



**CAMBRIDGE**  
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**Practice, Power and Learning in  
UK Recorded Music Companies**

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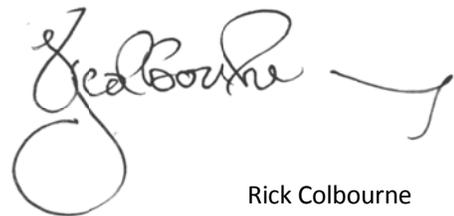
A thesis submitted to the University of Cambridge in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
2011



Scientia est potentia  
Sir Francis Bacon, Religious Meditations, Of Heresies, 1597

## **Declaration**

Except for commonly understood and accepted ideas, or where specific reference is made, the work in this dissertation is my own and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. The work has not previously been submitted in part or in whole to any university for any degree or other qualification. In accordance with the regulations of the Judge Business School, the dissertation contains no more than 80,000 words of text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rick Colbourne', with a large circular flourish at the end of the line.

Rick Colbourne

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## **Dedication**

To Michel and Esmée, without whose on-going patience, support, understanding and sacrifices this would not have been possible.

## **Abstract**

Practice, Power and Learning in UK Record Companies

This thesis adopts a practice-based approach to understanding how power, knowledge and knowing intermingle in organizations to facilitate/constrain individual access to opportunities for knowing-in-practice (learning). It explores how organizational mechanisms and technologies of regulation (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions of knowledge as power/knowledge resources by which intermingling modalities of power are enacted to continuously sanction and (re)constitute individual meanings and identities.

## Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction: Recorded Music Industry Challenges</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	UK Recorded Music Industry	2
1.2	Record Company Functions	6
1.3	Music in the Spotlight	12
1.4	Summary and Conclusion	16
<b>2</b>	<b>Theorizing Power</b>	<b>20</b>
2.1	Agency-Structure	20
2.2	Power over, Power to and Beyond	21
2.3	Beyond Power over and Power to	34
2.4	Summary and Conclusion	49
<b>3</b>	<b>Learning in Organizations</b>	<b>55</b>
3.1	Organizational Learning: Behaviourist, Cognitivist and Humanist Conceptions	57
3.2	Workplace Learning: Social and Constructivist Conceptions	76
3.3	Summary and Conclusion	89
<b>4</b>	<b>Studying Power and Learning in Practice</b>	<b>92</b>
4.1	Positivist vs. Interpretivist Philosophical Orientations	94
4.2	Interpretivist Case Study Methodology	97
4.3	Reliability and Validity	98
4.4	Research Strategy	104
4.5	Data Collection	112
4.6	Data Management, Analysis and Interpretation	119
4.7	Ethics	124
4.8	Summary and Conclusion	126
<b>5</b>	<b>Becoming a Music Industry Practitioner</b>	<b>127</b>
5.1	Pre-Career Music Genre-based Identities	128
5.2	Recorded Music Industry Career Practices	130
5.3	Framework for Analysis: Practice, Power and Learning	138
5.4	Mediating Power/Learning Tensions	146
5.5	Summary and Conclusion	148
<b>6</b>	<b>Case Study One: SonyBMG</b>	<b>150</b>
6.1	Individual Knowing	152
6.2	Human Resource Practices	156
6.3	Senior Executive Practice	170
6.4	Summary	175
<b>7</b>	<b>Case Study Two: Warner Music Group</b>	<b>177</b>
7.1	Individual Knowing	178

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

7.2	Human Resource Practices	184
7.3	Management Practice	197
7.4	Senior Executive Practice	199
7.5	Summary	202
<b>8</b>	<b>Case Study Three: Universal Music Group</b>	<b>203</b>
8.1	Individual Knowing	204
8.2	Human Resource Practices	208
8.3	Senior Executive Practice	229
8.4	Summary	231
<b>9</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>233</b>
9.1	Strengths and Limitations of Research	238
9.2	Implications for Future Research	241
<b>10</b>	<b>Afterword</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>250</b>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### Tables

Table 1-1: Company UK Market Share (% Unit Sales)	2
Table 1-2: UK Retail Values	3
Table 1-3: Increased Market Share for Non-Traditional Outlets	4
Table 1-4: Single Track Downloads	4
Table 1-5: Record Company Functions and Responsibilities	8
Table 1-6: Music Industry Research	14
Table 2-1: Modalities of Power	47
Table 3-1: Behaviourist Conceptions	59
Table 3-2: Cangelosi & Dill - Organizational Stressors	61
Table 3-3: Cognitivist Conceptions	64
Table 3-4: 4I Framework	69
Table 3-5: Humanist Conceptions	71
Table 3-6: Five Disciplines	72
Table 3-7: Social Learning Conceptions	78
Table 3-8: Constructivist Conceptions	84
Table 4-1: Positivist & Interpretivist Assumptions	95
Table 4-2: Research Design and Philosophical Orientations	96
Table 4-3: Theoretical Case Selection Strategies	97
Table 4-4: Interpretivist Considerations for Reliability	99
Table 4-5: Interpretivist Considerations for Construct Validity	101
Table 4-6: Interpretivist Considerations for Internal Validity	102
Table 4-7: Interpretivist Considerations for External Validity/Generalization	103
Table 4-8: Pilot Study Outcome: Final Research Protocol	106
Table 4-9: Methodological Decisions: Research Strategy/Design	107
Table 4-10: Gender, Ethnicity & Higher Education	113
Table 4-11: Level in Organization	114
Table 4-12: Function in Organization	114
Table 4-13: Industry Experience (Years)	115
Table 4-14: Organizational Experience (Years)	116
Table 4-15: Organizational Documents	117
Table 4-16: Researcher Generated Documents	118
Table 4-17: Data Management, Analysis and Interpretation	120
Table 4-18: Coding Data	123
Table 5-1: Pre-Career Activities	128
Table 5-2: Independent Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power	133
Table 5-3: Academic Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power	135
Table 5-4: Professional Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power	137
Table 5-5: Allen's Modalities of Power	141
Table 5-6: Three Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge	143
Table 5-7: Three Individual Dimensions of Knowing	144
Table 5-8: Employee Lifecycle Framework	147
Table 6-1: SBMG Merger	150
Table 6-2: SBMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing	153
Table 6-3: SBMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing	154
Table 6-4: SBMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum	158
Table 6-5: SBMG - HR Projects, Tasks & Actions - Performance Management	160
Table 6-6: SBMG - Technology of Regulation Performance Reviews Q&A	161
Table 6-7: SBMG - Developmental Discussion Guidelines	161
Table 6-8: SBMG - Behaviour Descriptions	166
Table 6-9: SBMG - Technology of Regulation OCEAN Factor Analysis Tool	169
Table 6-10: SBMG - Organizational Effectiveness Survey	171
Table 6-11: SBMG - Ideas and Vision Groups	172

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 6-12: SBMG - Vision Group Presentation	173
Table 6-13: SBMG - Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge	174
Table 7-1: WMG - Acquisition, Lay-offs and Mergers	177
Table 7-2: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing	179
Table 7-3: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing	181
Table 7-4: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing	182
Table 7-5: WMG - (Pre)Recruitment, Selection and Engagement	186
Table 7-6: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum	189
Table 7-7: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum	192
Table 7-8: WMG - Performance Reviews	192
Table 7-9: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum	194
Table 7-10: WMG - Situated Curriculum	197
Table 8-1: UMG - Knowing the Recorded Music Industry	204
Table 8-2: UMG - Knowing the Network of Relations	205
Table 8-3: UMG - Knowing How to Participate in Emerging Practices	206
Table 8-4: Polydor Group/UMG - Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge	209
Table 8-5: UMG - Individual Development Curriculum	213
Table 8-6: UMG - Training Plans and Talent Review Process [policy document]	214
Table 8-7: UMG - Organizational Curriculum Development Phase	217
Table 8-8: UMG - Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop	218
Table 8-9: UMG - WINS Negotiation Course	221
Table 8-10: UMG - Consultative Selling Course	222
Table 8-11: UMG - Executive Development Curriculum	225
Table 8-12: UMG - Self Assessment	227
Table 8-13: UMG - Executive Development Skills Inventory	228
Table 8-14: UMG - EDP Invitation and Debrief Documents	230

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### Figures

Figure 1-1: UK CD Prices 2001-2006 (£)	3
Figure 1-2: # of Jobs in UK Music Industry 2002-2006	6
Figure 1-3: Generic Record Company Structure and Functions	7
Figure 1-4: Challenges by Record Company Function	10
Figure 1-5: Current State: Global Recorded Music Industry	16
Figure 2-1: Sovereign Power	23
Figure 2-2: Elite Proxy Coalition	24
Figure 2-3: Legitimate Domination	25
Figure 2-4: Behaviourist Power – Overt Episodic	26
Figure 2-5: Behaviourist Power - Covert Episodic	28
Figure 2-6: Radical Behaviourist	29
Figure 2-7: Dispositional	31
Figure 2-8: Communicative Power	32
Figure 2-9: Facilitative Power	33
Figure 2-10: Immanent	37
Figure 2-11: Translation	39
Figure 2-12: Social Space & Symbolic Power	42
Figure 2-13: Strategy & Tactic	45
Figure 2-14: Modal	48
Figure 3-1: Literature on Learning	55
Figure 4-1: Research Phases	104
Figure 4-2: Research Phase One - Pilot Study	105
Figure 4-3: Phase Two - Negotiating Access	108
Figure 4-4: Phase Three - Fieldwork	111
Figure 4-5: Code Frame Techniques	123
Figure 5-1: Recorded Music Industry Career Practices	131
Figure 5-2: Framework for Case Study Analysis	139
Figure 5-3: HR as Central Mediating Practice	146
Figure 6-1: Performance Reviews – ‘Who Does What’	162
Figure 6-2: Performance Reviews – Rob and Senior Management Team	163
Figure 8-1: Mercury International MBTI Team Profile	219
Figure 8-2: Pillars of Consultative Selling	223

# **1 Introduction: Recorded Music Industry Challenges**

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*There is a world to be lost and a world to be gained. Choices that appear to be merely technical will redefine our lives together at work. This means more than simply contemplating the implications or consequences of a new technology. It means that a powerful, new technology... fundamentally reorganizes the infrastructure of our material world. It eliminates former alternatives. It creates new possibilities. It necessitates fresh choices.*

**Shoshana Zuboff (1988:5)**

In North America, the prevalence of high-speed broadband connections in most universities in the late 1990s was a harbinger for dramatic change in the global recorded music industry. University students represented enthusiastic early adopters of emerging digital music hardware platforms and software applications which offered new ways of accessing and interacting with music via the Internet. The development of audio compression codices, digital music players, increases in PC processing power, and the inclusion of CD burners as standard PC accessories converged to enable music consumers to create digital copies of music files from CDs. These music files could then be easily transferred to PCs, to portable digital music players, posted to a variety of music downloading sites on the Internet or shared via email and P2P networks (Leyshon 2003). In the absence of record company online music initiatives, alternative models emerged to provide music consumers with an array of applications and services to digitize, download, exchange and listen to music.

While advances in technology were transforming traditional record label marketing, promotion and distribution activities, they were also transforming music consumers into more active participants in the production and distribution of music. The major record companies were slow to recognize and respond to the fundamental transformation of music consumers and associated digital issues, challenges, and opportunities. Consequently, the recorded music industry experienced high levels of uncertainty and was, initially, unwilling to consider new and emerging digital music formats. This failure was exacerbated by a sustained series of recorded music industry initiated lawsuits waged against most music technology start-ups, hardware and software companies which eventually expanded to target individual music consumers.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

The following section examines the current situation for the UK recorded music industry and identifies central factors influencing current transformations in major record company practices including: the decline in physical sales, the growth of digital sales, digital music piracy, and organizational restructuring, downsizing and lay-offs.

### 1.1 UK Recorded Music Industry

As the third largest market, accounting for 10% of global recorded music revenues in 2005 (BPI 2006; IFPI 2006), the United Kingdom (UK) is a major centre for the global music industry. It is characterized by a high concentration of major and independent record companies, telecommunications companies, online music providers, music-based software developers, as well as industry and rights organizations. The four largest record companies according to market share in the UK for 2005 were; Universal Music Group (UMG) with 24.70%, EMI Music UK (EMI) with 23.40%, SonyBMG UK (SBMG) with 12.70% and Warner Music UK (WMG) with 7.20% of the market (BPI 2006).

Table 1-1: Company UK Market Share (% Unit Sales)

	2005	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Universal Music UK	1	20.20%	25.90%	25.10%	26.30%	27.10%	24.70% <sup>1</sup>
EMI Music UK	2	14.50%	15.40%	23.40%	21.30%	21.80	23.40%
SonyBMG Music	3	-	-	-	-	4.70%	12.70%
Warner Music UK	4	8.90%	7.00%	9.20%	9.40%	8.20%	7.20%

Source: (BPI 2006; IFPI 2006)

As a centre for the global recorded music industry, the UK market has not been immune to the issues and challenges presented by new and emerging technologies and transformations in its physical (CD) market. As a result, all four major record companies have been struggling to address declining revenues, increased competition from non-traditional competitors, downward pressure on retail prices and on-going market uncertainty (BPI 2006).

#### 1.1.1 Decline in Physical Sales

From 2001 to 2006, the UK recorded music market experienced a 9.20% decline in the retail value of music, while Western European sales fell by 21% and global

<sup>1</sup> EMI experienced significant market share increases over this time due to the success of its roster of artists. In 2005, for example, EMI artists earned 54 Grammy nominations including honours in the key categories of "Album of the Year", "Record of the Year", "Song of the Year" and "Producer of the Year".

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

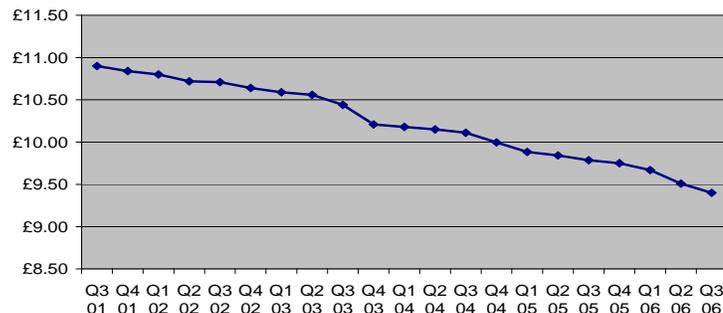
music sales declined by 15% (IFPI 2007). In 2006, physical (CD) sales declined by 9.40% with current market analyses projecting a continued decline over the next five years (BPI 2006; IFPI 2006, 2007).

Year	£ (millions)	% change
2006	1,820.0	-4.0%
2005	1,895.3	-2.7%
2004	1,947.1	-0.7%
2003	1,961.6	0.1%
2002	1,959.0	-2.2%
2001	2,003.0	7.9%

Source: (IFPI 2006, 2007)

Traditional music CD retailers have been challenged by aggressive competition from supermarket chains and online retailers which represent the fastest growing CD sales segment in the UK (HMV 2006). Supermarket chains and online retailers exerted considerable downward pressure on prices through offering discounted CDs as loss leader promotions, resulting in a 14% decline in the price of CDs over the past five years (IFPI 2007; OCC 2007).

Figure 1-1: UK CD Prices 2001-2006 (£)



Source: (Taylor Nelson Sofres 2007)

It is anticipated that the total share of CD sales controlled by supermarket and online retailers will continue to grow resulting in a continued decline in CD prices and increased pressure on record company margins (IFPI 2007).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 1-3: Increased Market Share for Non-Traditional Outlets**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Supermarkets	9%	12%	15%	18%	22%	23%	26%
Online Retailers	1%	3%	5%	6%	8%	9%	11%
Other <sup>2</sup>	90%	85%	81%	76%	71%	68%	63%

Source: (Taylor Nelson Sofres 2007)

based on album expenditure

### 1.1.2 Digital Sales

Digital sales (single track downloads) grew by 152% in 2006 over the previous year and although this trend has continued in the UK into 2010, revenues from digital sales are still not compensating for the drop in revenues from physical sales. Consequently, as CD prices continue to decline, record company revenues and margins have continued to decline since 2006 (BPI 2006; IFPI 2006, 2010).

**Table 1-4: Single Track Downloads**

Quarter	Single Track Downloads (millions)	Annual Growth	Quarterly Growth
Q1 06	11.5	152%	21%
Q2 06	12.9	131%	12%
Q3 06	12.9	88%	0%
Q4 06	15.3	62%	19%

Source: (OCC 2007)

### 1.1.3 Digital Music Piracy

Music consumers bypass traditional music retail channels through adopting new and emerging technologies that facilitate digital music downloading or P2P file sharing. Each month in 2006, for example, over 4 million music consumers shared illegal music files through file sharing networks, up 22% from 3.4 million users in 2005 (BPI 2006; IFPI 2007). This represents an estimated total of 450 million music tracks which is equivalent to 45 million albums or a quarter of total UK album sales for 2006 (BPI 2006; IFPI 2007). More significantly, digital music piracy devalues music through positioning it as a cheap or free commodity (IFPI 2006, 2007) and, thereby, contributes directly to the decline in UK recorded music industry revenues (BPI 2006; IFPI 2006, 2007). In addition to digital music piracy, UK record

<sup>2</sup> includes specialist stores, mail order and retail chains

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

company revenues are also threatened by established technologies such as MP3s, P2P computing and wireless networks; by non-traditional competitors such as telecom companies, Internet service providers and mobile operators; and by competing entertainment products such as computer games. In combination, these threats function to challenge traditional business models and channel relationships through dramatically altering the recorded music industry's competitive environment.

### **1.1.4 Restructuring, Downsizing and Lay-offs**

Although record companies have always faced considerable uncertainty in signing artists and producing, marketing, promoting and distributing music products (Negus 1999b), the emergence of powerful digital technologies presents challenges that are more significant than previous changes in formats<sup>3</sup> experienced by the industry. Previously, record companies were able to carefully construct and maintain music markets according to any number of characteristics such as genre, fashions, fads or territories (Negus 1999b). Current digital realities, however, have expanded the number of potential music 'products', complicated the nature of related rights, and fragmented music distribution channels and markets. Major record companies have responded to current uncertainties through reconsidering standard industry practices and processes; restructuring organizations; redefining fundamental notions such as consumer, market, product or distribution; developing new business relationships and partnerships<sup>4</sup>; selling business units focused on physical products<sup>5</sup>; and through acquiring and developing music technologies and applications.

More significantly, these responses have been accompanied by numerous rounds of lay-offs in all major record companies, targeting employees across roles, levels and functions as well as selected artists. Since 2004, for example, the Warner Music Group has reduced their global workforce by approximately 20% and their artist roster by almost 30% (WVG 2007). Since 2003, conservative UK industry

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<sup>3</sup> vinyl to cassettes to CDs to DVDs

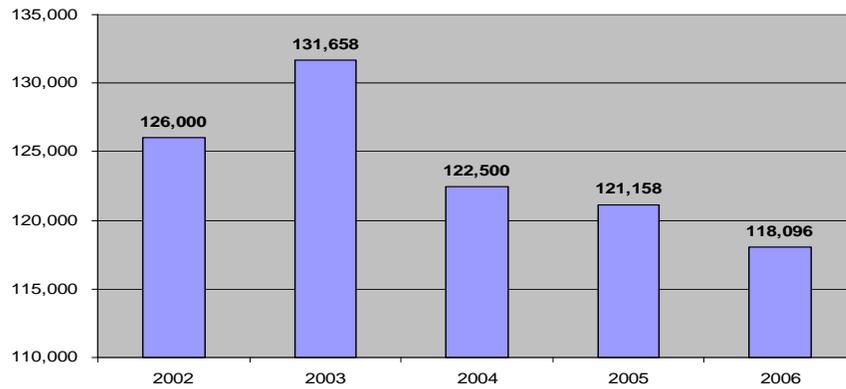
<sup>4</sup> firms such as Listen.com, Spiral Frog, OD2, Audible Magic, Rhapsody, iTunes

<sup>5</sup> CD production plants, distribution companies, warehouses

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

estimates place the number of jobs lost in the recorded music industry at approximately 10,500 (BPI 2005; NMC and DCMS 2002).

Figure 1-2: # of Jobs in UK Music Industry 2002-2006



Source: (BPI 2005; NMC and DCMS 2002)

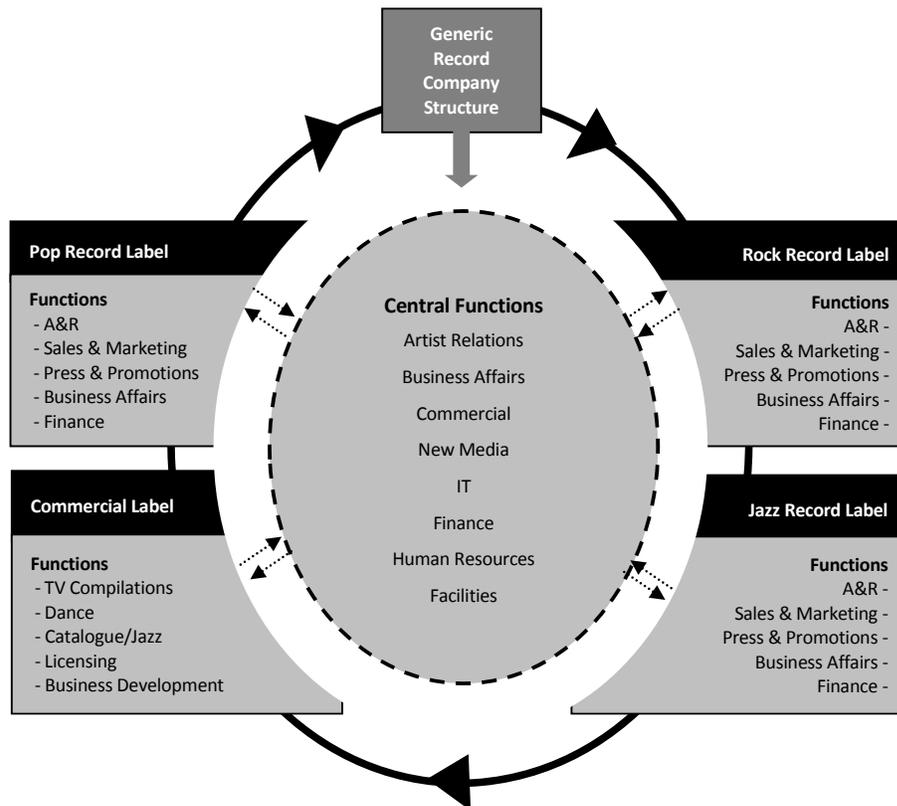
The effects of new and emerging digital technologies and applications on record labels are challenging the music industry to redefine its relationship to artists and consumers. More profoundly, however, the effects of multiple rounds of lay-offs, restructuring and downsizing, combined with the increased adoption of new and emerging technologies is altering individual experiences in and of the workplace through eliminating traditional job opportunities and creating new unthought-of possibilities. The next section focuses briefly on the organizational issues and challenges facing major record companies through outlining some of the effects that new and emerging technologies have had in transforming central record company functions.

### *1.2 Record Company Functions*

Traditional record company structures reflect industry functions and activities related to discovering artists, producing albums, and promoting physical products to music consumers utilizing tried and tested sales, marketing, and promotional techniques to stimulate retail sales.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Figure 1-3: Generic Record Company Structure and Functions



Source: adapted from Warner Music UK

Major record companies generally comprise a number of record labels, each focused on a particular genre, type of artist or consumer. While each label in a record company is organized according to generic music industry functions related to discovering, developing, marketing and promoting artist rosters, most major record companies have organized an infrastructure of central functions shared across labels and designed to support label-dedicated functions.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 1-5: Record Company Functions and Responsibilities**

Record Company Function	Responsibilities
<p><b>Artist &amp; Repertoire (A&amp;R)</b> Dominant label function responsible for discovering and signing the musical talent around which all other label functions are organized.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• setting the terms and conditions of the artist's contract</li> <li>• managing artist negotiations with Legal &amp; Business Affairs</li> <li>• mentoring and facilitating the artist's creative process</li> <li>• choosing a producer, finding a studio, selecting songs to record</li> <li>• providing input and direction to the recording, engineering and mastering of the artist's album</li> </ul>
<p><b>Sales &amp; Marketing</b> Responsible for stimulating retail sales through developing comprehensive sales plans and marketing campaigns for artist releases.</p>	<p><b>Sales</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• developing and reviewing retail sales proposals</li> <li>• negotiating number of units for retail orders</li> <li>• value added for retail promotions (i.e. t-shirts, in-store listening, signing sessions, personal appearances)</li> <li>• premium window or rack space for the artist's product</li> </ul> <p><b>Marketing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• coordinating artist releases across functions</li> <li>• developing point of sale materials</li> <li>• managing the artist's national and regional press promotions</li> <li>• developing and managing promotional campaigns</li> </ul>
<p><b>Press &amp; Promotions</b> Responsible for developing artist's and album profile.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• generating interest in an artist's album, live tours, interviews or personal appearances</li> <li>• strategically managing singles releases</li> <li>• choosing appropriated radio formats for radio play</li> <li>• organizing personal appearances and artist interviews</li> </ul>
<p><b>Licensing</b> Responsible for facilitating third party access to the label's catalogue for secondary exploitation<sup>6</sup> and for 'clearing' songs<sup>7</sup> from other record labels for internal projects.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• negotiating, securing and processing third party agreements</li> <li>• clearing the rights to back catalogue<sup>8</sup> songs</li> <li>• negotiating royalty rates and advances, and communicating these to Finance</li> <li>• preparing licensing agreements for internal approval</li> </ul>
<p><b>Legal &amp; Business Affairs</b> Responsible for representing the record company's interests in negotiating the terms and conditions of the artist's recording contract.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• negotiating the terms and conditions of the recording contract</li> <li>• agreeing on royalty rates and any artist advances</li> <li>• delineating the label's and artist's reciprocal responsibilities concerning legal and financial obligations</li> <li>• defining recoupable and non-recoupable expenses</li> <li>• addressing future contingencies or options</li> </ul>
<p><b>Finance</b> Centrally, Finance is responsible for all of the record company's legal obligations for financial reporting across its corporate activities.</p> <p>Label side, Finance estimates, manages, and coordinates budget and project reporting against agreed on budgets.</p>	<p><b>Central Function</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• providing input to artist negotiations</li> <li>• ensuring royalties are calculated regularly and paid out to artists</li> <li>• managing audit requests from artists, producers or third party licensors</li> <li>• regular updates on artist sales to mechanical rights organizations</li> </ul> <p><b>Label Function</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• providing input to artist negotiations</li> <li>• preparing sales, marketing and promotional budgets based on unit sales forecasts</li> <li>• tracking spending through monitoring artist, sales, marketing and promotional costs</li> <li>• preparing regular information, reports and month end journals</li> <li>• assessing forecasted spending by project to agreed budgets</li> <li>• monitoring album sales units for presentation and discussion across functions</li> </ul>

<sup>6</sup> CD compilations, digital bundles, cover mounts, mid-line, low price or mail order bundled products

<sup>7</sup> Ensuring that the label has all of the rights required to assign the song to a third party or for use in in-house projects.

<sup>8</sup> Songs that are no longer active in the charts.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*Artist and Repertoire* (A&R) is involved in the discovery of the artist, the production of the musical product and the development of the artist's career. *Sales and Marketing* place music product in retail outlets and generate consumer interest through national and regional press and radio promotions. *Press and Promotions* work to generate interest in an artist's album, live tours, personal appearances, or interviews. *Licensing* negotiates, secures, and processes agreements that facilitate third party access to a record label's repertoire. *Legal and Business Affairs* represents the record company's interests in negotiating the terms and conditions of an artist's recording contract, including agreements on royalty rates and artist advances. *Finance*, as both a central and label function, manages finance and budgeting standards, reporting obligations, develops sales projections, manages label budgets, provides input into artist negotiations and oversees the payment of advances and royalties.

Central functions provide a cost effective infrastructure that strategically coordinates and integrates label and division efforts with the record company's overall business processes and strategies. While these functions centralize particular organizational functions such as Information Technology or Facilities, other functions, such as Finance are simultaneously situated in each label and execute specific label-based responsibilities, i.e. developing and managing budgeting, while being directly accountable to the central Finance function.

### **1.2.1 Evolving Record Company Practices**

Much has changed since Frith (1981:92) described the music industry as a 'production cycle in which a large number of inputs (musicians, songs, records) pass through a "filtering process" that excludes all but a small number of outputs (successful musicians, songs, records) from ever even reaching the market'. Music production technologies have made it easier for musicians to produce and promote music, resulting in many more 'inputs' to the music industry. Record companies are no longer centrally located in the "filtering process" as artist and consumer led fan websites, video games companies, telecommunications companies, and social networking sites represent new channels for artists enabled by technologies and software applications. Consequently, there are many

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

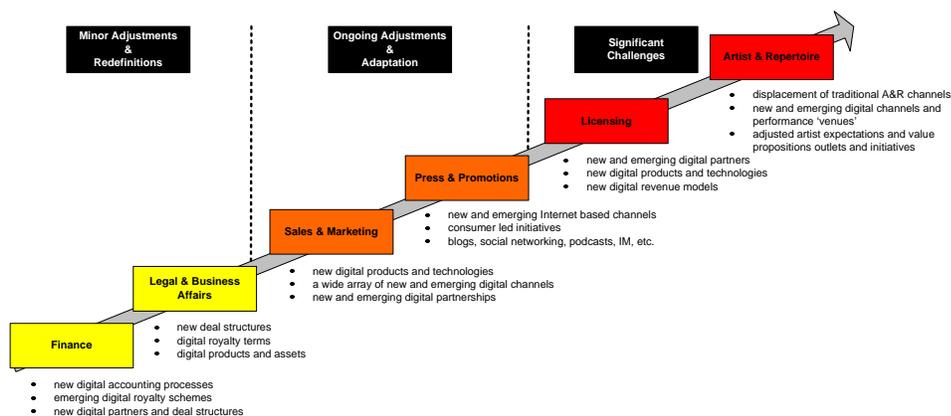
additional channels available to musicians for marketing, promoting and distributing music, resulting in a greater number of 'outputs' that do not necessarily intersect with record companies interests or activities.

Technologies contribute to fundamental changes in the organization, structure and administration of work related processes and practices in record companies. Recent developments in music hardware technologies<sup>9</sup> and software applications<sup>10</sup>, for example, are transforming organizational structures, redefining roles and responsibilities and altering basic record company practices, policies and procedures. Consequently, individual experiences of and orientations to work have been altered, first, by the transformation of functional practices and social structures within record companies; second, by the redistribution of skills and the reorientation and expansion of roles and responsibilities across functions; third, by the alteration of functional routines and practices; and, fourth, by the re/devaluation of particular forms of recorded music industry knowledge.

### 1.2.2 Technological Challenges to Traditional Record Label Functions

The effects of new and emerging technologies on functional practices and social structures have been experienced differently across record company functions, and hold different implications for those involved in related functional practices.

Figure 1-4: Challenges by Record Company Function



<sup>9</sup> music players, mobile phones

<sup>10</sup> online video players, instant messaging

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Changes in the functions, routines and practices of A&R in record companies, for example, have been influenced by the emergence of new, more sophisticated and self-reliant artists that utilize digital platforms to manage their careers and distribute their musical products. This shift extends and reorients the A&R function from its traditional focus on discovering talent through live artist performances, to monitoring artist performances and activities online in 'virtual venues'. Similarly, Sales and Marketing is changing in response to transformations in music consumer behaviour to focus on managing new processes which engage consumers in unique ways. Traditionally, music consumers were treated as passive receivers of a generic sales and marketing message. Interactive technologies and applications<sup>11</sup> reposition consumers as a central medium through which targeted marketing messages are mediated and distributed. Press and Promotions is also renegotiating its relationship with music consumers through adopting new practices and routines that recognize the new ways in which consumers discover and interact with established and emerging artists. This function is deemphasizing radio airplay and traditional forms of album support through article placements in prominent newspapers and magazines in favour of integrated digital strategies<sup>12</sup> and campaigns that utilize Internet platforms such as social networking applications<sup>13</sup>, fan created sites<sup>14</sup>, and other interactive communication applications<sup>15</sup>. As a consequence of changes across other functions, Finance is under greater pressure to develop processes and procedures focused on managing new and emerging contractual arrangements related to managing additional digital rights, royalties and partners alongside traditional physical ones.

Technological change in the music industry has redefined the organizational knowledge landscape as well as the values and practices associated with particular forms of knowledge. Knowledge related to the physical production and distribution of music is being moved to the periphery of record companies in favour of knowledge that facilitates digital music production and promotion

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<sup>11</sup> email, instant messaging, video sharing, discussion sites, blogs,

<sup>12</sup> online promotions, promotions on social networking sites, promotions on shared video sites

<sup>13</sup> One popular example is [www.myspace.com](http://www.myspace.com) .

<sup>14</sup> blogs, podcasts

<sup>15</sup> Really Simple Syndication (RSS 2.0), blogs

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

across all functions. Historically, a record label relied on an A&R representative's 'ears', 'gut feel' or tacit understandings<sup>16</sup> for identifying and signing commercially viable acts; the value and centrality of this knowledge is being eroded by the development of A&R related Internet sites and sophisticated artist sites. Through mediating an artist's relationship with A&R<sup>17</sup> and facilitating increased transparency and access to knowledge and information on new artists across record company functions, traditional forms of A&R-based knowledge are being devalued. In the particular case of exploiting back catalogues for digital distribution, Licensing is being challenged to develop unique understandings and knowledge related to exploiting music products across new and emerging digital platforms and channels. This includes understanding the wide range of options for licensing the record label's catalogue across multiple platforms, formats, and channels and developing an in-depth knowledge of contract terms and conditions to facilitate more effective exploitation of record label assets. Therefore, peripheral knowledge contained in out-dated contractual agreements is becoming central to assessing which agreements address label and artist rights across new and emerging digital platforms, and which do not.

