationships. As explored in Chapter Two, the central figure within autonomist Marxism is the multitude, a revolutionary collection of singularities united through immaterial labour. A networked figure formed by and against contemporary forms of subjectivation, the multitude is

understood as an ontological condition (Negri 1991), constituent force (Hardt and Negri 2004; Lazzarato 2004) and collective mentality (Virno 2004). Additionally conceived to be a manufacturer of social production, the cooperative nature of multitudes' labour is thought to create common experience within the post-industrial socio-economic landscape. However this thesis suggests that the experience of unwaged immaterial labour may impede this common, collective and cooperative necessity through creating interpersonal conflict amongst the most immediate of these relationships.

As discussed in Chapter Four, some of the immaterial labourers who took part in this research, suggested that the precarious nature of financial compensation, significantly impacted their relationships with friends and family. They claimed, that individuals within their support network, had great difficulty in understanding why they would engage in arduous work, despite a lack of financial compensation. Adam O' Brien,* noted that this issue "can make sustaining relationships with people who have good jobs difficult sometimes" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March) in contrast to the community building acts that disparate acts of immaterial labour are supposed to create. Despite "always working" (Fanning T.* 2012. online quest., 30th March) rock guitarist Thomas Fanning* was a periodic social welfare recipient. He stated that his family thought he "was a bum for being on the dole. Even though I only claim dole when I've no other work on" (ibid.). Additionally, booking agent and promoter Joseph Maher* claimed that "people think it's a waste of time" (Maher, J.* 2012. online quest., 5th March) as there are periods where he does not make any money at all, he described these periods as "lonely" and "isolating" (ibid.).

Just as the presence of self-actualisation problematised the concept of alienation, so too does this isolating dimension of participants' immaterial labour, albeit for very different reasons and causing a degree of conflict amongst these two phenomenon. Whilst self-actualising labour highlighted the reductiveness of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) approach to alienation, excluding the capacity for self-valorisation through individual productive acts, the experience of unwaged immaterial labour actually suggests an additional form of alienation occurring within immaterial production. Whilst Marx ([1844]1927) argued that alienation from other workers took the form of competition for higher wages or positions, the experience of precarious conditions amongst the unwaged immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers, suggests a further form of alienation based upon interpersonal conflicts. These conflicts, based upon the inability of producers' family and friends to recognize that unwaged labour, is still labour, alienates producers from the orthodox cornerstones of personal life.[103] It is possible then, that such experiences problematise Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) position concerning the linear path to community creation their radical subject of multitude follows.

Fundamental to Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) multitude, is the figure's capacity to transcend difference. The creation of the commons, "an inexhaustible source of innovation and creativity" (ibid. 2010, p.111) is premised upon this supposed potential for the multitude to be united through common labour forms. However "the challenge posed by the concept of multitude is for a social multiplicity to manage to

---

[103] Elsewhere, Seifart et al. (2007) have argued that unstable, insecure and unremunerated forms of labour weakens "the interpersonal relationships on which successful, productive work depends" (p.299), whilst *Precarias a la Deriva* (Precarious Women Adrift) (2004), a Spanish feminist activist research group suggest that precarity has "devastating consequences for social bonds" (p.3).

communicate and act in common while remaining internally different" (Hardt and Negri 2004, p.xiv). There is potential therefore that this form of isolation created by the conditions of unwaged immaterial labour acts as precisely such a challenge, creating barriers to communication and provisionally suggests, with reference to Dublin's independent music scene, a form of alienation which is not prescribed within immaterial labour studies.[104]

This first section discussed the passionate manner in which participants related to their labour and suggested that their labour satisfied psychological, aesthetic and emotional needs, thus being self-actualising in nature. It argued that this phenomenon, speaks to Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) concept of self-valorisation, positing a possible means of experiencing labour 'outside' capital whilst also problematising the notion of alienation within Classical Marxism, thus requiring *autonomia* to re-engage with this concept. This section also highlighted the amount of unremunerated labour experienced within Dublin's independent music scene, and suggested it is a form of unwaged immaterial labour. It was argued that this unwaged immaterial labour should be considered an addition to Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) notion of immeasurability and has implications for the production of subjectivity by creating interpersonal conflicts.

---

[104] Whilst Berardi (2009), the foremost autonomist scholar on alienation within the post-industrial economy, does suggest that contemporary forms of alienation impact close personal relationships, his analysis is based upon a fixation with communication technologies. Lazzarato's (1997) treatment of alienation in relation to precarious labour points to a preoccupation on securing future work, much like McRobbie (2011) and Ursell (2000), whilst Virno (2001) points to a sense of estrangement based upon the individual's possession of language reduced to waged labour.

Creative Autonomy and its Pathologies

The concept of autonomy was discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, both within an autonomist and popular music studies framework. Autonomy has been considered autonomy from an economic logic (Slater and Tonkiss 2001), whilst more critical approaches suggest the extreme commodification of culture and creativity make creative autonomy increasingly difficult (McRobbie 2002). Thus overwhelmingly, academic debates on the nature of autonomy within popular music have centred on the tension between creative freedom and economic pursuits (Cohen 1991; Hesmondhalgh 1999; Toynbee 2000). The idea of autonomy therefore, particularly in cultural and creative labour forms, is charged with being an ideological strategy, as Raunig (2007) states

> we are in the present: at a time when the old ideas and ideologies of the autonomy and freedom of the individual (especially the individual as genius artist) plus specific aspects of post-1968 politics have turned into hegemonic neoliberal modes of subjectivation (p.19).

What is problematic about these accounts of post-industrial governmentality is that they do not make use of the subjective evaluations of autonomy by labourers themselves. Although the commodification of self-expression, accumulated through a post-Fordist logic and materialised in the aestheticised world of post-industrial commodity production (Harvey 1990) may permeate the autonomous subject, what cannot be denied at an experiential level is the "self-management and self-determination" (Shukaitis 2010, p.2) of Dublin's independent music scene participants, expressed in their testimonies.

By returning to the data within Chapter Four, participants' sense of creative control, often due to necessity, was discernible. Label owner, rock guitarist and freelance journalist Adam O'Brien* noted how this creative autonomy enabled him to be

involved with practices that he felt personally connected to "I play in bands for the love of it…[a]s a journalist I cover the acts I'm genuinely interested in…[a]s a record label owner, I only promote that which I love" (O'Brien A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March). John Murray* a music teacher, choral director and solo artist, also spoke of creative autonomy within his activities, "there really is only one reason why I engage in DIY production…I think their [sic] is a self-driven or selfish need to control or desire for the control of the medium" (Murray, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Interviewee Gavin Prior spoke of his decision to create a record label as a means of releasing both his former band and current band's music. As he stated in Chapter Four "[y]ou have to be DIY…we had no choice, no one else was going to release it…there wasn't a scene for that" (Prior, G. 2012. pers. comm., 15th Feb). Similarly, riot grrrl inspired pop-punk singer and guitarist Chloe Doyle* explained that her decision to employ an independent mode of production was "solely necessity…the only choice" (Doyle, C.* 2012. online quest., 31st March) whilst Ciarán Fitzgerald, rock vocalist and guitarist also explained this necessary dimension in Chapter Four stating "if we don't do it ourselves, no one else is going to do it" (Fitzgerald, C.* 2012. online quest., 4th April).

This sense of creative autonomy is of course suggestive of the "calling to creative self-fulfilment" (Holmes 2001, p.6) that permeates the post-industrial socio-economic landscape within a rhetoric of governmentality. Incorporating a critique of alienating, industrial capital (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005) as discussed in Chapter One, the post-industrial worker through both choice and necessity is considered to organise his/her own labour and is of particular pertinence within the cultural and creative sector (Broulitte 2012). Through a lens of governmentality, Broulitte (ibid.) locates the rhetoric of self-fulfilment within the U.K.'s creative industries policy modification

of Holmes' (2001) flexible personality, in which self-expressive and self-organising individuals are produced as 'ideal types.'[105]

Yet as Gill and Pratt (2008) have argued, the reductiveness of viewing self-expressive and creatively autonomous forms of labour, as simply a form of governmentality, obscures the radical possibilities that this labour may contain, both through its capacity for self-direction and self-actualisation. It has already been suggested in this chapter that participants' labour contained the possibility of self-actualisation and thus self-valorisation, meaning creative autonomy also needs to be understood in this context. Yet, immaterial labour, despite a professed concern with cultural, creative, affective and symbolic products, has little to say on the concept on creative autonomy, dismissing any artistic work under capitalism as inauthentic. As Brouilitte (2009) notes

> "[autonomists] state with little equivocation that the kind of aesthetic expression subsumed within capitalist production is not real creativity, but rather its codified and corrupted appearance in commodity form" (p.142).[106]

Yet again, provisionally, and with reference only to the data which emerged from Dublin's independent music scene, such a position problematises the overall radical possibilities that immaterial labour supposedly contains, at least in Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) articulation. In the previous section, it was argued that the self-actualising dimension of participants' labour represents an alternative capacity for self-valorisation, a means of operating 'outside' as an addition to *autonomia's* overall prescription for exodus and problematising Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) lack of

---

[105] As previously explained in Chapter One, the sociological construction of the 'ideal type' refers to an abstracted individual/phenomenon in which certain traits are deliberately emphasised. It is associated with anti-positivist sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920).

[106] In this way autonomism shares similarities to Frankfurt School approaches to cultural and creative production.

engagement with the concept of alienation. If self-actualising labour, can indeed be understood as a source of self-valorisation, then creative autonomy is a must, facilitating and making possible the labour 'in itself' which contains a prescriptive power.

It therefore does share some of the characteristics with the type of autonomy that Hardt and Negri (2010) imagine necessitates exodus. Their "alternative production of subjectivity, which not only resists power but seeks autonomy from it" (p.56) is based upon a technical recomposition of labour, in which new forms of autonomy are made possible through techno-social shifts which increasingly give workers access to the means of production. Exodus then, rather than being a refusal of labour power, is a refusal of "increasingly restrictive fetters" (ibid., p.152) in which immaterial labour's productivity increases through counter-measures.

In relation to the Canadian games industry de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) have indicated what these counter-measures may look like. Despite the commodification of cultural and creative labour within a globalised system of games production, autonomy, they claim, is exercised in the "counter-mobilisation of immaterial labour" (ibid., p.2), which are subversive activities that utilise the strategic capabilities of immaterial labour against themselves. Piracy, tactical games and simulated counter-planning all feature in this counter-mobilisation, but it is autonomous production, they claim, in the form of modding, which through "[u]surping the corporate control over the direction of game development…is exemplary of Exodus" (p.16). Dublin's independent music producer's experience their labour in a similar fashion to the modding of PC gaming, not only controlling the means of production but also controlling their creative output. Whilst the products of both forms of labour are

subject to value capture, producers' self-expressive and creative autonomy, becomes the apriori necessity of self-valorisation and immaterial labour's subsequent autonomous potential, even if only temporary.

However, it would be a mistake to see this creative autonomy in such one-dimensional terms. Despite suggesting that the self-actualising, and thus self-valorising capacity of Dublin's independent music producers is necessitated by a creative autonomy which has the capacity to exist 'outside,' this is not to say, that it is always experienced positively. Indeed, this sense of creative autonomy was seen to negatively impact the mental and emotional well-being of participants, and thus, like the experience of unwaged immaterial labour, shapes the subjectivity of *autonomia's* radical subject, multitude. As with all claims made throughout this thesis, such a position is not generalisable across all forms of immaterial labour and is made with reference to the data gathered for this thesis only.

Whilst the aesthetic, emotional and psychological desires of this study's immaterial labourers are channelled through productive processes, self-actualising and necessitated by the experience of creative autonomy, this same creative freedom was also paradoxically seen to hinder the development of self-actualising processes, as it creates considerable stress, worry and anxiety for Dublin's independent music producers. Participants spoke extensively of their intense preoccupation with their labour, evident in their statements in Chapter Four. Rock bassist Daragh O'Farrell* noted how he felt unable to 'switch off,' "I cannot rest easy until a song or idea is bashed out…I constantly cannot sleep at night" (O'Farrell, D.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Other participants echoed O'Farrell's* sentiment as producer and sound engineer Nathan Clarke* also commented on how his activities impacted his sleep

stating "I get in horrible loops at night trying to sleep if I've been working…it's awful and keeps me from sleeping" (Clarke, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). Home event organiser David O'Connor* also noted how his inability to 'switch off' was due to the manner in which labour and life were somewhat inseparable in his experience. He said "it's not like work that you can leave behind at the office and go home, and I'm constantly looking out for ideas/venues etc. so in that sense it never ends" (Connor, D.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

What does this suggest for a critique of immaterial labour? Like the unwaged immaterial labour present within the experience of Dublin's independent music producers, the stress and anxiety associated with creative, autonomous production has consequences for the forms of subjectivity shaped by immaterial labour. Within Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) work the multitude's relationship to immaterial labour is relatively underdeveloped and full of contradictions. Immaterial labour on one hand is considered alienating, whilst the multitude, the social subject who conducts this labour, finds joy in the social interactions it facilitates. The emphasis on the social relationships this type of labour can enable however, neglects the individualised effects of it. The multitude, they argue, is simply joyful in constitution, a position which has been criticised for dismantling Spinoza's ([1677] 1996) revolutionary subject by ignoring its dual structure (Grattan 2011). However the permeable boundary between labour and life (and therefore biopolitical production) neglects the stress and anxiety caused by the unlimited infiltration of work into life itself.

This phenomenon has been observed as a generalised condition of post-industrialism by scholars such as Bauman (2000), Urry (2007) and Cederström and Fleming (2012).

However it is considered particularly pertinent to the cultural and creative industries by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), McRobbie (2011) and Oakley (2014), who all argue that the passionate manner in which individuals relate to their labour intensifies feelings of stress, anxiety and depression. From an autonomist perspective Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007), Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) and Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004) do not consider these so called pathological effects of immaterial labour. Berardi (2009), however has explored the post-industrial condition extensively and suggests that the social norms associated with post-industrial labour pathologise failure, blaming a lack of success not upon the social structure but on the individual's psychological weaknesses, creating further emotional and mental forms of distress. The "term 'alienation' is then replaced by words capable of measuring the effects…panic, anxiety and depression" (ibid., p. 108).

Like Virno (1996), Berardi (2009) sees cultural and creative work as particularly emblematic of this phenomenon due to its high semiotic value. It is a form of labour

> overloaded with symbols that not only have an operational value, but also an affective, emotional, imperative or dissuasive one. These signs cannot work without unleashing chains of interpretation, decoding, and conscious responses. The constant mobilization of attention is essential to the productive function: the energies engaged by the productive system are essentially creative, affective and communicational (p.107).

This "constant mobilization of attention" (ibid.) is visible within the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music scene participants, who suffer from an inability to mentally switch off from their labour. However despite a professed concern with the dissolving boundaries between work and life, the concept of immaterial labour within Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) fails to account for the type of psychological and emotional damages this sort of immaterial labour facilitates, instead giving little more than a cursory nod to post-industrial alienation. As such, their concept of the multitude,

and the forms of subjectivity shaped by the experience of immaterial labour is further problematised. Thus despite the self-actualising and therefore possibly self-valorising aspects of immaterial labour with reference to this study's participants, this type of labour, which makes little distinction between work and life, also paradoxically creates negative, affective conditions which could inhibit the self-valorisation process. By ignoring these adverse conditions of immaterial labour within the constituent subject of multitude (in addition to those related to unwaged immaterial labour), Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analysis lacks the complexity of experience demonstrated by Dublin's independent music producers, thus mishandling Spinoza's ([1677] 1996) multitude, in which affect is both the power to act *or* be acted upon.

The pathological effects of immaterial labour therefore have implications for Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2010; 2010) future recomposition of socio-economic life. Whilst it was noted in this chapter that moments of exodus may be experienced in the self-actualising potential of immaterial labour, contributing to self-valorisation, this passionate attachment to labour also creates barriers to this same realisation. Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) radical prescription, relies only on the positive, affective social relations the multitude experiences through social production. However, independent music production relies on the social, cognitive and emotional resources of the individual using potentially personal experiences within the productive process, thus draining individuals of these same resources that are supposedly necessary for socio-economic restructuring. Virno's (2004) figure of the multitude is more forgiving in this sense, and unlike the primarily jubilant encounters Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) experiences, his constituent subject is non-prescriptive with a multi-faceted constitution. Dublin's independent music producers are more suggestive of his articulation, as they experience potential self-valorisation and inhibitors to the process,

thus they "can go either way, absorbing the shocks or multiplying the fractures that will occur in unpredictable ways" (Lotringer in Virno 2004, p.18) without conforming to the rigid radical prescription of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010).

This second section discussed the nature of autonomy and suggested that a sense of creative autonomy was fundamental to the self-actualisation experienced by participants and sharing in some of the conditions that Hardt and Negri (2010) suggest facilitates an exodus from capital. However it also argued that this sense of autonomy negatively impacted participants, by creating an intense preoccupation with their work, resulting in feelings of stress and anxiety, which inhibits self-actualisation and thus the self-valorising process. This suggests that Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) figure of the joyful multitude, is limited in its analysis for failing to account for alternative subjectivities possibly produced by the experience of immaterial labour.

Social Capital and Inauthentic Networks

The last piece of critique which emerged from the data discussed in Chapter Four refers to community engagement, social relationships and online interactions. It was noted in Chapter Two, that theorists such as Thornton (1995), Hesmondhalgh (1999), Cohen (2007) and O'Connor (2008) have all suggested that independent music scenes maintain their autonomy from the major industry by creating social networks of production, with cooperation being fundamental to this organisational strategy. In this way there are similarities with the concept of immanent cooperation within immaterial labour. The necessary conditions of exodus, are created by the "ability of producers autonomously to organize cooperation and produce collectively" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.174) through collaborative and cooperative forms of labour, organised without capital intervention. Hardt and Negri (ibid.) argue this type of labour has radical

possibilities by "providing the tools and habits for collective decision making" (p.174) exemplified by community engagement.

Brint (2001) has suggested that the notion of community

> suggests many appealing features of human social relationships – a sense of familiarity and safety, mutual concern and support, continuous loyalties, even the possibility for being appreciated for one's full personality and contribution to group life rather than narrower aspects of rank and achievement (p.1).

Many of these of these attributes were visible in the accounts of immaterial labour given by Dublin's independent music producers. Writing the zine 'Loserdom' since 1996, interviewee Anthony Dillon suggested that he began as he felt "that this was a way I could contribute and get involved" (Dillon, A. 2012. pers. comm., 17th Feb). Other participants noted that their independent activities were motivated by a desire to bring other people involved in independent music together. Festival promoter Niamh Collins* explained "the festival was created to support musicians…the passion is to create a music community who support each other" (Collins, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April), whilst charity promoter Aoife Kennedy* argued "I wanted others to feel included…I got very dispirited with the same venues, the same segregation…I wanted to involve everyone" (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April).