### ***1.3 Music in the Spotlight***

The focus of this research emerged from personal experiences in the Canadian and UK music industries<sup>18</sup> gained in context of the emergence of new digital music technologies over the past ten years that have been unrelenting in challenging the foundations of the industry. While the recorded music industry failed to address changing industry dynamics, digital music-based technologies redefined the notion of musician and online Internet based platforms challenged traditional record company functions. Music was transformed from a traditional physical product to an amorphous digital one and music fans rejected passive roles as consumers in favour of active engagement in listening, promoting, sharing, manipulating, and interacting with a wider variety of digital music products. As digital technologies transformed the music industry, it became evident that

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<sup>16</sup> practical knowledge

<sup>17</sup> social networking, independent music sites, music streaming sites, A&R recommendation sites

<sup>18</sup> Recording and touring artist; international touring concert producer; Senior Manager and music industry expert, Accenture, Communications, Media and Entertainment practice; Program Director, MA in Music Business Management, University of Westminster, London.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

individuals across roles, levels, and functions were struggling to comprehend and adjust to these challenges. This was exacerbated by the lack of a concerted organizational response from major record companies due to a number of factors: record company reluctance to abandon traditional music industry practices; the transformation of social and power relations in record companies resulting from digital challenges resulted in confusion and inaction; and the widely held belief that the music industry could not be 'learned', but that it was intrinsic to some and not to others.

In addition, a preliminary review of the literature revealed that mainstream music industry research largely neglects the effects of changing industry and organizational dynamics on individuals involved in the production, marketing and distribution of music products in major record companies and focuses instead on artists, audiences and music, the aesthetics of culture and music, the legitimacy of different forms of cultural production, and the relationship of artists and music to consumers, fans and youth culture (cf. Frith 1981, 1991; Gibson 2003; Hesmondhalgh 1997, 1998; Jones 2003). Market oriented music research adopts a macro perspective on national music markets and examines industry structures associated with national labour markets, explores employment relations within the broader cultural industries, develops comparative studies of the UK popular music market with other central markets such as the United States (cf. Frederiksen and Sedita 2005; Frith 2004; Lopes 1992; Negus 1993, 1998; Pratt 1997). Similarly, organizational and management studies provide macro analyses of music companies by genre or function across a variety of markets, examine the management of creativity and innovation, and explore issues of cultural entrepreneurship (cf. Bilton 2007; Frith 1981; Hesmondhalgh 1998; Negus 1993, 1998, 1999a; Richards and Milestone 2000; Wilson and Stokes 2005).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 1-6: Music Industry Research

Field	Focus	Authors
Popular Music Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>youth culture and popular music</li> <li>why 'culture matters' in the context of the 'cultural industries'</li> <li>the aesthetics of modern culture</li> <li>examines how music is increasingly used as a means to formulate and express individual identities</li> </ul>	Andy Bennett (2002) Chris Gibson (2003) Simon Frith (1981; 1991; 2004) David Hargreaves et al. (2002)
Music Industry Market Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>knowledge and labour mobility regional patterns and structures of employment</li> <li>changing status of British popular music in the global music market</li> <li>sensemaking of markets in the commercial music industry</li> </ul>	Lars Frederiksen et al (2005) Andy C. Pratt (1997) Paul D. Lopes (1992) Simon Frith (2004) Bharat N. Anand et al. (2000)
Music Industry Organizational Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>comparative analysis of pop radio promotion in North America and Britain</li> <li>role of entertainment corporations in US music industry production</li> <li>rap as a commercial activity and cultural form</li> <li>historical studies</li> </ul>	Keith Negus (1993; 1998; 1999a) Marc Huygens et al. (2001)
Music Cultural Industries Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>managing creativity and innovation in cultural entrepreneurship</li> <li>management and creativity</li> <li>learning from organizational practice in cultural industries</li> <li>experiences of women working in small music companies</li> </ul>	Nicholas Wilson et al. (2005) Chris Bilton (2007) Joseph Lampel et al. (2000) Nicola Richards et al. (2000)
Critical Music Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>punk and the democratization of the UK music industry</li> <li>critical analysis of dance music industry as a challenge to the mainstream music industry</li> <li>UK music industry and Labour government policy</li> </ul>	David Hesmondhalgh (1997; 1998) Mike Jones (1999)
Cultural Intermediaries Workplace Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>significance of cultural intermediaries within the production/ consumption relations</li> <li>processes of individualization in working practices of cultural industries</li> <li>multi-skilling and de-specialization and the nature and pace of work and employment</li> <li>cultural intermediaries as shapers of taste and inculcators of new consumerist dispositions</li> <li>freelance and contract workers in the media industries</li> <li>analysis of work and careers in the television industry</li> </ul>	Keith Negus (2002) Angela McRobbie (2001; 2002) Sean Nixon et al. (2002) John Storey et al. (2005) Richard Paterson (2001)

Recent studies and theorizing on the role played by 'cultural intermediaries'<sup>19</sup> in mediating the relationship between production and consumption (cf. McRobbie

<sup>19</sup> Individuals involved in processes such as production, marketing and distribution which mediate the relationship between the artist, the artist's outputs and cultural consumers.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

2001, 2002; Negus 2002; Paterson 2001; Storey et al. 2005) offer interesting perspectives and insights into the conditions of individuals involved in producing cultural products other than music. In particular, McRobbie's (2001; 2002) research on the changing status of workers (contract, temporary, freelance) in media industries represents a positive move towards understanding how workplace issues, challenges and trends are reconstituting individuals, roles and functions related to different facets of cultural production.

While Frith's (1981) early work lays the foundation for many contemporary empirical accounts of the music industry in outlining basic record company and music industry functions, his exclusive focus on the experience of artists and audiences does not consider record company workplace experiences of individuals involved in the production and distribution music products. Drawing on the work of Frith (1981), Negus (1993; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2002) addresses a range of organizational and industry issues, challenges and dynamics related to the operation and organization of music companies. While his work succeeds in providing fresh insights into record company practices as corporate entities involved in signing, marketing, promoting music, Negus neglects to examine the working conditions for individuals involved in actualizing the practices he examines. While Jones (2003) is correct in identifying the lack of workplace studies in the music industry, he fails to extend his central focus beyond that of the artist. In building on the previous work of Negus (1999b; 2002) and Frith (1981), Jones continues to maintain a traditional mainstream focus on the experience of the artist, the artist's management and record company, but neglects to provide an in-depth exploration of record company workplace conditions under which production, promotion and distribution are accomplished.

Finally, understanding the nature of power and learning in organizations remains one of the biggest challenges in organizational research to date (cf. Alvesson and Willmott 2003; Contu et al. 2003; Contu and Willmott 2003; Coopey 1996; Easterby-Smith 1997; Easterby-Smith et al. 2000; Huzzard 2004; Lawrence et al. 2005; Vince 2004). In focusing on artists, audiences and music as primarily a cultural product, it was demonstrated that mainstream music-based research fails

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

to examine the effects of changing industry and organizational dynamics on individuals and practices involved in the everyday production, marketing, and distribution of recorded music products. Similarly, mainstream management, organizational and workplace learning studies under-theorize the relationship between power and learning and fail to develop insights into how power legitimates, constitutes, and is constituted, by learning in organizations (cf. Alvesson and Willmott 2003; Contu et al. 2003; Coopey 1996; Huzzard 2004).

### 1.4 Summary and Conclusion

With year on year declines in revenue brought on by the onset of digital music piracy, the transformation of traditional retail channels, declining CD prices and increasing losses in CD sales, this study takes place during an important stage in the development of the UK recorded music industry.

**Figure 1-5: Current State: Global Recorded Music Industry**



Figure 5 identifies the factors causing major record companies to: rationalize operations through restructuring, downsizing and reducing their workforce and artist roster, reassess organizational priorities, and identify and implement new strategies for individual and team learning. Human Management Resource (HRM) functions are increasingly being relied upon to support organizational transformation through leading the realignment of organizational structures, redefining functional competencies, reassessing leadership and remunerative practices, revisiting recruitment and redundancy strategies. Consequently, record company social and power relations are being reconstituted by the development

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

of new functions, practices and processes; the (de)valuation of particular types of music industry knowledge and knowing; the loss of highly qualified and knowledgeable co-workers; and through the disruption of organizational, cross-organizational and cross-industry networks. Individual knowledge, knowing, meanings, and identities rooted in traditional recorded music industry practices are being rendered obsolete across functions requiring individuals to adapt to new and emerging digital music realities.

This study focuses on how power facilitates or constrains learning in recorded music industry organizations in response to the emergence of digital music-based technologies and applications and is highly relevant to understanding current and future record company practices. This thesis is rooted in theories of power and learning, and is guided by the following assumptions:

1. Organizations, learning, and power are all enacted in practice as something that people *do* (Schatzki 2001, 2002a, 2005).
2. Power relations condition particular social settings, work structures and dominant values in organizations (Vince 2004).
3. Learning is inseparable from practice and interwoven into the range of workplace processes, activities and interactions which constitute knowledge, knowing and learning (Antonacopoulou 2006c; Billett 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, 2006b; Billett et al. 2002).
4. *Learning and organizing* and *knowledge and knowing* are mutually constitutive and coextensive processes, in which neither the organization nor learning or knowledge nor knowing ontologically precedes the other (Antonacopoulou 2006c; Illeris 2004c; Matthews and Candy 1999; Pawlowsky 2001).
5. The combined effects of practice, power and learning influence individual meaning constructs, identities and collective practices (Antonacopoulou

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

2006c; Billett 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, 2006b; Billett et al. 2002; Contu et al. 2003; Gherardi 2006).

This examination of power and learning is situated in a context of challenges to traditional record company practices by new and emerging digital music technologies and applications that reconfigure and reconstitute recorded music industry based social and power relations. The following questions are explored:

1. How is power enacted towards (re)constituting knowledge/knowing/learning in UK recorded music companies?
2. How does the mobilization of power resources condition the social settings and material arrangements of UK recorded music companies?
3. How does knowledge/knowing/learning (re)constitute power relations in UK recorded music companies?
4. How is knowledge/knowing/learning mobilized via individual activities aimed at (re)constituting power relations within and across organizational practices?

This thesis contributes to our understanding of the nature of power and learning in organizations through explicating the specific qualities which characterize particular sets of power relations such as domination, authority, seduction, manipulation or coercion. It also contributes an explanation of how power facilitates and constrains learning through not only accounting for the manner in which power is enacted (practice) but also the basis of its organization (the organization of practice and the relations / resources mobilized through which power is enacted).

### **1.4.1 Thesis Organization**

This thesis is organized into nine chapters and an Afterword structured as follows. The current Chapter One, *Recorded Music Industry Challenges*, situates the empirical study with an account of the nature of the recorded music industry in the context of new and emerging digital music technologies and applications, the

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

rationale, assumptions, and particular questions guiding this research. Chapter Two, *Theorizing Power*, provides the reader with a critical overview of historical notions of power leading to the conclusion that power cannot be directly equated with resources, capabilities, or intentions but rather that it is situated in, and constituted by, the nature of the site (organization) itself which manifests particular arrangements of power in place. Chapter Three, *Learning in Organizations*, argues that current understandings of learning in organizations lack coherence because they are fragmented across dispersed disciplines that represent a wide array of conceptions and theories of learning. It argues for adopting a practice-based understanding of learning rooted in social learning theory in which knowledge and knowing is not separate from doing, and in which learning is a social and participative activity rather than merely a cognitive one. Chapter Four, *Studying Power and Learning in Practice*, outlines the philosophical foundations underpinning this empirical research, describes the qualitative case study methodology utilized, the nature of the data collected and articulates how data analysis was accomplished to garner insights into the nature of power and learning in major record companies. Chapter Five, *Practice, Power and Learning*, builds on the critical reviews of power and learning and the empirical study's findings to articulate the conceptual lens and theoretical framework used to structure the discussion of three case study organizations. Chapter Six presents the case study of *SonyBMG*, Chapter Seven, the *Warner Music Group*, and, Chapter Eight focuses on the *Universal Music Group*. Chapter Nine, *Conclusions*, identifies the contributions made by this empirical study, outlines the limitations to the research and identifies a number of areas for further research that emerged from the case study analyses. Finally, in the Afterword, I reflect briefly on the journey that led me to the theoretical perspectives, research focus, methodologies and conclusions outlined in this this thesis.

## 2 Theorizing Power

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*...the fundamental concept in social science is power, in the same sense in which energy is the fundamental concept in physics. Like energy, power has many forms, such as wealth, armaments, civil authority, influence on opinion. No one of these can be regarded as subordinate to any other, and there is no one form from which the others are derivative.*  
**Bertrand Russell ([1938] 2004:4)**

What is power? What does it mean to *have* power? *Who* has power? Where is power *located*? Is power a *resource*, a *capacity*, or is it an *effect*? Although many theorists have written about power, on how to achieve, resist, maximize, or limit it, there is considerable disagreement over exactly what power is, and how to define or conceive of it (cf. Astley and Sachdeva 1995; Clegg 1989; Clegg and Hardy 1999; Clegg et al. 2005a; Crozier 1995; Hardy 1995; Lukes 2005). Research on power is dispersed across a number of disciplines including philosophy, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology and management and organization studies, all of them focusing on wide-ranging individual, social and organizational phenomena (Clegg et al. 2006; Mintzberg 1983). This chapter provides a critical review of historical and contemporary understandings of power. It begins by positing that particular understandings of subject-object dualism as expressed in terms of agency and structure underpin particular conceptualizations of power. It critically examines the central notions of power as *power over* and *power to*, moving beyond these towards developing an understanding of power as productive, socially situated and enacted through participation in the practice of everyday life (de Certeau 1980, 1984; de Certeau et al. 1998).

### 2.1 Agency-Structure

Dryberg (1997) observes that debates on the nature of power can be traced to tensions rooted in subject-object dualism where understandings of power reflect the notion of a constitutive subject (agent) or a constitutive structural totality (structure), or the notion of a constitutive interaction between agency and structure. Empirical investigations of power focus on what motivates human action across a variety of settings and contexts based on particular underlying assumptions concerning the relationship between individual action (agency) and

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

social structure (structure), i.e. whether individual actions arise from conscious reasoning or whether individuals act due to external causes such as social structure, practices, etc. (Dryberg 1997; Swartz 1997).

Agency-based conceptions regard individuals as constitutive of social reality, but as existing independently of, or prior to, structure. While agents are regarded as fully constituted, autonomous and rational, this conception asserts that structure acts as an external constraint to individual action (Dryberg 1997; Swartz 1997). In assuming that individuals *have* power or *are* powerful, agency-based conceptions reflect an epistemology of possession which asserts that power can be unproblematically captured, possessed, and exercised by individuals or groups. The focus, therefore, is on the *exercise* of power as expressed by the ability of an individual to effect change through particular actions, practices or behaviours (Dryberg 1997). Structure-based conceptions locate power in *something* (i.e. will, structure, system) and assert that particular structures fully determine individual action. Individuals are reduced to occupying particular *subject positions* within a particular *structural totality* in which the *possession* and *effects* of power are expressed as the capacity to bring about consequences beyond the control of individuals (Dryberg 1997). As will be discussed below, contemporary accounts of power attempt to move beyond purely subject-object dualist accounts of agency-structure in favour of more fluid and dynamic accounts which recognize the reciprocal constitution and coextensive nature of agency and structure.

### 2.2 *Power over, Power to and Beyond*

Mainstream conceptions of power have traditionally been grouped into two dimensions, *power over*, and *power to*. Although these dimensions reflect opposing assumptions about the relationship between agency and structure, particular instances of power are difficult to categorize unambiguously into either dimension (Clegg et al. 2006). The *power over* dimension, as characterized by sovereignist and behaviourist conceptions, represents traditional understandings of power as constraining, and characterized by domination as a primary mode of power wherein 'A has power over B'<sup>20</sup>. The *power to* dimension, as characterized

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<sup>20</sup> A or B can represent individuals or collectives.  
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## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

by dispositional, associational and facilitative conceptions, represents a dynamic understanding of power as A's capacity or ability to modify B's behaviour in some way. The facilitative conception introduces an alternative understanding of power as creative, productive and consequently, enabling as well as constraining. In mapping out current debates on power, Morriss (2002) argues that the *power to* dimension has eclipsed the *power over* dimension as the dominant perspective and argues that the notion of *power over* be repositioned as a subset of *power to*. This has been challenged by more recent theorizing which counters that both dimensions of power are reductionist and fail to capture the complexity of power relations (cf. Callon 1986; Foucault 1980d, 1986; Latour 1986). Drawing on a reorientation of the conception of agency-structure, these theorists characterize power as a complex, interwoven and localized phenomenon.

### 2.2.1 Power Over

The *power over* dimension can be traced back to primitive and reductionist understandings which articulate power as an instrumental force characterized by conflictual social relations whereby 'A has *power over* B' (Clegg et al. 2006). What follows traces sovereign, elite and behaviourist conceptions of *power over*, each of which reflects different assumptions as to what constitutes power in social relations.

#### 2.2.1.1 Sovereign

Sovereign conceptions of power understand power as being concentrated in (centred), or monopolized by, a sovereign (individual) or sovereign coalition (government) (Wrong 1979). Sovereign conceptions of power can be traced back to Hobbes' ([1651] 1994:62) who conceived power as the '...present means, to obtain some future apparent Good'. This conception is premised on the principles of rights, obligations and consensus whereby a sovereign or sovereign coalition has the *capacity* to exercise control over others as a fundamental *right* (legitimate) enshrined at the expense of others (zero-sum<sup>21</sup>) (Dryberg 1997). Zero-sum conceptions articulate power as a limited, non-renewable resource that is exercised at the expense of others, implying that power is a limited and finite

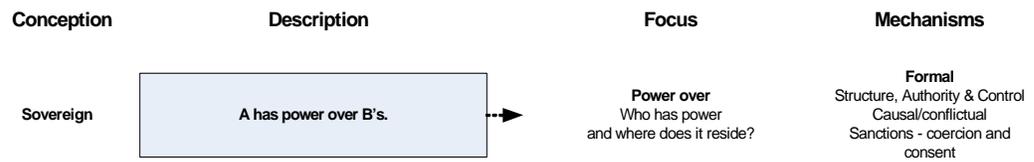
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<sup>21</sup> Zero sum refers to the notion that the gains of some individuals or groups are dependent on the losses of others (Blau 2009:15)

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

resource that cannot be renewed and is unevenly divided among a population of 'power holders' (Dryberg 1997). It is a conflictual understanding of power as domination and as being secured through coercion and consent. Coercion and authority are posited as techniques of power rooted in the notion that for A to obtain B's consent and compliance, B must be convinced of A's capability and willingness to use the means and instruments of force (Wrong 1979).

**Figure 2-1: Sovereign Power**



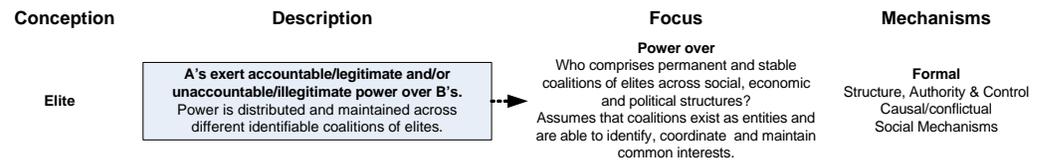
Authority represents a particular technique of power which functions to legitimate domination through asserting that A possesses an acknowledged right to command and B an acknowledged obligation to obey (Wrong 1979). Legitimacy is constituted in the normative effects of the social contract which presupposes that relationships between A and B have been voluntarily entered into by autonomous and rational individuals (Dryberg 1997). The central problem of power from a sovereignist perspective is to understand *who* rules and *where* power resides.

### 2.2.1.2 Elite

According to C.W. Mills' (1956; 1958) elite conception of power, power is concentrated in national and international elites operating illegitimately as *proxy sovereign coalitions*. This conception represents a natural extension of Hobbes' ([1651] 1994) sovereignist conception to include a pluralist perspective of power as distributed across elites with access to political, military and economic resources. Similarly, while maintaining Hobbes' ([1651] 1994) conflictual perspective of power as the capacity to affect others through domination, Mills (1956; 1958) extends this understanding through the inclusion of consensual elements as represented by the shared and overlapping concerns of different elite coalitions. In doing so, Mills (1956; 1958) reframes the central problem of power as the need to understand *who* is involved in making decisions, *who fails* to make decisions and what are the *limits* to their power.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Figure 2-2: Elite Proxy Coalition



While Mills (1956; 1958) is correct in identifying power as being distributed across coalitions of elites with differentiated access to particular resources and bases of power, his premise that elite interests are enshrined in stable and ordered systems or structures of power is overstated. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) provide a behaviourist critique of Mills' elite conception. They argue that it is a fallacy to assume that permanent and stable elite coalitions exist and that, in response to unstable and shifting social relations, coalitions are in a constant state of flux. Consequently, elite membership in proxy coalitions is constantly reconfigured to reflect changing interests and preferred outcomes.

### Structures of Dominancy

Weber (1947; 1978; 1986) develops a systematic account of organizations as 'structures of dominancy' that function to secure consent and obedience through legitimizing different modes and techniques of power. He argues that conflict emerges where resources are unequally distributed between groups and evinces an instrumental view of power as the 'possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behaviour of others' in spite of their resistance (Weber 1986:29). Weber (1947; 1978; 1986) links action to intentions<sup>22</sup> through asserting that an action can be considered an act of power only if it achieves its intended effects. He identifies domination as a particular mode of power and distinguishes between domination, which occurs by virtue of a 'constellations of interest'<sup>23</sup>, and authority (Clegg 1989). The central concern in understanding power, then, is to trace intended effects back to its sources in different structures of dominance.

<sup>22</sup> Weber refers to intentions as the realization of will (Clegg 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Clegg (1989:73) argues that this coalesces into economic possession.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Figure 2-3: Legitimate Domination

Conception	Description	Focus	Mechanisms
Legitimate Domination	The possibility for A's to impose their will over the actions of B's regardless of resistance. Power relates to particular intentions or ends.	<p><b>Power over</b></p> <p>Where is the source of power?            What are the structures of domination that legitimate authority?            What are the different forms of authority?            What are the intentions behind power?</p>	<p><b>Formal</b></p> <p>Structure, Legitimate Domination via Authority            Causal/conflictual            Social/Structural Mechanisms</p>

The strength of Weber's (1947; 1978; 1986) conception lies in his recognition of a wider social context which functions to prescribe different expectations of obedience (Wrong 1979). Weber (1947; 1978; 1986) identifies a range of authority types including: legal-rational characterized by bureaucratic mechanisms of control such as command authority, discipline, formal design of hierarchies in organizations; traditional characterized by organizational customs, practices and traditions; and charismatic characterized by non-bureaucratic mechanisms based on expert knowledge. In doing so, he articulates a particularist understanding of power as exercised via different modes and techniques that are contingent upon wider socio-historical circumstances.

Dryberg (1997) observes that, while Weber is correct in pointing out that power is contingent on socio-historical contexts which manifest and condition different modes and techniques, he does not recognize that power plays a fundamental and active role in shaping its own legitimacy and that legitimacy cannot function independently of power. Further, Crozier (1964; 1969) argues that Weber's (1947; 1978; 1986) conception of power fails to account for the growing sophistication of individuals participating within increasingly complex organizational cultures, characterized by on-going progress in organizing, and increased control over crucial organizational information and knowledge. Finally, Morriss (2002) asserts that both Weber (1986) and Hobbes ([1651] 1994) conflate *having* power with its *exercise*, committing what refers to as the *exercise fallacy* and that neither conception can accommodate the dispositional nature of power which may remain unmanifested. Morriss (2002:14, 24) characterizes dispositional properties as potentialities of power which, although present, cannot be observed. What can be observed, however, is some manifestation of the disposition of power that may or may not be activated.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

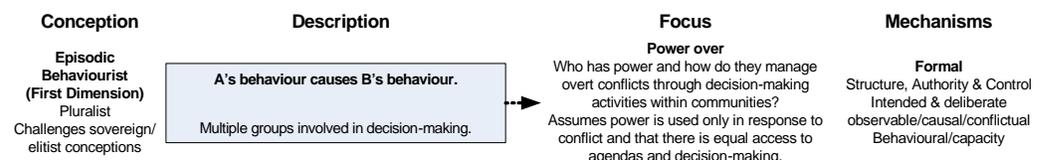
### 2.2.1.3 Behaviourist

As discussed above, while sovereign and elite conceptions of power stress that power is both causal and intentional, behaviourist conceptions abandon intentionality. Instead, they consider power as purely causal in the Humean sense<sup>24</sup>, where the observable behaviour of As precipitate observable changes to the behaviour of Bs. While there are accounts in which intentionality can be causal (cf. Searle 1980, 1983, 1984), behaviourists tend to emphasize correlation over causation and regard power as being derived from different resources or power bases (Dryberg 1997).

#### Overt Episodic

Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) overt episodic conception of power emerges through the American community power debates<sup>25</sup> as an implicit critique of Mills (1956; 1958) and draws on behaviourist principles to frame power as a simple and uncomplicated empirical phenomenon (Daudi 1986; Haugaard 2002). He locates power in terms of access and control over organizational or community power bases and resources (Haugaard 2002; Lukes 2005) and, like Hobbes, understands power as an unequal relation between those As who *use* power to achieve their preferred outcomes *over* the Bs *subject* to that power (Daudi 1986; Hindess 2001). Consequently, the contextual dynamics of power relations are determined by the degree to which individuals are able to access and control resources resulting in a focus on concrete, observable events (conflict) and behaviours (decision-making) of those individuals identified as *powerful*. The central concern in understanding power, then, is to identify the presence of conflict that can be *quantified* as an exercise of power wherein the power of A can be measured through the response of B (Clegg 1989:8).

**Figure 2-4: Behaviourist Power – Overt Episodic**



<sup>24</sup> For a brief explanation see (Ayer 2000:68)

<sup>25</sup> Emerging in the 1950s and continuing through the 1970s, the American community power debates were debates about the location of sovereign power; about *who* holds power, *who* does not and *who* makes central decisions in American society (Hindess 2001:7, 9, 15, 45).

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Clegg (1989) and Bachrach and Baratz (1962) observe that Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) overt episodic conception presupposes communities as *ordered totalities* and fail to examine how the constitution and configuration of these communities is actually an achievement and resource of power. Daudi (1986), and Haugaard (2002) argue that this conception of power proves problematic in that Dahl excludes references to any mediating effects of the wider social context; to the cost trade-offs involved in leveraging resources and power bases; to the obscuring effect of particular contextual or individual attributes; and finally, to the means of action available to individuals or groups. In doing so, he overlooks the actual practice of power and the different modes and techniques which function to maintain bases and resources and manage conflict (Daudi 1986; Lukes 2005). Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) overt episodic conception presupposes the effective possession of, control over and exercise of resource and resource capacities. Further, Clegg (1989) and Daudi (1986) observe that Dahl (1957; 1958; 2002) fails to recognize unexercised resources as *potential capacity* for power and does not address the ramifications of unequal access to resources, of how differential access functions to determine outcomes, or of how access to resources is secured through gaining and maintaining membership in different communities.

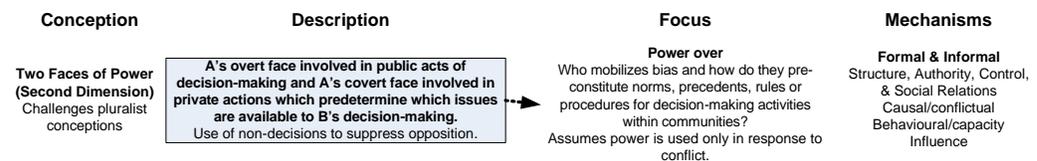
In emphasizing causality as a methodological principle for objective empirical research, Dahl (1957; 1958; 2002) rejects intentionality as being too subjective an indicator of power. Consequently, he posits an overly mechanistic, episodic understanding of power as event causation which lacks an adequate explanation of the role that intentions play in overt processes of decision-making (Clegg 1989; Dryberg 1997), misses covert processes of non-decision making (Clegg 1989; Lukes 2005) and fails to consider whether an observed exercise of power is an intended action or not. In eliminating considerations of intentionality, Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) overt episodic conception obfuscates the concept of power through conflating influence, compliance, control, domination or authority with power, and thereby, ignores the nuances of different modes and techniques of power in practice.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### Covert Episodic

While Bachrach and Baratz (1962) share Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) behaviourist focus, they diverge on what constitutes conflicts and decision-making and assert that there are two faces to power involved in acts of decision-making: a public overt face and a private covert face. Their covert episodic conception of power focuses on *how* the *mobilization of bias*<sup>26</sup> within different communities predetermines which issues are organized in and which are organized out of decision-making processes. The central concern in understanding power from this perspective, then, is to identify the *mobilization of bias* behind *participation* in the *processes* of concrete decision-making in order to surface covert processes involved in overt instances of decision-making.

**Figure 2-5: Behaviourist Power - Covert Episodic**



Clegg (1989) and Lukes (2005) observe that Bachrach and Baratz (1962) remain conceptually tied to and restrained by Dahl's (1957; 1958; 2002) episodic understanding that only *events* can be causes, whether manifested in either overt conflict or covert processes. Haugaard (2002) adds that, in assuming that events are reducible to either deliberate or non-deliberate actions of particular individuals or groups via the mobilization of bias, they neglect to consider how the wider social context and related practices pre-constitute individual and coalition actions, interests and beliefs. Finally, similar to Dahl (1957; 1958; 2002), Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) covert episodic conception fails to surface the construction of meaning behind the interests represented in different overt and covert decision-making activities and consequently, obscures important aspects of the actual practice of power.

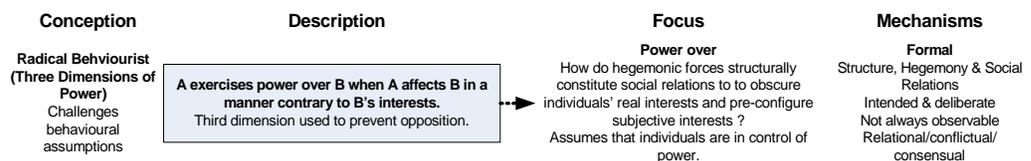
<sup>26</sup> Pre-constitution of bias occurs via norms, precedents, rules or procedures, processes which limit agendas, construct selective precedents or construct complex procedures that support preferred outcomes (Clegg 1989; Debnam 1984).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### Real Interests

Lukes (2005) posits a radical behaviourist conception of power based on latent conflict, hegemony and the notion of *real interests*<sup>27</sup>. He argues that while Dahl's (1957) overt episodic conception of power is well-suited for the behavioural study of power, it fails to 'reveal the less visible ways in which a pluralist system may be biased in favour of certain groups and against others' (Lukes 2005:39). Lukes (2005) asserts that because Bachrach and Baratz (1962) adhere to the requirement of observable conflict as a necessary precondition to identifying instances of power, their covert episodic conception overlooks the possibility that power can be used to prevent the emergence of dissent. Further, he argues that in focusing on the preferences that individuals *express* as their own (Dahl 1957; Mills 1956, 1958), or on the preferences that are *concealed* from individuals (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, 1963; Mills 1956, 1958), previous conceptions of power have been misled by individuals' *subjective interests*<sup>28</sup> when they should have been considering individuals' *real interests*. Lukes (2005) contends that interests are not merely individual but are constituted through hegemony<sup>29</sup> in which mechanisms of indirect influence, inherent in social relations, obscure individuals' real interests and are thus excluded or not defended in decision-making (Hindess 2001). The central concern in understanding power, then, is to identify how Bs' *real interests* are *subject* to As through the constitution of hegemonic structural forces which *pre-configure* subjective interests and social relations.

**Figure 2-6: Radical Behaviourist**



Dryberg (1997) observes that Lukes' (2005) radical conception of power recognizes the presence of systemic bias and is premised on the notion that power is manifested in social and material arrangements which link the intentions

<sup>27</sup> Real interests are defined as being objective, distinct from the interests that individuals think they have (subjective interests) and express as having through preferences (Clegg et al. 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Otherwise understood as false consciousness.

<sup>29</sup> Hegemony occurs when Bs consent to being ruled by As and conceive of their existence in ways which reproduce their consent and subordination (Clegg et al. 2006).

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

of As who *possess* power to the consequences of the actions of Bs *subject* to power. In radicalizing Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) mobilization of bias as systemic bias, Lukes (2005) asserts that power is not only constituted in (non)decision-making but is also evident in *no decision-making*. In arguing that systemic bias accounts for (non)decision-making, overt/covert conflicts and the absence of conflict as consensus manipulated by As over unaware Bs, Dryberg (1997) and Haugaard (2002) contend that Lukes (2005) faces the problematic task of distinguishing causes as either acts of power or as structural constraints. In suggesting that individuals' real interests are obscured or that individuals are subject to a state of false consciousness, Lukes (2005) presupposes the existence of a correct or true consciousness which can be differentiated from subjective interests. In doing so, Hindess (1986) and Clegg et al. (1989; 2006) observe that Lukes (2005) faces the problematic task of ascribing *objective* or *real* interests to individuals for explaining their actions and privileges one understanding (researcher or observer) of real versus subjective interests over another's and, in doing so, posits a negative and prohibitive conception of power which does not account for the possibility that power may also be creative and productive.

### **2.2.2 Power to**

The *power to* dimension assumes an understanding of power as both enabling and constraining, as a positive and negative property of social systems and as accomplishing action through transforming material and social relations (Clegg et al. 2006). The discussion that follows traces dispositional, communicative and facilitative conceptions subsumed under the dimension of *power to*.

#### **2.2.2.1 Dispositional**

Wrong's (1979:x; 1968) dispositional conception challenges sovereignist and behaviourist conceptions through focusing on power as an ability or capacity which may or may not be exercised to produce intended and foreseen effects on others and, in doing so, draws on Russell's ([1938] 2004:23) quantitative perspective of power as the 'the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others', whereby 'A has power over B, if A achieves its intended effects in B'. Following Weber (1947; 1978; 1986), Wrong (1979; 1968) links capabilities to intentionality and charges that Dahl's (1957) and Bachrach and

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Baratz's (1962) episodic conceptions neglect the notion of *possessing* power as *actual or potential capacity*<sup>30</sup>. His articulation of power into different modes<sup>31</sup> (force, persuasion, manipulation, and authority) and bases (individual and collective) represents an important challenge to behaviourist conceptions that obscure the concept of power. In doing so, Wrong (1979; 1968) offers a nuanced understanding of power which recognizes that resources and bases function to secure power differently in different contexts, echoing the specificity of modes and techniques expressed in Weber's (1947; 1978; 1986) conception of authority and structures of dominancy. The central concern in understanding power from this perspective, then, is to examine the reciprocal relations between individuals who *alternate* between roles of *power holder* and *power subject* whereby either can exert intended effects over the other in different *spheres of conduct* (Wrong 1968:673, 678).

**Figure 2-7: Dispositional**

Conception	Description	Focus	Mechanisms
Dispositional	For A's power over B to be real, when it is not actually exercised, B must be convinced on A's capacity to control them and must modify their behaviour accordingly.	<p><b>Power to</b></p> <p>How are Individual strategies designed and managed to achieve a greater scope of action over others?</p> <p>Assumes that power is intentional, does not have to be exercised to be effective and minimizes unintended effects.</p>	<p><b>Formal &amp; Informal</b></p> <p>Structure &amp; Social Relations</p> <p>Relational/capacity/consensual</p> <p>Intended &amp; deliberate</p> <p>Resources, bases and capabilities</p>

While Wrong (1979) is correct in insisting that the capacity to exercise power is important to understanding the potential for reciprocal actions among individuals across a range of social contexts, his emphasis on intentions distracts from the effects of power as manifested in practices. In articulating power in terms of intentional and foreseen effects, Wrong's (1979; 1968) dispositional conception prefigures accounts of power informed by the socio-historical contingencies, organizational structures, practices, traditions or rules which constitute social relations (cf. Allen 2003; Arendt 1970, 1986; Clegg 1989; Hardy and Clegg 1999). As Prus (1999) observes, he fails to address *whose* interests are being sanctioned and legitimated and *how* individuals directly engage one another and coordinate their activities.

<sup>30</sup> Wherein A asserts power over B, when B is convinced of A's capacity for control and modifies their behaviour (Wrong 1968:677).

<sup>31</sup> Wrong (1979) refers to modes as forms or instruments of power.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 2.2.2.2 Communicative

In contrast to the conceptions presented above that presuppose an actual or latent form of domination or conflict between the As who have power and the Bs who do not, Arendt (1951; 1958; 1970; 1986) posits an understanding based on the mutual actions of free and equal individuals who collectively create a positive, enabling and integrative power through communicative action and interaction. Arendt's (1986:64) communicative conception asserts that power resides in groups rather than in any individual; that it exists only as long as the group exists; and that it 'corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert'. Rather than simply reducing power to domination, she challenges *power over* conceptions comprised of instrumental modalities in favour of *power to* conceptions characterized by *transverse* modalities of power<sup>32</sup> (Allen 2003). Arendt's (1951; 1958; 1970; 1986) communicative conception is strongly rooted in assertions that acts of domination, violence and force are antithetical to power and that people are individualized through the destruction of relationships by which the possibility of association for the purposes of mutual action might be limited (Allen 2003). The central concern in understanding power from Arendt's (1951; 1958; 1970; 1986) perspective, then, is to identify the *consensus of Bs* by which As exercise power.

**Figure 2-8: Communicative Power**

Conception	Description	Focus	Mechanisms
Communicative	A is <i>in power</i> due to being empowered by a group of individuals to act in their name	<p><b>Power to</b></p> <p>Who can secure the achievement of collective goals?</p> <p>What are the lateral relationships of power?</p>	<p><b>Associational</b></p> <p><b>Communicative</b></p> <p><b>Consensual</b></p>

Arendt (1951; 1958; 1970; 1986) rejects what she sees as the tendency in power theorizing to elevate and centralize secondary phenomena of power, such as Weber's (1947; 1978; 1986) structures of dominancy (Lukes 1986). She is critical of conceptions premised on the possession of static bases or fixed resources and argues that for power to be stabilized as a resource or base, it has to be continuously reproduced over time using consensual techniques such as

<sup>32</sup> Allen (2003) describes transverse modes of power as lateral power relationships which crosscut the vertical structures and practices maintained in organizations.

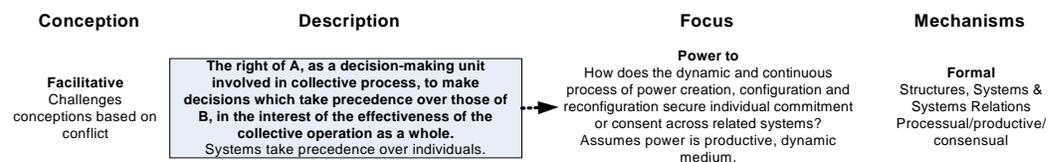
## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

negotiation (Allen 2003). In asserting that power is a collective accomplishment, Lukes (1986) and Clegg (1989) argue that Arendt underestimates the effects of social differences and structural inequality; minimizes the potential effects of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class or age on achieving communicative power; avoids reconciling how advancing one set of collective interests requires acting against others; and fails to account for how mutual understanding and consensus are blocked or diminished via strategic uses of power.

### 2.2.2.3 Facilitative

Parsons' (1957; 1986) facilitative conception locates power as both a *systemic mechanism* to secure individual commitment/consent, and a *capacity* to influence the allocation of resources towards collective goals (Clegg et al. 2006). His ideas are rooted in a critique of Mills' (1956) elite conception of power as a zero-sum understanding, whereby the power that A has is by definition at the expense of B. Parsons (1957) argues that Mills concentrates almost exclusively on the distributive aspects of power, on *who* has power and *their* interests and preferred outcomes, rather than regarding power as a facilitative systemic medium that is constantly transformed and reproduced. Parsons (1957; 1986) disassociates power from conflict, coercion and force and argues that legitimacy and authority are derived from the system's goals. In positing this, he regards individuals as socialized and 'oriented to a *normative* context in which social action occurs' wherein binding obligations, mobilized by the exercise of power, are normatively embedded and shared by both As and Bs (Clegg 1989:131, 132). The central concern in understanding power according to Parsons, then, is to identify how dynamic *systems* continuously *create, configure, and reconfigure* power to secure individual commitment and consent.

Figure 2-9: Facilitative Power



## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

While Parsons' (1957; 1963a) facilitative conception correctly focuses on the productive dimensions of power, he overemphasizes structural determinants at the expense of individual agency. Clegg (1989) and Lukes (1986:154) observe that in positing an overarching normative framework out of which power is mobilized, Parsons (1957; 1963a) minimizes the ability of individuals to choose alternative practices and fails to adequately account for 'deviant' modes of social action (normative deviance), whereby the system functions to privilege the *right* of A's decision-making processes to take precedence over B's. Further, Haugaard (2002) argues that, in conflating conflict, coercion and force with power, Parsons (1957; 1963a) does not account for the specificity (modes and techniques) of power and thereby does not adequately address the conflictual nature of power relations. Nevertheless, Parsons (1957; 1963a) facilitative conception is important in that it prefigures social constructivist and practice-based conceptions in developing a non-conflictual understanding of power as a *creative* and *productive* medium subject to an on-going process of creation, configuration and reconfiguration.

### **2.3 *Beyond Power over and Power to***

The range of conceptions subsumed under *power over/power to* dimensions, while remaining rooted in subject-object dualism, emphasize different orientations towards power as inextricably linked to individuals, coalitions or collectives; abilities or capabilities; structures, resources or bases; and domination or influence. These conceptions adopt an individualist perspective informed by empiricist leanings which characterize power as being objective and causal phenomena rooted in conflict and measurable with reference to mechanistic or observable indicators, i.e. A initiates then B occurs or A controls access to resources to influence B, etc.. The next section explores alternative conceptions that are critical of analyses that depict power as embodied in a person, unitary collective (sovereign), in a system/structure (facilitative and radicalist) or as capacity or resource that is possessed (episodic and dispositional). In locating power as constraining, negative or antagonistic, it is argued that *power over/power to* conceptions overemphasize domination, determination and causation at the expense of a relational understanding of power as a complex, interwoven and localized phenomenon exercised through multiple dimensions and associated with

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

diverse practices, modes, techniques and procedures (cf. Allen 2003; Callon 1986; Foucault 1980d, 1986; Latour 1986). Consequently, these alternative conceptions deconstruct, decentre, and problematize power. They reframe power as being either diffused or immanent; as an effect of networked relations, rather than being structural or agentic, that is implicated in all aspects of social reality and contingent on socio-historical conditions. The discussion that follows is organized according to two dimensions: arrangement-based conceptions and practice-based conceptions of power.

### **2.3.1 Power as Arrangements**

Foucault (1980a), Callon (1986) and Latour (1986) consider social life as comprised of social and material configurations and arrangements (human and/or non-human entities) (Schatzki 2002a:xiii). Power is understood primarily as a relational effect that emerges from the interrelationships and reciprocal influences of these arrangements and configurations. While the principle exponents of theories of arrangement include Michel Foucault, Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (Schatzki 2002a), the notions of immanent conception and Callon (1986) and Latour

#### **2.3.1.1 Immanent**

According to Foucault's (1980a:141-142) immanent conception, power is productive of, and co-extensive with, social reality and constitutes its own organization rather than imposing itself externally (Allen 2003). This is consistent with a view of context as emergent through practical action, existing only when it is exercised in such a way that some As and Bs act on other As and Bs in a 'field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures' (Foucault 1994b:340). Power is immanent in so far as it is inseparable from its effects or accomplishments and is implicated in different forms of resistance manifest in complex power relations (Allen 2003). Foucault (1994b) evinces a view of power as produced from one moment to the next, wherein *a priori* conceptualizations are not possible to elucidate socio-historical accounts of objectification by which

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

individuals are *made* or *rendered* subjects<sup>33</sup> via structures and arrangements of power (Fox 2000).

Foucault (1986:230; 1994b) identifies three modes of objectification by which individuals are made subject: first, discourses are 'systems of thought contingent on material practices' (Gherardi 2006:8) through which new forms of information (knowledge) are created and accumulated and by which individuals are rendered objects of knowledge (power/knowledge); second, dividing practices, whereby the 'subject is divided in himself or divided from others' into multiple discourse positions<sup>34</sup> (Foucault 1994b:326); and, third, disciplinary practices by which individuals are rendered, and render themselves, subjects of power. In this sense, power is productive for Foucault (1980a; 1980d; 1986; 1994b) who asserts that knowledge is intertwined with power; that knowledge cannot be considered neutral or objective; and that the very conceptualization of power constitutes an inseparable part of power relations. Discourses *on* power are also discourses *of* power (Dryberg 1997:87). Foucault (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) contends that discourses are conditioned by, and are a practical accomplishment of, power relations; that discourses accompany rather than cause social action; and that disciplinary practices constitute individual meanings and identities which structure and limit individual possibilities for action (cf. Callewaert 2006; Knights and Morgan 1991).

According to Dryberg (1997:8, 87, 88), Foucault's focus on power/knowledge as disciplinary arrangements of power highlights how discursive practices function as identity securing strategies in 'the *making* of the subject' or 'the *becoming* of identity'. Disciplinary modes of power are dispersed, anonymous and resistant to focused opposition and manifested via multiple and diverse associations, discourses and actions as effects which induce individuals to regulate their own behaviour (Allen 2003; Ransom 1997). This notion of power focuses on *resistance* in order to identify *how* different *modes and arrangements* are enacted to render

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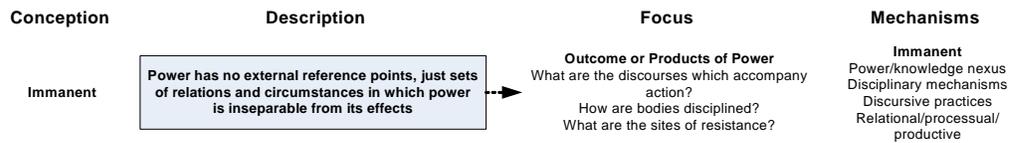
<sup>33</sup> Foucault (1994b:331) identifies two meanings of 'subject', both of which suggest techniques of power: 'subject to someone else by control and dependence' and 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge'.

<sup>34</sup> Discourse positions are the diverse statuses that individuals as subjects assume in one of their capacities as actors (Schatzki 2002a). An individual (subject) may occupy various positions such as manager, musician, parent, or teacher to the extent that the discourses carrying them specify what is entailed in occupying them.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

individuals *objects of knowledge* and *subjects of power*, and by which they are located in relation to others in particular social and material arrangements.

**Figure 2-10: Immanent**



While Allen (2003), Schatzki (2002b), Clegg et al (2006) and Latour (1986:265) recognize the importance of Foucault's work in articulating a strong renunciation of power as object, causality or capability through challenging conflictual, zero-sum understandings of power as domination, they are critical of its implications. They argue that Foucault's notion of individuals as being subsumed in arrangements of discursive modes and techniques conditioned by socio-historic conditions presents a highly relativistic view of social relationships that promotes a general, undifferentiated understanding of power in which all individuals are regarded as being both dominated and dominating and subject to the same power relations. Similarly, Bourdieu (1996) asserts that in failing to consider more directly the social relations and conditions of practice, Foucault's (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) focus on critical discourse and power/knowledge remains abstract and idealist. Bourdieu contends that Foucault is not able to account for nuances, for subtle forms of domination which operate through 'belief and the pre-reflexive agreement of the body and mind with the world' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1993:34). Consequently, while useful and valuable, Foucault's (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) conception obfuscates the practice of power as exercised through different modes, strategies, mechanisms, and techniques.

### 2.3.1.2 Translation

Through 'demonstrating how networks of interest are actually constituted and reproduced through conscious strategies and unwitting practices', Callon (1986) and Latour's (1986) translation conception of power represents a critique of those conceptions discussed above that centred on the attribution of *interests* or *intentions* and those focused on the mechanics of power (Clegg 1989:204; Law 2003). In contrast, translation does not 'centre' or concentrate power in the

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Hobbesian sense, nor is it characterized by asymmetrical relations of conflict and domination between As and Bs. Rather, power resides in the dynamic of social relations, constituted by chains of association, whereby differences between As and Bs are *translated* into convergences or homologues (Callon 1980; Clegg et al. 2006). Callon (1986) and Latour (1986) build on Foucault's (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) dispersion of the subject into multiple discourse positions through extending agency (actor) to include non-human entities (i.e. technologies, artefacts, etc.) in order to locate power as an effect of heterogeneous networks composed of both human actors and non-human entities<sup>35</sup> (Gherardi 2006; Latour 1986). In order to collapse subject-object, individual-artefact, or social-natural distinctions, Callon (1986) and Latour (1986) avow principles of network *agnosticism*<sup>36</sup>, *generalized symmetry*<sup>37</sup> and *free association*<sup>38</sup> to posit symmetrical relations between actants in a network and regard social reality as an effect accomplished and maintained through network relations (Clegg 1989; Crawford 2004; Law 1986).

Callon (1986; 1991) and Latour's (1981; 1986) translation conception underpins actor-network theory which addresses how actants A 'mobilize, juxtapose and hold together' other actants B of which they are composed<sup>39</sup> (Law 2003:6). Actor network theory focuses on the formation of actor networks whereby actants are engaged, enrolled, and obliged by other actants to adhere to particular lines of action via four moments of translation: *problematization*<sup>40</sup>, *intéressement*<sup>41</sup>,

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<sup>35</sup> Referred to collectively as 'actants' (Fox 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Agnosticism advocates abandoning *a priori* assumptions of the nature of networks, causal conditions, or the accuracy of actant's accounts (Crawford 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Generalized symmetry involves employing a single explanatory frame when interpreting actants, human and nonhuman wherein researchers should never shift registers to examine individuals and organizations (Crawford 2004).

<sup>38</sup> Free association involves abandoning distinctions between natural and social phenomenon as they are considered to be the effects of networked activity, are not causal, and cannot provide explanation (Crawford 2004).

<sup>39</sup> This perspective adopts the view of actor or individuals as effects of extended networks.

<sup>40</sup> Problematization involves attempts by an actor (agent) (understood as researchers, organizations, individuals or artefacts) to recruit other actors to their understandings (definitions and solutions). Successful actors 'fix' their preferred outcomes by positioning their agency as an obligatory passage point through which other agencies must traverse.

<sup>41</sup> *Intéressement* functions to fix the meaning and membership of their agency and involves a transaction between three entities whereby an actor attempts to attract another agent by interjecting itself between it and a third actor (Callon 1986).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

enrolment,<sup>42</sup> and mobilization<sup>43</sup> (Allen 2003; Callon 1986; Latour 1986). Power is regarded as something possessed by virtue of the network which encompasses and links human actors and non-human entities and by virtue of actants' actions (Latour 1986; Schatzki 2002a). Consequently, while power is an effect in the network of others' actions, it does not determine those actions (Schatzki 2002a). The central concern in understanding power as translation, then, is to '*explore and describe* local processes of *patterning, social orchestration, ordering and resistance*' which 'generate *ordering effects* such as devices, agents, institutions or organizations' (Law 2003:5).

Figure 2-11: Translation

Framework	Description	Focus	Mechanisms
Translation	Differences between As and Bs are constantly undergo <i>translation</i> into convergences and homologues.	<b>Power as effect</b> Relational conception of power as an accomplishment of translation. Power is an on going effect of network relations between actants	Problematisation Intéressement enrolment mobilization

Callon (1986; 1991) and Latour (1981; 1986) assert that translation is an emergent process which renders social and material arrangements (i.e. individuals, events, organizations, spaces and locations) as network effects. While they are correct in challenging *power over* and *power to* conceptions with a relational understanding of power as translation in networks, and in sensitizing power analyses to the reciprocal and interactive relations and effects among human actors and non-human entities, their conception is problematic due to its failure to adequately differentiate between human actions and non-human entities. Schatzki (2002a), for example, argues that this conception errs in that it overextends its explanation in asserting that human actors and non-human entities enjoy equal and symmetrical status within an activity network; something that Callon (1986; 1991) and Latour (1981; 1986) concede may not be the case in practice, but emerges from high level abstraction. Consequently, they present an undifferentiated view of context that conflates the range of modes and techniques by which power is exercised and underestimates the effects of intentional strategic actions of human

<sup>42</sup> Enrolment represents strategies used by actors to 'construct alliances and coalitions between the memberships and meanings' (Clegg 1989:205) in order to 'fix' the understanding of what access to the membership entails.

<sup>43</sup> Mobilization refers to methods used by the enrolling agency to ensure that their interests are fixed in those agencies that have been 'enrolled' (Clegg 1989:205).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

actors on others in the network, thereby obscuring more nuanced understandings of power.

### 2.3.2 Power as Practice: Reorienting Agency-Structure as Practice

Foucault (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b), Callon (1986; 1991) and Latour (1981; 1986) assert that there are no social contexts; all that exists are the arrangements in themselves. That each network exists only in the context of others whereby, for example, society or individual is simply understood as a constellation of arrangements or networks (cf. Callon 1980, 1986; Callon and Law 1997; Latour 1986; Schatzki 2002a). Practice-based accounts, in contrast, assert that phenomena such as 'knowledge, meaning, human activity, science, power, language, social institutions and historical transformation occur within, and are aspects or components of, the *field of practices*' as a nexus of interconnected human activities and material arrangements and that modes and techniques of power are conditioned and mediated by the context<sup>44</sup> of social relations (Schatzki 2002a, 2005; Schatzki et al. 2001:2). Consequently, practice-based conceptions assert that arrangements, rather than being principal compositional features of social reality, are actually constituted in practice (Schatzki 2002a:xiii).

Practice-based approaches articulate analyses to develop accounts of practices as sites for researching the nature and transformation of particular phenomena such as power and learning<sup>45</sup> (Schatzki 2002a, 2005; Schatzki et al. 2001). While the principle exponents of practice theories include Pierre Bourdieu, Charles Taylor, Hubert Dreyfus, Anthony Giddens, Michel de Certeau, Theodore Schatzki and John Allen (Schatzki 2002a), the following discussion limits its review to an examination of Bourdieu's (1977) understanding of social space and symbolic power, and of de Certeau's (1984) conception of power as implicated in the practice of everyday life. The focus then shifts to Allen's (2003) conception of power as effects constituted by practice through different arrangements, modes and techniques.

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<sup>44</sup> Understood as site, place, location, arena or broader sets of phenomena (Schatzki 2002a, 2005; Schatzki et al. 2001) – 'Our general symmetry principle is... not to alternate between "natural realism" and "social realism" but to obtain nature and society as twin results of another activity, one that is more interesting for us. We call it either network building, or collective things or quasi-object, or trials of force...' (Callon and Latour 1992:348)

<sup>45</sup> Bourdieu and de Certeau adopt this approach in their practice-based theorizing.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 2.3.2.1 *Field, Habitus and Capital*

Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice articulates a recursive and relational understanding of social reality which locates power in practical social action and illuminates the conditions by which it is reproduced through the dynamic interplay between three fundamental theoretical constructs: field, habitus, and capital (Wacquant 1993, 2003:1,2). Wacquant and Bourdieu (1993) argue that this shift in perspective enables them to consider all of the different forms of power and the struggles which oppose them simultaneously. While Foucault (1980a; 1980d; 1986; 1994b) is concerned with *disciplined bodies*, i.e. how individuals are rendered objects of knowledge and subjects of power/knowledge, Bourdieu (1977) is centrally concerned with how *socialized bodies* are accomplished through practices which subject them to social and symbolic domination (de Certeau 1984; Wacquant 2003).

Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *field* is of structured spaces organized around specific types of capital, or combinations of capital, or as arenas of production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services, and knowledge (Swartz 1997). In contrast to sovereign and episodic conceptions, which study populations of individuals who control resources or occupy positions of power, Bourdieu (1977; 1989) focuses on systems of objective relations (structures of powers) by which particular forms, configurations and volumes of field relevant capital<sup>46</sup> mediate a *space of positions* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1993:21, 24). He asserts that fields are characterized by two fundamental struggles that constitute conflicts among symbolic powers involved in *world-making* activities: domination and legitimation. According to Bourdieu (1977) *habitus* sets structural limits for action while it generates perceptions, aspirations and practices that correspond to the structuring properties of early socialization (Swartz 1997:103). Habitus mediates between individual cognitive states and social structures within a field to manifest individual aspirations, meanings, practices and actions as compatible with and reproducing the field's objective conditions (Brubaker 1985; Swartz 1997). Bourdieu (1977; 1989) formulates a direct theoretical response to Foucault by

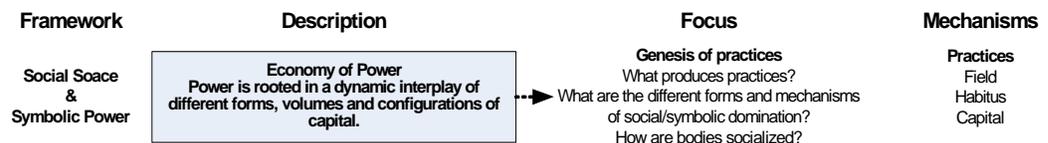
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<sup>46</sup> '...structured spaces that are organized around specific types of capital' (Swartz 1997:117), i.e. education, religion, music, etc. within which in which individuals lives are organized are ordered homologously (Schatzki 2002a:143).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

emphasizing the dual character of social reality as made up of mutual penetrating realities: individual subjectivity and societal objectivity (Swartz 1997). A field's objective structure<sup>47</sup> is internalized by individual cognitive processes, transformed into personal aspirations and expectations (individual subjectivity) through *habitus* and then externalized (societal objectivity) in the *field* through practical activity (Brubaker 1985; de Certeau 1984; Swartz 1997). Finally, Bourdieu (1977; 1989) addresses power within fields via four dimensions of *capital*: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. He understands economic capital as wealth, income and property and represents this as a dominant principle of hierarchy; cultural capital as knowledge, culture and educational credentials that represent a second principle of hierarchy; social capital designates the effects of any form of capital that are imperceptible to individuals i.e. associates, acquaintances, networks, etc.; and, finally, symbolic capital is 'world constructing through the capacity to make certain interpretations of the world count' that includes sources of legitimation such as identity cards, credentials, titles, etc. (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1993; Haugaard 2002:227; Swartz 1997; Wacquant 2006). The central concern in understanding power for Bourdieu (1977; 1989), then, is to develop insights into the dynamic interplay between *field*, *habitus* and *capital*, with a particular focus on the relative *forms*, *configurations* and *volumes* of *capital* which *constitute* and *structure* the realm of possibilities for individuals within a field.

**Figure 2-12: Social Space & Symbolic Power**



Underlying Bourdieu's (1977) conception of power as functioning across field, habitus and capital, is a strong conviction that cultural/symbolic practices articulate a system of class-based symbols which position individuals in a field according to class distinctions. Allen (2003), Gartman (1991) and Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) observe that in attempting to explain the formation of individual

<sup>47</sup> limits of possibilities, potentials, success, failure, courses of action  
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### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

aspirations, meanings, practices and actions which maintain and reproduce class-based spaces and perpetuate dominant power regimes, Bourdieu (1977) fails to provide insights into actual practices of power; the methods, modes and techniques by which power is accomplished within fields. Bourdieu (1977) deemphasizes individual agency as a productive source of power in favour of internalized class structures which reproduce the objective conditions of a field through determining cultural/symbolic practices (de Certeau 1984; de Certeau et al. 1998; Gartman 1991). His construct of a field-based economy of power, characterized by cultural/symbolic capital is problematic in assuming that different forms, configurations and volumes of capital are both comparable and mutually interconvertible (Brubaker 1985:769). More fundamentally, however, Bourdieu (1977) abandons previous understandings of power as facilitative and productive, and fails to recognize that the ways in which individuals engage in cultural/symbolic practices are capable of transforming as well as reproducing class structures and distinctions (Allen 2003; de Certeau 1984; de Certeau et al. 1998; Gartman 1991). Taken in its entirety, Bourdieu's (1977) conception of an 'economy of power' qua field, habitus and capital is reminiscent of Parson's (1957; 1963b; 1986) facilitative understanding of power as a medium which circulates within a system and, consequently, reduces rather than elucidates the complexity of power.

#### **2.3.2.2 Strategies and Tactics**

Similar to Bourdieu (1977), de Certeau (1984:17) regards the social as saturated by dominant interests and is concerned with understanding how individuals leverage cultural/symbolic goods and practices as forms of resistance, in which the everyday practice of life, 'far from being their own, has been constructed and spread by others'. Resistance for de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) is not resistance in the classic sense, but should be understood as particular *friction practices* which are able to mute or slow down the effects of other practices (Highmore 2002). He is optimistic that, through everyday practice, dominant interests can be transformed or evaded by individuals who have room to manoeuvre and can avoid being circumscribed by the field's rules and structure. de Certeau (1984:xiv) asserts the importance of understanding how practices manipulate or invert the

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

mechanisms of discipline and how individuals *conform to resist* thereby, evading being reduced by disciplinary practices.

Similar to Callon (1986) and Latour (1986), de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) extends his conception of agency to include both human and non-human entities. However, he locates this capacity, not within a web or network of relations, but within an aggregate of heterogeneous spaces that have been constituted by an ensemble of *irreducible* practices. de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) places individuals at the centre of coherent and incoherent practices; asserts that these practices determine social reality; and, explicitly links relational determinations of power to *space as practiced place*. While his focus on everyday cultural/symbolic practices is an obvious link to Bourdieu (1977; 1989), he challenges the latter's use of cultural/symbolic practices to underpin the construct of habitus, field and capital as failing to reconcile two divergent perspectives: how socio-historical practices or *types of operations* constitute the space for social relations; and how *structural mechanisms* constitute this same space (de Certeau 1984:19). Contra Foucault and Bourdieu, de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) is not interested in elaborating a general model or grand theory, but is more concerned with specifying *operational schemas* to discover whether there are any common categories which can account for the totality of everyday practices (Giard 1998:xxiii). de Certeau (1984) observes that developing insights into models of action related to power necessitates focusing away from mainstream notions of dominated/dominating As and Bs and towards different modes of operation and schemata of action. In doing so, he liberates power from the more distanced or abstract notions of *power over/power to, immanence/translation or habitus, field and capital* conceptualizations, to highlight power as a matter of everyday practice in which individuals reappropriate the space of social relations via ensembles of practices.

de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) locates power in the practice of everyday life as a juxtaposition of *tactical* practices of resistance which are coextensive with *strategic* practices of power (Highmore 2007). The dimension of *strategy* is a spatial conception of practice as an *elaborate theoretical place*<sup>48</sup> or actions which

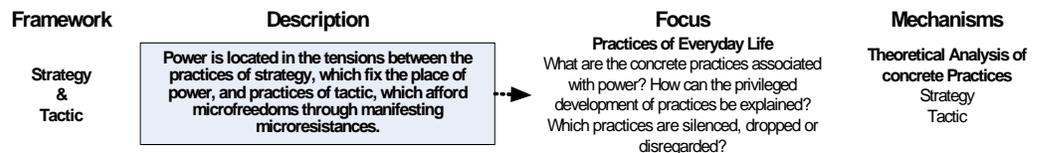
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<sup>48</sup> de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) refers to these as systems or totalizing discourses.  
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## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

establish a place or site as the materiality of physical places of power capable of fixing resources and practices (de Certeau 1984:38). Consequently, strategy privileges spatial relationships and assumes a space/place that can be circumscribed to constitute social relations (de Certeau 1984:xix). The dimension of *tactic* is understood as being coextensive with strategy and represents a dynamic and temporal conception of a practice of resistance. Tactic is accomplished through transforming events/processes as they emerge, into opportunities for resisting established place via real time practical actions which manipulate, invert or subvert strategy practices (de Certeau 1984:34, 38). Tactic, de Certeau (1984:xix) argues, is determined by the absence of power, functions within a space imposed by strategy and gains validity as tactical practices persist in time. The central concern in understanding power for de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998), then, is to develop insights into the dynamic tension between *strategy* and *tactic*: to identify the *place* and power fixed by *practices of strategy* to elucidate the *microfreedoms* and *microresistances* of *practices of tactic*.

Figure 2-13: Strategy & Tactic



de Certeau's (1980; 1984; 1998) conception of power, as located in the tension and overlap between strategy and tactic, represents an optimistic and *micro-productive* conception of power firmly rooted in the belief of a '*truant freedom of practices*' by which the actions of As and Bs realize microfreedoms and microresistances through practices of tactic which invert, subvert or manipulate practices of strategy (Giard 1998:xxii). While, de Certeau's (1980; 1984; 1998) theorizing of practice as everyday life prefigures and anticipates contemporary theories of practice, Napolitano and Pratten (2007) observe that his conception of power as a juxtaposition of strategy and tactic lacks the analytical sophistication of more recent practice-related theorizations. de Certeau's (1980; 1984; 1998) conception remains problematic precisely because of this framing of strategy/tactic, whereby strategy represents those individuals or practices which

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

dominate, and tactics as those individuals or practices which are dominated. de Certeau (1980; 1984; 1998) struggles to free power from its sovereignist overtones which, although not expressed in terms of class distinctions or class structures, mimic a similar understanding of social relations whereby tactic, while subsumed by strategy, can subvert or invert strategy, but not transcend its space or site.

#### **2.3.3 Modes, Practices and Power in Place**

Allen (2003:8-9; 2005) asserts that individuals practice power before they possess it and that they are 'constituted by the spacing and timing of their own practices as much as they are by those who seek to shape their conduct'. His modal conception of power is concerned with exploring the 'full materiality and rootedness of power' in the 'concrete spaces of the everyday' through which subjectivity is produced (Fall 2007:203). Allen (2003:39) posits *place as practised space* in which the effects of power are experienced as different *modalities* that are mediated by an intermingling of individuals, actions, practices and sites (social and material arrangements). He shifts the focus from de Certeau's (1980; 1984; 1998) mundane practices of everyday life to a tangled web of power relations in sites of everyday practice, such as the home, the workplace or communal spaces, by which individuals are *placed, displaced or contained* (Clegg 2006). He emphasizes that the potential for power cannot be directly equated with resources, capabilities or intentions but rather that it is constituted by the nature of the site. The instrumental or associational relations constituting a site's socio-material arrangements also manifest *arrangements of power* in place (Allen 2003:171, 178, 187). *Instrumental arrangements* are rooted in conflict and *power over* conceptions whereby power is exercised at 'someone's expense by excluding them or putting them in their place in ways that constrain'. *Associational arrangements* are rooted in mutual action as productive, enabling and creative relations. *Power to* conceptions hold that power facilitates a common aim, or functions 'like a collective medium enabling things to get done' (Allen 2003:5). These arrangements constitute that particular social and power relations experienced by individuals in particular settings as distinct or intermingling modes

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

of power ranging from domination through manipulation to seduction and coercion.

**Table 2-1: Modalities of Power**

Modality	Description
<b>Domination</b>	<p><b>Determinate Modes of Action / Instrumental Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by conflict, constraint and control</li> <li>functions through closing down individual and collective possibilities, where those who were formally free to do otherwise have no choice but to comply</li> <li>the more direct the presence the more intense the effect</li> </ul>
<b>Coercion</b>	<p><b>Determinate Modes of Action / Instrumental Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by the threat of force or negative sanctions, however, limited in what it may achieve or control over daily life because it is restricted to the production of compliance</li> <li>functions through highly visible and overt actions</li> <li>the more direct the presence the more intense the effect</li> </ul>
<b>Authority</b>	<p><b>Determinate Modes of Action / Instrumental Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by the hierarchical organization or attribution of values to particular characteristics, i.e. role, position, function, profession, expert knowledge, etc. which serves as a means to secure a willingness to comply</li> <li>functions through compliance which is not imposed, but is conceded by others</li> <li>the more direct the presence the more intense the effect</li> </ul>
<b>Manipulation</b>	<p><b>Determinate Modes of Action / Instrumental Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'manipulation of needs' - individuals willingly place themselves in spaces and situations and may find themselves subject to a form of control simply by following their own wants and desires (Allen 2006)</li> <li>functions through the concealment of intent or the selective restriction of information</li> <li>capable of quite extensive reach because those subject to it may be unaware of the control exercised over them</li> </ul>
<b>Seduction</b>	<p><b>Indeterminate Modes of Action / Instrumental Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'renunciation of total domination' - individuals needs and wants are indulged in selective ways through the arousal of a particular set of interests as opposed to others</li> <li>functions through the projection of predetermined choices as desirable and where choices are possible and through leaving open the possibility that an individual can opt out</li> <li>capable of quite extensive reach because those subject to it may be unaware of the control exercised over them while at the same time curbing its intensity</li> </ul>
<b>Inducement</b>	<p><b>Indeterminate Modes of Action / Associational Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals are rewarded for their compliance or are won over to the advantages of something and bring themselves into line</li> <li>functions through predetermined choices</li> <li>intended to act upon those who have the ability to opt out</li> </ul>
<b>Persuasion</b>	<p><b>Transverse Modes of Action / Associational Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by requires by symmetrical relations to facilitate two way process of communication</li> <li>functions in an atmosphere of reciprocity where all parties are prepared to listen and communicate, where choices are possible and where existing concerns and interests are projected as desirable</li> <li>involves no obligation to comply on the part of all those involved</li> </ul>
<b>Negotiation</b>	<p><b>Transverse Modes of Action / Associational Arrangements</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by two way process of communication between disparate groups with differences in resources at their disposal and asymmetrical relations</li> <li>functions in an atmosphere of reciprocity where all parties are prepared to listen and communicate</li> <li>involves cooperation between unequal partners and no obligation to comply on the part of all those involved</li> </ul>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Allen's work directs attention to the *situatedness* of power. He stresses that the mobilization of resources and enactment of power is contingent on the particular social and material arrangements of a particular time and place (i.e. site, organization, architecture, office layouts, etc.) and is experienced by individuals as intermingling *modalities* of power. In arguing for the need to focus on the particularity of power (i.e. the modes of action, arrangements and modalities of power being enacted and experienced by individuals in a particular place and time), Allen's (2003) conception returns to and builds on Weber's (1978) and Arendt's (1951; 1958; 1970) notions of power. While he maintains Foucault's (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) and de Certeau's (1980; 1984; 1998) understanding of power as coextensive with a field of practice, he observes that different sites are characterized by different arrangements of power which crosscut each other at varying moments in space and time.