Thus despite the presence of unwaged immaterial labour, which creates a form of alienation by isolating producers from close friends and family, there are additional aspects which create social inclusion. Both festival organisers Niamh Collins* and Aoife Kennedy* run independent music festivals which are not constrained by style or genre but by an ethos of inclusivity, which appears to lend support to Hardt and Negri's (2004) reimagining of community "whose constitution and action is based not on identity or unity (or, much less, indifference) but on what it has in common" (p.100). However, whilst they argue that immaterial labour creates new forms of

community which are not based upon identity, sexual preference, ethnicity etc., but through commoning labouring experience, there is little in their work which examines the social norms which make this type of labour possible. Data gathered from Chapter Four however can conditionally offer some possible illumination in this regard. Fundamental to the sense of community created through participants' labour was the existence of working friendships, in which reciprocity was a fundamental feature. Post-metal guitarist Thomas O'Carroll* argued that it is "important to show people that you're willing to put yourself out there…[t]his develops a relationship based on respect" (O'Carroll, T.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Being "willing to reciprocate favours" (O'Brien, A.* 2012. online quest., 30th March) was deemed necessary as was never burning "bridges, it will always come back to bite you on the ass" (Wilson, S.* 2012. online quest., 3rd April).

In a sociological context, community reciprocity has been understood as a form of social trust (e.g. Fukuyama 1995; Hearn 1997), which Hardin (2001) sees as symbolic commodity exchange. It is thus seen as having an economic base, as Welch et al. (2005) suggests, social trust creates conditions where individuals are "more likely to interact and cooperate with one another, and these increased levels of cooperation, in turn, enhance economic exchange" (p.458). Both Fukuyama (1995) and Hearn (1997) see social trust as the basis for the creation of social capital, as Hearn (ibid.) states "those features and practices of cooperation that enable people to work together in pursuit of shared purposes, originates and becomes abundant only where trust prevails (p.97). Social capital then, defined by Bourdieu (1986) as "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p.248) is created and sustained by relationships of reciprocity, fundamental to the type of community aspirations present within the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent

music producers. Peterson and Bennet (2004), Moore (2005), Thornton (2005) and O'Connor (2008) have all noted the importance of social capital within independent music scenes, suggesting that whilst community engagement is often cited as a desired outcome, these cooperative relationships create hierarchical relationships between actors. Furthermore, Neff et al's (2005) study of fashion modelling, Ursell's (2000) study of TV workers and Pret et al's (2005) study of craft entrepreneurs have all noted that the creation of social capital is firmly embedded within the immaterial labour of cultural and creative workers.

As a concept however, it is completely ignored within autonomist approaches to immaterial labour. Even the most developed of these theorisations, the work of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010), suggests that social capital is a moot point in discussions on immaterial labour. They pay little attention to the concept of social capital within their biopolitical society, suggesting that the term conforms to a productivist logic in which it is seen as supplementary to the rationale of industrial production. They argue that as a concept, it does not "solve any of the paradoxes of regulation and control raised by the transition to biopolitical production, its autonomous productivity, and its exceeding measure" (2000, p.271). This thesis suggests, that based upon the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers, such a stance is flawed and that social capital, rather than belonging to an alternative sociological framework, is key to understanding the cooperative social relationships of immaterial labour. That social capital as a concept arose out of the participant testimonies in Chapter Four, is hardly a unique observation in terms of popular music studies. However, this study is one in immaterial labour, and its

presence problematises Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) disavowal of the concept. [107]

Their disregard for social capital, seems to miss one of its central points, its capacity to transform into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986; 1993) and as Lazzarato (1997) states the products of immaterial labour are fundamentally the social relationships it creates. However, by disregarding the role of social capital within the immaterial labour process, Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) spontaneous communism is called into question. It could be suggested that the ontological accumulation of social relationships, a prerequisite to the production of immeasurable value which supposedly leads to an exodus from capital, is disrupted by unknowable new hierarchies and social relations, formed through the accumulation of non-economic capital. Although he does not use the term social capital, Berardi (2009) suggests that social cooperation within the post-industrial economy creates individualised resources, accrued through mutual dependence, obscuring the inequalities that such relationships may create. He states this phenomenon

> becomes dominant in the entire cycle of social labor. This attributes to the representation of info-labor as an independent form of work. But this independence, as we have seen, is in fact ideological fiction, covering a new and growing form of dependency, although no longer in the previous form" (p.88).

Conditionally then, and with reference only to the data gathered from this thesis, this dependency on reciprocal relationships of social cooperation, suggests that the concept

---

[107] The centrality of social capital within the cultural and creative industries has been examined in relation to British Rave culture (Thornton 1995), the fashion industry (Entwistle and Rocomamora 2006), Canadian DIY music (O'Connor 2010), music entrepreneurship (Rossiter et al. 2011), circus performing (Chuluunbaatar 2014) and craft entrepreneurship (Pret et al. 2015).

of social capital is actually immanent to the immaterial labour of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) despite being wholly disregarded by them.

Whilst the lack of engagement with the concept of social capital within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) work suggests that their concept of immaterial labour fails, in part, to acknowledge the type of social relationships it creates, what did concur with their premise was the importance of the city in facilitating this type of labour. It was established in Chapter Two, that the "metropolis" (Hardt and Negri 2010, p.153) was a primary locus of biopolitical production. Fundamental to the social transformations that necessitate immaterial labour, the social connections made possible through the proximity of actors living in urban spaces, is considered theoretically as a reservoir of the commons, creating networks of production which are organised without capital intervention. It was further established, that independent music was a logical site for investigating such claims. Independent scenes cluster in urban areas (Cohen 2007) creating marks of distinction (Basagmez 2005) through sounds (Bottà 2009) and symbolic capital (Harvey 2013) and are central to debates on urban regeneration (Florida 2002; Bealle 2013) thus implicating them in the immaterial labour of both Lazzarato (2003) and Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010).

Despite the advent of new media technologies aiding in the normalisation of independent music production, living and working in the city was considered of great importance, "[i]t is easy to get out of touch living outside a city" (O'Doherty, C.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April) and is necessary to the type of social connections which create and sustain the scene. Living in an urban environment was thought to facilitate the type of encounters which Hardt and Negri (2010) suggest are fundamental to immaterial labour, organised, not by capital but the form of labour itself. Soloist Jordan

Connolly* suggested "the style of music I am interested in, living in a city is much easier because I was able to find (even by accident) people who have the same tastes as I do" (Connolly, J.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). Interviewee James Byrne noted the importance of living in the city for cultivating the reciprocal working friends fundamental to successful work, he stated in Chapter Four "artists always move to cities cos there is a buzz there…it's really good for growing friendships and a scene" (Byrne, J. 2012. pers. Comm., 27th Feb.).

These participant testimonies seem to provisionally validate some of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) claims concerning the biopolitical metropolis in which they suggest it is the primary location of immaterial labour, enabling the type of social networks and cooperative capacities which are key for it to flourish. Notable was that a number of participants suggested that a lack of suitable physical space impinged upon their ability to engage with their labour. This lack of space was seen as a bureaucratic issue, and a hindrance to the emergence of a flourishing independent music scene. Riot grrrl inspired pop-punk singer Chloe Doyle* stated "I don't think there's enough room…for a DIY scene to flourish" (Doyle, C.* 2012. online quest., 31st March) whilst Niamh Collins* argued that Dublin "could do with more artist spaces such as Berlin boasts" (Collins, N.* 2012. online quest., 4th April). These testimonies lend support to Hardt and Negri's (2010) descriptions of the type of barriers to social transformation within the city. They state

> [i]nnumerable obstacles are stacked against productive subjectivities: barriers preventing access to the common and corrupting it, lack of necessities to create together and organize productive encounters…most obvious is the need for adequate physical infrastructure (p.307).

Dyer-Witheford (2006a) Bratich (2010) and Harvey (2013) have all suggested that the necessity of material proximity within an urban environment needs common spaces in

order for communities to thrive, aiding in collective organisation and indeed Dublin's independent music producers recognised the need for this material capacity. Yet Hardt and Negri's (2010) insistence on the need for material capacity in the biopolitical city, is not simply descriptive, but a prescription for autonomy (and subsequently exodus). Contingent, again, on the limits of study, it may be possible to suggest that within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) framework, the lack of viable space within Dublin's independent music scene is an impediment to self-valorisation, hindering as it does, the joyful encounters with others which forms the basis of their immeasurable value.

Whilst Hardt and Negri (ibid.) do foreground the metropolis as a living reservoir of immaterial labour, as noted in Chapter Two they suggested that immaterial labour is also dispersed over techno-social networks of production due in part to the intensification of information-based labour. Furthermore, as previously noted, they highlight that the formerly mute relationship between production and consumption has been replaced with a far more communicative relationship. In the context of independent music production, these two aspects of immaterial labour relate to the concept of "participatory culture" (Jenkins 2006, p.2) replacing the oppositional framing of fans (Fiske 1992; Jensen 1992; Hills 2002) in favour of acknowledging their productive capabilities (Draper 2007; Baym and Burnett 2009). Data from Chapter Four however suggested that participants were reluctant to engage in the intensified online musician/fan relationships that characterise participatory culture. Despite working friendships considered key to community creation (and thus self-valorisation in Hardt and Negri's framework), online forms of networking and fan communication were met with resistance. This thesis suggests, that the real/imagined inauthenticity surrounding this mode of interaction, has consequences for the radical

186

potential of immanent cooperation within Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analysis.

Participants' resistance to social media networking was palpable in their statements from Chapter Four stating as "[i]t's dishonest…everything's a brand…you have to sell out" (Savino, J. 2012. pers. comm., 3rd Feb.) and "[online] networking would make me feel ill" (Kennedy, A.* 2012. online quest., 2nd April). This resistance was further intensified around the topic of fan-involvement through social media, "it's totally false" (Hosford, P. 2012. pers. comm., 28th Nov.), "fucking ridiculous" (Carroll, J. 2012. pers. comm., 8th Feb.) and "it makes me cringe" (Doyle, C.* 2012. online quest., 31st March) were but some of subjects' thoughts on the matter.

What is perceived here by Dublin's independent music producers is the real/imagined insincerity of intensified social media interaction. It has been argued, that the passionate and emotional attachment to their labour is 'in itself' a potential source of self-actualisation, which has implications for Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) concept of self-valorisation. By contrast, the same techno-social networks that have normalised independent music production, seemingly challenge this self-actualising potential. It could be argued that the use of social media, inhibits the self-actualisation process as it requires explicit self-commodification and is therefore incompatible with aesthetic, psychological and emotional attachments participants labour entails. Unlike the physical geographical spaces required for social cooperation through working friendships the online realm places affective demands on the producer which are not reciprocal in nature, thus differentiating it from community-based social interactions.

As such the experience of Dublin's independent music producers has consequences for Hardt and Negri's (2001a) concept of networked production. Like many of the

constituting elements of immaterial labour, the network (both social and technical) in their work is described in a cursory manner, despite its proposed radical potential. Therefore its supposed revolutionary capacity, is expressed only in fragments of their work, making critiques of the concept rather difficult.[108] They do state however, that networked production, enables autonomous organisation, thus having the capacity to operate outside capital. Based on the data from this thesis however, autonomy was experienced as a mode of creative freedom. By this logic creatively autonomous production, is aided by the techno-social networks of post-industrial production. Whilst this is evident in independent music's normalisation, what is also apparent with reference to the immaterial labourers of Dublin's independent music scene is that these same conditions inhibit self-actualisation (and thus potentially self-valorisation) by imposing an imperative to communicate, and in the case of fan-involvement, compromise this creative autonomy.

Both Varnelis (2008) and Berardi (2009) have argued that the rhetoric of autonomy (both in its creative and organisational forms) concerning the role of techno-social networks is a fallacy. Varnelis (2008) suggests that the intensification of networked communication means that subjects lose a sense of self, and construct their identity only through other nodes in the network. [109] Berardi (2009) also points to this alienating quality, suggesting that networked technologies, rather than act as liberating

---

[108] On Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) notion of the network Dyer-Witheford (2001) states that they treat it as the contemporary equivalent of Roman roads, "the connective lifelines of power traversing the domain of the new world order" (p.73). Despite the supposed importance of the network in Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) overall schematic of a new world order 'Empire,' the term network cannot be found in Hardt and Negri's (2010) 'Commonwealth' despite its supposed centrality to their overall philosophical project.

[109] Varnelis (2008) is influenced here by Fredric Jameson's (1991) notion of postmodern schizophrenia. Jameson (ibid.) suggested that both the postmodern aesthetic and the experience of living within postmodern society could be likened to that of a schizophrenic state in which cultural signifiers are isolated in disconnected systems, thus leaving us living in a perpetual present devoid of any conceptual temporality.

modes of organisation instead intensify mental health pathologies, through the constant demand for communication.

The insufficient manner in which Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) discuss their concept of the techno-social network, is not only somewhat unfathomable given its supposed radical power, but makes evaluation on its nature difficult. Thus this latter critique suggests in provisional terms only, that the resistance to techno-social engagement experienced by Dublin's independent music producers demonstrates an alternative conception of the autonomous network, highlighting its dual constitution as a facilitator of both autonomous creativity and its inhibiters, which again has ramifications for their revolutionary subject multitude, suggesting a further form of subjectivation, unconsidered in Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) analysis and further problematising the multitudes' supposedly joyful encounters through immaterial labour.

This final section suggested that participants within Dublin's independent music scene lend support to Hardt and Negri's (2010) concept of community which dispenses with traditional identity categories and foregrounds labour as common experience. However it was also argued that such community, based upon social trust (Fukuyama 1995; Hearn 1997) creates social capital (Bourdieu 1986; 1993), a concept which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) completely disregard. Yet not only is it visible within the immaterial labour of Dublin's independent music producers, it may create unknowable hierarchies which have repercussions for Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) radical future. This section then argued that the experience of Dublin's independent music producers seemed to provisionally validate Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) claims concerning the metropolis, particularly the necessity of urban life in bringing about the encounters

which facilitate immaterial labour. Lastly, it was suggested that participants'
resistance to social media, has implications for the radical techno-social networks that
Hardt and Negri (ibid.) suggest are emblematic of post-industrial labour.

Conclusion

The purpose of the above sections is to demonstrate the critiques of immaterial labour,
made possible by the data gathered throughout the course of this thesis. From the data
explored in Chapter Four, it uses the experience of immaterial labour as described by
Dublin's independent music producers, to shed light on various aspects of the concept
and highlight its deficiencies and the possible adaptions it may require. As discussed
in the introduction to this chapter, immaterial labour is an unfalsifiable concept,
beyond definitive testing. As a prescription for social transformation, its potential
validity cannot be grounded in the present, however what this thesis can do is point to
areas of possible alignment and deficiency with reference to Dublin's independent
music producers. It does so tentatively, with the acknowledgement that the claims
made here are speculative, provisional and ungeneralisable to the vast experience of
post-industrial labour captured under the immaterial labour moniker. However, this
thesis does expose some of the concept's weak spots, contributing to a more nuanced
view of the theory at hand, with the elements explored, having come from the data
itself.

The topic of self-valorisation was critiqued first through participants' passionate and
emotional attachment to their labour. Suggestive of Gorz's (ibid.) labour 'in itself,' it
was argued that participants' labour operated, at least, partially outside an economic
logic. A necessary pre-cursor to the spontaneous communism of Hardt and Negri
(2001a; 2004; 2010), self-valorising labour, conducted only for its own sake, is

considered within their work as predominantly social and produced by networks and communities of cooperative labour. However this thesis suggests that self-actualising labour, even if only experienced as such temporarily, represents an alternative, or perhaps additional form of self-valorisation, a means of experiencing labour's 'outside' to capital. It was further argued, that the experience of creative autonomy, necessary to the production of this self-actualising labour shares some characteristics of Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) autonomous production, despite the fact that they see creativity under capitalism as inevitably corrupt. It was suggested then, that creative autonomy, at least at an experiential level, is an apriori necessity to their self-valorising process, thus the experience of Dublin's independent music producers suggests a slight modification of their stance.

It was also argued that Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) concept of immeasurability be adapted to include the phenomenon of unwaged immaterial labour. In both Lazzarato's (1997) and Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) understanding, immaterial labour is only considered as waged labour, with free work understood as part of the all-encompassing concept, biopolitical production. The data gathered from Chapter Four however, suggests that free labour is immanent to the waged labour of Dublin's independent music producers and suggests that the term unwaged immaterial labour better describes its productive, profit making capabilities. This further indicates the necessity for an adaption of Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) understanding of the immeasurability of immaterial labour, which does not include its unwaged form, thus suggesting a third unquantifiable productive force, unconsidered in their analysis.

This chapter also argued that the existence of unwaged immaterial labour could possibly alter the type of subjectivities within Lazzarato's (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007)

and Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) analyses, as it represents a form of subjectivation which is not within their remit. Particularly, this research argued that one possible way in which this altered subjectivity is visible, is within the realm of interpersonal relationships. The revolutionary figure of the multitude is premised upon its joyful interactions with others, creating common bonds through the performance of immaterial labour. Yet this thesis suggests, based on participants' testimonies, that unwaged immaterial labour creates alienating conditions for its producers, impacting close interpersonal relationships. Whilst Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) mention the concept of alienation in their work, they do not treat it with much consideration, yet the precarity experienced by the immaterial labourers of Dublin's independent music scene, potentially problematises the linear path of multitude and thus suggests a need for a further reconsideration of alienation within *autonomia*. Furthermore, data from Chapter Four demonstrated that the sense of creative autonomy which necessitates the self-actualisation (and thus possible self-valorisation) of participants' labour also negatively impacted the emotional and psychological well-being of Dublin's independent music producers, which like the presence of unwaged immaterial labour, potentially shapes the radical subjectivity of multitude, by paradoxically inhibiting the process of self-actualisation, a consequence of the permeable barriers between work and life within post-industrialism. Thus the multitude proves to be more a complex and nuanced subject than we are led to believe within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) articulation.

Additionally, this chapter argued that much of participants' testimonies in Chapter Four was suggestive of the desire for community creation which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) consider as fundamental to the immanent cooperation of immaterial labour. Yet this thesis argued that their perfunctory treatment of the concept neglects the norms

created by this cooperative mode of production and highlighted the phenomenon of reciprocal working friendships within the Dublin independent music scene. This type of labour is made possible by social trust, the basis for social capital, which is regarded as a useless analytical tool within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) work. However, it is argued that based on the data gathered here, the concept of social capital is immanent to immaterial labour and could form the basis of new analytical possibilities, pertinent particularly to both the question of immeasurability and the supposed non-hierarchical organisation of multitude.