Allen (2003) posits that it is necessary to distinguish between the mobilization of resources and capabilities (i.e. money, finance, ideas, knowledge, expertise, technology, staff, contacts) on the one hand, and the enactment of power as experienced by individuals in particular times, spaces and places on the other. Contra Foucault (1980d; 1980e; 1986; 1994a; 1994b), he adds the proviso that as 'each and every relationship is not a relationship of power, so each and every place is not continuously marked by the presence of power' (Allen 2003:178). The central concern in understanding power from Allen's (2003) perspective, then, is to focus on *what is exercised*, rather than *how it is exercised* through directing attention to the *types of interactions* or *modes of interplay in situ*, and not on resources and capabilities through which power is exercised (Allen 2003:116).

**Figure 2-14: Modal**

Framework	Description	Focus	Mechanisms
Modal	Power is a relational effect of social interaction constituted by particular modes and techniques which are mediated in space, time and place.	<p><b>Arrangements of Power</b> How is power mobilized, exercised and produced through the spacing and timing of individual actions, interactions and practices?</p> <p>How are the effects of different modes and techniques intermingling in place experienced?</p>	Arrangements Modes Technique Time and Space

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Allen (2003) emphasizes the need to account for the manner by which arrangements of power are mobilized, exercised and produced through the spacing and timing of individual actions, interactions and practices<sup>49</sup> (2003:79, 95, 102, 188).

### 2.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has mapped two major and related conceptions of power: power over and power to, and has introduced a third conception that moves beyond these views: power as practice. *Power over* conceptions represent an understanding that 'emanates from a primitive conception of power as a causal mechanism that makes things happen, often against the will of those to whom it is applied' (Clegg et al. 2006:225). Hobbes' ([1651] 1994) sovereignist view, for example, conceives of power as a property or an appropriation in which A has power over B. He localizes power in either a sovereign or sovereign body, constituted through acts of coercion and consent and held as legitimate at the expense of others. Weber (1986:29) views power as the 'possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behaviour of others'. He posits that power is a consequence of normative structures of consent and domination imposed by different interests.

Mills (1956; 1958) extends Hobbes' and Weber's conceptions to articulate a view in which power is concentrated in elite coalitions with access to resources and capacities that enable them to coordinate the exercise of power and manipulate political agendas to stifle opposition from those with competing interests. Dahl (1957; 1958; 2002) posits a pluralist view of power as being distributed across different individuals or groups which represent competing interests. He emphasises the necessary presence of overt conflict as an indicator of the exercise of power. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) present a similar view of power but focus on the intentionality behind participation in processes of concrete decision-making. This view focuses on understanding how overt and covert processes involved in public and private actions obscure the purpose or preferred outcomes (intentionality) of competing interests and requires understanding *how* the

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<sup>49</sup> '...some of which will involve the actions of those co-present, in real time, whereas others will involve the actions of those nearby, in close spatial proximity' (Allen 2003:188).

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*mobilisation of bias* or pre-constituted bias (norms, precedents, rules or procedures) within communities predetermines which issues are organised in and which organised out of decision-making processes. Finally, Lukes' (2005) three dimensional or radical conception of power posits that individuals' real interests are subject to latent or systemic conflict which pre-configure subjective interests to obscure individuals' understandings of their real interests. His view of power focuses on understanding how the potential for conflict is latent and not actualized in the absence of observable conflict.

*Power over* conceptions share a common understanding of power as simple causality related to a capacity or resource that is possessed and exercised by an individual or collective to secure preferred outcomes. These represent an asymmetrical view of power which treats power as having the characteristics of an object or process, presupposes that individuals are not structurally determined, assumes that those who exercised power could have acted differently and that those over whom power was exercised would have behaved differently if it were not for the exercise of power (Dryberg 1997:22). Consequently, there is a strong tendency to focus exclusively on power in 'confined arenas in which resources might be deployed' and to conflate power with the 'possession of a thing rather than something whose effects are always played out in specific relations' (Clegg et al. 2006:225).

*Power to* conceptions, in contrast, share a focus on individual consciousness and interests and adopt symmetrical understandings of power as both a positive and negative property of social systems that is productive, facilitates, enables and constrains action (Clegg et al. 2006:225). Wrong's (1979; 1968) view of power, for example, shifts the focus from decision and non-decision making behaviours marked by conflict, to the capacity to produce intended and foreseen effects on others. He posits that, although power may be latent, it must be capable of being used to produce effects. Wrong (1979; 1968) consequently focuses on the reciprocal relations between individuals who alternate between roles of power holder and power subject. Arendt's (1951; 1958; 1970:44; 1986:64) view of power is that it 'corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert';

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

that it is a group resource, never the property of any individual, and that it exists only as long as the group exists and focuses on the mutual actions of free and equal individuals who collectively create a positive, enabling and integrative power through communicative action and interaction. Parsons (1957; 1986) views power as a systemic mechanism, disassociated from conflict, coercion and force that secures consent through structural capacities to influence the allocation of resources towards collective goals, and posits that power is dependent on the institutionalization and legitimation of authority for constituting a productive medium for mobilizing commitments to collective action (Clegg et al. 2006). Parsons (1957; 1986) stresses understanding how legitimacy and authority are derived from the system's goals and how these result in power that acts as a consensual and facilitative force to secure positive outcomes.

*Power to* conceptions emphasize collective capacity, privilege consensus and focus on understanding the bases by which certain expressions of power are considered legitimate and privileged over others (Mouffe 1997). This results in a tendency to focus on 'what people's real interests are, how they might know these and how analysis might know them better', denying that individual interests and consciousness are contingent and constantly changing depending on particular relations and specific circumstances (Clegg et al. 2006:225).

*Power over* and *power to* conceptions are dominated by a modernist view of the world as discrete and isolatable *systems* in which power is understood as *stable, systemic and clearly bounded which* become more amenable to causal explanations because it is possible to separate antecedent causes from consequent effects (Chia 2003:109). These conceptions offer static and pessimistic accounts of power without reference to the wider social context that is treated as neutral, inevitable or objective and therefore unproblematic. Both conceptions neglect examining how individuals and groups are positioned and located in particular social and material arrangements (socio-material arrangements) and how they come to participate within these arrangements (Clegg 1989; Hardy and Clegg 1999).

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

This study moves beyond *power over* and *power to* conceptions in favour of conceiving *power as practice*. It is critical of analyses of power that depict power as embodied in a person or unitary collective (sovereign), as possessed (episodic and dispositional), or as embodied in a system or structure (facilitative and radicalist). Foucault (1980c:98; 1980d; 1980e; 1986), for example, posits power as an immanent force constituted by the spacing and timing of individual practice and not imposed from above or outside, and that it is dispersed as a set of possible relations that imbues individuals with meanings and identities dependent on a particular culture, place and time. He views power as productive in that individuals are rendered objects of knowledge and compliance is secured through deploying intermingling techniques and mechanisms such as policies, processes, procedures, and disciplinary practices by which individual meanings and identities (re)constituted. Foucault (1980c:98; 1980d; 1980e; 1986) emphasizes that disciplinary techniques and mechanisms create knowledge and power effects and he stresses the importance of studying practices that constitute individuals and social structures (Townley 1993). Similarly, Callon (1980; 1986; 1991) and Latour (1981; 1986) observe that power resides in dynamic social relations and is the effect of processes that associate humans and non-humans and of relations between different forms of knowledge and cultural practices, technologies and artefacts. They posit that the exercise of power should be treated as an effect rather than as a cause; that it cannot be used as a way to summarize the consequence of a collective action while at the same time explaining what holds that collective action in place (Latour 1986:265-266). This view of power shares Foucault's concern with challenging the assumptions held by *power over* or *power to* conceptions through shifting the focus to micro-powers that are diffused through technologies and mechanisms and extend from individuals out to objects and materiality (Latour 1986).

Finally, Allen (2003) draws a distinction between the exercise of power and the resources and capabilities mobilized to sustain that exercise. He contends that what is recognized as power is actually the relational effects and it is through those effects that it is possible to know and experience an act of power. He opposes conceptions of power that are overly centred in individuals or

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

organizations (sovereignist/elitist), that are concentrated as bases or resources in organizations available to or possessed by groups and individuals (episodic, dispositional), or overly ubiquitous and constitutive of all aspects of social reality (immanent). Allen (2003) distinguishes between resources, capabilities and the effects of power to counter *power over* and *power to* views which posit power as a central capability or as causality and which conflate power with resources. Consequently, he separates the exercise of power from resources of power to frame his view as *arrangements* and *modalities* constituted by the relational effects of social interaction. *Arrangements of power* intermingle in organizations and are comprised of particular combinations of resources and capabilities for action (i.e. ideas, expertise, knowledge, contacts, finance, etc.) that are mobilized to produce mediating effects in space and time (Allen 2003:97). Social relations mediate the effects of power through which individuals are enabled and/or constrained and through which the effects of power are dispersed, displaced, or stabilized in organizations. *Modalities of power* represent specific qualities that, while not synonymous with practice, underpin an intermingling of practices in organizations. Allen (2003) challenges notions of intentionality in positing that the final effects of power cannot be known or anticipated because they are mediated by social relations.

In adopting a conception of *power as practice*, this examination of power and learning in record companies moves beyond views of *power over* and *power to* and draws predominantly on the views of power posited by Foucault (1980c; 1980d; 1980e; 1986) and Allen (2003). Practices continuously produce new forms of knowledge, objects for knowing and new types of individuals actively engaged in an organization's particular social and material arrangements. The enactment of power, situated within a specific time and a particular space, continuously constructs and produces knowledge and opportunities for knowing which, conversely, induce effects of power (cf. Foucault 1980b:52; Rouse 2005:100). This study recognizes that power is an inescapable and ubiquitous feature of human interaction and that organizations are tangled arrangements of power wherein each arrangement is comprised of particular resources (i.e. ideas, expertise, knowledge, contacts, finance, office layouts, computer infrastructures, etc.) which

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

might be mobilized to enact particular modalities of power to produce a succession of mediating effects (cf. Orlikowski 2007). It posits that individual meanings and identities cannot be formed independently of the effects of power and that individuals experience power as particular arrangements and modalities, with or without awareness, through participation in everyday practice. Arrangements and modalities of power direct attention to the types of interaction or modes of interplay that individuals are engaged in, rather than the means by which power is being exercised, and narrows the focus to the specific qualities which characterize particular sets of power relations (modes of action) such as domination, authority, seduction, manipulation or coercion (Allen 2003:116).

Consequently, this empirical examination seeks to account not only for the manner in which power is exercised (practice) but also the basis of its production (the organization of the practice) and the relationships through which it is mobilized (action or chains of action) (cf. Allen 2003:95; Gherardi 2006, 2009). This requires focusing on *what is exercised*, rather than *how it is exercised*; it involves directing attention to the *situated interactions* or *modes of interplay* by which individual identities are (re)negotiated and (re)aligned through active participation within/across recorded music industry socio-material practices and arrangements (Allen 2003:116).

### 3 Learning in Organizations

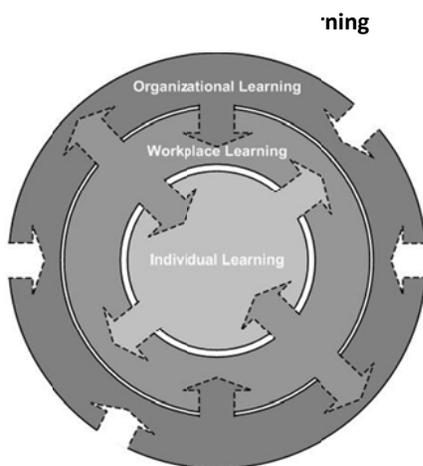
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*...we are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and most of us spend most of our lives working for organizations.*

**Amitai Etzioni (1975:1)**

Whether explicitly acknowledged or not, the experience of learning in organizations is located in, and constituted by, power relations (Townley 1994:1). Practice, power and learning intermingle to constitute individual meanings and identities through defining individuals directly, defining individuals by defining others, providing a specific vocabulary of motives, and articulating sanctioned knowledge and skills (Alvesson and Willmott 2004:447-451). Power is implicated in how individuals make sense of and interact in organizations and in how personal meanings and identities are (re)constituted into organizationally sanctioned ones that are manifested in and projected across particular organizational practices (Alvesson and Willmott 2004; Billett 2006b; Gherardi 2006). Learning is conditioned by an organization's particular social and power relations and socio-material arrangements which continuously (re)constitute and sanction particular forms of knowledge and knowing while regulating which individuals may access these forms and which may not.

The literature on learning is fragmented and dispersed across a number of



different disciplines ranging from those that understand learning as a cognitive/individualistic process to holistic understandings of learning as inter-cognitive participation in the social world. The section that follows outlines these understandings across three dimensions: Individual Learning, Organizational Learning, and Workplace Learning. This is followed by an in-depth examination of the relevant theoretical

and empirical work constituting each of these dimensions.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

### *Organizational Learning*

The notion of Organizational Learning emerged from early organization and management studies concerned with understanding learning as a means by which individuals and organizations might address and adapt to a range of internal and external environmental challenges in order to optimize organizational performance. The relationship between individual learning and organizational learning represents highly contested terrain characterized by numerous perspectives on what actually constitutes learning and how learning outcomes are achieved in organizations (Antonacopoulou 2006d; Easterby-Smith et al. 2000).

### *Workplace Learning*

The field of Workplace Learning emerged from educationalist's concerns with understanding learning in the workplace. It represents an amalgamation of a number of different traditions examining applied learning: training and development, adult learning, vocational training and lifelong learning. This field is centrally concerned with the status of the individual learner in organizations and focuses on the influence that industry environments, technologies and workplace settings have on individual learning opportunities and processes (Elkjaer and Wahlgren 2006). The field of Workplace Learning focuses on actual learning interventions and educational practices as a strategy for supporting learning in organizations. It seeks to address issues such as: the influence of social relations and material arrangements; the relationship of the industry, organization or work environment to learning opportunities; and the impact that technological change has on individual learning (cf. Beckett and Hagar 2000; Billett 1999; Boud and Garrick 1999; Elkjaer and Wahlgren 2006; Illeris 2004b; Lave 1993; Matthews 1999).

### *Individual Learning*

Theorists focused on the study of Individual Learning utilize the term *learning* to denote: a) the *results* of individual learning processes, such as skill development; b) a description of *what has been learned*; c) *a designation of the transformation of particular individual psychological processes* indicative of the *results* of learning; and, d) *interaction processes* between individuals and their social settings as *direct or indirect preconditions to internal learning processes* (Antonacopoulou 2006d;

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Fenwick 2005b; Illeris 2004c). Most conceptions of individual learning include some focus on behavioural change, experience and the social setting (Antonacopoulou 2006b; Elkjaer 2003; Gherardi et al. 1998; Merriam and Caffarella 1999).

While none of these fields of learning research and theorizing is able to account for all aspects of learning in organizations, each informs a particular dimension. Individual Learning, while insufficient in itself for understanding learning in organizations, contributes to understanding organizational orientations, practices and techniques (Casey 2005). Organizational Learning, while based primarily on observations of organizations, draws on individual learning as a metaphor for explaining organizational phenomena (Hedberg 1981:6). Finally, the Workplace Learning tradition focuses on developing insights into the experience of individuals learning across different organizational contexts and situations and draws extensively on the individual learning tradition (Elkjaer and Wahlgren 2006).

### ***3.1 Organizational Learning: Behaviourist, Cognitivist and Humanist Conceptions***

The Organizational Learning field draws on a range of disciplines including: individual learning, psychology, organizational theory and design, management science, sociology, strategy, and cultural anthropology (cf. Antal et al. 2001; Cook and Yanow 1995; Crossan et al. 1999; Easterby-Smith 1997; Easterby-Smith et al. 2000; Easterby-Smith and Lyles 2003; Tsang 1997). It focuses on a number of central questions: first, can organizations actually learn?; second, what is the nature and outcome of learning?; third, are organizational learning outcomes greater than the sum of individual learning in organizations?; and fourth, can individual learning be transferred to the organization? Although these fields share the understanding that learning in organizations occurs through individuals in organizational contexts, they differ on the degree to which the individual or the organizational setting is emphasized and on the degree to which organizational learning actually influences organizational performance (Elkjaer and Wahlgren 2006). In their review of the organizational learning literature, Bapuji and Crossan (2004:411) observe that, although there has been significant growth in the

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

number of empirical studies being undertaken since earlier reviews, much of this has been dominated by the application of a learning perspective to the study of strategic issues in organizations (cf. Crossan and Guatto 1996; Dodgson 1993; Easterby-Smith 1997; Fiol and Lyles 1985; Huber 1991; Levitt and March 1988). They conclude that future research needs to focus on factors within and outside of the organization which facilitate and/or constrain organizational learning through: exploring the intersection between organizational learning and organization theories; extending the level of analysis beyond the level of the firm; strengthening the underlying research of the phenomenon of learning; ensuring that research employing a learning perspective is grounded in current understandings; and, finally, through examining the role of time in learning (Bapuji and Crossan 2004:398). The main criticism of this body of works is that none of the empirical studies adopted power as an explicit lens for the study of organizational learning nor accounted for power in any substantial way.

The section that follows examines behaviourist, cognitivist, and humanist conceptions of individual learning in context of organizational learning to surface the main assumptions underlying current theoretical accounts of the interaction between learning, organization and power. Behaviourist, cognitivist, and humanist conceptions of individual learning are introduced in context of organizational learning. This is followed by an examination of social and constructivist conceptions of individual learning discussed in context of the literature on workplace learning.

#### **3.1.1 Behaviourist Learning Conceptions**

Behaviourist conceptions identify learning as having occurred when observable changes in the actions or new behavioural patterns are recognized in and/or repeated automatically by individuals (Merriam and Caffarella 1999; Schwandt 2005; Thompson and McHugh 1995).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 3-1: Behaviourist Conceptions

	Individual	Organizational
<b>Learning Perspective</b>	<b>Actual Behavioural Change</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning occurs when observable changes in behaviour or new behavioural patterns are recognized in individuals &amp; repeated automatically</li> </ul>	<b>Organizational Change</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizational learning occurs through the observable adaptation of &amp; changes to standard operating procedures, rules, processes &amp; routines</li> </ul>
<b>Locus of Learning</b>	<b>Stimuli External to Individual</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stimuli in external environment</li> </ul>	<b>Stimuli in External Environment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>regards organization as an adaptive system</li> <li>stimuli in the organization's external environment</li> </ul>
<b>Aims</b>	<b>Individual Behavioural Change</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>produce desired changes in individual actions &amp; behaviours</li> </ul>	<b>Organizational Adaptation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>produce changes to standard operating procedures, rules, processes &amp; routines in response to stimuli in external environment</li> </ul>
<b>Motivation / Control</b>	<b>Extrinsic</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>positive &amp; negative reinforcement</li> </ul>	<b>Extrinsic</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>positive &amp; negative stimuli triggers changes - organization is (re)structured in response to external environment</li> </ul>
<b>Techniques</b>	<b>Behavioural Development</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>educator arranges environment to elicit desired response <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>behavioural objectives</li> <li>competency-based education</li> <li>skill development &amp; training</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<b>Organizational Adaptation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>managers, HR professionals manage individuals as instruments for organizational learning performance management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>competency-based training &amp; assessment</li> <li>skills training &amp; assessment</li> <li>organizational incentives &amp; disincentives</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge</b>	<b>Repertoire of Behaviours</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>objectivist</li> <li>passively absorbed behavioural repertoire</li> <li>knowledge is rules for action</li> <li>knowledge that is not actively expressed in behaviour understood as behavioural capacity</li> </ul>	<b>Repertoire of Routines, Processes &amp; Procedures</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>objectivist</li> <li>abstract, decontextualized forms of knowledge embedded in routines, processes &amp; procedures</li> <li>captured in training manuals, operating procedures</li> </ul>
<b>Theorists</b>	<b>Individual Learning</b> Edward Thorndike (1913) Ivan Pavlov (2003) Edward Tolman (1922) Clark Hull (1943) B. F. Skinner (1976)	<b>Organizational Learning</b> Richard Cyert & James March ([1963] 1992) Vincent Cangelosi & William Dill (1965) James March & Johan Olsen (1975)

Adapted from (Elkjaer 1999; Jacobs and Coghlan 2005; Merriam and Caffarella 1999:264; Prange 1999; Skinner 1976)

These conceptions are underpinned by three main assumptions: first, that the environment shapes behaviour; second, that learning is manifested through observable changes in behaviour; and third, that contiguity and repetition of learning is central to reinforcing new behavioural patterns in individuals (Leroy and Ramanantsoa 1997; Merriam and Caffarella 1999). Behaviourist accounts of

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

learning in organizations are typified by the literature on organizational adaptation.

### **3.1.1.1 Organizational Adaptation**

Behaviourist conceptions of learning in organizations focus on the interaction between internal organizational structures, processes and procedures and antecedent changes within the external environment that lead to organizational change and adaptation (Leroy and Ramanantsoa 1997). Since antecedent conditions influence individual behaviour through constituting dominant or sanctioned behaviours in organizations, behaviourist conceptions focus on the antecedents to, and changes in, organizational rules, processes, procedures or strategies which occur in response to changes in the external environment (DeFillippi and Ornstein 2003:26; Haleblan and Finkelstein 1999).

Cyert and March's ([1963] 1992) classic behaviourist conception of learning in organizations asserts that an organization's knowledge of how to solve problems related to its external environment is embedded in behavioural rules and repertoires as formal processes, procedures, routines and standard operating procedures and are reflected in processes of organizational adaptation of decision-making rules. Cyert and March ([1963] 1992:117, 172, 217) observe that organizations modify decision-making rules over time through a sequence of actions, observations of consequences and adaptation of the organization's goals, attention rules and search rules<sup>50</sup>. They contend that decision-making rules condition the processes by which an organization responds to its environment and posit these as central to organizational adaptation, to controlling organizational behaviour and to transmitting past learning in organizations. Power and learning are addressed by Cyert and March ([1963] 1992) through identifying that decision-making in organizations is subject to on-going negotiations and manoeuvres among competing coalitions and posit a conception of power premised on differential access to and possession or control of organizational power bases and resources<sup>51</sup>. They argue that dominant coalitions are able to promote organizational values and norms through establishing and sustaining preferred

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<sup>50</sup> Cyert and March (1965) also assert that the organization's rules permit the transfer of past learning.

<sup>51</sup> i.e. mutual control systems or resources such as budgets, functional allocations, and discretion. etc.

### Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

decision-making rules and associated behavioural routines by which bias is preconstituted and mobilized in organizations to limit competing actions and responses. Premised on an unproblematic understanding of power as implicated in the collective actions of dominant coalitions and legitimately embedded in organizational strata, structures, values and norms, Cyert and March's (1965) conception of power and learning fails to consider how dominant coalitions, collective actions, organizational structures, values and norms are actually preconstituted by the power relations manifest in an organization's specific social relations and material arrangements.

Cangelosi and Dill (1965) agree with Cyert and March's ([1963] 1992) view that organizational learning depends on the external environment, but argue that learning is more than just adaptation over time. They argue, correctly, that increased attention should be paid to the interaction between individual learning and organizational learning, and they submit that organizational learning should be delineated according to two interrelated dimensions: *subsystem learning* (individuals and groups), characterized by adaptive interactions at the individual or subgroup level; and *total system learning* (organization), characterized by adaptation at the organizational level (Cangelosi and Dill 1965). Cangelosi and Dill (1965) assert that subsystem learning, total system learning and combinations of both are stimulated by three types of organizational stressors: disjunctive stress, performance stress, and discomfort stress.

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**Table 3-2: Cangelosi & Dill - Organizational Stressors**

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<b>Disjunctive Stress</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• results from feedback from individual and subgroup adaptation concerning the perceived divergence and conflict in preferences and goals and perceived divergence and conflict in outcomes of activity related to organizational adaptation</li></ul>
<b>Performance Stress</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• has its strongest impact in producing subsystem learning and is attributed to the outcomes of 'previous decisions, by changes in preferences and aspiration levels, by incentives existing within the organization and manipulated by its leaders and by the degree to which management is challenged with the newness of its task'</li></ul>
<b>Discomfort Stress</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• relates to the complexity of the environment relative to the time, energy, and ability that groups can expend understanding it and the unpredictability of the environment relative to a group's ability to forecast the future</li></ul>

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Source (Cangelosi and Dill 1965:200-201)

In articulating a distinction between subsystem learning and total system learning, Cangelosi and Dill (1965) extend and augment the understanding of learning in

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

organizations through effectively linking the relational effects of individual learning directly to organizational learning. In doing so, they anticipate Daft and Weick's (1984) view of organizations as interpretive systems; Crossan et al's (1999) integrated understanding of organizational learning as occurring at the individual level and developed into shared understandings at the organizational level; and Lipshitz and Popper's (2000; 2002; 1998; 2000) notion of organizational learning mechanisms. Similar to Cyert and March ([1963] 1992), however, Cangelosi and Dill (1965) do not articulate an adequate understanding of power and learning in their conception. While correct in elaborating that stressors act on individual and subgroup adaptation to limit the range of individual and subgroup learning, Cangelosi and Dill (1965) neglect to provide a strong articulation of how power relations are implicated in the creation and experience of these stressors.

March and Olsen (1975) extend Cyert and March's ([1963] 1992) conception of organizations as behavioural systems which adapt by learning from experience, and extend Cangelosi and Dill's (1965) distinctions to develop a conception of organizational learning as a cycle that incorporates individual and organizational behavioural repertoires as actions. They challenge that earlier behaviourist conceptions characterized organizational learning as a simple cycle of adaptation and tacitly assumed an unambiguous external environment, while ignoring the inherent cognitive and evaluative limits on learning. March and Olsen (1975:147), in contrast, assert that 'individuals in organizations modify their understanding in a way that is intendedly adaptive even though faced with ambiguity'. In characterizing the relationship between individual action and organizational action as loosely coupled, they allude to the effects of power whereby organizational decision-making is less responsive to the external environment, focusing instead on the accomplishment of making collective decisions, producing substantive results and in sustaining and maintaining the social unit (March and Olsen 1975:152). March and Olsen (1975) declare that a model of organizational learning needs to consider the process by which beliefs are constructed in an organizational setting. They posit a four-stage cycle of organizational learning whereby: 1. *individual actions* influence *organizational actions*, which, 2. trigger *environmental responses*, 3. that influence *individual beliefs* and subsequently, 4.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

feed back into *individual actions*. Through introducing related notions of 'information exposure, memory and retrieval; learning incentives; belief structures; and the micro development of belief in organizations' as facilitating individuals' sense making of on-going events and processes, March and Olsen's (1975:147) conceptions bridge and transition behavioural conceptions of organizational learning into cognitivist ones through anticipating cognitive theorizations of organizations as interpretive systems involved in information processing (cf. Daft and Huber 1987; Daft and Weick 1984; Weick 1995, 2001). However, while they challenge behaviourist assumptions of learning as complete, productive, positive, and functional through interjecting the notion of dysfunction as incomplete, interrupted or transformed learning cycles<sup>52</sup> in organizations, they fail to relate dysfunctional learning directly to an organization's specific social and power relations and socio-material arrangements.

### **3.1.2 Cognitivist Learning Conceptions**

In contrast to the behaviourist view of individual learning as extrinsically generated by environmental stimuli, cognitivist conceptions contend that the motivation to learn is intrinsic to individuals and posit learning, and the acquisition of knowledge, as separate from actual changes in behaviour. This view of learning asserts that individual information acquisition, processing, and retrieval processes build on and reorganize pre-existing cognitive schema to construct new knowledge that enables individuals to retrieve and apply information to new problems (cf. Knowles et al. [1978] 2005; Leroy and Ramanantsoa 1997; Merriam and Caffarella 1999; Schwandt 2005; Thompson and McHugh 1995; Yeo 2002).

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<sup>52</sup> They distinguish between incomplete learning cycles, experiential learning under ambiguity, experiential learning, superstitious experiential learning, and audience experiential learning.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 3-3: Cognitivist Conceptions

	Individual	Organizational
<b>Learning</b>	<p><b>Internal Mental Process</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning involves the acquisition or reorganization of individual cognitive structures</li> <li>encompasses insight, information processing, memory &amp; perception</li> </ul>	<p><b>Organizational Information Processing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizational learning involves the (re)organization &amp; adaptation of organizational structures &amp; strategies</li> <li>encompasses organizational interpretation, sensemaking, information processing &amp; organizational memory</li> </ul>
<b>Locus of Learning</b>	<p><b>Internal Cognitive Structuring</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>internal cognitive structuring separates learning &amp; the acquisition of knowledge from actual changes in behaviour</li> </ul>	<p><b>Organizational Infrastructure / Structures</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizational &amp; managerial systems &amp; structures which support the organization's information processing activities</li> <li>knowledge management systems</li> </ul>
<b>Aims</b>	<p><b>Individual Capacities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to develop, build and restructure cognitive scaffolds and schema through assimilating new knowledge and modifying old scaffolds and schema</li> </ul>	<p><b>Organizational Capacities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>aims to develop organizational information processing capacities through developing the organization's IT infrastructures &amp; managerial capacity for sensemaking</li> </ul>
<b>Motivation / Control</b>	<p><b>Intrinsic</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>separates learning &amp; the acquisition of knowledge from actual changes in behaviour</li> <li>individual's internal drive structures the content of individual learning activities</li> <li>focuses on active discovery</li> </ul>	<p><b>Intrinsic to Organization</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizational requirements define IT requirements and structure the roles, responsibilities and activities of managers involved in the collection, processing and interpretation of information from the external environment</li> </ul>
<b>Techniques</b>	<p><b>Cognitive Development</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>educator constructs a curriculum in order to optimize the presentation, sequencing &amp; structuring of new knowledge</li> <li>knowledge is actively constructed by learners &amp; that any account of knowledge makes essential references to cognitive structures</li> </ul>	<p><b>Organizational Systemic/Structural Change</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organization/managers/HR identify, develop, &amp; promote sanctioned organizational schema adaptation of organizational structures &amp; strategies to develop shared understandings among individuals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>vision &amp; mission statements</li> <li>training &amp; development interventions</li> <li>manage organizational / individual beliefs, attitudes &amp; culture</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge</b>	<p><b>Cognitive Structures &amp; Scaffolds</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>objectivist</li> <li>comprises active systems of intentional mental representations derived from past learning experience</li> </ul>	<p><b>Structures, Maps, Representations &amp; Schema</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>objectivist</li> <li>abstract decontextualized forms of knowledge</li> <li>epistemology of possession</li> <li>knowledge as an object that can be gathered, processes, stored, shared &amp; moved around an organization via IT &amp; knowledge management systems</li> </ul>
<b>Theorists</b>	<p><b>Individual Learning</b></p> <p>Kurt Lewin (1935)  Jerome Bruner (1977)  Jean Piaget (1985)  David Ausubel (2000)</p>	<p><b>Organizational Learning</b></p> <p>Chris Argyris &amp; Donald Schön (1978)  Robert Duncan &amp; Andrew Weiss (1979)  Richard Daft &amp; Karl Weick (1984)  Marlene Fiol &amp; Marjorie Lyles (1985)  Barbara Levitt &amp; James March (1988)  George Huber (1991)  Karl Weick &amp; Karlene Roberts (1993)  Ikujiro Nonaka &amp; Hirotaka Takeuchi (1995)  Mary Crossan et al. (1999)  Ranaan Lipshitz &amp; Micha Popper (1998, 2000)</p>

Adapted from (Elkjaer 1999; Jacobs and Coghlan 2005; Merriam and Caffarella 1999:264; Perry 1999; Prange 1999)

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Cognitivist conceptions assume that organizational learning is greater than the sum of individual learning and attend to structures, processes and systems that optimize the acquisition, interpretation, distribution and retention of knowledge (Yeo 2002). Organizations are regarded as *learning and knowledge-generating systems* whereby individuals interact to learn and create knowledge, and organizations work to capture, store and share knowledge to support organizational learning (Stacey 2001). These conceptions presuppose a representationalist understanding of knowledge predicated on three assumptions: first, that knowledge is an accurate representation of an objective, preconstituted social reality; second, that knowledge 'resides in the heads of persons, and that it is appropriated, transmitted and stored by means of mentalistic processes' (Gherardi 2006:13); and, third, that it can be *objectified, acquired and accumulated* (learned) through organizational information processing routines, *consolidated* through organizational analysis and unproblematically *disseminated* among organizational members (Gherardi 2006; Kakahara and Sørensen 2002). Consequently, cognitivist conceptions of organizational learning shift the focus from observable changes in organizational adaptation, behaviour or action to optimized organizational knowledge constructs, maps or schema (Akgun et al. 2003).

### **3.1.2.1 Information Processing**

Duncan and Weiss's (1979:78) cognitivist conception of organizational learning emerges as a critique of Cyert and March's ([1963] 1992) failure to offer insights into how 'learning takes place, what the specific outcomes of learning are, who in the organization learns, or how the dominant coalition can utilize this learning process' (cited in Magalhães 1998:95). Their conception represents an early articulation of organizational learning in terms of organizational knowledge that focuses first, on knowledge as action-outcome relationships, and second, on the effects of organizational environments as outcomes of learning (Magalhães 1998:95-96). Duncan and Weiss (1979:89) locate learning and knowledge creation within individuals and posit organizational learning as formal and informal *extra-individual processes* wherein organizational learning is preceded by individual learning and socialization and mediated by organizational contexts (Magalhães

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

1998:96). Individual knowledge is constituted as organizational knowledge via formal and informal individual processes of knowledge exchange, evaluation, and integration. Their articulation of organizational learning in terms of organizational knowledge anticipates Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) conception of organizational knowledge-creation processes.

### **3.1.2.2 Interpretation**

Levitt and March (1988:320) draw directly from three main behaviourist theoretical orientations: first, as per Cyert and March ([1963] 1992), they assert that behaviour in organizations is based on routines which involve matching procedures to situations; second, that organizations adapt incrementally in response to feedback about outcomes through changes to routines based on interpretations of the past, rather than on anticipation of the future; and third, that organizational behaviour depends on the relation between the outcomes observed and the aspirations held for those outcomes. Levitt and March (1988:320) reframe these behaviourist orientations within a cognitivist conception which posits that organizations learn from experience. They assert that routines and beliefs change in response to trial and error experimentation, and that organizational search activities are dependent on individual interpretation for 'encoding inferences from history into routines that guide behaviour'(Levitt and March 1988:320). Further, Levitt and March (1988:320) assert that routines encompass '...the forms, rules, procedures, conventions, strategies, and technologies around which organizations are constructed and through which they operate' and include beliefs, frameworks, paradigms, codes, cultures and forms of knowledge and knowing that support, elaborate or contradict formal routines. In doing so, they maintain Fiol and Lyles' (1985) distinction between organizational learning and organizational adaptation, and extend March and Olsen's (1975) work on dysfunctional learning through identifying that dysfunctional instances such as superstitious learning, competency traps and erroneous inferences do not lead to intelligent behaviour or organizational learning.

Daft and Weick (1984:286, 294) draw on Duncan and Weiss's (1979) characterization of organizational learning as dependent on formal and informal

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

individual processes of knowledge exchange, evaluation and integration. They view organizations as *social interpretation systems*, in which knowledge is constructed by managers who actively interpret their external environment through organizational interpretative processes that focus on imbuing information with meaning, translating events, sharing perceptions and developing shared understandings and cognitive maps/schema. Daft and Weick (1984:286) assert that organizational learning can be understood as a three stage process: *scanning*, *interpretation* and *learning* that is dependent on individual interpretations, meanings and understandings of the external environment. In accordance with Duncan and Weiss's (1979) emphasis on the centrality of organizational context for organizational learning, Daft and Weick (1984) distinguish between four distinct organizational modes of interpreting the external environment: *enacting*, *discovering*, *undirected viewing* and *conditioned viewing*. They maintain that each mode is characterized by distinct organizational stances towards and actions on the external environment. The degree of organizational learning is defined by the intensity or immediacy of these modes in constructing interpretations based on organizational requirements, past decisions and the external environment (Daft and Weick 1984; Weick 2001). Duncan and Weiss (1979) and Daft and Weick (1984) represent an important shift away from modernist conceptions of organizations as concrete, ordered, stable and bounded entities which tacitly assume all social phenomena (i.e. individuals, organizations and constituent elements) are discrete, unchanging and spatially fixed. Rather, these authors move towards a social view of organizations as collections of cognitively intersubjective individuals who learn through trying to make sense of what is happening around them in the environment and through engaging in decision-making activities to develop solutions to particular organizational issues and challenges (Daft and Weick 1984; Weick 2001).

Duncan and Weiss' (1979), Daft and Weick's (1984), Fiol and Lyles' (1985) and Levitt and March's (1988) conceptions of learning in organizations each draw on a dispositional view of power in which the structural characteristics of organizations position individuals or groups as influencers able to effect changes in a belief, attitude, or behaviour over others (Weick 1995:136). In doing so, they privilege

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

managerial perspectives and ignore the issue of whose interests are being represented and which forms of learning and modalities of power are deemed 'illegitimate, unsanctioned, or dysfunctional' (Hardy and Clegg 1999:375). Legitimate power and learning is defined in terms of the formal organization or in terms of managerial interests; the notion that managers might seek to serve their own interest is ignored. Although Daft and Weick (1984) argue that the process of interpretation occurs within an organizational environment that rewards particular interpretations and penalizes others, they neglect to examine how interpretative activities are constituted via power relations through restrictions on alternative interpretations, constraints placed on interpretive processes or through exclusionary practices related to management interpretative activities (Fairclough 2001 cited in Huzzard 2004). Further, Lawrence et al. (2005) observe that these conceptions assume that a shared consensus and understanding exists in organizations among influential individuals when, in fact, interpretative processes are also facilitated/constrained by the political will and skill of individuals acting to embed their understandings into organizational routines, structures and cultures. Senior managers, for example, are more likely to promote or accept interpretations that attribute success to their own actions and organizational failures to others; and different coalitions may develop alternative interpretations of the same events (Levitt and March 1988). Similarly, Keesing (1987 cited in Weick 1995:176) observes that conceptions focused on interpretation underestimate the constraints imposed on individual interpretive processes by an organization's particular social and power relations and socio-material arrangements. Both Lawrence (2005) and Keesing (1987) identify the need to gain insights into how particular power configurations facilitate/constrain individual and collective interpretive processes to influence whose interpretations are integrated into organizational learning, whose are not, and why.

Following Daft and Weick (1984), Crossan et al. (1999) suggest that learning in organizations results from a tension between assimilating new learning, information and knowledge into pre-existing organizational knowledge structures across three levels of learning: individual, group and organizational. They propose the 4I Framework (Crossan et al. 1999) as an integrated model of organizational

### Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

learning which asserts that cognition affects behaviour, and vice versa, through linking three levels of learning to four social and psychological processes (the 4Is): *intuiting*, *interpreting*, *integrating*, and *institutionalizing*. Crossan et al. (1999) assert that learning and knowledge creation at the individual level develops into shared understandings at the group level, that are institutionalized as routines, procedures, handbooks, mission statements, etc. over time at the organizational level.

**Table 3-4: 4I Framework**

<b>Intuiting</b>	a)	involves individuals perceiving and translating external patterns or regularities onto pre-existing individual mental models
	b)	functions to extend these mental models to other individuals through interactive conversations and dialogue
<b>Interpreting</b>	a)	processes develop and refine intuitive insights to represent emergent organizational learning
<b>Integrating</b>	a)	processes function to develop shared understandings among individuals through encouraging on-going dialogue and shared practice
<b>Institutionalizing</b>	a)	represents the final process which embeds shared understandings of individuals (organizational learning)
	b)	integrates these mental models into broader organizational systems, structures, procedures and strategies

Source (Crossan et al. 1999)

In building on the 4I Framework, Vera and Crossan (2004) refer to Friedlander (1983 cited in Vera and Crossan 2004:228) in identifying power as hindering learning when ‘individuals suppress or deny their own resources or expertise’ from others or when ‘leaders impose or proclaim theirs’ over others. Further, Crossan and Bedrow (2003) refer to an individual’s power, authority and/or control over organizational resources as determining the extent of an individual’s influence over integration and institutionalization processes. While acknowledging that the 4I Framework minimizes positive biases evident in organizational learning research, Crossan and Bedrow (2003:1103) concede that it fails to directly account for issues such as power and leadership related to learning in organizations. Lawrence et al. (2005) attempt to address this deficit through asserting that power relations constitute the *social energy* which facilitates organizational learning via individual and group understandings. Drawing on extant theorizations of power (cf. Clegg 1989; Foucault 1977; Giddens 1984; Lawrence et al. 2001), they identify

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

episodic<sup>53</sup> and systemic<sup>54</sup> power as distinct modes operating in organizations, link these to associated strategies of power and integrate them with the specific learning processes of the 4I Framework: discipline with intuition; influence with interpretation; force with integration; and domination with institutionalization. Accordingly, episodic modes of power are linked to strategies of *influence and force* as a basis for addressing the ‘discrete transformation of ideas into legitimate interpretations’ during *interpreting and intuiting* activities; and systemic modes of power are linked to strategies of *domination and discipline* to account for the maintenance of ‘new ideas as part of organizational life, without repeated intervention’ during *institutionalization and integrating* activities (Lawrence et al. 2001; Lawrence et al. 2005:183-184).

While correct in asserting that power is neither legitimate nor illegitimate and in attributing a modal view of power (influence, force, domination and discipline) as underpinning the 4Is, Lawrence et al. (2001; 2005) privilege managerial perspectives and rearticulate well-trodden mainstream and instrumental views of power as *power over* whereby ‘A has *power over* B’. In addition, they conflate access to and control over resources with power, and neglect to recognize that the exercise of power and its mode of operation cannot be equated with the resources available, whatever their size or magnitude (cf. Allen 2003:105).

#### **3.1.3 Humanist Learning Conceptions**

Humanist conceptions of individual learning emphasize the value of life experience and personal responsibility for individual learning, asserting that learning activities and initiatives must satisfy an individual’s intrinsic need for self-actualization, personal growth and freedom of choice (Merriam and Caffarella 1999; Schwandt 2005). These conceptions stress the centrality of individual affective dimensions in facilitating self-actualization and, therefore, focus on how to translate personal involvement, self-initiation, persuasiveness and self-

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<sup>53</sup> Episodic power represents the traditional focus of organizational research and theory, refers to discrete, strategic political acts initiated by self-interested individuals and examines which individuals are most able to influence organizational decision-making (Lawrence et al. 2005).

<sup>54</sup> Systemic power operates through the on-going organizational routines, processes and procedures that constitute organizational practice as expressed through social and hierarchical constructs (Lawrence et al. 2005).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

evaluation into meaningful learning (Rogers 1969 cited in Knowles et al. [1978] 2005:14; Merriam and Caffarella 1999).

**Table 3-5: Humanist Conceptions**

	Individual	Organizational
<b>Learning Perspective</b>	<b>Individual Self-Fulfilment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning facilitates development of whole person &amp; is responsive to an individual's needs, choices &amp; responsibility</li> </ul>	<b>Continuous Organizational Renewal</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizational learning occurs through fostering individual commitment to sustaining continuous organizational renewal processes</li> </ul>
<b>Locus of Learning</b>	<b>Affective &amp; Cognitive Needs</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the focus of learning is on the individual and self-development</li> </ul>	<b>Organization as Learning System</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>through enabling individual learning, the organization harnesses collective learning</li> </ul>
<b>Aims</b>	<b>Self-Actualization &amp; Autonomy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>aims to enable individuals to learn how to learn &amp; become self-actualized &amp; autonomous</li> </ul>	<b>The Learning Organization</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to draw out &amp; expand on individual knowledge &amp; experience to support continuous organizational learning</li> </ul>
<b>Motivation / Control</b>	<b>Intrinsic</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals are responsible for self-development which occurs in response to &amp; through individual's affective &amp; cognitive dimensions</li> </ul>	<b>Intrinsic to Organization</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individual/managers /HR ensure the development of a learning organization through fostering empowerment, addressing hierarchy of needs, addressing emotions</li> </ul>
<b>Techniques</b>	<b>Process over Content</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the process of learning is more important than the content</li> <li>centred on individual's learning needs wherein the educator acts as a facilitator or guide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>self-initiated</li> <li>self-evaluated</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<b>The Learning Organization</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individual/managers /HR act as facilitators or guides to promote individual development &amp; knowledge exchange to achieve status of learning organization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fostering communication &amp; consultation</li> <li>self-assessment</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge</b>	<b>Knowing How</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>cognitive and affective dimensions related to knowledge</li> <li>objective, affective and procedural/practical knowledge</li> <li>knowledge is about knowing how to do things</li> </ul>	<b>Objective, Affective &amp; Procedural</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>objective, affective and procedural/practical knowledge</li> </ul>
<b>Theorists</b>	<b>Individual Learning</b> Abraham Maslow (1987) Carl Rogers (1969; [1961] 2004) Malcolm Knowles ([1978] 2005)	<b>Learning Organization</b> Peter Senge (1990a) Mike Pedler et al. (1991; 1997) David Garvin (1993) Victoria Watkins & Karen Marsick (1999a; 1993) John Burgoyne (1995) John Burgoyne & Michael Reynolds (2002)

Adapted from (Elkjaer 1999; Flood 1999; Merriam and Caffarella 1999:264; Pedler et al. 1991, 1997; Senge 1990a)

Humanist accounts of learning in organizations are typified by a range of theoretical traditions focused on understanding and explicating the nature of *learning organizations*.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 3.1.3.1 Learning Organization

The concept of the learning organization represents a combined body of theory focused on learning in and by organizations purporting that, through enabling and harnessing individual and collective learning, organizations facilitate strategic and self-managed organizational change and adaptation to cope with environmental uncertainty (Corley and Gioia 2003; Flood 1999) (see Table 3-5). The learning organization concept has garnered significant interest over the past decade as a management tool for controlling, directing, facilitating and aligning individual learning processes with strategic organizational requirements and for constituting flexible and responsive organizations via continuous individual learning practices and competitive knowledge creation processes (Laursen 2006). In their review of the literature, Yang, Watkins and Marsick (2004) observe that systems, learning, and integrative perspectives underlie most contemporary conceptions of the learning organization.

#### Systems Perspective

Similar to Daft and Weick's (1984) notion of organizational intrusiveness as an organizational mode for transforming external environments, Senge (1990a) proffers a vision of the learning organization as constituting adaptive and generative capacities to create alternative organizational futures (Yang et al. 2004). He contends that organizational learning requires responsive organizational structures which can operate within increasingly complex environments and, subsequently, Senge (1990a) identifies five disciplines that a learning organization should embrace: personal mastery, mental models, building shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking.

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**Table 3-6: Five Disciplines**

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<b>Personal Mastery</b>	process of continually clarifying and deepening personal vision, of focusing energies, developing patience and of 'seeing reality' objectively
<b>Mental Models</b>	individuals engage with and act on their environment through tacit mental models that consist of deeply engrained assumptions, generalizations or pictures or images
<b>Building Shared Vision</b>	focuses on translating individual vision into a sustained and shared organizational view of the future that fosters what Senge refers to as genuine commitment and enrolment rather than compliance
<b>Team Learning</b>	bridges individual learning into collective learning and asserts that if teams cannot learn then the organization cannot learn
<b>Systems Thinking</b>	underscores the need for consensus building in asserting that the learning organization needs to promote an atmosphere of openness and complexity

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### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

In asserting that organizations do not learn, but that organizational learning begins and ends with individuals, Senge (1990a; 1990b) challenges behaviourist conceptions of learning as adaptation with a view of individual learning as creation. His systems-based models offer practitioners an optimistic view of learning in which individuals are empowered to actively create a sanctioned future through responding to, and adjusting, organizational structures and systems (Senge 1990a:69). While Senge's (1990a) systems perspective bridges notions of individual learning with organizational learning, his view simplifies the complexity inherent in individual and organizational interaction and cooperation into the notion that learning hinges simply on honest dialogue and caring between the individual and the organization (cf. Fenwick 1997). While advocating that traditional hierarchies be replaced in favour of alternative organizational designs promoting openness, localness and merit, Senge (1990a) alludes to power relations, but fails to make explicit the instrumentality behind facilitating empowerment, individual and collective learning practices and procedures for the purposes of optimizing organizational performance.

Salaman (2001) observes that Senge (1990a; 1990b) underestimates the difficulty of implementing on-going organizational alignments, checks and balances required to sustain practice across the five disciplines. He asserts that Senge's (1990a; 1990b) focus on systemic thinking conflates individuals with the learning organization and presumes that one reflects and supports the other (Salaman 2001). Fenwick (1997) and Flood (1999) assert that while Senge (1990a) enjoins individuals to consider the negative impact that power relations have on individual and organizational learning, he posits an overly optimistic view of individuals as empowered, enlightened and working in harmony for the greater good of the organization, rather being motivated by power, wealth or self-interest. Senge's (1990a; 1990b) conception obfuscates and under-theorizes organizational power relations through failing to address the notion that individuals adopt organizational and management learning initiatives purely out of fear of losing their job or status, rather than for altruistic reasons (Fenwick 1997; Marsick and Watkins 1999b).

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

### Learning Perspective

Pedler et al. (1997:3) challenge Senge's (1990a) perspective as being overly humanistic, and advance the notion of the *learning company* as a more pragmatic and practitioner-focused conception which 'facilitates the learning of all its members and consciously transforms itself and its context'. In outlining how to optimize learning at all levels in the organization, they displace Senge's (1990a) five disciplines with eleven prescriptive and interrelated characteristics of a learning company: a learning approach to strategy, participative policy making, informing, formative accounting and control, internal exchange, reward flexibility, enabling structures, boundary workers as environmental scanners, intercompany learning, a learning climate, and, self-development opportunities for all. While Pedler et al. (1997) offer practitioners a learner-centred methodology and approach that emphasises personal responsibility for development, they share Senge's (1990a) conception of individuals as organizational knowledge resources willing and able to engage in and share with the organization. In doing so, they situate managers in a pivotal role of empowering and guiding individuals. Flood (1999:72) and Illeris (2004c) observe that, in asserting management neutrality and goodwill as underpinning organizational intentions, these conceptions fail to recognize how hierarchical relations manifest discretionary practices which define and predetermine individual and collective participation in building a shared vision. Further, Fenwick (1997) and Kerr (2004) observe that perspectives such as Pedler et al.'s (1997) neglect to address exclusionary practices which determine individual and collective access to sanctioned learning opportunities. Pedler et al. (1997) posit an idealized view of organizations as composed of senior managers willing to relinquish power, control and knowledge and, in doing so, they deny the power effects that organizational hierarchies and management self-interest have on individual and collective learning in the learning company.

### Integrative Perspective

Watkins and Marsick's (1999a; 1993) integrative perspective characterizes the learning organization as having the capacity to transform itself through facilitating continuous individual learning in parallel with job functions and processes. They

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

regard learning organizations as having 'the capacity to integrate people and structures in order to move towards continuous learning and change' and identify seven distinct and interrelated dimensions as being central to learning organizational activities across individual, team and organizational levels: continuous learning, inquiry and dialogue, team learning, empowerment, embedded system, system connection and strategic leadership (Yang et al. 2004:34). Watkins and Marsick (1993) share Senge's (1990a) emphasis on systems thinking, positing continuous learning at the systems level as being central to the creation and management of knowledge outcomes, which optimize and sustain organizational performance. In characterizing individuals as aligned around a common vision, involved in sensing and interpreting their changing environment and generating new knowledge to create innovative products and services, they also evoke Daft and Weick's (1984) depiction of organizational learning as dependent on formal and informal individual processes of knowledge exchange, evaluation and integration. Fenwick (1997) notes that both perspectives emphasize that individual critical reflection is a constitutive element of learning organizations, underscoring the need for consensus building and promoting an organizational atmosphere open to questioning, feedback and experimentation. In doing so, Watkins and Marsick (1993) assert a cognitivist bias towards learning as occurring exclusively through conscious rational thought and language processes and privilege explicit, accessible and sanctioned forms of organizational knowledge. They assume that individuals are willing and able to participate in critical reflective activities and, consequently, fail to consider alternative understandings of individual and collective learning and knowledge. While they recognize that power relations in organizations exert a strong influence on individual learning, they privilege managerial, human resource and organizational visions for change over individual learning requirements in organizations (Marsick and Watkins 1999a:205). Fenwick (1997) observes that Marsick and Watkins (1999a; 1999b) ignore how power relations constitute multiple social positions occupied by individuals in organizations by gender, race, age, role and functional status, and minimize exclusionary practices that power relations exert on individual access to learning opportunities. In doing so, she asserts that Marsick and Watkins (1999a; 1999b) neglect to address whose interests are being served

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

in the constitution of learning organizations, which relations of power are being secured, and to what ends.

The literature on learning organization is widely criticized for adopting a prescriptive stance towards learning in organizations and for privileging organizational and management priorities over individual learning requirements and predispositions (cf. Easterby-Smith and Lyles 2003; Fenwick 1997; Flood 1999; Rifkin and Fulop 1997; Tsang 1997). In advocating a normative and regulatory function for individual and collective learning via emancipation and empowerment strategies, these theorists adopt a cognitivist orientation and bias which posits organizations as able to generate, aggregate and disseminate knowledge through individual action based on the questionable assumption that it is possible to align organizational and managerial strategies with individual personal and professional learning requirements to facilitate individual learning (Laursen 2006).

### ***3.2 Workplace Learning: Social and Constructivist Conceptions***

The field of workplace learning is characterized by two dominant concerns: first, the relation of the individual and collective in work-learning processes; and, second, the nature and role of power relations in work-learning processes. This field asserts that organizational learning conceptions fail to account for the multiple modes of knowing-in-action found in individual and group participation in practice, and neglect the interactive and relational nature of learning as subject to the configuration and reconfiguration of power relations within organizations (cf. Antonacopoulou 2006a, 2006c, 2006e; Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Clegg et al. 2006; Contu et al. 2003; Contu and Willmott 2000; Cook and Brown 1999; Elkjaer 2003; Engeström 1987; Gherardi 2006; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). Fenwick and Rubenson (2005b:8-9) observe that, while empirical research draws on wide-ranging theoretical bases to theorize subtle dynamics of learning, the workplace learning tradition is hampered by the lack of strong empirical analyses of power in organizations. The following section critically examines how power is accounted for in social and constructivist conceptions of learning that posit learning as participation in social practices. Additionally, this section demonstrates how social and constructivist conceptions locate learning as lived

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

experience of everyday life, and posits individuals as social beings engaged in learning and knowledge creation via interactions within the social and material arrangements of organizations. It begins with an examination of social learning conceptions leading into a discussion of constructivist conceptions of learning.

### **3.2.1 Social Learning Conceptions**

Social learning conceptions represent a shift away from the view of individuals as learning through conditioning (behaviourism) or through the modification of cognitive structures (cognitivism) towards a view of learning that is specific to the on-going dynamics of particular socio-cultural and historical settings. Perspectives on social learning (i.e. expansive learning and activity systems) legitimate peripheral participation or participatory practice and share a concern with understanding learning as participation in socially situated processes. Emphasis is placed on the social environment, prior experiences, mental models and beliefs that converge to construct individual and collective meanings and identities (Billett 2004a; Elkjaer 2003; Illeris 2004b, 2004c; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 3-7: Social Learning Conceptions

Individual / Organizational															
<b>Learning</b>	<p><b>Learning as Social and Situated Activity</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning as a way of being in the social world and as a practical activity and gradual process of growing participation</li> <li>emphasis on particular socio-cultural settings as historically produced</li> <li>socio-biographical features of individuals interwoven with organizational culture &amp; context</li> </ul>														
<b>Locus of Learning</b>	<p><b>Social Participation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>shared responsibility for learning &amp; personal development</li> <li>social participation as a process learning centred on interaction with &amp; observation of others in a social context</li> <li>individual biographies inform individual openness to learning which mediates personal engagement with organizational affordances to learning opportunities</li> </ul>														
<b>Purpose</b>	<p><b>Individual</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to engage in &amp; contribute to social practices in order to produce meaning, model new roles &amp; behaviours</li> <li>the community/organization learns through the mediation of differences of perspectives &amp; experiences among individuals/co-participants</li> </ul>														
<b>Control</b>	<p><b>Social Practices of Organizational Life</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>models &amp; guides new roles &amp; behaviours which sustain dominant practices in organizations</li> </ul>														
<b>Techniques</b>	<p><b>Individual</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>engagement in actual work practices - participation &amp; interaction</li> <li>situated curriculum - access to programs of activity</li> <li>time &amp; space provided for learning</li> <li>participation &amp; interaction – apprenticeships, coaching and mentoring</li> </ul> <p><b>Organizational</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>focus on policies, processes and structures which link managing individuals and learning processes to organizational settings and requirements</li> </ul>														
<b>Knowledge</b>	<p><b>Situated Knowledge</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>epistemology of practice</li> <li>tacit, embodied &amp; contextually located &amp; directly related to its context</li> <li>distributed &amp; embedded in the organization</li> <li>knowledge maintained through particular modes of participation &amp; identity formation</li> </ul>														
<b>Theorists</b>	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th>Individual Learning</th> <th>Workplace Learning</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Gregory Bateson (1972)</td> <td>Yrjö Engeström (1987; 2001; 2002b; 2004)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Albert Bandura (1976)</td> <td>Jean Lave (1988)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1987)</td> <td>Lave &amp; Wenger (1991)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Jean Lave (1988)</td> <td>John Seely Brown &amp; Paul Duguid (1991)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Barbara Rogoff (1990)</td> <td>Etienne Wenger (1998; 2002)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Jean Lave &amp; Etienne Wenger (1991)</td> <td>Stephen Billett (2003; 2004b; 2006b)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Individual Learning	Workplace Learning	Gregory Bateson (1972)	Yrjö Engeström (1987; 2001; 2002b; 2004)	Albert Bandura (1976)	Jean Lave (1988)	Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1987)	Lave & Wenger (1991)	Jean Lave (1988)	John Seely Brown & Paul Duguid (1991)	Barbara Rogoff (1990)	Etienne Wenger (1998; 2002)	Jean Lave & Etienne Wenger (1991)	Stephen Billett (2003; 2004b; 2006b)
Individual Learning	Workplace Learning														
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Barbara Rogoff (1990)	Etienne Wenger (1998; 2002)														
Jean Lave & Etienne Wenger (1991)	Stephen Billett (2003; 2004b; 2006b)														

Adapted from (Elkjaer 1999, 2003; Evans et al. 2006:12-15; Gherardi 2006:103; Merriam and Caffarella 1999:264; Wenger 1998)

### 3.2.1.1 Expansive Learning and Activity Systems

Engeström's (1987; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2004) conception of expansive learning challenges mainstream behaviourist and cognitivist assumptions of organizational learning as centred in individuals as acting subjects who learn and develop separately from the organization. Drawing on Vygotsky's (1978; 1987) articulation of cultural-historical activity theory, Engeström (1987; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2004) recasts organizations as *socially distributed activity systems* to link individuals and

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

their learning activities to the organization's social and material arrangements (Blackler 1995). He argues that expansive learning occurs over time via individual epistemic actions that challenge accepted practice in order to resolve successively evolving contradictions which surface within organizations. Engeström (1987; 2002a; 2004) asserts that expansive learning is facilitated by individuals engaged in learning who enact new conceptions of their activities through the construction of new forms of collaborative practice in organizations conceived of as networks of activity systems. Consequently, he focuses on the complex interrelations between individuals and organizations, on individual conceptions of their activities, and on the implicit and explicit social rules which link individuals to both organizations and broader communities. Engeström (1987; 2002a; 2004) rejects conceptions of organizations as stable and rational entities in favour of a contingent and emergent understanding which identifies conflict, tensions, incoherencies and paradoxes as normal and effective sources of organizational change (Blackler 1995).

Engeström's (1987; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2004) observes that expansive learning activities constitute an *expansive cycle* or *spiral* which expands incrementally (organizational learning) to produce new practices or forms of work activities through seven stages: questioning, analyzing the situation, modelling, examining the model, implementing the models, reflecting, and consolidating. He asserts knowledge is continuously being (re)created through individual participation in organizational activity systems, and argues that individual and organizational transformations involve learning new forms of knowledge and activity as they are being created. Engeström (1987; 2002a; 2004) recasts knowledge as knowing which is: *mediated* (manifested in systems of language, technology collaboration and control); *situated* (located in time and space and specific to particular contexts); *provisional* (constructed and constantly developing); *pragmatic* (purposive and object oriented); and *contested* (subject to alternative explanations) (Blackler 1995:1039; Engeström 1987, 2001).

Häyrynen (1999:120) asserts that analyses of learning and development within the cultural-historical activity tradition have largely ignored the effects of power

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

relations. Blackler (1995) concurs with this observation, adding that in linking expansive learning to Latour's (1987; 1993) actor-network theory, Engeström (1987; 2001) understands power as being dispersed within a multi-layered network of interconnected activity systems. In so doing, Engeström (1987; 2001) under-theorizes the relationship between power and knowledge. In contrast, McDonald (2000) posits that cultural-historical activity-based studies of learning, acting and collaborating in organizational activity systems should regard power as both an *on-going product of collective activity* and as *the medium for it*. She asserts that in adopting this orientation, the understanding of power would be consistent with the dynamics of organizational change and with established patterns of enrolment and domination evident in actor-network theory.

#### **3.2.1.2 Legitimate Peripheral Participation and Communities of Practice**

Lave and Wenger (1991), Wenger (1998) and Wenger et al's (2002) conception of *legitimate peripheral participation* and *communities of practice* observe that engagement in social practice is fundamental to individual learning in organizations. In contrast to mainstream understandings of individual and organizational learning, they view learning as social and situated, with strong interdependency between individual learners within the organizational context of social relations. Lave and Wenger (1991:51-53) and Wenger (1998) suggest that understanding individual learning as situated requires sensitivity to the multi-layered nature of the construction of individual. Consequently, they posit *legitimate peripheral participation* in *communities of practice* as central to understanding learning as a situated activity, whereby, individual meanings and identities are (re)constituted by opportunities to access organizational domains of knowledge and knowing via the interrelations among practitioners, which they refer to as *knowing-in-practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991:122).

The concept of legitimate peripheral participation 'draws attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that mastery of knowledge and skills requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community' (Lave and Wenger 1991:29). Lave and Wenger (1991) associate legitimate peripheral participation

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

with the notion of a *learning curriculum* characterized 'as a field of learning resources in everyday practice *viewed from the perspective of learners*'. The learning curriculum emerges from participation in specific communities of practice and is engendered by the values and norms held by community and by formal and informal organizational practices which facilitate (or constrain) access to the organization's particular domains of knowledge and knowing. A learning curriculum constitutes situated learning activities by which individuals move from novice to expert positions in a community of practice through legitimate peripheral participation (Wenger 1998:7-9, 249). Wenger et al (2002:12) identify the community of practice as an ideal *knowledge structure* involved in *stewarding knowledge* and *facilitating knowing* via three fundamental elements: first, a *domain of knowledge* which defines a set of common issues; second, a *community of people* who have an interest in this domain; and third, the *shared practice* developed to remain effective in their domain.

Lave and Wenger (1991:42) and Wenger (1998), however, recognize that power remains under-theorized in their conception. While correct in identifying legitimate peripheral participation as a source of power and powerlessness by which individuals move towards more intensive or restrictive participation in communities, Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) refer to the need to understand how power is mediated and mobilized via experts' enhanced abilities to contribute to a community's particular domain of knowledge, and how this is translated into effects which influence newcomer or novice access to and participation in communities of practice. Wenger (1998:15, 158, 192) asserts that communities of practice are characterized by multiple centres of power based on different domains of knowledge, that new power bases are generated via the emergence of new knowledge initiatives within organizations and, therefore, argues for a nuanced conception of power which transcends simple dominance, conflict or consensual-based models. Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) argue that power relations must be systematically included in analyses of learning in organizations in order to generate insights into how the social structure of practice, its power relations and conditions, legitimate particular forms of knowledge, learning curricula and participation, and how they constitute

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

possibilities and potentialities for individual learning through facilitating or constraining access to learning activities within communities of practice.

### **3.2.1.3 Participatory Practices and Workplace Pedagogy**

Billett (2004a; 2006b:7) moves beyond Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Engeström's (1987; 2001; 2002b; 2004) situated accounts to posit learning as an inevitable and on-going process of conscious and non-conscious thinking and acting facilitated by individual participation and engagement in an organization's practice and goal-directed activities. Drawing on the work of Rogoff (1990), Lave (1993) and Vygotsky (1978), Billett asserts that knowledge is historically, culturally and situationally constituted via the reciprocal and interpretative activities and inter-psychological processes of individuals engaged with, and participating in, an organization's particular social and material settings (Billett 2001b, 2003:3, 2004a:109-110, 2006a).

Billett (2002a:28) reframes individual learning as being mediated by individual ontogenies (life histories) which determine the character and degree of individual *engagement* and *participation* in *co-participatory practices* as constituted in the interaction between *workplace bases* and *workplace affordances*. Workplace bases constitute opportunities for individuals to participate and learn, and are distributed according to a diverse range of socially derived bases such as: individual affiliations, individual standing in organization, employment status, personal relations, workplace cliques and affiliations, first language of employees, educational achievement and/or age (Billett 2001c, 2002a, 2003, 2004a, 2006b). Workplace affordances determine the possibilities and potentials for individual learning, development and progression. Workplace affordances are facilitated by: organizational pedagogic practices which include access to other workers, time to practice and learn, inclusion in knowledge sharing activities, discussion groups, access to knowledge, implementation of training programs, encouragement, attitude and skills of co-workers and/or opportunities to practice. Through articulating how the inter-relation between individuals, workplace bases and workplace affordances in organization influences individual access to opportunities for learning, Billett (2000; 2004a; 2006b) explicitly recognizes the

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

effects of power. Chappell et al. (2003:145) argue, however, that in neglecting to address how workplace pedagogic practices are constituted by and sustain dominant power relations within an organization's social and material arrangements, Billett (2000; 2004a; 2006b) neglects to articulate how individual learning activities facilitate the construction and on-going transformation of individual meanings and identities via the provision of targeted learning initiatives, such as: executive and management residential programs, leadership, management and supervisory skills training, team building skills, assertiveness and confidence training exercises, communication skills, or emotional intelligence training.