Subsequently, this chapter noted that the emphasis Hardt and Negri (ibid.) place on the urban environment as a reservoir of immaterial labour is echoed by Dublin's independent music producers, who spoke of the necessity of city living, enabling the type of social networks and cooperative labour which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) claim is fundamental to biopolitical production. Like Hardt and Negri (ibid), participants demonstrated the necessity for physical space in order for their immaterial labour to flourish, and it was argued that the lack of physical space within Dublin's independent music scene, could be considered an impediment to self-valorisation within Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) framework. Lastly, this thesis argued that the real/perceived inauthenticity of social media interactions has implications for the techno-social networks of immaterial labour, which Hardt and Negri (ibid.) consider to have radical organisational potential, as the required self-commodification that social media interactions requires, particularly of cultural and creative workers, counters the self-actualising, and therefore self-valorising potential of immaterial labour.

CONCLUSION

It was the aim of this thesis to provide a critique of the autonomist concept of immaterial labour, using Dublin's independent music scene as a strategic site of investigation. This closing chapter summarises the contents of the previous chapters, notes the limitations of this thesis and subsequently discusses its contribution to knowledge.

The introduction to this thesis established a working understanding of *autonomia* and immaterial labour. It described the emergence of Italian Marxism and the roots of workerism before exploring the shift towards autonomism. It then described the concept under question, immaterial labour, noting both its descriptive and prescriptive power. This chapter then introduced the reader to independent music, highlighting its marginal to normative trajectory and described current debates before explaining the remaining structure of the thesis.

Chapter One, functioned as an introduction to post-industrialism, broadly examining its products, subjects and conditions. It discussed the mobilisation of culture and creativity, knowledge and information and affect and emotion as products of the post-industrial economy. The consumer as producer, the entrepreneur and the flexible personality were discussed as subjects of post-industrialism, before self-actualisation, precarity and governmentality were explored as conditions of the current socio-economic landscape. This chapter functioned as a broad introduction to post-industrial theory, ensuring that the concept of immaterial labour could be contextualised in relation to other scholarship.

The next chapter, Chapter Two was a formal literature review. It discussed and critiqued the constituting parts of immaterial labour, such as its cooperative and collaborative nature and dispersal in networked production. This chapter also reviewed the revolutionary figure of multitude in immaterial labour, as both an oppositional figure and ontological constitution. Next, it visited the concept of biopolitical production as a feature of immaterial labour tracing its genealogical origins. It then examined autonomy and exodus, in particular the manner in which immaterial labour is considered to determine itself outside capital appropriation. This first section, noted that the most frequent criticisms levelled at immaterial labour are its homogenising nature and lack of empirical grounding. The second half of this chapter examined scholarship on independent music production, and contextualised it with recourse to immaterial labour noting that scholarship on autonomy, the urban environment and participatory culture located independent music production as a logical site for investigating immaterial labour.

Chapter Three discussed methodology and methods. This chapter noted the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis and justified the methodological approach taken by exploring Marx's (1880) 'A Workers' Inquiry' and the concept of co-research within the autonomist tradition. This chapter then discussed the use of in-depth interviews to gather data concerning the lived experience of immaterial labour and also justified the use of an online questionnaire and further supplementary methods before discussing the manner in which this data was then coded and analysed.

The above was followed by Chapter Four, which presented the primary data in a thematic form. Direct quotations in addition to supplementary data was utilised under a number of headings. Through organising the data a number of persistent themes

emerged. It was first noted that participants experienced their labour in a passionate and highly intense manner with a strong emotional connection evident. However the phenomenon of free work was also uncovered and it transpired that the absence of monetary compensation impacted participants' interpersonal relationships and caused considerable stress and worry. This chapter also explained that those operating within Dublin's independent music scene were motivated by creative control and necessity. However it was apparent also, that the self-responsibility which comes with practicing in an independent manner created internal pressure for participants manifesting in psychological and emotional ways. This chapter concluded by exploring the social aspects of involvement with Dublin's independent music scene and it was noted in particular that community desire was a common phenomenon amongst participants. Their cooperation through working friendships and lamentation at the lack of viable space within the city was also examined, as was their resistance to certain forms of social media.

Chapter Five analysed the data presented in Chapter Four and used it to critique the concept of immaterial labour. It suggested an adaption of the concept of self-valorisation, arguing that the self-actualising potential of participants' labour suggested an alternative means of operating 'outside' capital, with a sense of creative autonomy fundamental to this self-actualising process. It also argued for the inclusion of unwaged immaterial labour implicating it in Hardt and Negri's (2001a; 2004; 2010) concept of immeasurability and discussing its impact on their concept of multitude, in addition to the stress and anxiety associated with mentally preoccupying labour. Lastly this chapter suggested that Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) supposed recomposition of capital is potentially compromised by the inclusion of social capital in cooperative labour,

before highlighting the paradoxes of communicative labour through a discussion on techno-social networks of production.

Limitations

By far, the biggest limitation is the concept of immaterial labour itself. Despite the term's currency within discussions on culture, creativity, informational and affective labour it is incredibly underdeveloped as a concept within autonomism. Virno (1996; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004) and Berardi (2009; 2010) in fact do not use the term at all, however their autonomist framework and analyses of post-industrial labour are similar enough in scope that their work helped bolster the minimal development the concept has. Despite coining the term in his influential essay, Lazzarato's (1997) work has shifted focus since. Whilst immaterial labour is immanent to his continuing scholarship on debt, semiotic capital and governance, the concept is simply a given, used in order to mobilise a more expansive and comprehensive analysis of post-industrial order rather than a field of interrogation in itself. Yet the term's ubiquity and indeed the concepts it is used to mobilise across post-industrial labour research, make it worthy of analysis, despite its shortcomings.

Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) provide the most rounded and comprehensive account of immaterial labour within the autonomist tradition, reflected in this thesis which focuses primarily upon their work. However, although the term became synonymous with their 'Empire' trilogy, the sum of which exceeds 1,300 pages, immaterial labour is discussed across only 77 of those pages. Quantifying it in this manner demonstrates how minimal the concept is within their work, not only that, but it is abstracted to such a degree, that mobilising its central components in a manner

appropriate for an empirically-informed study, proved difficult. This was particularly true when designing the interview protocol and questionnaire.

As noted in Chapter Three, a research journal was kept throughout the entire research process, documented in a series of research notebooks, cited as r.n. 1, r.n. 2 etc., when referenced. Keeping a diary aids in researcher reflexivity to "explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research" (Nightingale and Cromby 1999, p.28). Giddens (1976) noted that personal reflexivity, reflected the research process and its assumptions and conclusions, back on the researcher themselves, creating a sense of self-awareness, whilst Colbourne and Sque (2004) and indeed Carlon (2003) highlighted a more rigorous, analytical self-inspection character to reflexivity. Certainly, the continual documentation of thoughts, problems and assumptions within a research journal, made visible the unwieldy nature of immaterial labour. An extract from a research notebook in 2011 noted this difficulty

> I don't know how to explore biopolitics? I can't casually ask 'so, is your labour biopolitical?' in an interview situation. Yet it's something that makes up part of my conceptual framework, so I can't ignore it (r.n. 8).

There was some difficulty then translating the constituting parts of immaterial labour into concepts which could be formulated into research questions. As noted in a research notebook from 2012 I asked "what would an interviewee have to say in order for me to recognise 'spontaneous communism?'" (r.n. 10).

This raises the question of whether it is possible to decontextualise immaterial labour as a concept in itself from the more expansive projects of Lazzarato (1997; 2002; 2004; 2007) and Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010). It is used, certainly in the latter's work, as a cog in the machinery of an all compassing theory, ironically a piece within a post-modern metanarrative. Its uniqueness lies in its revolutionary prescriptive

power, the promise of a communist future. However this same philosophical suggestion is precisely what makes it hard to translate at ground level, and thus this work is limited by the difficulty of concretising its many abstractions. Furthermore, it is a concept fraught with contradictions, played out repeatedly in Chapter Five of this thesis. Lastly, at a theoretical level, the claims made in Chapter Five of this thesis are ungeneralisable, and only made possible with reference to the specific data gathered and analysed. Whilst this particular aspect is also a strength of this thesis, given immaterial labour's homogenous character, it also means that broader abstractions concerning the concept are simply provisional.

Additionally, despite there being a number of websites such as Marxists.org (www.marxists.org), Libcom.org (www.libcom.org) and Generation Online (www.generation-online.og) who translate and publish work within the autonomist Marxist tradition, there still exists a vast quantity of primarily Italian (but also French and Swiss-French) work which has yet to be translated into English. Thus, there is an unavoidable gap in the literature used within this thesis. Theorists such as Nick Dyer-Witheford, Steven Wright, Harry Cleaver and John Holloway, in addition to journals such as Ephemera (www.ephemerajournal.org) and Fibreculture (www.fibreculture.org) have nevertheless contributed to the introduction of *autonomia* within the English speaking world.

At a more practical level, the rationale behind using a small sample size was to get a deep understanding of participants' experience of labour. Data was therefore frequently revisited and extensively coded in a time-consuming process without the use of any computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) such as Nvivo, Tams etc. The purpose of using a manual coding technique was to avoid the

depersonalisation and decontextualisation that is frequently reported as a disadvantage in using CAQDAS (Fielding and Lee 1998; Barry 1998; Bhowmick 2006). However, the difficulty of contextualising the data within the abstract and sometimes obtuse aspects of immaterial labour, meant that some of this richness was lost.

A further limitation to this thesis is that it captures the experience of labour within Dublin's independent music scene within a comparatively narrow time frame. This thesis was written between the years 2008-2014 with much of the data gathered between 2009-2012 and thus functions as a particular snapshot in time. This limitation is further intensified by the rapidly changing techno-social landscape which influences music production and some noteworthy examples put this limitation into perspective. The year research began, the social networking site MySpace (www.myspace.com) was the largest social media site in the world, and its utilisation by independent musicians was of core concern. However, in the duration of this research, Facebook (www.facebook.com) has taken over as the hegemonic social media platform. The number of record labels has dropped from four in 2008 (Universal, Sony, Warner and EMI) to three in 2014 (Universal, Sony and Warner), whilst popular crowdsourcing websites such as Kickstarter (www.kickstarter.com) in 2009, and Fund:It (www.fundit.ie) in 2010 have come into fruition during the course of this research. This thesis is therefore restricted by the peculiarities of its specific techno-social environment, in which one is essentially trying to study a constantly moving target.

Contributions

In a general sense by looking at independent music production amongst music producers of numerous styles and genres, this research highlights the commonalities experienced by disparate music groups and sub-scenes. A number of studies (Straw

1984; Bennett and Peterson 2004; Gordon 2005; O'Connor 2008) have examined various phenomena from legal issues in underground raves to translocal Goth movements, and the specificities of such scholarly work on genres, styles and subcultures, shines a unique light on those under study. However whilst the aim in these studies is to demonstrate their own peculiarities, this research sets itself somewhat apart by focusing and illuminating on that which is common to music producers. It therefore offers an alternative lens with which to understand music scenes, not as a fragmented collection of differing semiotic information, musical styles or subcultural politics, but as a collection of common experience in a specific form of cultural and creative labour.

The timeliness of this research is also apparent within a growing discourse on autonomous production as a whole. The concept of autonomous production has been applied at a theoretical level to fields as diverse as pedagogy (Downes 2008; Groom 2008) and media production (Tryon 2007; Frølunde 2012), in addition to entering the public imagination in depoliticised form through game-modding (Soderman 2009) and crafting (Kuznetsov and Paulos 2010). The emergence of this discourse is evident also at a political level. Whilst the United States, the world's largest global economy at the time of writing, has been somewhat trailing in these discussions, Stangler and Maxwell (2012) argue that in the aftermath of the 2008 global economic downturn, the U.S.A. is ushering in a new era characterised by a "do-it-yourself producer society" (p.5). Additionally the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), a centre-left think tank in the U.S.A. released a policy brief in 2011 advocating a radical rethink of current economic models, calling for a move from a consumer to producer economic culture (Marshall 2011).

This thesis' main contributions however, are theoretical in nature. It demonstrates the shaky foundations upon which the concept of immaterial labour is built, but also highlights areas where it holds some explanatory power. Its contribution is not simply these theoretical critiques, but the fact that they are grounded in a particular type of labour (independent music production), in a specific place (Dublin) and use first-hand accounts of labour by immaterial labourers themselves. De Peuter and Dyer-Witheford (2005) demonstrated the techniques and rationales by which immaterial labour was produced and resisted within the Canadian games industry. Wissinger (2007) suggested that the role of affectivity was underplayed within immaterial labour studies through an examination of the modelling industry, whilst Hearn (2010) argued that the immeasurable labour of Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) was nowhere to be found within the work of reality TV producers. This thesis then, is situated amongst these contributions yet also unique in the specificity of its subject and the critiques that followed.

A notable contribution is highlighting the perplexing lack of attention that self-valorisation receives within immaterial labour studies. It is, after all, the decisive precursor to the supposed radical future *autonomia* envisages, yet is visible only in fragments. By suggesting that self-actualising labour (and the creative autonomy it requires) may be one way in which this self-valorisation is experienced, this thesis demonstrates the absence of consideration given to the ways in which labour can possibly be experienced 'outside' capital calling for the necessity of further research within an autonomist framework.

The suggestion for the inclusion of unwaged immaterial labour within the remit of immaterial labour also points to the artificial gap that is sometimes described in

discussions of free vs. paid work. By only incorporating waged immaterial labour within their analysis, Hardt and Negri (2001a; 2004; 2010) fail to account for the multi-faceted nature of this type of work. This thesis shows that free labour is entangled with its paid form to such an extent that it needs to be included within an expansion of Hardt and Negri's (ibid.) theoretical prescription and has implications for their concept of immeasurability, a further fundamental concept in their radical future.

A further contribution of this thesis is the suggestion that immaterial labour needs to re-engage with the concept of alienation. As demonstrated, this thesis draws attention to both the positive and negative experiences of independent music labour. In particular however, the experience of unwaged immaterial labour which affected participants' interpersonal relationships, has ramifications for the joyful multitude of Hardt and Negri (ibid.) suggesting that its linear path to communism is ruptured with alienating experiences. This is also true of the paradoxical nature of self-actualising labour, where participants' passionate attachments to work may interfere with its possible self-valorising potential. This thesis also contributes to the knowledge-base of immaterial labour studies by suggesting that social capital is immanent to the immaterial labour of Hardt and Negri (ibid.) despite being disregarded by them. There are opportunities here then, for further research and theoretical synthesis between these fields of study.

Overall, what this thesis demonstrates is that there are disparities between the immaterial labour of autonomist theory and immaterial labour as experienced by Dublin's independent music producers and it thus calls into question the type of future that immaterial labour imagines, given how faulty some of its premises turn out to be.

Of course, as repeatedly stated these conclusions are provisional only, nevertheless they provide opportunities for a revision of the immaterial labour thesis, based on the nuances that this research highlights. As such, they demonstrate the lack of attention that immaterial labour theorists give to the experiences of workers themselves. Unlike the co-research which is embedded within the workerist and autonomist traditions, immaterial labour has been theorised without the input of those labourers' it seeks to describe and this thesis reveals the erroneous implications of this oversight by critiquing the basic premises upon which immaterial labour is built with reference to its lived experience.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, N., and Longhurst, B., 1998. *Audiences: A Sociological Theory of Performance and Imagination.* Sage.

Adanza, E.G., 1995. *Research Methods: Principles and Applications.* Rex Bookstore.

Adorno, T.W., 1941. On Popular Music. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* 6, 17–48.

Adorno, T.W., 1975. Culture Industry Reconsidered. *New German Critique* 6, 12– 19.

Adorno, T.W., and Horkheimer, M., 1944. *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* Verso

Agamben, G., 2005. *State of Exception.* University of Chicago Press.

Ajjawi, R., and Higgs, J., 2007. Using Hermeneutical Phenomenology to Investigate How Experienced Practitioners Learn to Communicate Clinical Reasoning. *The Qualitative Report* 12, 612–638.

Allen, M., 2008. Web 2.0: An Argument against Convergence. *First Monday* 13(3), 1-11.

Allison, C., 2004. The Challenge and Opportunities of Online Music: Technology Measures, Business Models, Stakeholders Impact and Emerging Trends. *Department of Canadian Heritage,* 1–115. Available from: http://dsppsd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/CH36-4-2-2004E.pdf (accessed 03/08/2012).

Allison, A., 2009. The Cool Brand, Affective Activism and Japanese Youth. *Theory Culture and Society* 26, 89–111.

Amin, A., 2008. *Post-Fordism: A Reader.* John Wiley & Sons.

Anderson, B., 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Verso Books.

Anderson, T.L., 2009. *Rave Culture: the Alteration and Decline of a Philadelphia Music Scene.* Temple University Press.

Anfara, V.A., and Mertz, N.T., (eds.). 2006. *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks.

Angelis, M.D., 2006. *The Beginning of History: Value Struggles and Global Capital.* Pluto Press.

Aufheben., 2008. The Language of Retreat: Review of Virno's 'A Grammar of the Multitude.' *Libcom* [online]. Available

from http://libcom.org/library/language-retreat-review-virnos-grammar-multitude (accessed 18/02/2013).

Arendt, H., 1958. *The Human Condition, 2nd ed.* Chicago University Press.

Arvidsson, A., 2005. Brands: A Critical Perspective. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5(2), 235-258.

Arvidsson, A., 2006. *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture.* Routledge.

Arvidsson, A., 2007. Creative Class or Administrative Class? On Advertising and the "Underground." *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organisation* 7, 8–23.

Arvidsson, A., and Bandinelli, C., 2013. Brand Yourself a Changemaker! *Journal of Macromarketing* 33(1), 67-71.

Attali, J., and Massumi, B., 1985. *Noise: Political Economy of Music.* University of Minnesota Press.

Ayers, M.D., 2006. *Cybersounds: Essays on Virtual Music Culture.* Peter Lang.

Azerrad, M., 2002. *Our Band could be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991.* Back Bay Books.

Bailey, K.D., 1994. *Methods of Social Research.* Simon and Schuster.

Banks, M., 2010. Autonomy Guaranteed: Cultural Work and the "Art-Commerce" Relation. *Journal for Cultural Research* 14, 251–269.

Banks, M., et al., 2014. *Theorizing Cultural Work: Labour, Continuity and Change in the Cultural and Creative Industries.* Routledge.

Baulch, E., 2007. *Making Scenes.* Duke University Press.

Baumgarten, M., 2012. *Love Rock Revolution: K Records and the Rise of Independent Music.* Sasquatch.

Banks, I.M., 2005. *The Algebraist.* Orbit.

Bannister, M., 2006. *White Boys, White Noise: Masculinities and 1980s Indie Guitar Rock.* Ashgate Publishing.

Barbrook, R., 1999. The High-Tech Gift Economy, *In:* Bosma J. et al., (eds.) *Readme! Filtered By Nettime: ASCII Culture And The Revenge Of Knowledge.* Autonomedia, 133–139.

Barbrook, R., and Cameron, A., 1995. The Californian Ideology. *Alamut* [online]. Available from http://www.alamut.com/subj/ideologies/pessimism/califIdeo_I.html (accessed 24/5/10).

Barnard, A., 2000. *History and Theory in Anthropology.* Cambridge University Press.

Barry, C. A., 1998. Choosing Qualitative Data Analysis Software: Atlas/ti and Nudist. *Sociological Research Online* [online]. Available from http://www.socresonline.org.uk/3/3/4.html (accessed 10/09/2013).

Basegmez, V., 2005. *Irish Scene and Sound: Identity, Authenticity and Transnationality among Young Musicians* (Ph.D Thesis). University of Stockholm.

Bauman, Z., 2000. *Liquid Modernity.* Polity Press.

Baym, N.K., 2012. Fans or Friends?: Seeing Social Media Audiences as Musicians Do. *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 9 (2), 286316.

Baym, N.K., and Burnett, R., 2009. Amateur Experts: International Fan Labour in Swedish Independent Music. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 12, 433–449.

Bealle, J., 2013. DIY Music and Scene Theory, *In: Proceedings of the Midwest Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusiciology* 13th April. Cincinnati, USA. Available   from https://www.academia.edu/4406896/DIY_Music_and_Scene_Theory (accessed 03/03/2015).

Beauvoir, S.de., [1947] 1997. *The Second Sex.* Vintage Classics.

Becker, G., 1964. *Human Capital, 3rd ed.* University of Chicago Press.

Begg, A.M., 2012. *Brand New Zealand. Media Governmentality and Affective Biopower* (Ph.D Thesis). University of Otago.

Bell, D., 1976. *The Coming of Post-industrial Society, new ed*. Basic Books.

Bell, J., 2005. *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science*. McGraw-Hill.

Benkler, Y., 2007. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. Yale University Press.

Bennett, A., and Peterson, R.A., 2004. *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual.* Vanderbilt University Press.

Bennett, A., 2002. Music, Media and Urban Mythscapes: a Study of the "Canterbury Sound." *Media Culture and* Society 24, 87–100.

Bennett, A., 2004. Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective. *Poetics* 32, 223–234.

Bennett, T., 2003. Culture and Governmentality. *In:* Bratich, J., et al., (eds.) *Foucault, Cultural Studies and Governmentality.* State University of New York, 47-66.

Berardi, F. 'Bifo'., 2003. What is the Meaning of Autonomy Today? *Republicart* [online]. Available from http://republicart.net/disc/realpublicspaces/berardi01_en.pdf (accessed 13/07/2012).

Berardi, F. 'Bifo'., 2009. *The Soul at Work: From Alienation to Autonomy.* Semiotext(e).

Berardi, F. 'Bifo'., 2010a. Cognitarian Subjectivation. *E-flux* 20, 1–8.

Berger, G., 2006. *The Story of Crass.* Omnibus Press.

Bernard, H.R., 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Rowman Altamira.

Bestley, R. *The Art of Punk.* Omnibus.

Besussi, A., 2012. *A Companion to Political Philosophy. Methods, Tools and Topics.* Ashgate.

Bhaskar, R., 1975. *A Realist Theory of Science.* Routledge.

Bhowmick, T., 2006. Building an Exploratory Visual Analysis Tool for Qualitative Researchers. *In: AutoCarto,* 26th-28th June. Vancouver, Canada. Available from: http://www.geovista.psu.edu/publications/2006/Bhowmick AutoCarto QualRes_06.pdf (accessed 19/05/2011).

Bloor, M., 2001. *Focus Groups in Social Research*. Sage.

Blumer, H., 1954. What is Wrong with Social Theory? *American Sociological Review* 18, 3–10.

Butler, N. et al., 2014. Diagrammatics of Organization. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 14(2), 167-175.

Boas, T.C., and Gans-Morse, J., 2009. Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44(2), 137-161.

Boghossian, P. 2006. *Fear of Knowledge: Against Relativism and Constructivism.* Oxford.

Boltanski, L., and Chiapello, E., 2005. *The New Spirit of Capitalism.* Verso Books.

Bottà, G., 2009. The City that was Creative and did not Know: Manchester and Popular Music, 1976-97. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 12, 349–365.

Bourdieu, P., 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1979. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Routledge.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. *The Forms of Capital.* Routledge.

Bourdieu, P., 1990. *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.* Polity Press.

Boyer, A., 2001. Ontological Materialism and the Problem of Politics. *Pli* 12, 174199.

Brackett, D., 2000. *Interpreting Popular Music*. University of California Press.

Bratich, J., 2010. The Digital Touch: Craft-work as Immaterial Labour and Ontological Accumulation. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 10, 303–318.

Brenner, M., n.d. Interviewing in Educational Research. *USCB* [online]. Available from http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/projects/oralhistory/2006 MEBr ennerInterviewInEducResearchOCR.pdf (accessed 24/10/10).

Bright, M and Gunnell, B., 2009. *Make a Job, Don't take a Job: Building the Creative Society.* NDotM.

Brint, S., 2001. Professionals and the 'Knowledge Economy:' Rethinking the Theory of Post-industrial Society. *Current Sociology* 49, 101–132.

Brouillette, S., 2009. Creative Labor. *Mediations* 24, 140–149.

Brown, A., et al., 2000. Local Music Policies within a Global Music Industry: Cultural Quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. *Geoforum, Culture Industries and Cultural Policy; Globalizing Cities;* 31, 437–451.

Bruns, A., 2005. Some Exploratory Notes on Produsers and Produsage. *Snurb* [online]. Available from http://snurb.info/index.php?q=node/329 (accessed 5/22/10).

Buffardi, L. E., and Campbell, W. K., 2008. Narcissism and Social Networking Web Sites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34, 1303-1314.

Bulut, E., 2015. Glamor Above, Precarity Below: Immaterial Labor in the Video Game Industry. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 32, 193–207.

Burnham, J., et al., 1938. Introduction to Marx's "A Workers' Inquiry." Marxists.org [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol04/no12/marx.htm (accessed 15/04/2012)

Byrne, N. 2012. Band Tips. *FMC* [online]. Available from http://www.firstmusiccontact.com/bandtips/bandtips_blogger.pdf (accessed 22/04/2013.

Caffentzis, G., 1999. The End of Work or the Renaissance of Slavery? A Critique of Rifkin and Negri. *Common Sense: Journal of the Edinburgh Conference of Socialist Economists* 24, 20–38.

Caffentzis, G., 2007. Crystals and Analytic Engines: Historical and Conceptual Preliminaries to a New Theory of Machines. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7, 24–45.

Caffentzis, G., 2010. The Future of 'The Commons': Neoliberalism's 'Plan B' or the Original Disaccumulation of Capital? *New Formations* 69, 23–41.

Calhoun, C., 2003. Pierre Bourdieu, *In*: Ritzer, G., (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists.* Blackwell Publishing, 274–309.

Camfield, D., 2007. The Multitude and the Kangaroo: A Critique of Hardt and Negri's Theory of Immaterial Labour. *Historical Materialism* 15, 21–52.

Campbell, J., 1991. *A Joseph Campbell Companion: Reflections on the Art of Living.* Harper Collins.

Carrithers, M. et al., 2008. Ontology is Just Another Word for Culture? *Manchester University* [online]. Available from http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/disciplines/socialanthropology/research/gdat/documents/2008%20Ontology%20just%20another%20word%2 0for%20culture.pdf (accessed 28/03/2011).

Carroll, J., 2012. Is Fan-Funding Really the Way Forward for the Music Business? *On the Record* [online], 4th May 2012. Available from http://www.irishtimes.com/blogs/ontherecord/2012/05/04/is-fan-fundingreally-the-way-forward-for-music (accessed 19/05/2012).

Caragliu, A et al., 2009. Smart Cities in Europe. *Ideas* [online]. Available from http://ideas.repec.org/p/dgr/vuarem/2009-48.html#biblio (accessed 02/06/2014).

Castells, M., [1996] 2009. *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume I, 2nd ed.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Castro, E.V. de, 1998. Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, 469–488.

Castro, E.V. de. 2003. After Dinner Speech at 'Anthropology and Science'. *Social Anthropology* [online] 7, n.p. Available from http://nansi.abaetenet.net/abaetextos/anthropology-and-science-e-viveiros-decastro (accessed 08/05/2011).

Castro, E.V. de, 2004. Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies. *Common Knowledge* 10, 463–484.

Cederström, C., and Fleming, P., 2012. *Dead Man Working*. John Hunt.

Chambers, I., 1982. Some Critical Tracks. *Popular Music* 2, 19-36.

Chapman, D., 2013. The 'One-man band' and Entrepreneurial Selfhood in Neoliberal Culture. *Popular Music* 32, 451-470

Charmaz, K., 2003. Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. *In:* Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S., (eds.) *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry.* Sage, 249–291.

Chion, M. et al., 1994. *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*. Columbia University Press.

Chirkov, V.I., 2007. Culture, Personal Autonomy and Individualism: Their Relationships and Implications for Personal Growth and Well-Being, *In:* Zheng G et al., (eds.) *Perspectives and Progress in Contemporary CrossCultural Psychology.* China Light Industry Press, 247–263.

Choi, B., and Wieder, A., 2011. Managerial Authorship: Appropriating Living Labour. *Casco Issues* 12, 1-9.

Christopher, D., 1999. *British Culture: An Introduction*. Routledge.

Chukhrov, K., 2010. Towards the Space of the General: On Labor beyond Materiality and Immateriality. *E-flux* 20, 1–8.

Chuluunbaatar, E., et al., 2014. The Role of Cluster and Social Capital in Cultural and Creative Industries Development. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 109, 552–557.

Cleaver, H., 1992. The Inversion of Class Perspective in Marxian Theory: From Valorisation to Self-Valorisation. *Libcom* [online]. Available from http://libcom.org/library/inversion-class-perspective-marxian-theoryvalorization-self-valorization (accessed 4/11/2012).

Cleaver, H., 1994. Kropotkin, Self-Valorization and the Crisis of Marxism. *Libcom* [online]. Available from http://libcom.org/library/kropotkin-self-valorizationcrisis-marxism (accessed 25/03/2013).

Cleaver, H., 2011. On Self-valorization in Mariarosa Dalla Costa's "'Women and the Subversion of the Community. *Caring Labour: An Archive* [online]. Available from https://caringlabor.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/harry-cleaver-on-self-

valorization-in-mariarosa-dalla-costa%E2%80%99s-women-and-the-subversion-of-the-community/ (accessed 23/12/2012).

Clough, P., 2007. The Affective Turn: Introduction. *In:* Clough, P., and Halley, J., (eds.) *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social.* Duke University Press.

Cohen, M.Z. et al., 2000. *Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research: A Practical Guide for Nurse Researchers*. Sage.

Collin, M., 2010. *Altered State: The Story of Ecstasy Culture and Acid House.* Profile.

Comor, E., 2010. Digital Prosumption and Alienation. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organisation* 10, 1473–2866.

Conley, D., 2009. *Elsewhere, U.S.A.: How We Got from the Company Man, Family Dinners and the Affluent Society to the Home Office, BlackBerry Moms and Economic Anxiety.* Vintage.

Coppa, F., 2006. A Brief History of Media Fandom. *In:* Hellekson, K., and Busse, K., (eds.) *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet: New Essays.* McFarland, 41–59.

Costa, M.D., and James, S., 1975. *Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community, 3rd ed.* Falling Wall Press.

Cote, M., and Pybus, J., 2007. Learning to Immaterial Labour 2.0: MySpace and Social Networks. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7, 88–106.

Cottrell, S., 2004. *Professional Music-Making in London: Ethnography and Experience.* Ashgate.

Creswell, J.W., 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches.* Sage.

Crotty, M., 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research.* Sage.

Crow, G., and Mah, A., 2011. Connected Communities. *Ahrc* [online]. Available from http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funding-Opportunities/Researchfunding/Connected-Communities/Scoping-studiesandreviews/Documents/Conceptualisations%20and%20meaning%20of%20community%20%20the%20theory%20and%20operationalisation%20of%20a%2 0contested%20concept.pdf (accessed 29/09/2013).

Cruz, A., 2013. Farewell Facebook, and Good Riddance. *Fusion.net* [online] 3rd June 2013. Available from http://fusion.net/abc_univision/story/quitting-facebook11338 (accessed 12/12/2013).

Cunningham, M., 1996. *Good Vibrations: History of Record Production*. Sanctuary Publishing.

Dalla Costa, M., and James, S., 1972. The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community. *Radical Journal* [online]. Available from http://radicaljournal.com/books/maria_dalla_costa_power/ (accessed 15/11/2011).

D'Amato, F., 2013. DIY a DIWO in Participatory Culture: Tools, Practices and Experiences in Crowdfunding Music Projects, *In: The Small Economies of the New Music Industry,* 25th March. Bristol, U.K. Available from: https://iris.uniroma1.it/handle/11573/572586?mode=full.16#.VXXAM s9Vik o (accessed 23/05/2014).

Danesi, M., 1994. *Cool: The Signs and Meanings of Adolescence*. University of Toronto Press.

Danesi, M., 2007. *Popular Culture: Introductory Perspectives*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Daniel, E.D. et al., 1998. *Magnetic Recording: The First 100 Years.* Wiley.

Davies, R., and Sigthorsson, G., 2013. *Introducing the Creative Industries: From Theory to Practice.* Sage.

Daymon, C., and Holloway, I., 2010. *Qualitative Research Methods in Public Relations and Marketing Communications.* Routledge.

Dean, J., 2005. Communicative Capitalism: Circulation and the Foreclosure of Politics. *Cultural Politics* 1(1), 51-74.

Dean, J., 2012. Still Dancing: Drive as a Category of Political Economy. *International Journal of Žižek Studies,* 6 (1), 1-19.

De Angelis, M., 2003. Reflections on Alternatives, Commons and Communities or Building a New World from the Bottom Up. *The Commoner* 6, 1–14.

De Angelis, M., 2012. Care Work and the Commons. *The Commoner* 15, i-xix.

DeNora, T., 2000. *Music in Everyday Life.* University of Exeter.

Deleuze, G., and Guattari, F., 1972. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Continuum International.

Deleuze, G., and Guattari, F., 1980. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Continuum International.

Deleuze, G., 1992. Postscript on the Societies of Control. *October* 59, 3–7.

Denzin, N.K., 1978. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Aldine Transaction.

Denzin, N.K., 2006. *Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook*. Transaction.

Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S., 2005. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Deuze, M., 2007. *Media Work*. Polity Press.

Deuze, M., 2006. Participation, Remediation, Bricolage: Considering Principal Components of a Digital Culture. *The Information Society* 22, 63–75.

Dewey, J., [1920] 1997. *Reconstruction in Philosophy*. Beacon Press.

Dhar, V., and Chang, E., 2008. Does Chatter Matter? The Impact of User-Generated Content on Music Sales. *In: The Third Workshop on Statistical Challenges in Electronic Commerce*, 19th-20th May. New York, U.S.A.

Dilts, A., 2011. From 'Entrepreneur of the Self' to 'Care of the Self': Neo-liberal Governmentality and Foucault's Ethics. *Foucault and Race* 12, 130-146.

Dinsmore, S., 2012. How to Find and Do Work You Love. *Tedx* [video, online]. Available from http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/How-To-Find-And-Do-WorkYou-Lov (accessed 02/12/14).

DiNucci, D., 1999. Fragmented Future. *Cdinnuci* [online]. Available from http://www.cdinucci.com/Darcy2/articles/Print/Printarticle7.html (accessed 5/22/10).

Do It Yourself: Cultural and Creative Self-Employment in Hard Times. 2009. *New Deal of the Mind Report*. Arts Council England.

Dockray, S., 2010. Facebook Suicide (Bomb) Manifesto. *Turbulence* [online]. Available from http://turbulence.org/blog/2010/05/28/idc-facebook-suicidebomb-manifesto (accessed 13/03/2014).

Doctorow, C., 2003. *Down and Out in the Magic Kingdom*. Harper Voyager.

Donzelot, J. 1991. Pleasure in Work. *In*: Burchell, G. et al*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality,* 251-280

Dowling, E. et al., 2007. Immaterial and Affective Labour: Explored. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7, 1–7.

Draper, P., 2007. *Music Two-Point-Zero: How Participatory Culture is Reclaiming Knowledge, Power and Value Systems from the Inside Out*. Griffith University.

Drucker, P. [1966] 2007. *The Effective Executive*. Harper Collins.

Duke, N.K., and Mallette, M.H., 2011. *Literacy Research Methodologies, 2ⁿᵈ ed.* Guilford Press.

Duncombe, S., 1997. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture.* Verso Books.

Duncombe, S., 2005. Sabotage, Slack and the Zinester Search for Non-Alienated Labour. *In:* Bell, D., (ed.) *Ordinary Lifestyles*. McGraw-Hill, 217-230.

Dunn, K., C., 2008. Never Mind the Bollocks: The Punk Rock Politics of Global Communication. *Review of International Studies* 34, 193–210.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 1994. Autonomist Marxism and the Information Society. *Capital and Class* 52, 5–34.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 1999. *Cyber-Marx: Cycles and Circuits of Struggle in Hightechnology Capitalism*. University of Illinois Press.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2001. Empire, Immaterial Labor, the New Combinations, and the Global Worker. *Rethinking Marxism* 13, 70–80.

Dyer-Witherford, N., 2004. The Return of Species-Being. *Historical Materialism* 12(4), 1-23.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2006a. Species-Being and the New Commonism: Notes on an Interrupted Cycle of Struggles. *The Commoner* 11, 1–18.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2006b. The Circulation of the Common [online]. *In:* Emery, Ed. (ed.) *Immaterial Labour, Multitudes and New Social Subjects: Class Composition in Cognitive Capitalism* 29ᵗʰ-30ᵗʰ April. Birmingham, England. Available from http://www.fims.uwo.ca/people/faculty/dyerwitheford/Commons2006.pdf (accessed 15/11/2010).

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2010. Digital Labour, Species-Becoming and the Global Worker. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organisation* 10, 484–503.