#### **3.2.2 Constructivist Learning Conceptions**

Constructivist conceptions purport that learning originates in, and is a product of, social interaction; that individuals learn via cognitive processes of meaning making through engagement in shared organizational activities, mutual exchanges and participation in practice by which domains of knowledge and knowing are actively constructed (Illeris 2003b; Merriam and Caffarella 1999).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 3-8: Constructivist Conceptions

Individual / Organizational			
<b>Learning</b>	<p><b>Individual</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>internal construction of reality by individual via cognitive processes of meaning making in social practices</li> <li>emphasizes the cumulative nature of learning</li> </ul> <p><b>Organizational</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>knowledge resides in the organization as a whole</li> <li>transformations in knowledge through individual action and practice result in conceptual changes across the organization</li> </ul>		
<b>Locus of Learning</b>	<p><b>Extrinsic &amp; Intrinsic</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>social reality is a contingent realization by individuals who constantly construct their social world through the practices of their everyday lives</li> <li>social and material arrangements as mediating individual learning</li> <li>stresses individual engagement in learning</li> </ul>		
<b>Purpose</b>	<p><b>Individual</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>construct knowledge through knowing as an activity</li> </ul> <p><b>Organizational</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>focuses on the construction of meaning from experience</li> </ul>		
<b>Control</b>	<p><b>Individual</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning motivated by rewards provided by the knowledge community &amp; learning depends to a significant extent on the individual's internal drive to understand &amp; promote the learning process</li> </ul>		
<b>Techniques</b>	<p><b>Learning in Context</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning cannot be separated from the context in which it is being used</li> <li>informal exchanges between experienced &amp; less experienced individuals</li> <li>self-directed learning, perspective transformation, reflective practice</li> </ul>		
<b>Knowledge</b>	<p><b>Knowledge as a Social Construction</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>epistemology of practice</li> <li>knowledge is constructed by individuals or groups interacting in particular social and material arrangements               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>knowledge is situated in historical practices</li> <li>knowledge distributed between human &amp; non-human entities</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		
<b>Theorists</b>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p><b>Individual Learning</b></p> <p>John Dewey ([1933] 1991) Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1987) Malcolm Knowles ([1978] 2005) Jean Piaget (1985) Jack Mezirow (1991) David Kolb (1981; 1996)</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p><b>Workplace Learning</b></p> <p>Scott Cook &amp; Dvora Yanow (1995) David Boud (1999; 2003) Silvia Gherardi &amp; Davide Nicolini (2001) Wanda Orlikowski (2002) Davide Nicolini et al (2003) Knud Illeris (2004c) Silvia Gherardi (2006) Elena Antonacopoulou (2006a; 2006c; 2006d; 2006e)</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p><b>Individual Learning</b></p> <p>John Dewey ([1933] 1991) Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1987) Malcolm Knowles ([1978] 2005) Jean Piaget (1985) Jack Mezirow (1991) David Kolb (1981; 1996)</p>	<p><b>Workplace Learning</b></p> <p>Scott Cook &amp; Dvora Yanow (1995) David Boud (1999; 2003) Silvia Gherardi &amp; Davide Nicolini (2001) Wanda Orlikowski (2002) Davide Nicolini et al (2003) Knud Illeris (2004c) Silvia Gherardi (2006) Elena Antonacopoulou (2006a; 2006c; 2006d; 2006e)</p>
<p><b>Individual Learning</b></p> <p>John Dewey ([1933] 1991) Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1987) Malcolm Knowles ([1978] 2005) Jean Piaget (1985) Jack Mezirow (1991) David Kolb (1981; 1996)</p>	<p><b>Workplace Learning</b></p> <p>Scott Cook &amp; Dvora Yanow (1995) David Boud (1999; 2003) Silvia Gherardi &amp; Davide Nicolini (2001) Wanda Orlikowski (2002) Davide Nicolini et al (2003) Knud Illeris (2004c) Silvia Gherardi (2006) Elena Antonacopoulou (2006a; 2006c; 2006d; 2006e)</p>		

Adapted from (Brown and Duguid 1991; Cook and Yanow 1995; Elkjaer 1999, 2003; Gherardi 2006; Merriam and Caffarella 1999:264)

### 3.2.2.1 *Knowing-in-Practice to Learning-in-Practice*

Practice-based understandings of learning are founded in the belief that learning is implicated in the living experience of everyday life as individual participation in social processes (Gherardi 2006; Lave 1993). These understandings emphasize issues of knowing, being and becoming and focus attention on the situated nature of learning (knowing) as not limited to the mind of individuals, but as being intersubjective in terms of active participation in the activities comprising a

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

particular practice (cf. Brown and Duguid 1991; Gherardi 2000b:132; Gherardi and Nicolini 2002). Lave (1996:150) identified that wherever individuals engage in on-going activities that are interdependent, learning is part of their changing participation in changing practices; that it is a facet of participation in a practice of which individuals are composed. Learning and organizing, then, are understood as mutually constitutive processes in which knowledge is not separate from knowing (cf. Antonacopoulou 2006c; Illeris 2004c; Matthews and Candy 1999; Pawlowsky 2001). Consequently, practice-based perspectives of learning direct attention to the on-going (re)constitution of individual meanings and identities as a social process that involves individuals becoming more knowledgeably skilled through active participation in practice. Who an individual is becoming shapes what that individual knows, and what an individual knows is better thought of as *doing* (participation) rather than as *having* something (objective knowledge or Truth) (Gherardi 2006; Gherardi and Nicolini 2002; Lave 1996). The section that follows, outlines Antonacopoulou's (2006a; 2006c; 2006e) and Gherardi's (2000a; 2001; 2006) contrasting practice-based perspectives on learning in organizations.

#### **3.2.2.2 Learning-in-Practise and Social Complexity**

While affirming the importance of perspectives which focus on the situated and negotiated nature of learning, Antonacopoulou's (2006e) conception of *learning-in-practise* combines a constructivist understanding of learning with a complexity/chaos theoretical orientation which posits organizations as patterns that emerge from and are constituted, and shaped by, change (Tsoukas and Chia 2005:186). Drawing on Chia's (2003:108) and Tsoukas and Chia's (2002; 2005:204) process ontology of becoming, Antonacopoulou argues that mainstream conceptions of learning and organizations privilege objective knowledge, instrumental rationality, intentionality and choice, while failing to recognize the heterogeneous, multiple and alinear qualities of social reality as an unfolding and on-going process of change, becoming, learning and organizing (cf. Antonacopoulou 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006e; Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Antonacopoulou et al. 2005; Chia 2003:108). Drawing on the work of Chia (2003:107), she accords primacy to 'process, indeterminacy, flux, formlessness, and incessant change' in order to posit a dynamic conception of organizing,

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

learning and power as being mutually constitutive and emergent constructs. Consequently, Antonacopoulou (2005; 2006d) distinguishes between *practice* and *practise*: *Practice* and *practicing* refer to the institutionalization of activities and routines while *practise* and *practising* focus on the holistic and emergent nature of practice.

Antonacopoulou understands learning, organizing, and power not as separate entities or accomplished events, but as co-emergent enactments of unfolding processes constituted by individuals interactively engaged in and across practices and drawing from the resources and rules of particular social and material arrangements. She highlights three dimensions implicated in learning in organizations as co-emergent processes: *multiplicity of learning levels, inter-connectivity between internal and external forces and engagement in power and politics* (cf. Antonacopoulou 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006e; Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Antonacopoulou et al. 2005). Antonacopoulou's (2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2006e; 2007; 2005) conception of learning-in-practise is a tacit critique of mainstream theoretical preoccupations with formal learning as a direct and deliberate consequence of organizational actions. She asserts that connections between emergent, self-organizing practices form the core of learning-in-practise through which learning incessantly unfolds to continuously (re)constitute an organization's social and material arrangement which connect individuals, systems and artefacts together, and make manifest the tensions and conflicts needed to drive unintentional (informal) individual learning and organizational change.

In regarding organizing, learning and power as co-emergent and co-evolving processes, Antonacopoulou (1999; 2006b) challenges mainstream characterizations of power as an obstacle to learning and posits a fluid perspective of power and learning as being integral to, and emerging from, organizational conditions of heterogeneity and diversity via productive<sup>55</sup> sources of conflict and tensions. In doing so, she correctly highlights that meaningful and engaged learning (re)constitutes individual meanings and identities which, in turn, manifest new sources of conflict and tension that contribute to the heterogeneity and

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<sup>55</sup> Productive refers to the capability for conflicts and tensions to be both enabling and constraining.  
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### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

diversity required for organizational becoming and change (organizational learning) (Antonacopoulou 1999:10). While Antonacopoulou (1999; 2006b) is correct in identifying power as a creative and productive effect which facilitates and constrains learning, her focus on organizing, learning and power as complex and co-emergent processes of becoming risks obfuscating some of the particularistic concerns with the practices, actions and mobilizations which underpin learning, organizing and power relations in organizations.

#### **3.2.2.3 *Knowing-in-Practice and the Situated Curriculum***

Similarly, Gherardi's (2006:xiii) conception of *knowing-in-practice* draws 'no distinction between knowledge (and learning) and action, because both develop simultaneously within a course of action' within particular social and material settings. She contends that mainstream conceptions of organizational learning fail to account for how individual learning is transferred to the organization. Gherardi (2006) asserts that practice-based conceptions address this failure through positing a constructivist view of organizations as bundles of activities in which individual actions are embedded and constituted within everyday practices of organizing. In contrast to Antonacopoulou (1999; 2006b), however, she draws on Latour's (1986; 1987; 1992; 1999) articulation of actor-network theory to foreground materiality, to displace explanations of learning as restricted to individual minds and rationality, and to accord priority to practices over individuals as central phenomena. She asserts practical action and situated, contextual, and pragmatic rationality as central to knowing-in-practice, and views knowledge and learning as co-emergent with the context within which it occurs. Consequently, Gherardi (2006:22) regards knowledge creation as a practical accomplishment which emanates from individual interaction, and participation in, social practices; that *knowledge* and *knowing* are complementary and mutually constitutive such that 'knowing is not separate from doing' and 'new knowledge and knowing lies in the use of knowledge as a tool of knowing' (Cook and Brown 1999:383). Gherardi (2006:112) challenges Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of legitimate peripheral participation, arguing that gaining acceptance in a community of practice involves entering a domain of preconstituted activities and

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

relations in a context of unequal distribution of learning resources characterized by particular power/knowledge relations.

Similar to Billett's (2000; 2004a; 2006b) notion of workplace pedagogies, Gherardi (2006) posits the *situated curriculum* as an alternative to Lave and Wenger's (1991) learning curriculum. She describes the situated curriculum as a set of ordered assignments, activities, and tasks which enable individuals to participate in, and learn through, on-going social interaction in practices that enable them to achieve, sustain, and build their status as competent members of particular organizational contexts. Whereas workplace pedagogies and the learning curriculum centre on learning opportunities related to specific occupations, she asserts that the content of the situated curriculum is closely aligned to the social and material settings of particular practices and work activities. More specifically, Gherardi (2006:131) contends that a situated curriculum inculcates both organizational novices and veterans with: specific skills and tasks related to their organizational role and function, sanctioned criteria of accountabilities, organizational values, and situated patterns of power relations and strategies.

Synthesizing Foucault's (1980a; 1980d; 1986; 1994a; 1994b) conception of power as being coextensive with knowledge, and Callon's (1986) and Latour's (1986) conception of power as translation in network-activity systems, Gherardi (2000b:1060; 2006:2, 62) characterizes practices as situated in specific contexts of power/knowledge that are both pre-reflexive<sup>56</sup> and reflexively constitutive of individuals' context. While her conception is more attuned to the issues of power relations and power/knowledge than Wenger (1998), Lave and Wenger (1991) and Engeström (1987; 2001), Gherardi's (2006) reliance on actor-network theory results in a failure to offer explicit insights into; how power functions to constitute, facilitate or constrain learning; how the effects of power are accomplished; or how individual and collective actions mobilize power resources or capacities to (re)constitute and (re)produce power effects related to learning activities within organizations.

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<sup>56</sup> '...depending on unstated assumptions and shared knowledge for the mutual achievement of sense' Gherardi (2006:2).

### *3.3 Summary and Conclusion*

This chapter demonstrates that the term *learning* has multiple, related meanings. Learning is used: to refer to the *results* of individual learning processes, such as skill development; to describe *what has been learned*; to *designate* the transformation of particular *individual psychological processes* indicative of the *results* of learning; and, to refer to *interaction processes* between individuals and their social settings as *direct or indirect preconditions to internal learning processes* (Antonacopoulou 2006d; Fenwick 2005b; Illeris 2004c). Behaviourist, cognitivist and humanist learning conceptions, for example, adopt an individualist view of learning and knowledge creation in organizations as acquisition and possession in which the organization is positioned as pre-existing or pre-mediating either the individual learning that takes place within it, or the on-going adjustments of organizational routines that constitute it (cf. Antonacopoulou 2005; Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Antonacopoulou et al. 2005; Cook and Brown 1999; Elkjaer 2004). These conceptions privilege explicit over tacit knowledge and individual over collective knowledge, regard individual minds as containers, and adhere to a modernist perspective of *knowledge as objects* that constitute a *true* or *valid* representation of reality that can be possessed, hoarded and shared (cf. Cook and Brown 1999; Elkjaer 2004; Gherardi 2006; Plaskoff 2003; Raelin 2007). These conceptions of learning and knowledge creation fail to account for the multiple modes of knowing in action found in individual and group participation and practice (cf. Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Cook and Brown 1999; Elkjaer 2003; Engeström 1987; Gherardi 2006; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). They regard formal organizational structures and routines as a resource and repository for *legitimate* exercises of power, and regard informal organizational forms as sources for *illegitimate* exercises of power which need to be controlled, managed or eliminated to facilitate organizational learning (Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Clegg et al. 2006). Consequently, behaviourist, cognitivist and humanist learning conceptions neglect the interactive and relational nature of learning as subject to the configuration and reconfiguration of power relations within organizations (cf. Antonacopoulou 2006c; Clegg et al. 2006; Contu and Willmott 2001, 2003; Dierkes et al. 2001; Easterby-Smith and Lyles 2003; Gherardi 2006). Social and constructivist conceptions of learning offer an

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

alternative view of learning as knowing through action, interaction and participation in everyday life and knowledge as provisional, mediated and situated within particular organizations. These conceptions privilege the group, community or practice within which knowing (and learning) is regarded as a practical accomplishment of individual action, interaction and participation, inseparable from and interwoven into the particular social and material arrangements which constitute and configure organizations as a nexus of practices (cf. Antonacopoulou and Chiva 2007; Blackler 1995; Elkjaer 2003; Engeström 1987, 2001; Gherardi 2006). It was demonstrated, however, that, while providing important and complementary insights and understandings to behaviourist, cognitivist and humanist conceptions of learning, social and constructivist conceptions risk minimizing individual experiences and understandings of learning through obfuscating *how* individual learning actually takes place in organizations (Elkjaer 2004). Further, while these conceptions clearly demonstrate greater awareness and sensitivity towards the issues of power and learning in organizations, they continue to obscure *how* power is implicated in learning, either through adopting mainstream modernist understandings of power, or through bracketing out questions of power entirely from examinations of learning in organizations (Fenwick 2005b; Fenwick and Rubenson 2005).

The initial impetus for this study began with Russ Vince's (2004) observation that adopting a perspective which posits that learning processes are directly mediated by power relations will augment researchers' understandings of both organizational learning theory and practice. This perspective begins by recognizing that individuals enter an organization with a life history of experiences, and perspectives on the future which influence their perceptions of learning opportunities and condition the way in which they choose to engage in learning (cf. Antonacopoulou 2006c; Billett 2004a; Boud and Garrick 1999; Illeris 2004a, 2004b). This perspective holds that individual learning is subject to an organization's particular social, power and material arrangements by which specific techniques and mechanisms of power are enacted to manage organizational power/learning tensions through securing individual compliance to organizationally sanctioned interests and preferred outcomes (cf. Akgun et al.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

2003; Fiol et al. 2001; Illeris 2003a, 2004b, 2004c; Thompson and McHugh 1995; Townley 1994). Finally, within this conception, organizations are understood as specific socio-material arrangements comprising constellations of interrelated practices that exert influence on the context, conditions and potential for individual learning in the organization to constitute organizationally sanctioned meanings and identities within individuals (cf. Hase 2002; Knights and Willmott 1985, 1995; Townley 1994).

This study adopts a practice-based approach to understanding power and learning in organizations that recognizes learning as *crafting identities* through *knowing-in-practice* (cf. Gherardi 2000a, 2001, 2006; Gherardi et al. 1998; Lave 1996:157). This practice-based approach recognizes that crafting identities is a social process and becoming more knowledgeably skilled is an aspect of participation in social practice. Who an individual is becoming *shapes* what they *know*, and is better understood as *doing* rather than *having* knowledge, as *knowing* rather than *acquiring* or *accumulating* knowledge (Lave 1996). Learning is understood as the development of new meanings and identities based on participation in a system of situated practices. It is not conceived of as a way of coming to know the world, but as a way of becoming part of the social world and, as such, directly implicates social and power relations between those who know and those who do not (Gherardi et al. 1998:278-279). Learning occurs through active participation in practices, through negotiating the meaning of words, actions, situations and material artefacts situated in particular social and power relations and socio-material arrangements constituting organizations as sites for practice within which knowledge is continuously being (re)constructed and (re)produced and through which knowing-in-practice is being accomplished. Consequently, this empirical examination directs attention to the *situated interactions* or *modes of interplay* by which individual meanings and identities are (re)constituted. This study focuses on generating insights into *how learning is accomplished* within a record company's particular social and material arrangements, and on *how* intermingling modalities, such as domination, authority, manipulation or coercion, power facilitate/constrain individual access to opportunities for learning (cf. Allen 2003; Gherardi 2006).

## 4 Studying Power and Learning in Practice

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*Methodology is seduction – it is an ideologically informed language game in which discourses of persuasion are produced with real consequences. At the “root” of methodological debates ...are questions of knowledge/power and how the world is represented, by whom, and to what end.*  
**Robert Westwood and Stewart Clegg (2003:141)**

The research presented in this dissertation utilizes a practice-based approach to understanding power and learning in UK recorded music organizations that frames learning in terms of knowledge and knowing and situates power as contingent on an organization's particular social relations and socio-material arrangements. Practice-based conceptions regard learning as being a situated and participatory activity that is inseparable from, and conditioned by, the particular socio-historical conditions and material arrangements of the organizations within which individuals act (cf. Billett 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, 2006b; Billett et al. 2002; Fenwick 2005a, 2005b; Gherardi and Nicolini 2002; Gherardi et al. 1998; Schatzki 2002a). *Learning and organizing*, and *knowledge and knowing* are mutually constitutive and coextensive processes in which neither precedes the other (cf. Antonacopoulou 2006c; Illeris 2004c; Matthews and Candy 1999; Pawlowsky 2001).

Practice is a system of activities in which knowing is not separate from doing, and in which learning is a social and participative activity grounded in specific historical conditions resulting from previous practice and transformed into present practice (Gherardi 2000a:215). Practices continuously produce forms of knowledge, objects for knowing, and (re)constitute meanings and identities for individuals actively engaged in an organization's particular social relations and socio-material arrangements. Learning requires access to opportunities to participate in on-going practice. Practice-based empirical research directs attention to the situated intermingling of knowledge, knowing and organizing in specific organizations as a medium for learning, conflict and power struggles between those individuals who know and those who do not (cf. Engeström 1987; Gherardi et al. 1998:278-279). Understanding how power is implicated in the everyday practices through which

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

learning takes place, with or without individual awareness, is the focus of this research.

The particular ways in which power, knowledge and knowing intermingle are determined by the context within which they are enacted; by the particular physical spaces, social and material relations by which individuals and practices are located and positioned in relation to each other within/across an organization's constellation of practices (Allen 2003:2; Foucault 1977, 1994b; Rouse 2001:194; Schatzki 2002a:45). Practice-based conceptions posit organizations as tangled arrangements of power comprising any number of *resources* (ideas, expertise, knowledge, contacts, finance, hierarchies, etc.) which are mobilized to enact intermingling modalities of power by which a succession of *mediating effects* in space and time are produced (Allen 2003:97). Consequently, the focus on arrangements and modalities of power directs attention to the types of interaction or modes of interplay that individuals engage in, rather than the means by which power is being exercised. It emphasizes the specific qualities which characterize particular sets of power relations such as domination, authority, seduction, manipulation or coercion (Allen 2003:116).

Developing an empirical account of power and learning in UK recorded music companies involves understanding the social structure of practice, its power relations, and the conditions for legitimacy which define possibilities for knowledge and knowing in an organization (Gherardi et al. 1998; Lave and Wenger 1991). It requires generating insights into *what is exercised* as power, rather than *how it is exercised*, by attending to the *situated interactions* or *modes of interplay* in which individual meanings and identities are (re)negotiated and (re)constituted through active participation in practice (Allen 2003:116). Accordingly, this research seeks to develop insights into how knowledge/knowing/learning is mobilized to enact power and into how individuals *become* participants, how they *participate* in practices, and how *participants and practices change* through knowledge/knowing/learning. It explores the following questions:

1. How is power enacted to (re)constitute knowledge/knowing/learning in UK recorded music companies?

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

2. How does the mobilization of power resources condition the social settings and material arrangements of UK recorded music companies?
3. How does knowledge/knowing/learning (re)constitute power relations in UK recorded music companies?
4. How is knowledge/knowing/learning mobilized via individual activities aimed at (re)constituting power relations within and across organizational practices?

The section that follows explores the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the research design, and supports the choice of the interpretivist case study methodology for studying power and learning in record music companies.

### ***4.1 Positivist vs. Interpretivist Philosophical Orientations***

Mainstream theorizing on power and learning have traditionally been dominated by positivist philosophical orientations which assert a conventional view of science as an objective process whereby knowledge develops through the accumulation of objective truths *discovered* via previous research initiatives (Astley 1985). Garrick (1999) observes that positivist research strategies focused on individual learning have proven less influential than interpretivist ones due to their failure to provide an adequate representation of the social world. He attributes this to four fundamental assumptions underlying positivist research: first, that the social world approximates the natural world, where phenomena do not occur randomly or arbitrarily but are characterized by order and reason, patterns, causes and effects; second, that reality consists of invariant laws that are objective, independent of individuals, subject to systematic observation and 'scientific' methods; third, that a distinction exists between subjects and objects, between the subjective researcher and the objective world, and between facts and values; and fourth, that quality research avoids subjectivity in order to uncover objective truths (Garrick 1999:148). The assumptions of positivist-based empirical research agendas tend to privilege and legitimate power associated with formal organizational structures, and posit an unproblematic understanding of knowledge as a stable, objective entity that can easily be aggregated and disseminated to promote individual learning in organizations.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 4-1: Positivist & Interpretivist Assumptions

	Positivist	Interpretivist
<b>Ontology</b> - <i>researcher's view of the nature of reality or being</i>	<b>Objective &amp; External</b> Single, stable reality	<b>Subjective &amp; Socially Constructed</b> tangible & intangible multiple changing realities
<b>Epistemology</b> – <i>relationship between the researcher and what is being researched</i>	<b>Objective</b> researcher is independent from what is being studied	<b>Subjective</b> researcher is part of what is being researched and cannot be separated
<b>Axiology</b> – <i>researcher's view of the role of values in research</i>	<b>Value Free</b> values do not influence research or analysis	<b>Value Bound</b> research orientations and analysis cannot be separated from values
<b>Researcher Focus</b>	<b>Facts &amp; Causality</b> law like generalizations, reducing phenomena to simplest elements	<b>In-depth Research</b> details of situation reality behind these details subjective meanings motivating actions
<b>Methodologies</b>	<b>Quantitative</b> <i>Experiments &amp; Surveys</i> large samples measurement verification of hypothesis	<b>Qualitative</b> <i>Case Studies &amp; Convergent</i> Interviewing small samples in-depth investigations subjective interpretation of empirical data

Source (Candy 1991; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Garrick 1999)

Interpretivist philosophical orientations, in contrast, view science as a subjective process that is characterized by wide-ranging, divergent, and competing perspectives that assert different meanings and interpretations onto empirical data to produce contingent and emergent truths. Garrick (1999) contends that interpretivist research strategies have been more successful in examining power and learning due to the emphasis on surfacing meanings associated with individual interactions, experiences and activities understood as being situated in complex social settings and material arrangements. He attributes this success to five fundamental interpretivist assumptions: first, that social phenomena are explainable in terms of multiple interacting factors that are mutually interdependent; second, that the context or social reality of the phenomena being examined is best studied as a whole rather than fragmented into independent and dependent variables; third, that social research is value laden and that the framing, focus and conduct of research is influenced by values held by the researcher; fourth, that complete objectivity in researching social phenomena is extremely difficult if not impossible; and fifth, that the aim is not to uncover invariant laws or predictive generalizations, but to develop detailed understandings of the social reality being studied and the subjective meanings

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

that individuals attach to their particular actions (Candy (1991) cited in Garrick 1999:149). Interpretivist orientations stress that the researcher adopt social and situated perspectives which emphasize that knowledge is embedded in particular contexts, is subject to negotiation within and among practices and legitimated through local power relations.

Table 4-2: Research Design and Philosophical Orientations

Dimension	Empirical Study
Theoretical Framework	<p><b>Practice</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>organizations, learning and power are all enacted in practice as something that people do (Schatzki 2001, 2002a, 2005)</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Learning</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>learning is inseparable from practice and interwoven into the range of workplace processes, activities and interactions (Antonacopoulou 2006c)</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Power</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>power relations condition particular social settings, work structures and dominant values in organizations (Vince 2004)</li> </ul>
Assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>organizations</b> - complex social realities which constitute, and are constituted by, power relations via multiple and overlapping practices competing to advance alternative organizational meanings, activities and goals</li> <li><b>individuals</b> - nexus for multiple practices through which power is mobilized to exert continuous and on-going effects and thereby, mediate individual actions, emotions, experiences, identities and learning</li> </ul>
Philosophical Orientation	<p><b>Subjective Ontology</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>multiple and contingent realities that are socially constructed by individuals according to personal beliefs and value systems</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Interpretivist Epistemology</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>aims of interpretivist research</b> - to develop understandings of particular cases and not to uncover invariant laws or predictive generalizations</li> <li><b>social phenomena</b> - explainable in terms of multiple interacting factors, events and processes wherein cause and effect are mutually interdependent</li> <li><b>context</b> - constituted by tangible and intangible multiple realities is best studied as a whole rather than fragmented into independent and dependent variables</li> <li><b>meanings</b> - are obscured by individual systems of meaning, confusion and retrospection and that complete objectivity in researching social phenomena is consequently extremely difficult</li> <li><b>social research</b> - value laden and that values held by the researcher influence the framing, focusing and conduct of research</li> <li><b>researcher</b> - implicated and inseparable from the phenomena being focused on</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Axiology</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>researcher orientations cannot be separated from personal beliefs and values</li> </ul>

Adopting a practice-based approach involves opting for interpretivist and qualitative methodologies grounded in social constructivist understandings of reality as being subjective, multiple and contingent in which the researcher's personal beliefs and value systems are inseparable from the phenomena being studied. This empirical study adopts an interpretivist case study methodology as

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

best suited to developing insights into the nature of power and learning in UK recorded music companies.

### 4.2 Interpretivist Case Study Methodology

The interpretivist case study methodology enables the researcher to undertake a detailed examination of the social setting within which individual actions and decisions are contextualized, through directing attention to organizational practices constituted by interactions, routines or coordinated actions associated with particular roles, positions and subsystems (Schatzki 2002a, 2005; Yin 2003). Flyvbjerg (2004) observes that positivist case selection strategies and theory building can be enhanced by the strategic or theoretical selection of cases. Siggelkow (2007) concurs that it is preferable to choose particular organizations as case studies because specific organizational characteristics enable the researcher to gain unique insights into social phenomena that would not be possible using random sampling techniques. While Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Yin (2003) articulate theoretical case selection strategies across critical, extreme, unique or revelatory dimensions, and Flyvbjerg (2004) across extreme, maximum variation, critical and paradigmatic dimensions, all agree that theoretical case selection strategies based on alternative dimensions represent greater potential for revealing in-depth insights into the social complexity of organizations.

**Table 4-3: Theoretical Case Selection Strategies**

<b>Theoretical Sample</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cases are selected based on an expectation that the sample is unusually revelatory, represents extreme exemplars or opportunities for unusual research</li><li>• maximizes the utility of information from small samples or single cases</li><li>• theoretical selection of multiple cases can lead to generalization through replication, extension of theory, contrary replication or elimination of alternative explanations</li></ul>
<b>Extreme / Deviant Cases</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cases are chosen that develop insights into unusual cases that are uniquely problematic or exemplary or valuable as a specific tightly defined case</li></ul>
<b>Maximum Variation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cases are chosen to develop insights into the significance of particular phenomena of interest across cases that vary across particular dimensions</li></ul>
<b>Critical Cases</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cases are chosen to develop insights that permit logical deductions of the type, if this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases</li></ul>
<b>Paradigmatic Cases</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• cases are chosen to develop a metaphor or to establish a stream of thought for the domain that the case examines</li></ul>

Source (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007; Flyvbjerg 2004; Miles and Huberman 1994)

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007:25), in particular, argue that cross-comparison of multiple cases creates more robust theory because empirical evidence is grounded across different research settings and situations. Recognizing that findings are considered more robust if they hold across comparable settings that exhibit similar relevant characteristics, this study selected the Warner Music Group, SonyBMG and the Universal Music Group as paradigmatic cases appropriate for establishing insights into how power is implicated in learning within/across record company practices.

### ***4.3 Reliability and Validity***

Competing conceptions of reliability and validity in social research are underpinned by differences in positivist and interpretivist assumptions regarding the nature of social reality. Positivist research designs assume that data are objective indicators of true representations of reality that can be used to assess the validity of hypothesized relations, models, etc. that can, in turn, be applied across different contexts. Interpretivist research designs, in contrast, challenge and reject the possibility that findings in one context are necessarily valid for assessing other social settings, and counter that assessments of reliability and validity can only ensure that knowledge claims acquired through empirical research are defensible.

#### **4.3.1 Reliability**

Positivist conceptions of reliability refer to the consistency of a measure of a concept and involves the consideration of whether or not the measure is stable over time, the indicators which make up the scale (i.e. scale or index) are consistent, and whether or not there is inter-observer consistency (Bryman and Bell 2007:163). Positivist research designs can be characterized as a 'linear series of steps moving from theory to conclusions' where a measurement process 'entails the search for indicators' and, in which, establishing reliability of measures 'is important for assessing their quality' (Bryman and Bell 2007:177). In contrast, interpretivist designs are focused on 'the generation of theories rather than the testing of theories that are specified at the outset' in order to develop in-depth insights into socially complex phenomena. Consequently, reliability relates to

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

establishing the trustworthiness or authenticity of research which can be addressed through identifying and clearly articulating research positions across five significant dimensions: researcher status position; social situations, conditions and contexts; analytic constructs and premises; data collection methods and analysis; and case selection and empirical data sampling strategies (Bryman and Bell 2007:408, 411; LeCompte and Goetz 1982).

**Table 4-4: Interpretivist Considerations for Reliability**

Issues	Concerns	Considerations
<b>Researcher Status Position</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>interpretivist empirical research is conditioned by the social relationship of the researcher with participants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>articulating the relationship of the researcher to the phenomena being studied</li> </ul>
<b>Social Situations, Conditions &amp; Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>social situations and conditions can affect the nature of empirical data being gathered</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>delineation of the physical, social and interpersonal contexts in which empirical data is gathered enhances transparency and reliability</li> </ul>
<b>Analytic Constructs &amp; Premises</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>different understandings of research constructs, definitions or units of analysis can lead to findings that differ in emphasis and interpretation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>outlining theoretical premises, assumptions, metatheories or defining constructs which underpin shape empirical research and shape the language and methods of analysis enhances reliability</li> </ul>
<b>Data Collection Methods &amp; Analysis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>reliability relies on the potential for subsequent researchers to reconstruct original methodological and analytical strategies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>precise identification and thorough description of the strategies used to collect and analyze empirical data</li> </ul>
<b>Case Selection &amp; Empirical Data Sampling Strategies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>analysis and interpretation of findings are influenced by decisions related to identifying and selecting appropriate case studies or case sites and sources and samples of empirical data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>careful delineation of the case selection and empirical data sampling strategies used to address research aims and research questions</li> </ul>

Adapted from (LeCompte and Goetz 1982)

### 4.3.2 Validity

Positivist accounts of validity are generally concerned with providing an indication of the accuracy of the findings of empirical research across three dimensions: *construct validity*, *internal validity* and *generalization/external validity* (LeCompte and Goetz 1982; Yin 2003). Interpretivist accounts, however, are characterized by competing and nuanced understandings of what constitutes validity due to broader concerns for developing alternative methods in assessing the reliability of interpretivist empirical research (cf. Alvesson and Deetz 2000; Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2000; Alvesson and Willmott 2003). Eisenhardt and Howe (1992:656) observe that assessing the validity of interpretivist research rests in setting appropriate standards to ensure that empirical research is *cogently developed*,

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*competently produced, coherent with respect to previous work, important and ethical, and comprehensive.* The next section compares the three positivist dimensions of validity with a range of alternative interpretivist research considerations for assessing reliability or ensuring the validity of empirical research.