Eagleton, T., 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction*. Verso Books.

Eden, D., 2012. *Autonomy: Capitalism, Class and Politics*. Ashgate Publishing.

Edgar, A., and Sedgwick, P., (eds.). 2007. *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts.* Routledge.

Edstrom, B., 2010. *Recording on a Budget*. Oxford University Press.

Elo, S., and Kyngas, H., 2008. The Qualitative Content Analysis Process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62, 107–115.

Embrick, D.G., et al., (eds.), 2012. *Social Exclusion, Power, and Video Game Play: New Research in Digital Media and Technology*. Lexington.

ErkenBrack, E., et al., 2012. Popular Culture. *Oxford Bibliographies* [online]. Available from http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo9780199766 567/obo-9780199766567-0055.xml#obo-9780199766567-0055bibItem-0006 (accessed 14/02/2015).

Escott, C., and Hawkins, M., 1992. *Good Rockin' Tonight: Sun Records and the Birth of Rock 'n' Roll.* St. Martin's Griffin.

Etlin, R., 2002. *Art, Culture and Media Under the Third Reich.* University of Chicago Press.

Featherstone, M., 2007. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.* Sage.

Federici, S., 2004. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. Autonomedia.

Federici, S., 2011. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction and Feminist Struggle.* Autonomedia.

Fielding, N., and Raymond M. L., 1998. *Computer Analysis and Qualitative research: New Technologies for Social Research*. Thousand Oaks.

Feilzer, M.Y., 2010. Doing Mixed Methods Research Pragmatically: Implications for the Rediscovery of Pragmatism as a Research Paradigm. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 4, 6–16.

Feinberg, J., 2009. MediaShift: What Will Record Labels Look Like in the Future? *PBS* [online] 18th August 2009. Available from http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2009/08/what-will-record-labels-look-like-inthe-future230.html (accessed 24/5/10).

Finnegan, R., 1989. *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*. Wesleyan.

Fisher, M., 2009. *Capitalist Realism: Is There no Alternative?* Zero Books.

Fiske, J., 1992. The Cultural Economy of Fandom. *In:* Lewis, L.A., (ed.) *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media.* Routledge, 30-50.

Flew, T., 2009. The Cultural Economy Moment? *In: Media Technologies, Community and Everyday Life* 2nd September 2009. Perth, Australia. Available from http://www.scribd.com/doc/19412802/The-CulturalEconomy-Moment (accessed 28/7/2011).

Flew, T., 2012. *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy.* Sage.

Flew, T., 2013. *Global Creative Industries.* Polity Press.

Flick, U., 2002. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research.* Sage.

Flick, U., 2009. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research, 4th ed.* Sage.

Flood, A., 2002. Is the Emperor Wearing Clothes? *Struggle* [online]. Available from: http://struggle.ws/pdfs/empire.pdf (accessed 30/09/2009).

Florida, R., 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class: and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life.* Basic Books.

Ford, H., and Crowther, S., 1922. *My Life and Work.* Doubleday.

Forkert, K., 2013. *Artistic Lives.* Ashgate.

Foucault, M., 1976. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.* Vintage.

Foucault, M., [1978-1979] 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Frank, T., 1998. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism.* University of Chicago Press.

Frankfort-Nachmias, C., and Nachmias, D., 1996. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences, 5th ed.* Hodder Education.

Freeman, C., 2008. *Systems of Innovation: Selected Essays in Evolutionary Economics.* Edward Elgar.

Freidson, E., 1990. "Labors of 'Love: A Prospectus". *In:* Erikson, K., and Vallas, S.P., (eds.) *The Nature of Work: Sociological Perspectives.* Yale University Press.

Frølunde, L., 2012. Animated War: Perspectives on Resemiosis and Authorship Applied to Two DIY Film Projects. *Convergence* 18, 93–103.

Fuchs, C., 2011. Web 2.0, Prosumption, and Surveillance. *Surveillance and Society,* 8 (3), 288-309.

Fuchs, C., and Sevignani, S., 2013. What Is Digital Labour? What Is Digital Work? What's their Difference? And Why Do These Questions Matter for Understanding Social Media? *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 11, 237–293.

Fukuyama, F., 1995. *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity.* Penguin Books.

Fulcher, J., 2004. *Capitalism: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford.

Fuller, J., 1980. The New Workerism: The Politics of the Italian Autonomists. *International Socialism* [online]. Available from http://pubs.socialistreviewindex.org.uk/isj92/fuller.htm (accessed 29/08/2011).

Gadamer, H.G., 1960. *Truth and Method.* Continuum International.

Galuszka, P., 2012. Netlabels and Democratization of the Recording Industry. *First Monday* 7(2), 1-21.

Gans, H., 2010. *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste Revised and Updated.* Basic Books.

Garnham, N., 2005. From the Cultural to Creative Industries: An Analysis of the Implications of the 'Creative Industries' Approach to the Arts and Media Policy Making in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, 15–30.

Garttan, S., 2011. The Indignant Multitude: Spinozist Marxism after Empire. Mediations: *Journal of the Marxist Literary Group* 25, 5–21.

Geertz, C., 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Basic Books.

Gendron, B., 2002. *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-garde.* Chicago University Press.

Gerring, J., 2001. *Social Science Methodology: A Criterial Framework.* Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A., 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* Polity Press.

Gidden, A., 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Stanford University Press.

Gidwani, V., and Baviskar, A., 2011. Urban Commons. *Economic and Political Weekly XVLI* (50), 42-43.

Gill, R., 2011. *Life is a Pitch: Managing the Self in New Media Work, in: Managing Media Work.* Sage.

Gill, R., and Pratt, A., 2008. In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work. *Theory, Culture, Society* 25, 1–30.

Gillham, B., 2000. *The Research Interview.* Continuum.

Giorgi, A., 2008. Concerning a Serious Misunderstanding of the Essence of the Phenomenological Method in Psychology. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* 39, 33–58.

Glaser, B.G., and Strauss, A.L., 1967. *Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Aldine Transaction.

Glesne, C., 2010. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction, 4th ed.* Allyn and Bacon.

Goethe, J., 1906. Maxims and Reflections. *Project Gutenberg* [online]. Available from http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33670/33670-h/33670-h.htm (accessed 01/01/2014).

Gordon, A., 2005. *The Authentic Punk: An Ethnography of DIY Music Ethics* (Ph.D Thesis). Loughborough University.

Gordon, R., 1986. *Microelectronics in Transition: Industrial Transformation and Social Change.* Ablex.

Gordon, S., 2008. *Future of the Music Business: How to Succeed with the New Digital Technologies, 2ⁿᵈ ed*. Hal Leonard.

Goriunova, O., 2011. *Art Platforms and Cultural Production on the Internet.* Routledge.

Gorz, A., 1982. *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism.* Pluto Press.

Gorz, A., 1985. *Paths to Paradise: On the Liberation from Work*. Pluto Press.

Graeber, D., 2004. *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology.* Prickly Paradigm Press.

Graeber, D., 2008. The Sadness of Post-Workersim or 'Art and Immaterial Labour Conference': A Sort of Review. *The Commoner* 12, 1–16.

Gramsci, A., [1929-1935] 1971. *Prison Notebooks: Selections*. Lawrence and Wishart.

Grattan, S., 2011. The Indignant Multitude: Spinozist Marxism after Empire. *Mediations* 25 (2), p.1-15.

Gray, M., 1995. *The Clash: The Return of the Last King in Town.* Helter Skelter.

Greene, J.C., 2007. *Mixed Methods In Social Inquiry*. John Wiley and Sons.

Grimshaw, A., and Hart, K., 1993. *Anthropology and the Crisis of the Intellectuals.* Prickly Pear Press.

Grodach, C., and Silver, D., 2013. *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy: Global Perspectives.* Routledge.

Gronow, P., and Saunio, I., 1999. *An International History of the Recording Industry.* Continuum.

Groom, J., 2008. The Glass Bees. *Bavata Tuesdays* [online]. Available from http://bavatuesdays.com/the-glass-bees (accessed 5/11/12).

Grossberg, L., 1984. Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life. *Popular Music*, 4, 225-258

Guattari, F., 1996. *Soft Subversions.* Semiotext(e).

Gullì, B., 2006. *Labor of Fire: The Ontology of Labor between Economy and Culture.* Temple University Press.

Haas, T., 2005. From "Public Journalism" to the "Public's Journalism"? Rhetoric and Reality in the Discourse on Weblogs. *Journalism Studies* 6(3), 387-396.

Habermas, J., 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol.1.* Beacon Press.

Habermas, J., 1987. *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol.2.* Beacon Press.

Hage, J., and Powers, C.H., 1992. *Post-Industrial Lives: Roles and Relationships in the 21st Century.* Sage.

Hall, S., 1973. *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. Centre for Cultural Studies. University of Birmingham, 507–17.

Hall, S., 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* Sage.

Hall, S., 1999. Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies, *In:* During, S., *The Cultural Studies Reader.* Routledge, 90-104.

Hall, S., and Jefferson, T., 1989. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain.* Routledge.

Hamman, R., 1997. Introduction. *Cybersociology* [online]. Available from http://www.cybersociology.com/files/2_1_hamman.html (accessed 23/10/2013).

Hanna, K., 1991. *Bikini Kill #2*.

Haraway, D.J., 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature.* Routledge.

Hardin, R. 2001. Conceptions and Explanations of Trust *In*: Cook, K.S., (ed.) *Trust in Society: Vol. 2.* Russell Sage Foundation, 3-39.

Hardt, M., 1993. *Gilles Deleuze: An Apprenticeship in Philosophy*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hardt, M., 1999. *Affective Labor.* Boundary 26, 89–100.

Hardt, M., 2003. Harman-Hardt Debate: The Working Class or The Multitude. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/archive/harman/2003/01/debate-hardt.html (accessed 12/09/2012).

Hardt, M., and Harvey, D., 2009. *Commonwealth: An Exchange*. Artform 48, 210– 221.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 1994. *Labor of Dionysus: A Critique of the State-Form.* University of Minnesota Press.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2001a. *Empire.* Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2001b. Adventures of the Multitude: Response of the Authors. *Rethinking Marxism* 13, 236–240.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2004. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire.* Penguin Books.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2010. *Commonwealth.* Harvard University Press.

Harman, C., 2003. Harman-Hardt Debate: The Working Class or The Multitude. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/archive/harman/2003/01/debate-hardt.html (accessed 12/09/2012).

Hart, C., 1998. *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination*. Sage.

Hartley, J., 1999. *Uses of Television.* Routledge.

Hartley, J. et al., 2002. *Communication, Cultural and Media Studies: The Key Concepts.* Routledge.

Hartley, J. et al., 2013. *Key Concepts in Creative Industries*. Sage.

Harvey, D., 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Harvey, D., 2013. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Verso Books.

Haupt, A., 2008. *Stealing Empire: P2P, Intellectual Property and Hip-Hop Subversion.* Human Sciences Research Council.

Hearn, A.M.V., 2010. Reality Television, the Hills and the Limits of the Immaterial Labour Thesis. *TripleC - Cognition, Communication, Cooperation* 8, 60–76.

Hearn, F. 1997. Moral Order and Social Disorder: The American Search for Civil Society. Aldine de Gruyter.

Hebdige, D., 1979. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Routledge.

Hegel, G.W.F., [1807] 1979. *Phenomenology of Spirit.* Oxford.

Heidegger, M., [1927] 2001. *Being and Time.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Henare, A. et al,. (eds). 2006. *Thinking through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*. Routledge.

Henderson, J., 2010. *Grunge Seattle.* Roaring Forties Press.

Henning, C., and Holder, P., 2014. Creativity and Anti-Alienation: Towards a Sociology of Artistic Labour, *In: XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology.* 13th-16th July. Yokohama, Japan. Available from

https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/wc2014/webprogram/Paper51316.html (accessed 25/08/2014).

Henwood, D., 2005. *After the New Economy: The Binge... and the Hangover that Won't Go Away.* The New Press.

Hemingway, J.L., 1999. Critique and Emancipation: Toward a Critical Theory of Leisure. *In:* Jackson, E.L., and Burton, T.L (eds.) *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the Twenty-first Century.* Venture, 487-506.

Hermes, J., 2005. *Re-reading Popular Culture*. Blackwell

Hesmondhalgh, D. 1996. *Flexibility, Post-Fordism and the Music Industries*. Media, Culture and Society 18, 469-488.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 1999. Indie: The Institutional Politics and Aesthetics of a Popular Music Genre. *Cultural Studies,* 13 (1), 34-61.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2002. *The Cultural Industries.* Sage.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2007. *Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above*. Journal of Youth Studies 8(1), 21-40.

Hesmondhalgh, D., and Baker, S., 2010. *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries.* Routledge. Hesmondhalgh, D., and Baker S., 2011. 'A Very Complicated Version of Freedom': Conditions and Experiences of Creative Labour in Three Cultural Industries, *Variant* 1(41), 34-88.

Hesse-Biber, S.N., and Leavy, P., 2010. *The Practice of Qualitative Research.* Sage.

Hiatt, B., and Serpick, E., 2007. The Record Industry's Decline. *Rolling Stone* [online], 19th June 2007. Available from http://msl1.mit.edu/furdlog/docs/2007-06 19_rollingstone_industry_decline.pdf (accessed 06/07/2010).

Hills, M., 2002. *Fan Cultures*. Routledge.

Hillery, G., 1955. Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement. *Rural Sociology* 20, 111-123.

Hitzler, R., and Pfadenhauer, M., 2001. Existential Strategies: The Making of Community and Politics in the Techno/Rave Scene, *In:* Kotarba, J., and Johnson, J., (eds.) *Postmodern Existential Sociology.* Alta Mira, 87–101.

H.K.U. 2010. The Entrepreneurial Dimension of the Cultural and Creative Industries. *Intracen.org* [online]. Available from http://www.intracen.org/uploadedfiles/intracenorg/content/about_itc/where_a re_we_working/multi-

country_programmes/cariforum/edcci_report-byeuropean-commission.pdf (accessed 07/06/2014).

Hobbes, T., [1642] 1983. *De Cive*. Oxford.

Hochschild, A.R., 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* University of California Press.

Hochschild, A.R., 2012. *The Outsourced Self: Intimate Life in Market Times.* Metropolitan Books.

Hodson, R., and Sullivan, T., 2008. *The Social Organization of Work.* Thompson Wadsworth.

Hofweber, T., 2013. Logic and Ontology, *In: The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* [online]. Available from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/logicontology (accessed 17/09/2012).

Holtzman, B. et al., 2007. Do It Yourself...and the Movement beyond Capitalism, *In:* Shukaitis, S., and Graeber, D., (eds.) *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations/Collective Theorization*. AK Press.

Holt, F., 2013. Rock Clubs and Gentrification in New York City: The Case of the Bowery Presents. *IASPM@Journal* 4, 21–41.

Hookway, C., 2010. *The Pragmatic Maxim: Essays on Pierce and Pragmatism.* Oxford.

Horning, R., 2009. Spectres of Marx: Immaterial Labor and the Primitive Accumulation of Cool. *Generation Bubble* [online]. Available from http://www.generationbubble.com/2009/11/09/specters-of-marx-immateriallabor-and-the-primitive-accumulation-of-cool (accessed 29/04/2013).

Horning, R., 2010. Commodity Futures: The Self as Advertising Agency. *Generation Bubble* [online]. Available from http://www.generationbubble.com/2010/04/06/commodity-futures-the-selfas-advertising-agency (accessed 13/02/2013).

Horning, R., 2012. Precarity and "Affective Resistance." *The New Inquiry* [online]. Available from http://thenewinquiry.com/blogs/marginal-utility/precarityand-affective-resistance/#comment-85 (accessed 19/07/2014).

Hosken, D., 2010. *An Introduction to Music Technology.* Taylor and Francis.

Howarth, D., 2014. Customisable Furniture Means 'No More Trends' says

Howe, K.R., 1988. Against the Quantitative-Qualitative Incompatability Thesis (or Dogmas Die Hard). *Educational Researcher* 17, 10–16.

Howkins, J., 2001. *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas.* Penguin.

Hracs, B.J., et al., 2016. *The Production and Consumption of Music in the Digital Age.* Routledge.

Hsieh, H.F., and Shannon, S.E., 2005. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research* 15, 1277–1288.

Huizinga, J., [1938] 1991. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* Beacon Press.

Hume, L., and Mulcock, J., 2004. *Anthropologists in the Field: Cases in Participant Observation.* Columbia University Press.

Husserl, E., [1900] 2001. *Logical Investigations: Vol. 1.* Routledge.

Hycner, R.H., 1985. Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data. *Human Studies* 8, 279–303.

Inglehart, R., 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics.* Princeton University Press.

Innes, M., 2004. Signal Crimes and Signal Disorders: Notes on Deviance as Communicative Action. *British Journal of Sociology* 55 (3), 335-55.

Itzkoff, D., 2006. The Pitchfork Effect. *Wired* [online] 14th September 2006. Available from http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/14.09/pitchfork.html (accessed 23/11/2010).

Jackson, A., 1987. *Anthropology at Home.* Routledge.

Jacobs, J., 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* Vintage Books,

Jameson, F., 1990. *Postmodernism: or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Verso Books.

Jeffrey, P., 2003. Smoothing the Waters: Observations on the Process of Cross-Disciplinary Research Collaboration. *Social Studies of Science* 33, 539–562.

Jenkins, H., 2007. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide.* NYU Press.

Jenkins, H., and Deuze M., 2007. Editorial, *In*: Jenkins, H., (ed.) *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide.* NYU Press, 5-12.

Jensen, J., 1992. Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization, *In:* Lewis, L.A., (ed.) *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media,* 9–29.

Jesson, J., et al., 2011. *Doing Your Literature Review: Traditional and Systematic Techniques.* Sage.

Jessop, B., and Sum, N.L., 2006. *Beyond the Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies in their Place*. Edward Elgar.

Jetto, B., 2009. Music Blogs, Music Scenes, Sub-cultural Capital: Emerging Practices in Music Blogs [online]. *In: Cybercultures- Exploring Critical Issues*, 13th-15th March. Salzberg, Austria. Available from http://www.interdisciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/jettopaper.pdf (accessed 3/9/2011).

Jick, T.D., 1979. Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24, 602–611.

Johnson, R.B., and Onwuegbuzie, A.J., 2004. Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time has Come. *Educational Research* 33, 14–26.

Johnson, R.B. et al., 2007. Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1, 112–133.

Jones, S., 2000. Music and the Internet. *Popular Music* 19, 217–230.

Jorgensen, D.L., 1989. *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies.* Sage.

Juris, J.S., 2008. *Networking Futures: The Movements against Corporate Globalization.* Duke University Press.

Juslin, P., and Västfjäll, D. 2008. Emotional Responses to Music: The Need to Consider Underlying Mechanisms. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 31, 559621.

Kamenetz, A., 2011. The Edupunks' Guide to a DIY Credential. Smashworlds [online]. Available from http://www.smashwords.com/extreader/read/77938/1/the-edupunks-guide-toa-diy-credential (accessed 08/02/2013).

Kanter, R.M., 1985. *Change Masters.* Free Press.

Kaplan, A.M., and Haenlein, M., 2010. Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons* 53, 59–68.

Karppi, T., 2011. Digital Suicide and the Biopolitics of Leaving Facebook. *Transformations Journal* [online], 20, 1-24. Available from http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_20/article_02.shtml (accessed 13/06/2013).

Kasaras, K., 2002. Music in the Age of Free Distribution: MP3 and Society. *First Monday* 7(1), 1-17.

Katsiaficas, G., 2007. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life.* AK Press.

KEA European Affairs., 2010. Economy of Culture in Europe. KEA [online]. Available from http://www.keanet.eu/Ecoculture/ecoculturepage.htm (accessed 22/05/10).

Kelch, R. 2008. Guillì Approaches but Avoids Marx's New Dialectic of Labor. *News & Letters* [online]. Available from http://www.newsandletters.org/issues/2008/Oct-Nov/essayOctNov_08.asp (accessed 28/08/2012).

Kelly, N., 2008. Is This the End of the Music Industry as we Know it? The Independent   [online] 19th   January 2008. Available from http://www.independent.ie/entertainment/music/is-this-the-end-of-the-musicindustry-as-we-know-it-1269238.html (accessed 23/05/10).

Kimpel, D., 2005. *Networking Strategies for the New Music Business.* ArtistPro.

King, N., and Horrocks, C., 2009. *Interviews in Qualitative Research.* Sage.

Kivran-Swaine, F., and Naaman, M., 2011. Network Properties and Social Sharing of Emotions in Social Awareness Streams, *In: Proceedings of the ACM 2011 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work* 8th-10th June. New York, USA. Available from http://comminfo.rutgers.edu/~mor/publications/kivranswainecscw2011.pdf (accessed 09/10/2012).

Klein, N., 1999. *No Logo*. Knopf Canada.

Kleiner, D., and Wyrick, B., 2007. Info-Enclosure 2.0. *Mute: Culture and Politics after the Net* 2, 10–19.

Klenke, K., 2008. *Qualitative Research in the Study of Leadership*. Emerald.

Knobel, M., and Lankshear, C., 2010. *DIY Media: Creating, Sharing and Learning with New Technologies.* Peter Lang.

Kooistra, A., 2006. Putting Identity to Work: Post-Fordist Modes of Production and Protest. *Nexus,* 19(1), 158-184.

Kücklich, J., 2005. Precarious Playbour: Modders and the Digital Games Industry. *Fibreculture* 5-025, 1-12.

Kuhn, T.S., 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. The University of Chicago Press.

Kupias, A., 2009. *The Post-Industrial Society, Subcultures, and Recommender Systems* (Msc. Thesis). University of Tampere.

Kuznetsov, S., and Paulos, E., 2010. Rise of the Expert Amateur: DIY Projects, Communities, and Cultures, *In: Proceedings of The 6th Nordic Conference on Human-Computer Interaction: Extending Boundaries.* 16th-20th October. Reykjavik, Iceland. Available from

http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1868914&picked=prox (accessed 08/12/2012).

Kvale, S., 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Sage.

Kruse, H., 2003. *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes.* Peter Lang.

Kruse, H., 2010. Local Identity and Independent Music Scenes, Online and Off. *Popular Music and Society* 33, 625–639.

Labash, M., 2007. *Are We Having Fun Yet?* The Weekly Standard 13, 1-3.

Lafargue, P., 1883. The Right to be Lazy. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from https://www.google.ie/#q=lafargue (accessed 30/03/2009).

Lacan, J., 1966. *Ecrits*. Seuil.

Laing, D., 1978. Interpreting Punk Rock. *Marxism Today* 22, 123–158.

Lamarche, P. et al., 2009. *Reading Negri.* Open Court Publishing.

Landry, C., 2000. *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators.* Earthscan Publications.

Lapan, S.D. et al., 2011. *Qualitative Research: An Introduction to Methods and Designs.* John Wiley and Sons.

Lash, S., and Urry, J., 1994. *Economies of Sign and Space.* Sage.

Latour, B., 2004. *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy.* Harvard University Press.

Latour, B., 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-NetworkTheory.* Oxford University Press.

Laverty, S.M., 2003. Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. International *Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2, 1–29.

Law, B., 2007. *The Critical Subject of Reform* (PhD Thesis). Indiana University.

Law Commission of Ontario. 2010. Vulnerable Workers Background Paper. *LcoCdo.org* [online]. Available from http://www.lco-cdo.org/en/vulnerableworkers-background-paper (accessed 25/04/2012).

Lawson, T., 2004. A Conception of Ontology. *Econ* [online]. Available from http://www.econ.cam.ac.uk/csog/New2006/A_Conception_of_Ontology.pdf (accessed 20/07/2013).

Lazzarato, M., 1997. Immaterial Labor. *Generation Online* [online]. Available from http://www.generation-online.org/c/fcimmateriallabour3.htm (accessed 5/22/10).

Lazzarato, M., 2002. From Biopower to Biopolitics. *Generation Online* [online]. Available from http://www.generation-online.org/c/fcbiopolitics.htm (accessed 4/28/11).

Lazzarato, M., 2004. General Intellect: Towards an Inquiry into Immaterial Labour. *Multitudes* [online]. Available from http://multitudes.samizdat.net/Generalintellect (accessed 15/07/2011).

Lazzarato, M., 2007. The Misfortunes of the 'Artistic Critique' and of Cultural Employment. *EIPCP* [online]. Available from http://eipcp.net/transversal/0207/lazzarato/en (accessed 31/05/2014).

Leblanc, L., 1999. *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in A Boys' Subculture*. Rutgers University Press.

Le Compte, M., and Preissle, J., 1993. *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*. Academic Press.

Lee, D., 2013. *Creative Labour in the Cultural Industries.* Sociopedia.

Lee, R.M., 1993. *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics.* Sage.

Leider, C., 2004. *Digital Audio Workstation.* McGraw-.Hill.

Lemke, T., 2011. *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*. NYU Press.

Lenzer, G., (ed.). 1998. *Auguste Comte and Positivism: The Essential Writings, new ed.* Transaction Publishers.

Lester, S., 1999. *An Introduction to Phenomenological Research*. Taunton.

Levine, J.M., and Moreland, R.L., 1982. Group Socialization: Theory and Research. *European Review of Social Psychology* 5, 305–336.

Lévy, P., 1999. Collective *Intelligence; Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace.* Perseus.

Lewis, L., 2010. The Problem with Fan-Funded Music. *NME* [online], 9th April 2010. Available from http://www.nme.com/blog/index.php?blog=10&p=8251&more=1&c=1 (accessed 6/4/10).

Lewis-Beck, M. et al., 2004. *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods.* Sage.

Leys, R., 2011. The Turn to Affect: A Critique. *Critical Enquiry* 37(3), 434-472.

Leyshon, A., 2009. The Software Slump?: Digital Music, the Democratisation of Technology, and the Decline of the Recording Studio Sector within the Musical Economy. *Environment and Planning* 41(6), 1309 – 1331.

Lincoln, Y.S., and Guba, E.G., 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage.

Lindenschmitt, J., 2004. From Virtual Commons to Virtual Enclosures: The Revolution and Counter-Revolution of the Information Age. *The Commoner* 9, 1-20.

Lobato, R., 2006. Gentrification, Cultural Policy and Live Music in Melbourne. *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy* 120, 63–75.

Lofland, J., and Lofland, L.H., 1984. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis.* Wadsworth Publishing.

Lotringer, S., and Marazzi, C., (eds.) 1980. *Autonomia: Post-Political Politics.* Semiotext(e).

Love, C., 2008. Courtney Love Does the Math. *Salon* [online]. Available from: http://www.salon.com/2000/06/14/love_7 (accessed 25/10/2009).

Lovink, G., and Rossiter, N., 2005. Dawn of the Organised Networks. *Fibreculture* 5-029, 1-15.

Lowrey, W., and Anderson, W., 2011. The Journalist Behind the Curtain: Participatory Functions on the Internet and their Impact on Perceptions of the Work of Journalism. *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* 10(3), p.n.p.

Lukács, G., [1923] 1990. *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics.* MIT Press.

Lukács, G., 1980. *Ontology of Social Being, Volume 3: Labour.* Merlin Press.

Luvaas, B., 2013. *DIY Style: Fashion, Music and Global Digital Cultures*. AC Black.

Lyotard, J.F., 1979. *The Postmodern Condition*. University of Minnesota Press.

MacErlaine, S., 2011. Music in Alternative Spaces. Dublin's Future, *In:* Sirr, L., (ed.) *New Visions for Ireland's Capital City*. The Liffey Press.

MacQueen, K. et al., 2001. What is Community? An Evidence-Based Definition for Participatory Public Health. *Am J Public Health* 91 (12), 1929-1938.

Machado, A., [1912] 2006. *Campos de Castilla.* Catedra.

Machiavelli, N., [1531] 2001. *Discourses on Levy.* Penguin.

Maffesoli, M., 1996. *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*. Sage.

Mall, A., 2006. What Would the Community Think? Communal Values in Independent Music. *VoiceXchange* 2, 40-53.

Mann, C.C., 2003. The Year the Music Dies. *Wired* [online] 11th February 2003. Available from http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/11.02/dirge.html (accessed 3/14/11).

Manovich, L., 2001. *The Language of New Media*. MIT Press.

Manovich, L., 2009. The Practice of Everyday (Media) Life: From Mass Consumption to Mass Cultural Production? *Critical Inquiry* 35, 319–331.

Manzini, S., n.d. Human Capital Development in the Knowledge Economy. *Human Capital Review* [online]. Available from http://www.humancapitalreview.org/content/default.asp?Article_ID=156&cn tPage=1 (accessed 09/06/2014).

Marcuse, H., 1967. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. Routledge.

Marczewski, A., 2013. *Gamification: A Simple Introduction*. Amazon Digital Services.

Marshall, C., and Rossman, G.B., 2010. *Designing Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Marshall, W., 2011. Labor and the Producer Society. *Policy Brief*. Progressive Policy Institute.

Martilla, T., 2013. *The Culture of Enterprise in Neoliberalism.* Routledge.

Mattson, K., 2001. Did Punk Matter?: Analyzing the Practices of a Youth Subculture During the 1980s. *American Studies* 42, 69–97.

Mauss, M., [1925] 1966. The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies. *Archive.org* [online]. Available from https://archive.org/details/giftformsfunctio00maus (accessed 26/05/2014).

Marx, K., 1847. The Poverty of Philosophy. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx//works/1847/poverty-philosophy/ (accessed 12/06/2013).

Marx, K., 1849. Wage Labour and Capital. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/index.htm (accessed 16/06/10).

Marx, K., 1852. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18thbrumaire/ (accessed 30/05/2013).

Marx, K., [1857] 2007. *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. Penguin Classics.

Marx, K., 1861-1864. The Process of Production of Capital: The Results of the Direct Production Process. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1864/economic/introduction.ht m (accessed 05/07/2014).

Marx, K., 1867. Economic Manuscripts: Capital: Volume One. *Marxists.org* [online]. Available from http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867c1/ (accessed 16/06/10).

Marx, K., 1880. *A Worker's Inquiry* [online]. Available from https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/04/20.htm (accessed 01/03/2014).

Marx, K., and Engels, F., [1844] 2004. *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 and the Communist Manifesto*. Prometheus Books.

Maslow, A.H., [1954] 1987. *Motivation and Personality.* Harper and Row.

Maslow, A.H., 1974. Creativity in Self-Actualizing People *In:* Covin, T.M (ed.) *Readings in Humanistic Development: A Humanistic Approach.* Ardent Media, 107-117.

Masnick, M., 2008. Connect with Fans (CwF) + Reason to Buy (RtB) = $$$$. *In: MidemNet,* 17th January. Cannes, France. Available from http://blog.midem.com/2011/08/mike-masnick-connect-with-fans-cwfreason-to-buy-rtb/ (accessed 17/10/2008).

Mason, M., 2008. *The Pirate's Dilemma: How Hackers, Punk Capitalists, Graffiti Millionaires and Other Youth Movements are Remixing our Culture and Changing our World.* Penguin.

Massumi, B., 2002. *Parables for the Virtual.* Duke University Press.

Matravers, D., et al., 2000. *Reading Political Philosophy: Machiavelli to Mill.* Routledge.

Matthews, C., 2014. More than 11 Million Young People have Fled Facebook since 2011. *Time* [online], 15th January 2014, 1-2. Available from http://business.time.com/2014/01/15/more-than-11-million-young-peoplehave-fled-facebook-since-2011/ (accessed 30/04/2014).

Mauss, M., 1935. Techniques of the Body. *Monoskop* [online]. Available from http://monoskop.org/images/c/c4/Mauss_Marcel_1935_1973_Techniq ues_of_the_Body.pdf (accessed 26/05/2015).

Maxwell, J.A., 2004. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach, 2nd ed*. Sage.

Maykut, P.S., and Morehouse, R., 1994. *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide*. Routledge.

McArdle, N., 2011. This is the Last One I will Spin. *Harmless Noise* [online], 16th May 2011. Available from http://harmlessnoise.ie/2011/05/this-is-the-lastone-that-i-will-spin (accessed 28/06/13).

McDonald, B., 2009. *An Introduction to Sociology in Ireland 2nd ed*. Gill and Macmillan.

McKay, G., 1998. *DiY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties' Britain*. Verso Books.

McLaren, M., 2006. First Experience with Hip-Hop. *Swindle Magazine* [online], 27th December 2006. Available from http://swindlemagazine.com/issue05/malcolm-mclaren/ (accessed 30/04/2012).

McLeod, K., 2005. MP3s are Killing Home Taping: The Rise of Internet Distribution and Its Challenge to the Major Label Music Monopoly. *Popular Music and Society* 28, 521-231.

McLuhan, M., 1972. *Take Today: The Executive as Dropout.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

McLuhan, M., 1988. *Laws of Media: The New Science (with Eric McLuhan).* University of Toronto Press.

McRobbie, A., 1980. Settling Accounts with Subcultures, a Feminist Critique, *In:* Bennett, T., and Graham, M. 1980. *Culture, Ideology and Social Process*. Batsford, 111-123.

McRobbie, A., 1998. *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry*? Routledge.

McRobbie, A., 2002. Clubs to Companies: Notes on the Decline of Political Culture in Speeded Up Creative Worlds. *Cultural Studies* 16(4), 516-531.

McRobbie, A., 2007. The Los Angelisation of London: Three Short-Waves of Young People's Micro-Economies of Culture and Creativity. *Transversal* [online]. Available from http://eipcp.net/transversal/0207/mcrobbie/en (accessed 29/01/2013).

McRobbie, A., 2008. Feminism and Fashion: 'Passionate Work' and Immaterial Labour. *In: Mode e Arte*, 9th May 2008. Milan, Italy. Available from http://centridiricerca.unicatt.it/modacult_angelamcrobbie.pdf (accessed 22/04/2011).

McRobbie, A., 2010. Reflections on Feminism, Immaterial Labour and the PostFordist Regime. *New Formations* 70, 60-76.

McRobbie, A., 2011. 'Everyone is Creative': Artists as Pioneers of the New Economy? *In:* Lèger, M.J., (ed.) *Culture and Contestation in the New Century.* Intellect, 77-92.

Meades, A.F., 2015. *Understanding Counterplay in Video Games*. Routledge.

Mehdizadeh, S., 2010. Self-Presentation 2.0: Narcissism and Self-Esteem on Facebook. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking* 13 (4), 357364.

Mestrović, S.G., 1997. *Postemotional Society.* Sage.

Miège, B., 1989. *The Capitalization of Cultural Production.* IntlGeneral.

Mills, C.W., 1951. *White Collar: The American Middle Classes.* Oxford.

Milburn, K., 2001. When Two Sevens Clash: Punk and Autonomia. *In: No Future,* n.d. September 2001. Wolverhampton, England. Available from http://freelyassociating.org/when-two-sevens-clash-punk-and-autonomia/ (accessed 05/10/2009).

Mill, J.S., [1882] 2011. *Principles of Political Economy.* Gutenberg Press.

Mises, L., [1949] 1998. *Human Action.* The Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Mitchell, C., and Reid-Walsh, J., 2008. *Girl Culture: Studying Girl Culture: A Reader's Guide.* ABC-CLIO.

Miura, R., 2010. What Kind of Revolution do you Want? Punk, the Contemporary Left, and Singularity. *Mediations: Journal of The Marxist Literary* Group 25, 61–80.

Mjos, O.J., 2011. *Music, Social Media and Global Mobility: MySpace, Facebook, YouTube.* Routledge.

Moran, I.P., 2010. Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture. *Social Sciences Journal* 10(1), 13.

Moustakas, C., 1994. *Phenomenological Research Methods.* Sage.

Muaz, J., 2013. Practical Guidelines for Conducting Research. *DCED* [online]. Available from

http://www.enterprisedevelopment.org/page/download?id=2133
(accessed 30/04/2014).

Neff, G. et al., 2005. Entrepreneurial Labor among Cultural Producers: "Cool" Jobs in "Hot" Industries. *Social Semiotics* 15(3), 307-334.

Negri, A., 1989. *The Politics of Subversion : A Manifesto for the Twenty-First Century*. Polity Press.

Negri, A., 1991. *The Savage Anomaly: Power of Spinoza's Metaphysics and Politics.* University of Minnesota Press.

Negri, A., 2003. Multitude or Working Class? *Generation Online* [online]. Available from http://www.generation-online.org/t/negriESF.htm (accessed 18/09/2011).

Negus, K., 1999. *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures.* Routledge.

Neilson, B., and Rossiter, N., 2005. From Precarity to Precariousness and Back Again: Labour, Life and Unstable Networks. *Fibreculture* 5-022, 1-22.

Nilges, M., 2008. The Anti-Anti Oedipus: Representing Post-Fordist Subjectivity. *Meditations* 23(2), 27-70.

Nissani, M., 1997. Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity: The Case for Interdisciplinary Knowledge and Research. *The Social Science Journal* 34, 201–216.

Novara., V.J., and Henry, S., 2009. A Guide Essential American Indie Rock 19802005. *Notes* 65(40), 816-833.