### **4.3.2.1 Construct Validity**

Positivist conceptions of construct validity refer to the extent to which the measurement being employed in the research design conforms to a particular theoretical model and actually measures what is intended to be measured (Saunders et al. 2007). In contrast, interpretivist conceptions emphasize the importance of developing cogent research designs which are coherent within a particular research tradition and previous work in the field, and which demonstrate a fit between the research questions, methodology and the nature of the social setting under investigation. Construct validity within interpretivist research traditions can be established using research protocols, case study protocols, interview guides and so on. Documenting a chain of evidence enhances construct validity through providing a detailed account of the processes and procedures involved in conducting the empirical research to enable readers to assess the reliability and validity of the findings (Benbasat et al. 1987).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 4-5: Interpretivist Considerations for Construct Validity

Positivist	Interpretivist	Concerns	Considerations
<b>Construct Validity</b>	<b>Coherent</b>		
	<i>Extent to which empirical study is coherent within a research tradition and previous work.</i>	Is the connection to an existing body of knowledge or theory clear?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• systematic literature review</li> <li>• clearly articulated theoretical framework</li> </ul>
	<b>Dependability</b> <i>Minimization of researcher idiosyncrasies</i>	Is reference made to accepted methodological and analytical procedures?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reflective methodological account</li> </ul>
<i>Establishes that the research methods are appropriate to the nature of the questions being asked.</i>	<b>Trustworthiness</b>		
	<b>Cogently Developed</b>		
	<i>Extent to which there is a fit between research questions, methodology, and inferences drawn from empirical materials.</i>	<p>Has there been adequate provision of detailed information on the research process provided to the reader?</p> <p>Are the research methods appropriate to the nature of the research questions being asked?</p> <p>Does the sensitivity of the methods match the needs of the research question?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• multiple sources of data, multiple methods, and/or multiple cases</li> <li>• chain of evidence</li> <li>• pilot study</li> <li>• fieldnotes</li> <li>• research protocol</li> <li>• case study protocol</li> <li>• draft case study report for participants</li> </ul>

Source (Alvesson 1996; Ezzy 2002; Flyvbjerg 2004; Guba and Lincoln 2005; Gubrium and Holstein 1997; Johnson et al. 2006; Lewis and Ritchie 2003; Lincoln 1995; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Merriam 1998; Seale 1999)

### 4.3.2.2 Internal Validity

Internal validity refers to the process of making inferences from empirical data in which a research design must anticipate the correctness of inferences made from the data, and must adequately consider rival explanations or possibilities for findings (Yin 2003). Alternative interpretivist conceptions of internal validity focus on demonstrating that data collection and analysis techniques are competently and effectively applied to the research phenomena, and that the empirical study is credible in presenting authentic accounts that are representative of different perspectives and respectful of/to all participants involved (Eisenhardt and Howe 1992). While the range of approaches available for enhancing internal validity are contested, interpretivist considerations for internal validity include: triangulation techniques using multiple cases, data sources or methods to confirm emergent findings<sup>57</sup> (Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Merriam 1998; Silverman 2001); member checks or respondent validation through developing case study reports to elicit

<sup>57</sup> Many interpretivist researchers would not consider this an alternative to validity, especially when used to strengthen the findings of a single case study.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

feedback on the plausibility of the findings from research participants<sup>58</sup> (Merriam 1998; Silverman 2001); long term observation of the research site to gather data over an extended period of time to increase validity; peer review of findings as they emerge from the research; and participatory or collaborative modes which includes individuals who are the objects of research in all phases of the study from conceptualization to writing up (Merriam 1988).

**Table 4-6: Interpretivist Considerations for Internal Validity**

Positivist	Interpretivist	Concerns	Considerations
<b>Internal Validity</b>  <i>Establishes the degree to which the research findings are representative of the 'real' world.</i>	<b>Competently Produced</b>  <i>Extent to which there is evidence that data collection and analysis techniques are competently and effectively applied.</i>	Are fieldwork, data collection, and record keeping carried out systematically and comprehensively?  Does the range of empirical materials collected contribute to understandings of the multiple voices or perspectives evident in the research situation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>nVivo and other computer assisted techniques</li> <li>triangulation via multiple sources of data, multiple methods and/or multiple cases</li> <li>respondent validation facilitated through eliciting participant feedback on case study reports</li> <li>long term observation of research site</li> <li>peer review of emergent findings</li> <li>participative or collaborative modes of research</li> </ul>
	<b>Credibility</b> <i>Authentic representations</i>  <i>Consistency</i>	Is there adequate discussion of how themes, concepts, and categories were derived from the data?	
	<b>Important &amp; Ethical</b>  <i>Extent to which empirical study is relevant and respectful.</i>	Does the design provide organizational respondents with sufficient opportunities to cover relevant issues and adequately portray their experiences?  Was the environment and quality of questioning sufficiently effective for participants to fully express / explore multiple viewpoints?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>multiple sources of data, multiple methods and/or multiple cases</li> <li>responsive and reflective semi-structured interviewing techniques</li> <li>informed consent</li> <li>neutral and safe interview sites</li> </ul>

Source: (Alvesson 1996; Ezzy 2002; Flyvbjerg 2004; Guba and Lincoln 2005; Gubrium and Holstein 1997; Johnson et al. 2006; Lewis and Ritchie 2003; Lincoln 1995; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Merriam 1998; Seale 1999)

### 4.3.2.3 External Validity/Generalization

Generalization or external validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. While positivist conceptions identify issues related to external validation or generalization as a central failing of interpretivist case study research methodologies, Flyvbjerg

<sup>58</sup> A limitation of this technique is participants' ability to identify and articulate insights or understandings, they may only be partial or incomplete.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

(2004:425) counters 'one can often generalize on the basis of a single case and the case study may be central to scientific development as supplement or alternative to other methods'. Similarly, Numagami (1998) observes that generalization is irrelevant because law-like regularities in social research are ephemeral and cannot be looked upon as evidence of invariant laws. Given the reflective capacity of individuals, Numagami (1998) asserts that a realistic goal of interpretivist case study research is to reject generalization strategies in favour of encouraging reflective dialogue among researchers and practitioners to generate reasoned discourse.

**Table 4-7: Interpretivist Considerations for External Validity/Generalization**

Positivist	Interpretivist	Concerns	Considerations
<b>External Validity / Generalization</b>  <i>Establishes whether the findings of one study can be applied to other situations.</i>	<b>Comprehensive</b>  <i>Extent to which there is a balance between the technical and theoretical quality, the scientific and practical value, and importance of the study.</i>	Are the case study sites characterized by common issues and challenges?  Are congruencies and variances identified across each of the case study sites?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• theoretical/purposive case selection strategies</li> <li>• purposive data sampling strategies</li> <li>• systematic data management and conditioning</li> <li>• rich, thick description</li> <li>• reflective dialogue with peers</li> </ul>
	<b>Transferability</b>  <i>Applicability</i>  <i>Confirmability</i>	Are readers able to determine how closely their situations match the research situation and whether findings can be transferred?	

Source: (Alvesson 1996; Ezzy 2002; Flyvbjerg 2004; Guba and Lincoln 2005; Gubrium and Holstein 1997; Johnson et al. 2006; Lewis and Ritchie 2003; Lincoln 1995; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Merriam 1998; Seale 1999)

Interpretivist conceptions adopt broader understandings of external validity/generalization articulated variously as authenticity, confirmability, trustworthiness, and consistency (cf. Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2000; Lincoln 1995; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Merriam 1988, 1998). Alternative interpretivist considerations focus on enhancing the possibility of generalizing findings through adopting theoretical/purposive case selection strategies which identify cases in terms of the features or processes of interest (Silverman 2001); maximizing diversity in the phenomena to enable readers to apply the findings to a greater range of situations<sup>59</sup> (Merriam 1988); and through promoting techniques which encourage rich, thick description<sup>60</sup> of the case studies that enable readers to identify similarities in their particular situations. If case studies are unique, then

<sup>59</sup> Thus variation and diversity is achieved through purposeful sampling of cases (Merriam 1988).

<sup>60</sup> Sufficient detail is provided to enable readers to determine how closely their situations match the research situation and whether findings can be transferred.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

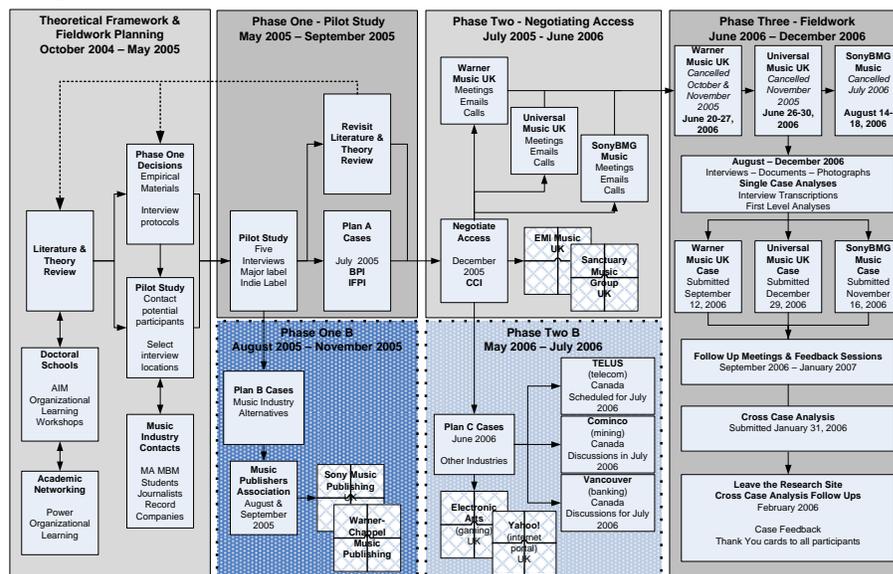
generalizability is an unreasonable criterion, as single case study research may also generate significant insights into the phenomenon being studied.

In summary, rigorous interpretivist research designs are facilitated through the conscious adaptation of broad definitions that resonate directly with interpretivist concerns and conceptions of quality: reliability as sustainable research; validity as well-grounded research; and generalization as authenticity, confirmability, trustworthiness, and consistency. The greatest strength in adopting an interpretivist case study methodology is that it enables empirical researchers to seek in-depth insights and understandings of the *how* and *what* questions of individual actions and practices in naturally occurring settings, to analyze what individuals actually do within the socially complex settings and material arrangements of organizations. In beginning with clearly articulated perspectives, interpretivist researchers effectively address issues of reliability through providing persuasive and evidence-based insights that have the potential to influence practices.

### 4.4 Research Strategy

This section provides an account of the interpretivist case study methodology conducted from October 2004 to December 2006 across three phases: Phase One, the pilot study; Phase Two, negotiating access; and Phase Three, the fieldwork.

Figure 4-1: Research Phases

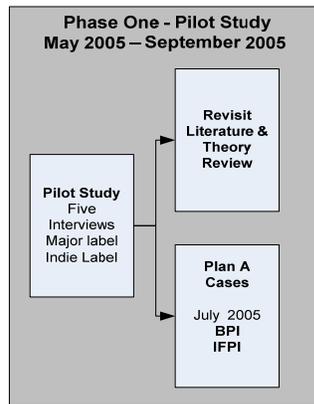


## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 4.4.1 Phase One: Pilot Study and Plan A Case Selection

The pilot study, conducted from May 2005 to September 2005, was designed to

Figure 4-2: Research Phase One - Pilot Study



test assumptions and identify any issues related to the quality, validity, and credibility of the research design and associated processes and procedures, including: testing a range of technologies and software applications for fieldwork, data management and analysis; assessing the appropriateness of semi-structured interviews for the research aims and research questions; developing, testing and modifying the range, order and wording of interview guide questions to ensure

that they were respectful to interview subjects and elicited relevant responses; identifying documents and other empirical materials for collection during the fieldwork phase; applying rigorous and reflexive fieldwork practices including keeping reflective fieldnotes on the efficacy of the pilot study; confirming and adjusting assumptions related to case selection strategies and empirical data sampling strategies; and identifying alternative case study sites to mitigate issues related to negotiating access to the preferred sites. Augmented by refinements to theoretical understandings generated from a parallel review of relevant literature, the pilot study facilitated substantive insights that contributed to iterative improvements in the research design and strategy across a number of dimensions.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 4-8: Pilot Study Outcome: Final Research Protocol

Dimension	Pilot Study Focus	Implications for Case Study Research
<b>Technologies &amp; Applications</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>nVivo</li> <li>Dragon Speak Voice Recognition</li> <li>iPod + iTalk microphone</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a range of technologies were tested and explored</li> <li>appropriate technologies were identified for use during case study fieldwork</li> <li>shorter ramp up time for case study fieldwork</li> </ul>
<b>Case Study Sites</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>assessed the viability of research in small versus large record companies</li> <li>gauged the content, quality and potential of responses across these two parameters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>large record companies assessed as being more appropriate to the research focus</li> <li>EMI, Universal Music Group, Warner Music Group UK and SonyBMG targeted for case study research</li> </ul>
<b>Alternative Case Study Sites</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>alternative case study sites identified based on the optimal characteristics of large record companies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>identified music publishing companies as alternative case study sites</li> <li>back up organizations if access to case study sites proved difficult</li> <li>parallel process while negotiating access to large record companies</li> </ul>
<b>Semi-structured Interviews</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>confirmed value of semi- structured interviews</li> <li>illustrated challenges inherent to offsite interviewing in public places</li> <li>clarified the personal characteristics required for interview samples</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>interviews to take place on site in controlled environment</li> <li>purposive, stratified sample strategy – defined across personal characteristics, roles, responsibilities and functions</li> <li>decision made to clarify interviewee sampling characteristics while negotiating access</li> </ul>
<b>Interview Guide</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>questions tested across different roles, responsibilities and functions in large and small recorded industry companies</li> <li>tested for wording, order, language use and for the responses elicited</li> <li>questions tested for suitable probes and prompts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>interview guide underwent four iterations prior to final version</li> <li>questions, order of questions, language use all settled prior to case study fieldwork</li> <li>researcher was able to rehearse and refine interview practice with interview guides prior to case study fieldwork</li> </ul>
<b>Documents</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>range of documents identified as key source to complement interview materials</li> <li>smaller organizations identified as having limited documentation available for study</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>large organizations identified as more optimal for gathering range of documentation</li> <li>decision made to specify the range of documents required while negotiating access</li> <li>added site photographs to this list</li> </ul>
<b>Fieldnotes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>developed fieldwork journal templates using EXCEL</li> <li>tested and refined this during the pilot study fieldwork</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>formal and systematized method for recording reflections, observations etc. in fieldnotes developed and tested prior to case study fieldwork</li> </ul>

The pilot study demonstrated that it was important to select and interview individuals from a range of roles, levels, functions, gender, race and experience in order to surface competing and complementary insights and understandings. Further, it confirmed the value of pursuing a purposive and stratified sampling strategy for arranging interviews. The pilot study findings established that individuals working for small independent record companies were not able to furnish relevant responses to some interview questions due to the limited nature

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

of organizational relationships characterized by low permanent staffing levels, significant numbers of unpaid workers, and the general absence of formalized processes and procedures. While these organizations might represent ideal sites for further research, they did not represent optimum case sites for the purposes of this research. Consequently, utilizing a theoretical/paradigmatic case selection strategy, EMI Music UK, Warner Music UK, Universal Music Group and SonyBMG were targeted as ideal case study sites because they operate across multiple territories; are characterized by complex hierarchical structures; feature large workforces with specialization and diversity across roles, functions and levels; and had documents and archival material available for analysis.

Table 4-9: Methodological Decisions: Research Strategy/Design

Dimension	Pilot Study Conclusions
<b>Case Selection Strategy</b>	<p><b>Theoretical/Paradigmatic Strategy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>theoretical selection of multiple cases</b> - leads to generalization through replication, extension of theory, contrary replication or elimination of alternative explanations</li> <li>• <b>paradigmatic cases</b> - four largest UK recorded music companies identified as optimal sites based on the expectation because they offer extended opportunities to gain insights power and learning</li> </ul>
<b>Construct Validity</b>	<p><b>Purposive Sampling Strategy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>multiple viewpoints and perspectives</b> – empirical data to represent perspectives across roles, levels and functions</li> <li>• <b>inclusivity</b> - the criteria used for selection should be inclusive of the known range of constituencies within each organization</li> <li>• range of empirical materials collected should contribute to understandings of the multiple voices or perspectives evident across each of the case study sites</li> </ul>
<b>Internal Validity</b>	<p><b>Triangulation / Respondent Validation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>triangulation</b> - through selection of multiple cases and multiple sources of empirical data - documents, photographs and field notes</li> <li>• <b>respondent validation</b> – case study reports to be taken back to participating organizations for comments and feedback</li> </ul>
<b>External Validity / Generalization</b>	<p><b>Replication/Transferability</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>theoretic/paradigmatic</b> - theoretical sample of paradigmatic cases in the UK recorded music industry enhances generalization through replication</li> <li>• <b>common issues and challenges</b> - characterized by variation in the socio-historical conditions and resources utilized to address issues</li> <li>• <b>congruence</b> - across each of the case study sites demonstrates contributes to replication or transferability of findings</li> <li>• <b>rich, thick description</b> – provide comprehensive case study descriptions and analyses</li> </ul>
<b>Researcher Bias</b>	<p><b>Reflexivity</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>researcher reflexivity</b> – surfacing assumptions</li> </ul>

As Table 4-9 demonstrates, in providing a platform to test a range of empirical assumptions and techniques across a number of dimensions, the pilot study served to pre-emptively identify and address a number of empirical issues and

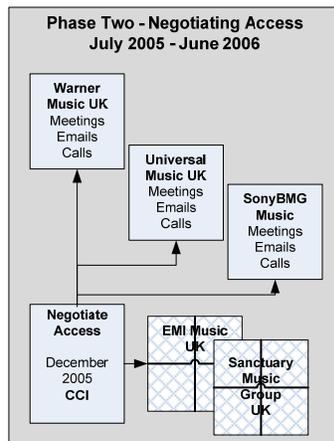
## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

challenges essential to assessing the quality and validity of the research. Adopting an interpretivist research approach provided enhanced opportunities to validate the research through affording increased opportunities to triangulate across multiple cases, methods, and samples; providing the opportunity to replicate the strategy across case study sites. Issues concerning construct, internal and external validity were thus addressed.

### 4.4.2 Phase Two: Negotiating Access

Conducted from July 2005 to June 2006, Phase Two centred on negotiating research access to the targeted organizations and represented the most difficult

Figure 4-3: Phase Two - Negotiating Access



and prolonged challenge addressed during the course of this empirical study. Key entry points

and contacts for negotiating access to these organizations were identified through initial discussions with personal contacts, and with representatives from the British Phonographic Industry Association (BPI)<sup>61</sup> and the International Federation of Phonographic Industries (IFPPI). As

human resource and training and development managers lacked sufficient influence to grant access, Vice-Presidents and Directors of Human

Resources were approached. UMG was the first organization to agree to participate. However, there were significant challenges in obtaining access. During initial discussions, it was agreed that on-site interviews and document collection would take place between October and November 2005. By October 2005, UMG had engaged external consultants to define and implement a series of initiatives designed to identify new competencies and redefine roles and responsibilities as part of corporate wide downsizing strategies. Concerned with signalling which individuals would be staying and which would be laid off, UMG delayed access to their site for eight months during which time the consultants completed their

<sup>61</sup> The BPI represents over 320 recorded music companies in the UK, whose membership includes EMI Music UK, Warner Music UK, Universal Music Group and SonyBMG.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

work, lay-offs were announced, and employees were invited to re-apply and re-interview for their positions under a new competency-based scheme.

Despite arranging meetings and discussions from August 2005 to June 2006, securing access to EMI proved unsuccessful. During initial meetings, EMI's Director of Human Resources expressed strong interest but later declined by email citing that they were too busy to participate and would reconsider at a later date. After failing to gain a second meeting with the Director of Human Resources, a meeting was arranged via a music industry contact with the Vice-President of Governmental Affairs whose mandate included education. While she expressed support for the project and agreed to a follow up meeting, no progress was made after four months of unanswered communications. Eventually, a contact working in EMI arranged an introduction with two training managers who agreed, in principle, to participate. They later declined citing that the Director of Human Resources had again refused access because training and development was a strategic competency that they did not want to compromise<sup>62</sup>.

Negotiating and securing access to SBMG also proved very difficult. From August 2005 to June 2006, SonyBMG was experiencing major organizational change and restructuring in response first, to internal challenges brought about by the Sony Music and BMG Music merger in 2004, and second, to the market uncertainty posed by new and emerging digital music technologies. As a consequence of the merger between Sony and BMG, there had been significant lay-offs in both organizations in 2004, followed by the requirement that employees from both companies re-apply, re-interview, and compete for roles in the newly merged organization. While SBMG was immersed in a wholesale organizational review of policies, processes and procedures, access was further hindered by the appointment of a new Senior Vice-President of Human Resources in December 2005, a new Chairman in June 2006, and by the high levels of turnover that ensued. While a number of well-placed individuals acted as referrals for this research project, it proved extremely difficult to arrange a preliminary meeting

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<sup>62</sup> It became apparent later in the research process that training and development practices within EMI were in disarray and that the organization was struggling to rectify this. On hindsight, that the Director of Human Resources refused to participate can be viewed as a corporate attempt to save face.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

with the new Senior Vice-President of Human Resources. After making a series of unsuccessful cold calls and after sending a number of emails from March 2006 to May 2006, a meeting was arranged for May 2006. Upon agreeing to participate, her Personal Assistant (PA) was designated as the primary contact for the research project in SBMG. Research access was initially agreed to for July 2006 but was cancelled at the last minute and re-scheduled to late August/early September 2006.

As with SBMG, following a number of emails, a successful cold call with the newly appointed Director of Human Resources of WMG resulted in the expression of strong interest in participating in the research. A Human Resource manager was identified as the primary organizational contact. After a successful initial meeting in September 2005, research access was agreed to for early October 2005 but subsequently cancelled by phone message on the first day of scheduled interviews. A number of follow up meetings were arranged and cancelled at the last minute, while phone and email communications remained unanswered for a period of nine months. A meeting was finally arranged for early June 2006 through an in-person cold call at WMG reception during which access dates were confirmed.

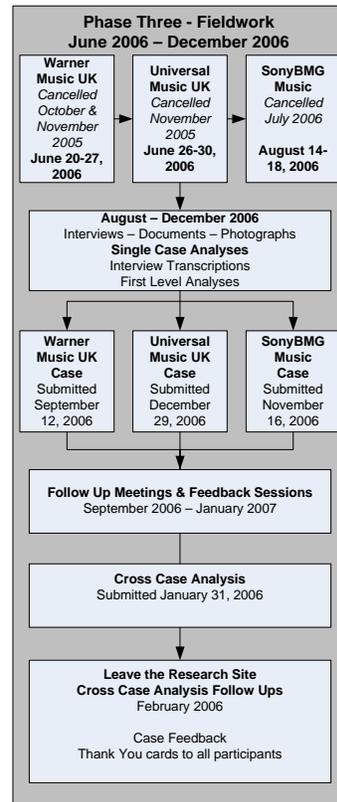
Prior to initial meetings, each organization was emailed a one-page research overview for discussion, which outlined the research process and mutual expectations involved in undertaking the process. This was followed up in subsequent meetings by two one-page research protocols which addressed overall data collection requirements, the mutual obligations entailed in arranging on-site interviews and a list of potential documents required for analysis. In order to allay any fears or concerns regarding the nature of the research project and the extent of the organization's commitment, these two protocols were presented as hard copies during meetings arranged to discuss and negotiate the terms of access, ensuring that any questions or concerns could be immediately addressed and amicably resolved.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 4.4.3 Phase Three: Fieldwork

During negotiations for access, agreement was secured from all of the primary

Figure 4-4: Phase Three - Fieldwork



contacts that individuals would be selected and invited to participate in interviews based on a number of personal and professional characteristics. In each organization, the importance of including individuals who had refused or expressed dissatisfaction with learning, training, and development activities in the organization was emphasized. Support from the organizations' Directors of Human Resources offered organizational legitimacy to the project, ensured a representative sample of interview respondents and facilitated document collection. Individuals and departments within all of the organizations proved responsive to requests for interviews, cooperated in providing documents, and approved taking on-site photographs.

The majority of the fieldwork across all three sites took place between June and August 2006, after which additional interviews were conducted with temporary workers and work experience students and supplementary documents were identified and collected from the case study organizations. To enhance reliability and validity, a respondent validation strategy was pursued wherein each case study organization was provided with a case study report and a cross-case analysis of the preliminary findings. Each organization was encouraged to provide feedback and all affirmed that the reports represented authentic and credible accounts. In addition, follow up meetings were scheduled with research participants and Senior Executives to debrief the study and to discuss the implications of the findings to their organizations. Upon leaving each research site, all interview participants and all individuals who had facilitated access, were sent a card thanking them for their participation and assistance.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

### ***4.5 Data Collection***

In order to address concerns with quality, validity, and reliability, credible case study research draws on multiple sources of empirical material to enhance opportunities for triangulating findings across sources and facilitating replication across case study sites. Drawing on the findings of the pilot study that indicated that time and resources would be limited, semi-structured interviews, documents and informal observations were identified as optimal methods for data collection.

#### **4.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews**

Interviews represent rich accounts of understandings, meanings, experiences, knowledge, ideas and impressions about what is relevant and important to individuals working in organizations (Alvesson 1996; Barley and Kunda 2001). Interviews conducted during the pilot study provided insights into the final composition of the interview guide and into the range of personal, functional, and demographic characteristics required to represent multiple voices and perspectives in UK recorded music companies. During the main fieldwork phase, interviews were conducted in private offices located in neutral spaces within each organization<sup>63</sup> and organized in blocks of three to four per day, with time scheduled between each interview to: accommodate longer interviews, to facilitate backups of the digital files from the iPod to the laptop, and to provide time to record reflective fieldnotes and informal observations. All interviews were fully transcribed and checked for accuracy by a second person prior to coding activities.

##### **4.5.1.1 Interview Guide**

In framing the preliminary interview guide, great care was taken to ensure that the questions, probes and prompts were worded in a manner that was both relevant and comprehensible to respondents, responsive to the research questions, and reflected the literature on power and organizational and workplace learning. The preliminary format was informed by an extended literature review, personal experience in the music industry, and by informal discussions with music industry insiders. The final version was prepared after four revisions undertaken

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<sup>63</sup> Neutral spaces were defined as offices not associated or in proximity to Human Resources and the interviewees own department.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

during the pilot study, in response to interviewee reactions and the insights generated into the effectiveness of the questions, probes and prompts in eliciting responses relevant to the research questions.

### 4.5.1.2 Interview Sample

Interview sampling strategies involve decisions regarding which individuals should be interviewed and which settings, events, or social processes are open to examination. They represent preliminary analytical decisions, which, in conjunction with research questions and the time and resources available to the researcher, function to delimit subsequent analysis and interpretation and, ultimately, influence the types of conclusions that can be drawn from the empirical data. Recognizing that this research project should contribute to an understanding of the multiple voices or perspectives evident across organizational roles, levels and functions within each of the case study sites, a purposive and stratified sampling strategy was pursued. During the course of the empirical research a sample of 52 individuals across UMG, WMG, and SonyBMG were selected for semi-structured interviews based on characteristics identified as significant during the pilot study: gender, ethnicity, education, level and function, length of organizational experience and industry experience.

#### Gender, Ethnicity and Education

Gender, ethnicity, and previous educational achievement were identified as important individual characteristics that exert an influence on how individuals participate and are afforded participation in organizational power and learning relations.

	WMG UK	UMG UK	SBMG	Total	% Breakdown <small>(Rounded off)</small>
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	10	12	9	31	60%
Female	7	8	6	21	40%
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Caucasian	16	17	13	46	88%
Non-Caucasian	1	3	2	6	12%
<b>Higher Education</b>					
HE	13	11	10	34	65%
Non-HE	4	9	5	18	35%
<b>Total Interviews</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100%</b>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### Levels and Function

Developing a rich understanding of how power and learning relations are constituted within record companies requires insights within and across organizational levels and functions.

*Level:* the aggregated breakdown of interviews by level was 6% executive level roles, 46% management level roles and 48% non-management roles (includes others).

	Warner Music UK	Universal Music UK	Sony/BMG Music	Total	% Breakdown <small>(rounded off)</small>
Executive	1	1	1	3	6%
Manager	9	12	3	24	46%
Non-Manager	6	5	11	22	42%
Temporary Worker	1	0	0	1	2%
Work Experience	0	2	0	2	4%
<b>Total Interviews</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Function:* the aggregated breakdown of interviews by function was 6% Artist & Repertoire (A&R), 8% Sales, 8% Human Resources (HR), 10% Personal Assistants (PAs), 12% Finance, 13% licensing and 33% Marketing, Press, and Promotions.

Parameter	Warner Music UK	Universal Music UK	Sony/BMG Music	Total	% Breakdown <small>(rounded off)</small>
Marketing / Press & Promotions	3	6	8	17	33%
Licensing	3	1	3	7	13%
Finance	3	1	1	5	11%
Personal Assistants (PA)	3	1	1	5	10%
Human Resources (HR)	1	1	2	4	8%
Sales	2	2	0	4	8%
Artist & Repertoire (A&R)	1	2	0	3	6%
Other	1	6	0	6	11%
<b>Total Interviews</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100%</b>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

The inclusion of these characteristics within the sample ensured that competing perspectives and experiences of learning, training, and development were represented through the provision of responses that reflected different organizational and functional priorities, and differing levels of access to organizational information and knowledge.

### Industry and Organizational Experience

Industry and organizational experience are important dimensions for developing insights into how the effects of industry experience and/or organizational experience influence perspectives on and capabilities related to power and learning in recorded music companies.

*Industry Experience:* the interviews covered a wide range of years involved in the music industry and, as a consequence, drew on individual pre-technological understandings (pre CD), post-physical technological understandings (post-CD pre-Internet) and digital technological understandings (Internet to post-Napster).

**Table 4-13: Industry Experience (Years)**

Industry Experience	Warner Music UK	Universal Music UK	Sony/BMG Music	Total	% Breakdown <small>(rounded off)</small>
<b>Years in Industry</b>					
<1	1	0	1	2	4%
1-4	5	4	4	13	25%
4-7	0	5	4	9	17%
7-10	3	4	2	9	17%
10-15	2	2	1	5	10%
15-20	3	2	2	7	13.5%
20+	3	3	1	7	13.5%
<b>Total Interviews</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Organizational Experience:* the interview sample included responses from new hires, industry veterans, interns, and temporary workers which characterized different perspectives on and experiences of learning, training, and development, and different understandings of power relations.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 4-14: Organizational Experience (Years)

Parameter	Warner Music UK	Universal Music UK	Sony/BMG Music	Total	% Breakdown (rounded off)
<b>Years in Organization</b>					
<1	4	2	1	7	13%
1-4	5	6	8	19	37%
4-7	5	5	4	14	27%
7-10	0	3	1	4	8%
10-15	1	3	0	4	8%
15-20	0	0	1	1	2%
20+	2	1	0	3	5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Interview Length

The total time represented by research interviews was 3229 minutes (54 hours) with average interview times of: WMG - 67 minutes, UMG - 59 minutes and SBMG - 62 minutes. Across all interviews, the range was 32-97 minutes and the average interview time was 62 minutes. All interviews were fully transcribed, annotated and corrected for errors during the main fieldwork phase before being imported into nVivo for analysis and interpretation.

### 4.5.2 Documents

The pilot study demonstrated that, while individuals were able to articulate personal experiences and responses to learning within organizations, many were not able to contextualize these in terms of broader organizational policies, processes, or practices. Contributing factors include: some of the pilot study sites were too small to have formal organizational practices and processes related to learning; in the larger organizations, time pressures made it difficult for individuals to develop perspectives beyond the demands of their role and function; and in some cases, individuals did not have convenient access to this information. In the course of conducting the pilot study, it became apparent that major record companies were an important source of documents required to facilitate comparisons and triangulate findings with the content of semi-structured interviews and that access to documents would have to be negotiated early on in the fieldwork process. Consequently, 346 organizational and researcher-

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

generated documents were collected and conditioned for import into nVivo for analysis and interpretation.

### 4.5.2.1 Organizational Documents

Organizational documents refer to materials that were present in the organization prior to the empirical research. These included both public records (i.e. annual reports) and confidential materials developed as work products by various individuals and functions within the organization, including: organizational charts, individual appraisals and assessments, training course materials, emails, meeting minutes, and employee policy and procedure handbooks. As per the research protocol, the majority of the documents were collected as digital files. Extensive notes were taken on the content of non-digital files and PDF files were created from scans prior to importing them into nVivo.

Parameter	Warner Music	Universal Music	Sony/BMG Music	Total
Annual Reports	3	3	3	9
Administration	8	19	36	63
Appraisals / Assessment	3	10	5	18
Contracts	0	3	3	6
Training Course Materials	13	72	13	98
Communications / Minutes	1	1	4	6
Organization Charts	2	1	1	4
Policies & Procedures	1	27	3	31
<b>Totals</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>235</b>

Organizational documents provided insights into organizational power relations through articulating organizational perspectives, intentions or rationales for pursuing learning, training or development as a strategic response to new and emerging digital music technologies. They also provided an important counterpoint to the data collected during interviews across roles, levels and functions within the organization, and enhanced reliability and validity through triangulation of multiple sources of empirical data.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 4.5.2.2 Researcher-Generated Documents

During data collection activities, handwritten/typed fieldnotes, memos, observations, diagrams and reflections recorded immediately after each interview, meeting or communication, were compiled into a fieldwork journal and imported into nVivo for analysis and interpretation activities.

Table 4-16: Researcher Generated Documents

Parameter	Warner Music	Universal Music	Sony/BMG Music	Total
Gender Breakdown	1	1	1	3
Photographs	21	70	13	104
Miscellaneous	1	3		4
Totals	23	74	14	111

Additionally, each organization provided a complete gender breakdown to facilitate an overview of gender across roles, functions and levels. Pilot study interviews indicated that an organization's social settings and material arrangements were an important consideration in understanding the nature of power relations and learning in recorded music companies and consequently, photographs were taken to complement references made in the interview guide to the organization's material settings. These were taken on different floors and departments within each case study site to provide a means of recording and documenting the material arrangements of the organizations within which the empirical study took place. Photographs included representations of formal and informal settings, public and private spaces, reception areas, organizational cafés, floor layouts, waiting areas, open plan offices, and management offices and meeting rooms.

### 4.5.3 Informal Observation

Informal observation techniques provide the researcher with greater flexibility in defining what information is gathered and how it is reported (Robson 2002:313). During on-site data collection activities, extensive notes documented research reflections on meetings, interviews and interpersonal dynamics, and the social settings and material arrangements to provide additional insights into how power and learning was being constituted in each of these organizations.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

### **4.5.3.1 Fieldnotes**

In empirical studies using in-depth interviews, fieldnotes provide an opportunity for the researcher to reflect on the nature and dynamics of the interview, on experiences outside the immediate context of conducting the interview, and provide a platform for recording preliminary and tentative analytical and interpretive insights as they emerge during practical research activities (Arthur and Nazroo 2003). During the pilot study, fieldnotes of observations, research memos and processes were compiled using templates constructed in MS Excel. The advantage in developing a systematic approach during the pilot study was that it facilitated critical and reflexive observations on research practices and processes. This, in turn, informed the final research design and strategy and contributed to ensuring the quality and validity of findings. Fieldnotes and research memos were imported into nVivo for analysis alongside other empirical data sources.