Oakley, Kate. 2014. "Good Work? Rethinking Cultural Entrepreneurship." *In:* Bilton, C., and Cummings, S., (eds.) *Handbook of Management and Creativity*, 145–59.

Obrist, H.U., and Negri, A., 2010. Hans Ulrich Obrist in Conversation with Antonio Negri. *E-flux* [online] 18, p.n.p Available from http://www.e-flux.com/journal/18/67464/in-conversation-with-antonio-negri/

O'Connor, A., 2002. Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity. *Popular Music* 21, 225–236.

O'Connor, A., 2008. *Punk Record Labels and the Struggle for Autonomy*. Lexington.

O'Dwyer, R., 2014. A Capital Remix, *In:* Navas, E., et al (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Remix Studies,* 323-332.

O'Flynn, J., and Mangaoang, A., 2016. *Mapping Popular Music in Dublin.* St. Patricks College/Dublin City University.

O'Halloran, D., 2006. *Green Beat: The Forgotten Era of Irish Rock*. Brehon Press Ltd.

O'Hara, C., 2001. *The Philosophy of Punk: More than Noise*. AK Press.

O'Leary, Z., 2004. *The Essential Guide to Doing Research*. Sage.

Oldenberg, R., 1999. *The Great Good Place*. Marlow and Company.

O'Reilly, K., 2005. *Ethnographic Methods*. Routledge.

Orlikowski, W.J., and Baroudi, J.J., 1991. Studying Information Technology in Organizations: Research Approaches and Assumptions. *Information Systems* Research 2, 1–28.

Owskinski, B., 2014. The Numbers are in: Should the Music Industry be Worried? *Forbes* [online]. Available from http://www.forbes.com/sites/bobbyowsinski/2014/01/07/the-numbers-are-inshould-the-music-industry-be-worried/ (accessed 16/12/2014).

P2P Foundation, n.d. *Cognitive Capitalism*. Available from http://p2pfoundation.net/Cognitive_Capitalism (accessed 13/09/13).

Palazzo, D., 2008. Re-examining the Social Factory as a Historic Category in Italian Operaismo, *In: Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference* 3rd April 2008. Chicago, U.S.A.

Palmer-Rae Associates., 2004. *Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture Part 1*.

Panos, P., 2011. Rethinking Music: The Future of Making Money as a Performing Musician *In:* Berman Center for Internet and Society., *Rethinking music. A Briefing Book. Harvard University*, 57–64. Available from https://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2011/Rethinking_Music (accessed 14/08/2011).

Panzieri, R., 1976. Surplus Value and Planning: Notes on the Reading of Capital. *Zerowork.org* [online]. Available from http://zerowork.org/PanzieriPlanning.html (accessed 30/05/2010).

Papacharissi, Z., 2014. On Networked Publics and Private Spheres in Social Media. *In:* Hunsinger, J., and Senft, T., (ed.) *The Social Media Handbook,* 144-158.

Pasquinelli, M., 2006. Cultural Labour and Immaterial Machines. *In:* Krysa, J., (ed.) *Curating Immateriality: The Work of the Curator In The Age Of Network Systems*. Autonomedia, 1–12.

Pasquinelli, M., 2011. The Spectres of the Common and the Diagram of Value. *Praktyka Teoretyczna* [online], 17th January 2011. Available from http://www.praktykateoretyczna.pl/matteo-pasquinelli-the-

spectres-of-thecommon-and-the-diagram-of-value/ (accessed 23/05/2012).

Paterson, R., 2001. Work Histories in Television. *Media, Culture and Society* 23, 495-520.

Patton, M.Q., 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Sage.

Perez, C., 2003. *Technological Revolutions and Financial Capital: The Dynamics of Bubbles and Golden Ages*. Edward Elgar Pub.

Periklis, P., 2012. The Rise of General Intellect and the Meaning of Education. Reflections on the Contradictions of Cognitive Capitalism. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 10(1), 37-52.

Peter, W., 1953. *The Idea of a Social Science: And its Relation to Philosophy, 2nd ed.* Routledge.

Peterson, R., and Anand, N., 2004. The Production of Culture Perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology* 30(1), 311-334.

Petrick, N., 2009. *Current Questionnaire Generation Tools*. Grin.

Peuter, G de., and Dyer-Witheford, N., 2005. A Playful Multitude? Mobilising and Counter-Mobilising Immaterial Game Labour. *Fibreculture* 5-024, 1-24.

Pink, D.H., 2008. *A Whole New Mind: Why Right-Brainers will Rule the Future*. Marshall Cavendish.

Piore, M., and Sabel, C., 1986. *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*. Basic Books.

Poletti, A., 2008. *Intimate Ephemera: Reading Young Lives in Australian Zine Culture*. Academic Monographs.

Poplin, D. E., 1979. *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research 2nd ed*. MacMillan.

Portelli, A., 1985. Oral Testimony, the Law and the Making of History: the 'April 7' Murder Trial. *History Workshop* 20, 5-35.

Porter, L., and Shaw, K., 2013. *Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies*. Routledge.

Pountain, D., and, D., 2000. *Cool Rules: Anatomy of an Attitude*. Reaktion.

Praetorius, D., 2011. Subway Passes McDonalds to Become the World's Largest Restaurant Chain. *The Huffington Post* [online], 7th May 2011. Available from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/07/worlds-largest-restaurantchain-subway_n_832511.html (accessed 19/12/2012).

Prahalad, C.K., and Ramaswamy, V., 2004. Co-creation Experiences: The Next Practice in Value Creation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 18, 5–14.

Precarious a la Deriva. 2004. Adrift Through the Circuits of Feminized Precarious Work. *EIPCP* [online]. Available from http://eipcp.net/transversal/0704/precarias1/en (accessed 29/07/2014).

Pret, T., et al., 2015. *Painting the Full Picture: The Conversion of Economic, Cultural, Social and Symbolic Capital.* International Small Business Journal.

Prior, N. 2010. The Rise of the New Amateurs: Popular Music, Digital Technology and the Fate of Cultural Production. *In:* Hall, J. et al., (eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, 398-407.

Prozorov, S., 2007. *Foucault, Freedom and Sovereignty*. Ashgate.

Pusey, A., 2010. Social Centres and the New Cooperativism of the Common. *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture and Action* 4, 176-198.

Putnam, R., 1995. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon and Schuster.

Rabinow, P., and Rose, N., 2006. Biopower Today. *BioSocieties* 1, 195–217.

Rabinow, P., and Sullivan, W.M., 1987. *Interpretive Social Science: A Second Look*. University of California Press.

Ramocki, M., 2007. DIY: The Militant Embrace of Technology. *Transdisciplinary Digital Art, Sound, Vision and the New Screen Communications in Computer and Information Science* 7, 26-32.

Rancière, J., 2007. The Emancipated Spectator. *Artforum,* 270-281.

Rancière, J., 2009. *The Emancipated Spectator*. Verso Books.

Randle, C. 2013. Even Kickstarter's Utopian Gift Economy Comes with Cheats and Fools. *Hazlitt* [online] 14th March 2013. Available from http://www.randomhouse.ca/hazlitt/blog/even-kickstarters-utopian-gifteconomy-comes-cheats-and-fools (accessed 02/04/2014).

Raunig, G., 2007. Creative Industries as Mass Deception. *EIPCP* [online]. Available from http://eipcp.net/transversal/0207/raunig/en (accessed 21/08/2012).

Raunig, G., 2008. Modifying the Grammar: Paulo Virno's Works on Virtuosity and Exodus. *Transform* [online]. Available from http://transform.eipcp.net/correspondence/modifyingthegrammar (accessed 19/07/2010).

Ravitch, S., and Riggan, M., 2012. *Reason & Rigor: How Conceptual Frameworks Guide Research.* Sage.

Ray, P.H., and Anderson, S.R., 2001. *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People are Changing the World.* Crown Publications.

Read, J., 2011. The Production of Subjectivity: From Transindivuality to the Commons. *New Formations,* 70(4), 113-31.

Read, J., 2015. *The Politics of Transindividuality*. Brill.

Reeves, S., 2008. Qualitative Research Methodologies. *The BMJ* [online]. Available from: http://www.bmj.com/content/337/bmj.a1020 (accessed 30/03/2015).

Reis, H.T., and Judd, C.M., 2000. *Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personality Psychology.* Cambridge University Press.

Reja, U. et al., 2003. Open-ended vs. Close-ended Questions in Web Questionnaires. *Stad-d* [online]. Available from http://www.stat-d.si/mz/mz19/reja.pdf (accessed 07/01/2009).

Reynolds, S., 1999. *Generation Ecstasy: Into the World of Techno and Rave Culture*. Routledge.

Reynolds, S., 2006. *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984*. Faber and Faber.

Reynolds, C., and Picard, R., 2001. Designing for Affective Interactions. *MIT Media* [online]. Available from http://vismod.media.mit.edu/pub/techreports/TR-541.pdf (accessed 03/06/2014).

Rheingold, H., 2008. Welcome to Participatory Media Literacy. *Participatory Media Literacy* [online]. Available from https://www.socialtext.net/medialiteracy/index.cgi (accessed 09/07/2013).

Rifkin, J., 2000. *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism.* Tarcher/Putnam.

Ripani, R.J., 2006. *The New Blue Music: Changes in Rhythm & Blues, 1950-1999.* University Press of Mississippi.

Ritchie, J., and Lewis, J., 2003. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers.* Sage.

Ritzer, G., and Jurgenson, N., 2010. Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'Prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10, 13–36.

Robson, C., 1993. *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers.* John Wiley and Sons.

Rojek, C. 2010. *The Labour of Leisure: The Culture of Free Time.* Sage.

Rollett, G., 2010. How Musicians are using Social Media to Connect with Fans. *Mashable* [online] 12th March 2010. Available from http://mashable.com/2010/03/12/musicians-social-media (accessed 6/4/10).

Rombes, N., 2005. *The Ramones.* Continuum International.

Rombes, N., 2010. *A Cultural Dictionary of Punk: 1974-1982.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Rosenberg, J., and Garofalo, G., 1998. Riot Grrrl: Revolutions from Within. *Signs* 23, 809–841.

Ross, A., 2004. No-Collar: The Humane Workplace and its Hidden Costs. *Temple University Press.*

Rossiter, N., et al., 2011. Social Capital and Music Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Management and Marketing Research* 7, 1–13.

Rubin, H.J., and Rubin, I., 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data.* Sage.

Ruggles, B., 2008. *Not So Quiet on the Western Front: Punk Politics During the Conservative Ascendancy in the United States, 1980--2000* (Ph.D Thesis). Arizona State University.

Ryan, J., 2007. The Production of Culture Perspective, *In:* Bryant, C., and Peck, D., 2007. *21st Century Sociology.* Sage, 222-230.

Sabin, R., 1999. *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk*. Routledge.

Sahakian, W., and Sahakian, M., 1993. *Ideas of the Great Philosophers.* Barnes and Noble.

Said, E.W., 1994. *Culture and Imperialism.* Vintage.

Salanda, J., 2008. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers.* Sage.

Sanders, C., 2003. Application of Colaizzi's Method: Interpretation of an Auditable Decision Trail by a Novice Researcher. *Contemporary Nurse* 14, 292–302.

Sansi, R., 2014. Art, Anthropology and the Gift. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Savage, J., 2005. *England's Dreaming.* Faber and Faber.

Scaruffi, P., 2003. *A History of Rock Music 1951-2000.* iUniverse.

Schumacher, L., 2006. *Immaterial Fordism: The Paradox of Game Industry Labour. Work Organisation, Labour and Globalisation* 1, 144–155.

Scott, M., 2012. Cultural Entrepreneurs, Cultural Entrepreneurship: Music Producers

Mobilising and Converting Bourdieu's Alternative Capitals. *Poetics* 40, 237–255.

Schilt, K., 2003. 'A Little Too Ironic': The Appropriation and Packaging of Riot Grrrl Politics by Mainstream Female Musicians. *Popular Music and Society* 26, 5–16.

Schilt, K., 2004. 'Riot Grrrl IS...' The Contestation Over Meaning in a Music Scene, *In:* Bennett, A., and Peterson, R.A., (eds.) *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*. Vanderbilt University Press, 115–130.

Schlesinger, P., 2007. Creativity from Discourse to Doctrine. *Screen* 48(3), 399-387.

Scholz, T., 2008. Market Ideology and the Myths of Web 2.0. *First Monday* 13(3), 1-10.

Schuler, D., and Day, P., 2004. *Shaping the Network Society: The New Role of Civil Society in Cyberspace.* MIT Press.

Schultz, B., 2011. *Handmade and DIY: The Cultural Economy in the Digital Age*. University of Tennessee.

Schutt, R., 2004. *Investigating Social World: The Process and Practice Of Research, 4th ed.* Pine Forge Press.

Schutz, A., 1962. *Collected Papers I: The Problem of Social Reality.* Nijhoff.

Schwartz, S., 1999. A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 48 (1), 23-47.

Seale, C., 2004. *Researching Society and Culture, 2nd ed*. Sage.

Searle, J.R., 1995. *The Construction of Social Reality.* Free Press.

Searle, J.R., 2006. Social Ontology: Some Basic Principles. *Papers* 80, 51–71.

Seidman, I., 2006. *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and Social Sciences.* Teachers College Press.

Seifert, A.M. et al., 2007. Precarious Employment Conditions Affect Work Content in Education and Social Work: Results of Work Analyses. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 30(4-5), 299-310.

Seman, M., 2010. How a Music Scene Functioned as a Tool for Urban Redeveopment. *City, Culture and Society* 1, 207–215.

Sevilla, C.G. et al., 1992. *Research Methods.* Rex Bookstore.

Shank, B., 1994. *Dissonant Identities: Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas.* Wesleyan University Press.

Shank, B., 2014. *The Political Force of Musical Beauty.* Duke University Press.

Shaviro, S., 2003. *Connected, or, What it Means to Live in the Network Society.* University of Minnesota Press.

Shershow, S.C., 2005. *The Work and the Gift.* University of Chicago Press.

Shields, P.M., and Rangarajan N., 2013. *A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management*. New Forums Press.

Shukaitis, S., 2010. Sisyphus and the Labour of Imagination: Autonomy, Cultural Production, and the Antinomies of Worker Self-Management. *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 4 (1), 57-82.

Shouse, E., 2005. Feeling, Emotion, Affect. *M/C Journal*, 8(6) [online]. Available from http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php (accessed 06/09/2014).

Silverman, D., 2009. *Doing Qualitative Research.* Sage.

Simons, H., 2009. *Case Study Research in Practice.* Sage.

Singer, P., 1997. *How are we to Live?: Ethics in an Age of Self-Interest.* Oxford Paperbacks.

Slater, D., and Tonkiss, F., 2001. *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory.* Polity Press.

Smith, A., [1776] 1997. *The Wealth of Nations: Books I-III, new ed*. Penguin Classics.

Smith, N.H., 2004. Taylor and the Hermeneutic Tradition, *In:* Abbey, R., *Charles Taylor, Contemporary Philosophy in Focus*. Cambridge University Press, 29–51.

Smyth, G., 2005. *Noisy Island: A Short History of Irish Rock: A Short History of Irish Popular Music.* Cork University Press.

Speers., L., 2016. From Artist to Entrepreneur: The Working Lives with London-Based Rappers. *In:* Hracs, B., et al (eds.) *The Production and Consumption of Music in the Digital Age*. Routledge, 56-70.

Spencer, A., *2005. DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture.* Marion Boyars.

Speziale, H.S. et al., 2010. *Qualitative Research in Nursing: Advancing the Humanistic Imperative.* Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.

Spinoza, B., [1677] 1996. *Ethics.* Penguin.

Spradley, J.P., 1980. *Participant Observation.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stake, R.E., 2010. *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work*. Guilford Press.

Standing, G., 1999. *Global Labour Flexibility: Seeking Distributive Justice*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Standing, G., 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class.* Bloomsbury.

Stangler, D., and Maxwell, K., 2012. DIY Producer Society. *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization* 7, 3–10.

Starck, P., 2014. *Dezeen* [online]. Available from http://www.dezeen.com/2014/04/08/tog-customisable-furniture-no-moretrends-philippe-starck-milan-2014 (accessed 26/06/2014).

Stebbins, R., 2007. *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time.* Transaction.

Sterne, J., 2006. The MP3 as Cultural Artifact. *New Media and Society* 8(5), 825 842.

Stewart, D.W., and Kamins, M.A., 1993. *Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods, 2nd ed.* Sage.

Stoneman, P., 2001. *Fanzines: Their Production, Culture and Future* (Masters Thesis). University of Stirling.

Strauss, A.L., and Corbin, J.M., 1997. *Grounded Theory in Practice.* Sage.

Strauss, L., 1959. *What is Political Philosophy? And Other Studies.* University of Chicago Press.

Straw, W., 1984. Charaterizing Rock Music Cultures: The Case of Heavy Metal. *Canadian University Music Review* 5, 104-122.

Straw, W., 1991. *Scenes and Sensibilities.* McGill.

Suhr, C., 2009. Understanding the Emergence of Social Protocols on MySpace: Impact and its Ramifications. *Communicar* 34 (xvii), 45-53.

Suler, J., 2004. *CyberPsychology and Behavior* 7, 321-326.

Tankel, J., 1990. The Practice of Recording Music: Remixing as Recoding. *Journal of Communication* 40, 34–48.

Tarzian, A., and Cohen, M.Z., 1998. Descriptive Research, *In:* Fitzpatrick, F., (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Nursing Research*. Springer Publishing, 150-151.

Tashakkori, A., and Teddlie, C., 2003. *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research.* Sage.

Taylor, F., 1911. The Principles of Scientific Management. *Project Gutenberg* [online]. Available from http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6435/pg6435.html (accessed 25/06/2011).

Taylor, S., and Littleton, K., 2008. *Creative Careers and Non-Traditional Trajectories.* National Arts Learning Network.

Taylor, T.D., 1997. *Global Pop: World Music.* Routledge.

Terranova, T., 2003. Free Labor: Producing Culture for the Digital Economy *Electronic Book Review* [online]. Available from http://www.electronicbookreview.com/thread/technocapitalism/voluntary (accessed 22/05/10).

Théberge, P., 2005. Everyday Fandom: Fan Clubs, Blogging, and the Quotidian Rhythms of the Internet. *Canadian Journal of Communication* 30(4), 1-15.

Thompson, E.P., 1967. Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism. *Past and Present* 38, 56–97.

Thompson, P., 2005. Foundation and Empire: A Critique of Hardt and Negri. *Capital and Class* 86, 39–64.

Thompson, S., 2001. *Market Failure: Punk Economics, Early and Late. College Literature,* 28(2), 48-64.

Thompson, S., 2004. *Punk Productions: Unfinished Business.* Suny Press.

Thornton, S., 1995. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital.* Polity Press.

Thrift, N., 2004. Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86, 57–78.

Tokumitsu, M., 2014. In the Name of Love. *Jacobin* [online], 13. Available from https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/01/in-the-name-of-love/ (accessed 26/01/2014).

Toffler, A., 1981. *The Third Wave.* Pan Books.

Toms, S., 2008. 'Immeasuability': *A Critique of Hardt and Negri. Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 8, 433–446.

Toynbee, J., 2000. *Making Popular Music: Musician, Aesthetics and the Manufacture of Popular Music.* Hodder Education.

Triggs, T., 2006. Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic. *Design History* 19(1), 69-83.

Tronti, M., 1966. The Strategy of Refusal. *Operai E Capitale,* 234–252.

Trott, B., 2007. Immaterial Labour and World Order: An Evaluation of a Thesis. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7, 203–232.

True, E., 2006. *Nirvana: True Story.* Music Sales Group.

Turabian, K.L., 2007. *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers.* University of Chicago Press.

Turner, C., 2001. *Everything You Need to Know About the Riot Grrrl Movement: The Feminism of a New Generation*. The Rosen Publishing Group.

Ursell, G., 2000. Television Production: Issues of Exploitation, Commodification, and Subjectivity in U.K Television Markets. *Media, Culture and Society* 22, 805-825.

Valcour, M., 2013. Make Your Work More Meaningful. *Harvard Business Review* [online], 16th August 2013. Available from http://blogs.hbr.org/2013/08/make-your-work-more-meaningful/ (accessed 30/10/2013).

Van Veen, T.C., 2010. Technics, Precarity and Exodus in Rave Culture. *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music* 1, 29–49.

VanBurskirk, E., 2008. MySpace Music Won't Give Equity to Indie. *Wired* [online], 17th April 2008. Available from http://www.wired.com/listening_post/2008/04/myspace-music-w/ (accessed 22/05/10).

Varnelis, K., (ed.) 2008. *Networked Publics.* MIT Press.

Varnelis, K., 2010. The Meaning of Network Culture. *Eurozine* [online]. Available from http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2010-01-14-varnelis-en.pdf (accessed 09/04/2013).

Vaus, D.de., 2001. *Research Design in Social Research*. Sage.

Veblen, T., 1899. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions.* Macmillan.

Venkatesan, S., 2008. *In:* Carrithers, M. et al., Ontology is just another Word for Culture. *Manchester University* [online]. Available from http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/disciplines/socialanthropology/research/gdat/documents/2008%20Ontology%20just%20another%20word%2 0for%20culture.pdf (accessed 28/03/2011).

Vercellone, C., 2006. *Capitalism Cognitivo*. Manifestolibri.

Vercellone, C., 2007. From Formal Subsumption to General Intellect: Elements for a Marxist Reading of the Thesis of Cognitive Capitalism. *Historical Materialism* 15, 13–36.

Verderosa, T., 2002. *The Techno Primer: The Essential Reference for Loop-Based Music Styles.* Hal Leonard Corporation.

Virno, P., 1996. Virtuosity and Revolution: Radical Thought in Italy, *In:* Hardt, M., and Virno, P., *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics.* University of Minnesota Press, 189–209.

Virno, P., 2001. Labour and Language. *Generation Online* [online]. Available from http://www.generation-online.org/t/labourlanguage.htm (accessed 24/09/2012).

Virno, P., 2002. General Intellect, Exodus, Multitude. *Archipelago* 54, 1-11.

Virno, P., 2003. One and Many. *Generation Online* [online]. Available from http://www.generation-online.org/p/fpvirno9.htm (accessed 10/09/2012), 1-2.

Virno, P., 2004. *A Grammar of the Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life.* Semiotext(e).

Virno, P., 2006. Interview with Héctor Pavón 24/12/2004. *Libcom.org* [online]. Available from https://libcom.org/library/creating-a-new-public-spherewithout-the-state-paolo-virno (accessed 26/08/2014).

Wacquant, L., 2006. *Key Contemporary Thinkers, new ed*. Macmillan.

Wall, T., and Dubber, A., 2010. Experimenting with Fandom, Live Music, and the Internet: Applying Insights from Music Fan Culture to New Media Production. *Journal of New Music Research* 39, 159–169.

Wallin, N. et al., 2001. *The Origins of Music.* Bradford Books.

Wark, M., 2004. *A Hacker Manifesto.* Harvard University Press.

Warmbroad, J.R., 1986. The Theoretical/Conceptual Framework: What is its Relevance to Conclusions and Recommendations? *In: Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, n.d.* Texas, U.S.A.

Warren, K.J., 2008. *An Unconventional History of Western Philosophy: Conversations Between Men and Women Philosophers.* Rowman and Littlefield.

Watson, T.J., 2008. Sociology, Work and Industry. Routledge.

We're All Fans - The 52nd Annual Grammy Awards. *We're All Fans* [online]. Available from www.wereallfans.com (accessed 06/07/10).

Webb, E.J. et al., 1966. *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences.* Rand Mcnally.

Weber, S., 2004. *The Success of Open Source.* Harvard University Press.

Webster, C., and Lee, S., 2006. Enclosure of the Urban Commons. *Geojournal* 6, (11), 27-42.

Weeks, K., 2007. Life Within and Against Work: Affective Labor, Feminist Critique, and Post-Fordist Politics. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7, 233–249.

Weeks, K., 2011. *The Problem with Work.* Duke University Press.

Weems, M., 2002. *I Speak from the Wound that is my Mouth.* Peter Lang.

Weisberg, R. W., 1993. *Creativity: Beyond the Myth of Genius.* W.H. Freeman.

Wellman, B., and Haythornthwaite, C., 2002. *The Internet in Everyday Life.* WileyBlackwell.

Wesch, M., 2007. What is Web 2.0? What Does it Mean for Anthropology? Lessons from an Accidental Viral Video. *Anthropology News* 48, 30–31.

Whiteley, P.S., and Sklower, M.J., 2014. *Countercultures and Popular Music.* Ashgate.

Whyte, W.H., 1956. *The Organization Man.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Williams, R., 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* Fontana Press.

Wissinger, E., 2007. Modelling a Way of Life: Immaterial and Affective Labour in the Fashion Modelling Industry. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 7 (1), 250-269.

Wittel, A., 2001. Towards a Network Sociality. *Theory, Culture and Society* 18(6), 51-76.

Wittgenstein, L., 1953. *Philosophical Investigations, 4ᵗʰ ed.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Woodhall, W., 2010. *Audio Production and Postproduction.* Jones and Bartlett Learning.

Wright, S., 2002. *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism.* Pluto Press.

Wright, S., 2005. Reality Check: Are We Living in an Immaterial World? *Mute: Culture and Politics after the Net* 2, 1-7.

Wu, J., 2011. Improving the Writing of Research Papers and Beyond. *Landscape Ecology* 26, 1345-1349.

Yin, R.K., 1984. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Sage.

Yin, R.K., 2003. *Applications of Case Study Research.* Sage.

Yin, R.K., 2008. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 4ᵗʰ ed.* Sage.

Yin, R.K., 2010. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish.* Guilford Press.

Zarrella, D., 2009. *The Social Media Marketing Book.* O'Reilly Media.

Zeisler, A., 2008. *Feminism and Pop Culture.* Seal Press.

Žižek, S., 2006. Nobody has to be Vile. *London Review of Books* 28, 10, n.p.

Žižek, S., 2009. *First as Tragedy, then as Farce.* Verso Books.

Zwick, D. et al., 2008. Putting Consumers to Work: 'Co-creation' and New Marketing Governmentality. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 8, 163–196.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Theme 1: Labour

Ideas to cover:

- How do participants categorise labour, leisure, work, play etc.?
- What activities fall under the above?
- What feelings, beliefs, understandings do they have concerning it?
- What are positive experiences? What are negative experiences?
- How does payment factor in their experience?

Theme 2: Biopolitics

Ideas to cover:

- Where does production take place?
- When does production take place?
- Do labour and leisure inform each other?
- Do participants experience labour, or a lifestyle?

Theme 3: Urban Life

Ideas to cover:

- What is the role of the city in production?
- What supports are in place in the city?
- How are physical spaces in the city of import?
- Are there barriers to DIY activity within the city?

Theme 4: Autonomy

Ideas to cover:

- How do participants understand autonomy?
- What are their motivations for DIY?
- Are rhetorics of entrepreneurship audible?
- What negative experiences are there in (real/imagined) autonomous practice?

Theme 5: Precarity

Ideas to cover:

- Is DIY experienced as a precarious practice?
- Do participants see non-paid work as a job?

- What degree of stability is in DIY?
- Do participants experience any degree of exploitation?

Theme 6: Pathological Dimensions

Ideas to cover:

- Does DIY impose unwarranted sociality?
- Do participants experience pressure in DIY activities?
- If precarity is experienced, what effect does this have?
- Is a sense of loneliness/isolation present?
- Is there consistent pressure to be creative?

Theme 7: Cooperative Production

Ideas to be covered:

- What are the most present modes of cooperation?
- How, if and why do participants network?
- What are participants' feelings, ideas and beliefs about consumers as producers?
- What types of social relationships are created with other producers?

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet

Please read the following information. If you have any questions about this project please address them to the researcher before signing the consent form.

1. **Working project title (likely to change):** DIY Music Culture: Subjective Experience in Post-industrial Labour.

2. **Researcher**: Susan Gill.

3. **Contact details:** susanflorancegill@gmail.com/0852257667

4. **Supervisors:** Dr Brian 0'Neill/ Martin McCabe/Dr. Tim Stott

5. **Funded by:** Strand 1/DIT

6. **Purpose of study:** It is the aim of this study to examine the nature of labour within contemporary Do-It-Yourself music culture. Framing this research are existing theoretical tensions concerning post-industrial labour forms and its practitioners including, but not limited to the social, cultural, mental and political implications of post-industrial modes of production. This study presents the DIY music model as a plausible form of cultural activity through which these themes can be analysed.

7. **Withdrawl from study:** You are free to withdraw your consent at any time. If you wish to withdraw consent please contact the researcher ASAP.

8. **Anonymity:** You will be named in this study. If you wish to remain anonymous, the researcher will assign you a pseudonym. You may also decline to make a decision until the interview is completed or change your mind after the interview.

I am willing to be named in this study (please tick if appropriate) ☐

I wish to remain anonymous in this study (please tick if appropriate) ☐

9. **Risks:** For participants that wish to remain anonymous a pseudonym will be granted. However it cannot be guaranteed that participants will remain completely unidentifiable through other distinguishing characteristics. As the interviews will be recorded, this may be through voice etc.

10. **Benefits:** There is no assurance that you will benefit from this study. However your participation will contribute to a neglected area of knowledge.

11. **Procedures:** You will be interviewed for approx 1 hour. The interview will be recorded via dictaphone.

12. **Publishing:** The results of this research will be published in various publications, including but not limited to: PhD thesis, journal articles, books, blogs.

Appendix C

Application for Ethical Clearance

<div align="center">

DECLARATION OF

RESEARCH ETHICS AND/OR ASSESSMENT OF RISK

</div>

All research and scholarship proposals, whether funded or not by internal or external funds, must submit a RESEARCH ETHICS/ASSESSMENT OF RISK FORM to the DIT Research Ethics Committee.

This is a self-declaration process. The researcher is asked to formally identify any possible ethical issues or risks that might arise in the course of the work, and to sign the documentation.

Please refer to the Guiding Principles and Procedures indicated on the DIT Research Ethics website prior to completing this form:

- http://www.dit.ie/DIT/graduate/ethics/index.html

PLEASE NOTE

- You are requested to attach a copy of your research application to this form.

- The RESEARCH ETHICS /ASSESSMENT OF RISK FORM must be signed by the applicant(s)

- Ethical Approval must be granted prior to start of any research/scholarly activity or prior to funding being released for the project, as appropriate.

- No postgraduate research student will normally be registered until the proposal is cleared by the DIT Research Ethics Committee.

Completed forms should be returned to: Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of Graduate Studies, DIT, 143-149 Lower Rathmines Road, Dublin 6.

Title of the proposed project:		
DIY Music Practitioner as Interface: Networks, Community & Biopower (Working Title)		
Applicant Details (Use Block Capitals):		
Surname: GILL	Forename: SUSAN	Title: MISS
Present appointment: PHD STUDENT		
School/Department/Centre: SCHOOL OF MEDIA Faculty: FACULTY OF APPLIED ARTS Work Tel: 0874198886		

Fax: N/A

E-mail: SUSANGILL1@GMAIL.COM

Other departments/organisations/individuals involved:

a) MARTIN MCCABE (SUPERVISOR)
b) DR. BRIAN O'NEILL (SUPERVISOR)
c) GRADCAM

Source of Funding:
STRAND1/DIT

Has the current research project already received approval from another research ethics committee? NO

If so, please enclose relevant information and documentation

Generic Projects:

Researchers may receive approval for a cluster of similar research activity by approval of a *generic protocol* to cover repetitive methodologies or activities. A *generic protocol* should comprise a covering letter setting out the circumstances and rationale for generic approval, outlining the procedures to be followed in all such projects, in addition to completion of the appropriate appendices.

If this project is part of a cluster of research with similar methodology, please tick here and submit a generic protocol to cover all such projects. ☐

Insurance

Normally, DIT insurance covers standard research activity, including fieldtrips. Are you aware of any unusual or exceptional risks or insurance issues to which DIT's insurance company should be alerted? If so, please list the issues: NO

Please note that no contract should be entered into for clinical/medical (including drug testing) or surgical trials/tests on any human subject until written confirmation has been received from the DIT's insurers that the relevant insurance cover is in place.

Are you or any members of the research team a member of any organisation that provides professional indemnity insurance? NO

Name of the organisation:

Please provide written confirmation of the terms of insurance cover.

Professional Code of Conduct

Please reference, if appropriate, the Code of Ethical Conduct produced by your relevant professional organization(s), which also informs your research.

Please note that: Where those requirements conflict with DIT requirements, the latter will normally be followed. In all such circumstances, please contact the Office of Research Ethics for clarification.

All researchers must confirm with the Data Protection Act 1988. Please consult the DIT Data Protection Officer for advice.

IDENTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ISSUES AND/OR RISK

Do any of the following ethical issues or risks apply in your research? If so, tick all box(es) which apply and complete the relevant Appendix, which can be downloaded from http://www.dit.ie/DIT/graduate/ethics/index.html		
Yes	**No**	**Does your research involve…**
✓		Impact on human subject(s) and/or the researcher(s) [Appendix 1]
✓		Consent and advice form given to subjects prior to their participation in the research [Appendix 2]
		Consent form for research involving 'less powerful' subjects or those under 18 years [Appendix 3]
		Conflict of interest [Appendix 4]
		Drugs and Medical Devices [Appendix 5]
		Ionising Radiation [Appendix 6]
		Neonatal Material [Appendix 7]
		Animal Welfare [Appendix 8]
		General Risk Assessment [Appendix 9]
		Hazardous Chemical Risk Assessment [Appendix 10]
		Biological Agents Risk Assessment [Appendix 11]
		Work involving Genetically Modified Organisms Risk Assessment [Appendix 12]
		Field Work Risk Assessment [Appendix 13]

If other risk and/or ethical issues are identified please provide a written submission which outlines the issues and the manner in which they are being addressed.

Please tick the appropriate box below

☐   **No, there are no** ethical issues and/or risks involved in your research project, **please tick here, and sign the declaration on page 5.**

✓**Yes, there are ethical** issues and/or risks involved in your research, **please tick here and complete the appropriate forms identified above.**

In accordance with the Principles of the Declaration of Helsinki and DIT Principles and Procedures, I declare that the information provided in this form is true to the best of my knowledge and judgement.

I will advise the DIT Research Ethics Committee *of any adverse or unforeseen circumstances or changes in the research which might concern or affect any ethical issues or risks, including if the project fails to start or is abandoned.*

Signature of applicant 1: _Susan Gill_____

Signature of applicant 2: _____

Signature of applicant 3: _____

(an electronic signature is permissible)

Appendix D

List of Interviewees

Nay MacArdle
-Journalist: 'The Sun.'
-Blogger: 'Harmless Noise,' a cross-genre blog documenting and reviewing the Irish DIY scene.

Anthony Dillon
-Zine Writer: 'Loserdom,' a DIY zine covering such topics as independent music and politics.

Angela Dorgan
-CEO: First Music Contact (FMC), a government funded information and resource centre for independent and DIY Irish musicians.
-FMC organise the annual Hard Working Class Heroes Festival.

James Byrne
-Drummer: Villagers.
-DIY label owner: Any Other City.
-Radio DJ: Phantom FM.

Jonathan Savino
-Gig promoter: Captains Live.
-Singer/Songwriter/Guitarist: Hypergiants.

Simon Bird
-Solo musician/Producer/DJ.

Jim Carroll
-Journalist: The Irish Times.
-Blogger: On the Record.
-Radio DJ: Phantom FM.

Paul Hosford
-Singer/Songwriter/Guitarist: Last Second Magic.

Ciaran O'Gorman
-Bassist: Shove.

Gavin Prior
-DIY label owner: Deserted Village.
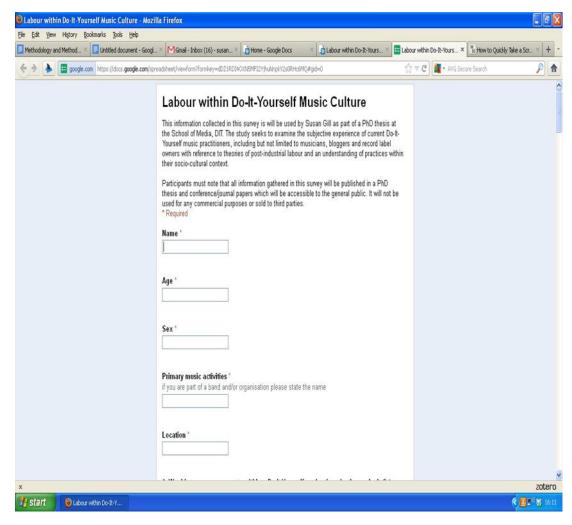-Guitarist/Songwriter: United Bible Studies.

Andrew Dillon
-Singer: French Bird.

Matthew Nolan
-Guitarist/Songwriter: 3epkano.

Appendix E

Online Questionnaire (Screen Shot)

Appendix F

Questionnaire Advertisements

'On the Record' (Online Column)

'The Journal of Music' (Online Magazine)