## **4.6 Data Management, Analysis and Interpretation**

Interpretivist research is characterized by large quantities of raw, unstructured data that must be organized, conditioned and reduced in preparation for analysis and interpretation. Since data was collected from a number of sources utilizing a variety of formats, identifying effective and systematic data management strategies and conditioning techniques became a central concern early in the research process.

### **4.6.1 Data Management and Conditioning**

The viability of utilizing nVivo for data management and conditioning was tested during the pilot study and subsequently adopted as an optimal method for aggregating, storing and managing data in preparation for analysis and interpretation. nVivo facilitated the creation of a *case study data base* which served as a central resource for archiving and backing up empirical data during the fieldwork phase (*cf. Yin 2003*). It was organized first, by case study site: UMG, WMG and SonyBMG; second, by data type: documents, photographs, interview transcripts, fieldnotes and memos; and third, by codes, cases, models and attributes. While some forms of empirical data required little or no conditioning prior to input, other formats such as PDFs and PowerPoint slides had to be

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

transformed into text files to prepare them for analysis and interpretation. In conditioning the empirical data, great care was taken to ensure that they remained true to the original sources. This process was further enhanced by the addition of metadata attached to folder and file descriptions to enhance coding and retrieving activities during analysis and interpretation<sup>64</sup>. This was undertaken to address issues of reliability and validity, promote transparency and contribute to constituting the project's chain of evidence.

### 4.6.2 Analysis and Interpretation

Analysis and interpretation involved adopting and applying a range of methods and techniques to the empirical data to surface themes, develop concepts and identify categories associated with power and learning in UK recorded music companies. This process has been characterized formally as consisting of three integrated and concurrent activities: *data reduction*, *data display* and *conclusion drawing* or *verification* (Miles and Huberman 1994:10-11); or as *organizing*, *connecting*, and *corroborating/legitimizing* (Crabtree and Miller 1999).

Table 4-17: Data Management, Analysis and Interpretation

Dimension	Description	Techniques
<b>Organizing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>researcher engages with the data and reorganizes it through a process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data</li> </ul>	data matrices
<b>Data Reduction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitates the development of insights and understandings related to the research questions</li> </ul>	
<b>Connecting</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>researcher determines how various segments and emerging interpretations are connected within the empirical data to identify or uncover connections, patterns, themes or new meanings</li> </ul>	qualitative template analysis (MS Excel)
<b>Data Display</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>data are organized, compressed and displayed as an assembly of information to create a means for presenting the results of the empirical research to facilitate drawing conclusions</li> </ul>	document analysis visual data analysis (photos)
<b>Corroborating /Legitimizing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>researcher is engaged in drawing conclusions via connecting/data display activities</li> </ul>	computer assisted qualitative analysis (nVivo)
<b>Conclusion Drawing /Verification</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>conclusions related to issues of standards, credibility, trustworthiness or interpretive validity through demonstrating the plausibility, rigorousness or confirmability of the account</li> </ul>	

Source: (Crabtree and Miller 1999:20-21; Flick 2006; Harper 2004; Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006; Miles and Huberman 1994:10-11; Pink 2004)

<sup>64</sup> Richards (2005) refers to this process as descriptive coding whereby information or attributes which describe a data source are attached to the file as metadata. For example, all interviews were treated as cases in nVivo and assigned attributes which mirrored the sampling criteria.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Although designated retrospectively as distinct from the fieldwork phase, analysis and interpretation is implicated in all phases of the empirical research project. Preliminary perspectives and orientations towards data analysis were implicit in the selection of relevant literature for systematic review, reinforced by the formulation and clarification of the project's research aims and assumptions, articulated through the language utilized to frame research questions, explicitly tested and modified during the pilot study, and implemented as a central stage of the fieldwork phase.

During the pilot study, preliminary data analysis and interpretation activities were facilitated using data matrices and qualitative template analysis to reduce and display a range of data that were augmented by document analysis and visual data analysis techniques. These techniques were integrated into nVivo's functionality to facilitate a coherent and systematic approach to analysis and interpretation which informed both the case study reports prepared for each organization as part of the project's respondent validation strategy, and the research findings and conclusions presented in this dissertation.

### ***4.6.2.1 Data Matrices***

Descriptive and explanatory data matrices were utilized during all phases of the research project to facilitate a cogent and coherent understanding of the empirical data (cf. Miles and Huberman 1994; Nadin and Cassell 2004). Descriptive matrices were created to: link the literature review to particular questions, prompts and probes in the initial interview guide; develop an overview of the pilot study data which facilitated adjustments to the research design, protocol and interview guide; and to render the empirical data collected during the main fieldwork phase manageable and comprehensible. Explanatory matrices were used during the pilot study to: combine parallel data across all sources; facilitate preliminary organization of the data within and across case studies; and aid the data analysis process through making the data accessible.

### ***4.6.2.2 Qualitative Template Analysis***

Qualitative template analysis was utilized to facilitate the construction, modification and elaboration of the initial template or code frame used during the

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

pilot study (cf. Crabtree and Miller 1999; King 2004b). The initial codes were derived from concepts drawn from the literature review, from the questions, probes and prompts included in the interview guide, and from open coding and indexing conducted on the pilot study interview transcripts and documents.

### **4.6.2.3 Document Analysis**

Document analysis focused on surfacing *witting meanings and content*, those which the author intended to communicate, and *unwitting meanings and content*, those which were not explicit to the document's purpose and creation (Robson 2002:351). Documents proved important to generating insights into the array of practices and perspectives implicated in power and learning in record companies in that they were an important source of background, contextual and processual information. Documents offered critical insights into official/formal/sanctioned organizational meanings versus unofficial/informal/unsanctioned ones and offered explicit expressions of intent behind actions and initiatives that were compared to, and contrasted against, implicit experiences articulated during semi-structured interviews. Insights and understandings generated using document analysis enhanced quality and validity through facilitating the examination of multiple sources of organizational data with the potential to corroborate, challenge, validate or problematize information gleaned from interview transcripts.

### **4.6.3 Coding**

Coding refers to a method of managing and organizing data through identifying themes and patterns in order to support theory development (cf. King 2004b; Merriam 1988; Miles and Huberman 1994; Richards 2005). Qualitative coding emphasizes data retention techniques whereby the full range of empirical data sources are constantly reviewed, re-examined, codes applied, refined and consolidated to surface meanings through on-going interpretation and analysis (Richards 2005). The empirical data collected in UK recorded music companies were analyzed using a combination of *descriptive coding*, *open/inductive coding*, *a priori/deductive coding*, and *axial coding* techniques.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

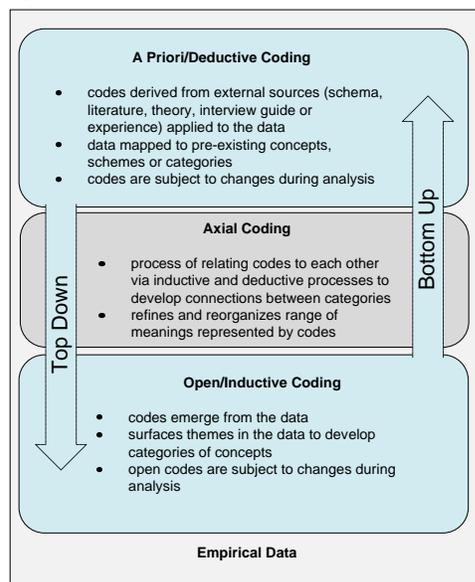
Table 4-18: Coding Data

Phase	Description	Coding Techniques Utilized
<b>Organizing the Data</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>explicitly state research concerns and theoretical framework</li> <li>read through raw data and highlight text with codes</li> <li>select the relevant text for further analysis according to research questions and concerns</li> </ul>	<b>Bottom Up</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>open/inductive coding</li> <li>descriptive coding</li> </ul> <b>Top Down</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a priori / deductive coding</li> </ul>
<b>Identifying Themes &amp; Patterns</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>record repeating ideas by grouping together related passages of relevant text</li> <li>organize themes by grouping repeating ideas into coherent categories</li> </ul>	<b>Analysis and Synthesis</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a priori / deductive coding</li> <li>axial coding</li> </ul>
<b>Developing Theory</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>develop theoretical constructs by grouping themes into more abstract concepts consistent with theoretical framework</li> <li>create theoretical narrative by retelling the participants' story in terms of the theoretical constructs</li> </ul>	<b>Interpretation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>axial coding</li> </ul>

Source: (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003:31; Richards 2005)

Coding the empirical data was both an iterative and recursive process that began

Figure 4-5: Code Frame Techniques



with the development of a preliminary code frame using bottom up open/inductive coding techniques on the pilot study data. Simple and preliminary codes relating to key categories, issues and possible relationships emerged from the data and were coded as free nodes in nVivo. These were utilized as sensitizing concepts that informed the final iteration of the interview guide and formed the basis of a preliminary code frame

referred to during data collection, analysis, and interpretation activities. While the construction of the initial code frame facilitated a structured approach to data management and analysis during the main fieldwork phase, it was continuously revised in response to the on-going literature review, to the findings of the main fieldwork, and to the needs of the on-going analysis.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

The initial code frame was augmented using top down a priori/deductive coding techniques that identified, added and refined codes and categories based on insights drawn from the literature review, interview guide and researcher's prior industry experience. Utilizing descriptive coding techniques, each interview transcript was designated a case node and assigned attributes directly related to the stratified/purposive sampling criteria used to select interview respondents. These case attributes served to sensitize and orient coding towards new and emerging themes and patterns which had not been captured by the initial code frame, and facilitated analysis based on the assigned attributive values within and across cases.

In conjunction with open/inductive coding and a priori/deductive coding, axial coding techniques were utilized to cluster groups of similar codes to populate existing categories, to generate links between categories, and to form new ones. While these categories served to describe the data, they also functioned to interpret the data and support theory development (Merriam 1988; Miles and Huberman 1994). The categories that emerged from patterns in the data were combined with those drawn from an on-going review of literature conducted in parallel to data collection and analysis activities. Interpretation and analysis was supported through the facilitation of three-level coding tree constructs which identified and organized central theoretical constructs concepts and categories. As coding was extended across the empirical data, new codes were identified and added as free nodes, while others were merged, dropped, and clustered into common categories represented by tree nodes in nVivo. Level one codes represented theoretical constructs supported by level two codes composed of themes and patterns that, in turn, comprised level three codes consisting of repeated ideas occurring in the data. This process of coding continued until no further categories or concepts were identified and all free nodes were either dropped from the code frame or assigned into existing categories in nVivo.

#### ***4.7 Ethics***

Attention to research ethics involved addressing issues of informed consent, confidentiality, trust and agreement with each organization on the utilization of

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

data collected, the reporting of findings, and on the protection of data sources (cf. Merriam 1988; Miles and Huberman 1994; Ryen 2004). Informed consent was facilitated through informing participants about the nature of the research. Individuals matching the sample criteria within each organization were contacted by the primary organizational contact, informed about the study, and invited to volunteer. Each participant was provided with the option of withdrawing by the researcher prior to being interviewed<sup>65</sup> and there were no refusals to participate or withdrawals during the interviews. All interview participants were assured anonymity at the beginning of each interview session and were assigned a numerical code for use in designating and citing interview comments utilized in this dissertation and in any other published materials. In addition, care was taken to ensure that individual comments were not quoted verbatim or singled out in the case study reports or in the cross-case analyses prepared for each participating organization.

Issues of informed consent and confidentiality also extended to the site photographs. Consent for taking photographs on-site was provided by each organization: SonyBMG and Warner Music Group declined to have individuals portrayed in photographs, while Universal Music Group granted approval and gained permission from individuals appearing in photographs.

Trust refers to the relationship between the researcher and the participants, relates to the researcher's self-presentation while conducting the research, and to their professional obligation to leave the research site and terminate the research relationship responsibly (Ryen 2004). The researcher's background, in-depth experience and understanding of the music industry was crucial in gaining access to UK based recorded music companies and his intimate understanding of participants' lived experiences in record companies informed a thoughtful and relevant research design, interview guide and research strategy. Trust also extended to the development of accurate representation and selection of data for presentation in this dissertation and to the obligation for articulating truthful and accurate participant accounts. Upon leaving the research site, everyone involved

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<sup>65</sup> Responses to informed consent queries digitally recorded at the beginning of each interview session.  
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## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

in the research was sent a card thanking them for their participation; commitments to producing the case study reports and cross-case analyses were met in a timely and professional manner; requests for follow up meetings and discussions were honoured; and open lines of communication were managed and maintained in each of the organizations.

### ***4.8 Summary and Conclusion***

Practice-based research reflects a concern with understanding the nature of a particular practice, the knowledge that characterizes that practice, and ways in which individuals come to know within the context of that practice (Dirkx 2006, 2008). Instead of trying to understand which cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved in learning or who holds power in organizations, attention is directed to uncovering the narrative of a practice. Developing insights into the nature of power, knowledge and knowing involves understanding how these phenomena are contextualized and situated within specific social settings and how individuals construct knowledge and experience constrained/facilitated access to different opportunities for knowing (Dirkx 2006, 2008:266; Gherardi 2006).

In order to facilitate rich insights into the complex dynamics of UK recorded music companies, the interpretive case study methodology and qualitative methods of data collection were adopted to ensure that appropriate data was gathered in a manner that preserved a situated and unitary understanding of power, knowledge and knowing being studied in situ (Eisenhardt 1999:135 and Goode and Hatt 1952: 331 cited in Gherardi 2006:55). To this end, interviews, organizational documents, researcher generated documents, informal observation and photographs were analyzed and rich insights were generated into the complex dynamics of power and learning within/across the recorded music industry's constellation of practices. The chapter that follows provides the context and conceptual framework for analysis of the three case study organizations.

## 5 Becoming a Music Industry Practitioner

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*Not only is rock music... an integral part of the life of many people, but it is a cultural initiator: to like rock, to like a certain kind of rock rather than another, is ...a way of life, a manner of reacting; it is a whole set of tastes and attitudes. Rock offers the possibility of a relation which is intense, strong, alive... through which the listener affirms himself...*  
**Michel Foucault (1985:8)**

The previous chapters demonstrate that practice-based perspectives are best suited for generating insights into how different modalities of power facilitate/constrain situated possibilities for learning or knowing-in-practice. Social learning conceptions highlight the process of *becoming a practitioner* as being intertwined with identity construction within on-going and interweaving practices (Elkjaer 2003; Gherardi 2006; Gherardi et al. 1998). Individuals possess identities and bear meanings that are: established within the complexity of social relations; articulated and (re)constituted through participation within a particular practice's social relations and socio-material arrangements; and sanctioned by interweaving modalities of power which delimit individual feeling, thinking or acting (cf. Alvesson 2000:1105; Schatzki 2002a:51, 82). Understanding the ways in which personal meanings and identities are (re)constituted and sanctioned through ways of becoming a participant and participating with/across the recorded music industry's constellation of practices is essential. This chapter begins with a discussion of two important considerations central to understanding the case study discussions that follow. First is the finding that, in having been exposed to major record label marketing and promotional practices, individuals wishing to enter into the recorded music industry (novices) were rendered vulnerable to the industry's power relations and socio-material arrangements. Second is the finding that, while there are many ways to enter the recorded music industry, participation in particular recorded music industry career practices facilitates or constrains specific opportunities to enter into and move from novice to expert positions within a particular organization's constellation of practices. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the framework for analysis that emerged from the data and guides the discussion of power, knowledge and knowing in SonyBMG

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

(SBMG), Warner Music Group (WMG), and the Universal Music Group (UMG) that follows.

### 5.1 Pre-Career Music Genre-based Identities

In the quote above, Foucault (1985:8) asserts that musical genre, in this case rock, exerts a strong influence on individual identity construction, which in turn constitutes and opens up certain possibilities for acting while closing down others. In reflecting on their careers, individuals identified that having an early and strong affinity to music, as a fan or musician, contributed to the formation of personal genre-based musical meanings and identities, as punks or rockers, for example, by which individuals were located as novices within the genre's particular social and power relations, and from which they entered into the recorded music industry. Through participation in everyday pre-career musical activities such as attending concerts, studying music in school or learning to play instruments, individuals developed industry understandings and participated in particular social relationships and networks by which they were able to enter into recorded music industry practices. Through participating in everyday pre-career musical activities as musicians or fans, individual personal meanings and identities were augmented with music genre-based ones.

Table 5-1: Pre-Career Activities

Activities	Case Study Data
• attending concerts	<i>"I have always been really into my music ...growing up as a real Indie kid, always at gigs ...really into that scene. ...because it was my passion, really, it was kind of like my whole social life was dictated by going to see bands or going to see various DJs and stuff." SB12, SBMG</i>
• participating in music related activities	<i>"...I came from quite a musical family and I did lots of music as a kid, I played instruments, the piano, oboe, the saxophone and I learned to play keyboards and I was in bands and in orchestras." SB7, SBMG</i>
• buying music	<i>"I was always going to do something that was creative. I used to dance to tap dance. I wanted to go to stage school. I was never a 9-to-5 job. My mate was in a band. We were in body popping groups together... I would always buy music." UG4, Director A&amp;R, UMG</i>
• playing instruments as a musician or turntables as a DJ	<i>"My personal journey probably started at school getting involved as a DJ and really into my music and concerts and stuff, bands at the school and I produced a concert there to make money as part of one of those creative out-of-school opportunities..." SB1, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Music marketing and promotional practices and techniques play a critical role in constituting music industry sanctioned music genre-based meanings and identities. Through mobilizing particular modalities of power to regulate the range of activities and expressions available to individuals as musicians or fans, industry wide marketing and promotional practices define and sanction the public expression of particular genre-based musical meanings and identities in such a way that future music industry employees are made vulnerable to the particular modes of power enacted within recorded music industry organizations.

*Seduction*, for example, is an indeterminate/associational mode of power that is implicated in the formation of pre-career, genre-based musical identities. Seductive modalities are not directive, coercive or manipulative but, rather, operate through enacting spontaneous and impulsive responses within individuals to constitute preferred meanings, identities, sayings and doings which may or may not be adopted (Allen 2003). Whether or not seductive modes of power enact preferred actions depends on the degree to which these are accepted by all individuals and not on whether they are always put into practice. Consider the lyrics to the Nickelback song 'Rockstar':

*'...we all just wanna be big rockstars,  
Live in hilltop houses driving fifteen cars,  
The girls come easy and the drugs come cheap,  
We'll all stay skinny 'cause we just won't eat,*

*And we'll all hang out in the coolest bars,  
In the VIP with the movie stars,  
Every good gold digger's gonna wind up there,  
Every Playboy bunny with her bleach blonde hair,*

*Hey, hey, I wanna be a rockstar...'*

*(Nickelback 2007)*

While tongue and cheek, this example demonstrates how seductive modes of power are mobilized through a song to articulate a *traditional rock* genre-based musical identity and this functions to assert a normative effect on associated social values, social relations, individual beliefs, personal appearance, career aspirations or dispositions. Traditional rock musical identities are (re)constituted

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

by a number of overlapping and interweaving music industry practices<sup>66</sup> which mobilize messages embedded in lyrics, audio and video<sup>67</sup> to enact overlapping modalities of power which exert an influence on *politics and lifestyle*, for example: ‘...we all just want to be big rock stars (Nickelback 2007); on *social conventions*: ‘live in hilltop houses driving fifteen cars’(Nickelback 2007); on *social relations*: ‘the girls come easy and the drugs come cheap’(Nickelback 2007); or on the *physicality and materiality* of practices: ‘we’ll all stay skinny ‘cause we just won’t eat’ (Nickelback 2007). It is music genre-based identities such as this one, and others (i.e. rap, hip-hop, alternative or classical music genres), which provide the impetus (power) for individuals to (re)constitute personal meanings and identities into ones sanctioned by record companies. This finding is consistent with research in other disciplines which identifies that broad patterns of music genre preference are consciously used as a social resource to signal, discriminate and impute meaning onto group membership or social exclusion (Hargreaves et al. 2002); as a device for reflexively remembering/constructing identities (DeNora 1999, 2000; Hargreaves et al. 2002); and as a scaffold for generating future identities and action structures (DeNora 1999, 2000).

### 5.2 Recorded Music Industry Career Practices

Recorded music industry careers are characterized by intense competition for opportunities to participate due to the lack of clearly defined entry and progression routes; the absence of standard recruiting, selection and progression procedures; and due to the high levels of market and industry instability and uncertainty. Individuals seeking to gain access to and sustain careers in the recorded music industry share some general characteristics with the artists they produce. On average they are younger than the general workforce; are concentrated in metropolitan areas; hold multiple jobs<sup>68</sup>; experience larger income inequality and variability; earn less than others working in similar roles and

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<sup>66</sup> This encompasses a large number of cross-industry and cross-functional practices such as artist-based songwriting, rehearsing, performing or recording, label-based A&R, marketing and promotions, press, radio plugging, legal and business affairs or finance practices, management-based talent development, artist signing, tour management and negotiation practices.

<sup>67</sup> This is reinforced by photographic and video practices and techniques used to promote the band and its album to generate sales.

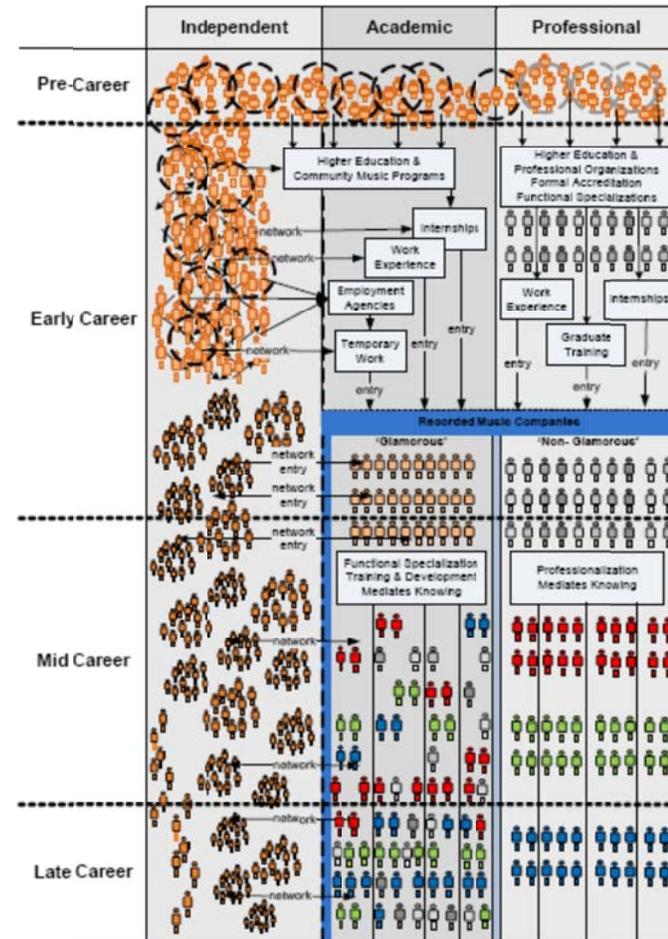
<sup>68</sup> Multiple jobs enable individuals to earn enough to survive and are used as a strategy for maximizing learning in the recorded music industry.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

functions in other industries; and, experience higher rates of self-employment, unemployment and constrained underemployment<sup>69</sup> (Higgs et al. 2008; Menger 1999; Métier and DCMS 2000; NMC 2003, 2004).

The *ways of becoming a participant and participating* in the recorded music industry is an important factor in understanding how individual contexts contribute to the case study discussions that follow. Individuals identified three main and distinct repertoires of career practice – independent, academic and professional – by which they secured entry into and participated in music industry functions and roles.

Figure 5-1: Recorded Music Industry Career Practices



<sup>69</sup> Temporary workers, work experience, non-voluntary part-time work, intermittent work, fewer hours etc.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

The next section briefly outlines these career practices by which individuals entered into and progressed from novice to expert positions, from pre-career knowing through to late career knowing, and explicates the implications these have for understanding the nature of power and learning in recorded music industry organizations.

### **5.2.1 Independent**

Independent career practices are contingent on individuals adopting highly flexible and mobile personal strategies for finding and securing any role that might lead to a permanent position within a recorded music industry organization. Individuals referred to 'having a passion for music', having a strong knowledge of music and artists across genres or in specific genre, and indicated that they were willing to sacrifice everything to work in the industry. Consequently, many left school at a young age and entered the music industry as novices participating in roles such as musicians, DJs, mailroom assistants or as freelance road crew, marketing, promotion, studio engineers, or artist managers. Securing access to opportunities for generating new experiences (knowing-in-practice) at a young age enabled some to enter and move into expert positions within record companies.

Of those individuals interviewed across WMG, UMG, and SBMG, 34.6% recounted careers, actions, and activities consistent with the independent career practices listed above. The functional practices most associated with independent activities were found to be Artist and Repertoire (A&R), Press and Promotions and Licensing.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 5-2: Independent Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power

Pre-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals characterized by single &amp; multiple genre-based musical meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>characterized by limited insights into music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>genre-based musical meanings &amp; identities render individuals vulnerable to particular modalities of power mobilized within/across music industry practices</li> </ul>
Early Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>personal and musical meanings &amp; identities (re)constituted into functional identities through increased participation within/across music industry practices, i.e. DJs, artists, musicians, street teams, fanzines, etc.</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>role versatility mobilized through increased formal &amp; informal participation within/across music industry practices</li> <li>individual movement from novice to expert positions facilitated through increased participation within/across multiple practices &amp; projects</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>through seeking to enter into music industry practices &amp; networks of relations individuals rendered increasingly subject to music industry modalities of power</li> </ul>
Mid-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>personal and music genre-based meanings &amp; identities (re)constituted into sanctioned ones to render individuals subject to organizational modalities of power</li> <li>meanings &amp; identities of those individuals not successful in entering record company practices are (re)constituted in a manner which reinforces commitment, flexibility &amp; role versatility within/across recorded music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>entry into networks of relations facilitates access to knowledge &amp; knowing</li> <li>individuals accrue reputational &amp; experiential resources through increased participation &amp; lateral movement within/across recorded music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>reputational &amp; experiential resources mobilized by individuals to enact countervailing modalities by which access to &amp; lateral movement within/across music industry practices might be accomplished</li> </ul>
Late Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>high degree of individual alignment with recorded music industry sanctioned meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>failure to access appropriate networks of relations or record company practices constrain access to knowledge &amp; knowing</li> <li>failure to accrue reputational &amp; experiential resources due to limited participation &amp; lateral movement within/across music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals remain highly vulnerable to music industry modalities of power</li> </ul>

Individuals who entered the industry without prior training downplayed or rejected formal educational accreditation and/or organizational training and development initiatives in favour of passion for music and practical experience

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

and/or demonstrated participation (reputation) in successful projects and activities across particular music industry functions.

*I firmly believe that you need a passion for music, I just don't think that you can enthuse and sell something and tell people that they should be playing something ...if you don't believe in it yourself. And, I think, you need to be able to appreciate a really broad range of music... WM2, Head of Radio, WMG*

*You can't teach someone how to spot a hit. You can't teach someone how to make a record. But, you can learn to do that over time. I am drawing a distinct differentiation between teaching and learning. UG8, A&R Manager, UMG*

This perspective is consistent with observations drawn by the Métier/DCMS (2000) study which found that 70% of individuals interviewed believed that ability was more important than qualifications; more importantly, 80% asserted that qualifications proved irrelevant once a career was established. While the traditional music industry placed high value on individuals with a passion for music or on those having demonstrable and practical music industry skills, the shift towards a new digital music reality resulted in those individuals coming from academic and/or professional practices being more valued.

### **5.2.2 Academic**

Individuals involved in academic practices adopted personal strategies focused on qualifications and accreditation through formal learning activities in conjunction with participating as novices in different music industry practices.

Individuals undertook formal and informal education and accreditation as a strategy to avoid unemployment, facilitate material security, realize personal goals, and open up possibilities for preferred entry into record company practices. An unintended consequence of pursuing a personal strategy of accreditation and qualification is that individuals are able to mobilize the knowledge, knowing and the particular degrees or certificates as power/knowledge/truth resources. These might be mobilized to facilitate access to relevant forms of knowledge and knowing, facilitate movement to expert positions within record companies and/or to countervail organizational enactments of power that might constrain that movement.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 5-3: Academic Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power

Pre-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals characterized by multiple music genre based meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>particular academic knowledge domains and forms of knowing</li> <li>genre based as defined by major record company marketing &amp; promotional activities</li> <li>characterized by limited insights into music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>music genre based musical identities render individuals vulnerable to particular modalities of power mobilized within/across recorded music industry practices</li> </ul>
Early Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>music genre based meanings &amp; identities augmented by academic ones constituted through participation in formal learning practices associated with private schools, colleges and/or universities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitated through gaining access to academic related graduate programs, internships and work experience</li> <li>individual movement from novice to expert positions facilitated through mediated opportunities to participate within/across music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individual accreditation and credentials valued by HR practices are mobilized to facilitate entry as novices into record company roles</li> <li>accrual of further academic credentials mobilized by individuals to facilitate movement to expert positions within preferred record company practices</li> </ul>
Mid-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>upon entry into record company practices, music genre based &amp; academic meanings &amp; identities (re)constituted into organizationally sanctioned functional &amp; management identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>mediated by the organization's Human Resource (HR) practices entry</li> <li>individuals accrue reputational &amp; experiential resources through increased participation within/across record company practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals rendered objects of power by the organization's HR practice &amp; subject to categorization for the purposes of control &amp; governance via intermingling mechanisms &amp; technologies of power</li> </ul>
Late Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>identities (re)constituted into organizationally sanctioned executive identities through more expert participation within/across record company practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>access to senior management &amp; executive based knowledge &amp; knowing</li> <li>increased opportunity to accrue additional reputational &amp; experiential resources</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals mobilize enhanced reputational &amp; experiential resources to facilitate greater access to high value networks of relations &amp; increased mobility across music industry organizations</li> </ul>

Of those individuals interviewed, 48.1% had obtained some type of qualification of which, 40% earned music related degrees; 16% earned degrees strongly related to their current functional activities, i.e. business or marketing; while 44% earned

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

degrees unrelated to their function, i.e. anthropology or political science. The recorded music industry functions most closely associated with these qualifications were Sales, Marketing, Digital and Information Technology and Personal Assistants (PA). In contrast to music industry entrants who had no prior qualification, those with degrees or qualifications placed a greater value on learning in organizations and were much more likely to be highly critical of a record company's efforts to educate its workforce. New entrants who had a prior qualification were aware that taking advantage of learning activities would facilitate promotion within/across functional practices, thereby revealing a strong sensitivity to the quality of the design and delivery of both formal and informal organizational learning activities.

*...as part of the graduate training scheme, they sent you on little courses internally, but not job specific. They were things like time; usages of your time [time management]; presentation skills...which if you are a graduate trainee, you do that stuff at university and it was a bit irrelevant, and they weren't very well run courses. To be perfectly honest, I didn't get lot out of them, they were very amateurish courses... WM4, Marketing & Artist Development Manager, WMG*

Over the past 12 years, as a consequence of overlaps in policies and practices associated with the UK's adoption and implementation of a lifelong learning agenda and the music industry's lobbying within the sector skills debate, academic career practices have come to dominate entry to and progression within recorded music industry organizations.

#### **5.2.3 Professional**

New entrants with professional qualifications are distinguished from those with academic qualifications by their relation to particular *expert knowledge* domains connected to a particular role with a record company, i.e. Legal and Business Affairs, Accounting or Financial Planning. It is characterized by the profession's politico-legal authority to accredit, confer membership and legitimate an individual's right to practise; by the use of tiered professional designations as regulatory techniques to confer membership; and by explicitly articulated ethical or service ideals as underpinning tenets for professional practice (Hoskin and Anderson-Gough 2004; Olesen 2007).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 5-4: Professional Career Practice: Identity, Knowledge, Knowing and Power

Pre-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>single &amp; multiple music genre-based meanings &amp; identities not as prevalent</li> <li>stronger focus on adopting particular academic &amp; profession-based meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stronger pre-career association with professional knowledge domains and knowing-in-practice</li> <li>values formal academic accreditation leading to entry into particular professions</li> <li>characterized by limited insights into music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals rendered vulnerable to professional social &amp; power relations</li> <li>professional knowledge/truth resources can be mobilized to enact power in record companies</li> </ul>
Early Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individual personal meanings &amp; identities reconstituted into sanctioned professional ones, i.e. accountant, lawyer, etc., which supersede preferred record company meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stresses professional knowledge &amp; knowing over music industry based forms</li> <li>individual movement from novice to expert positions facilitated through participation in professional practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>professional accreditation highly valued by record company HR practices &amp; facilitates entry as novice &amp; movement to expert positions</li> <li>professional knowledge/truth/power resources mobilized to facilitate preferred progression through particular record company roles</li> </ul>
Mid-Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>upon entry into record company practices professional meanings &amp; identities augmented by organizationally sanctioned ones</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>mediated primarily by the professional requirements for on-going accreditation</li> <li>mediated secondarily by the organization's HR practices</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>reputational, experiential &amp; professional domains of knowledge mobilized as knowledge/truth/power resources to facilitate movement to expert positions</li> <li>HR practices render individuals objects of organizational power through the construction &amp; reproduction of organizational dimensions of knowledge</li> </ul>
Late Career	<b>Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>professional meanings &amp; identities augmented by sanctioned management/executive meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	<b>Knowledge &amp; Knowing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>access to senior management &amp; executive based knowledge/truth/power resources facilitated</li> </ul>
	<b>Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individuals mobilize professional, reputational &amp; experiential knowledge/truth/power resources to facilitate access to high value networks of relations</li> </ul>

Of those individuals interviewed across WMG, UMG, and SBMG, 17.3% participated in professional practices, 100% of which held professional designations or qualifications related directly to their role. The functions most

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

associated with professional career practices were: Legal and Business Affairs, Finance, Accounting and Human Resource Management. In contrast to participants who entered the music industry without qualifications, participation in formal academic and professional accreditation and qualification activities constituted within individuals sanctioned academic/professional pre-career meanings and identities that were less likely to be augmented by music genre-based ones.

*...music ...just happened, it was not something that I went looking for, it was something the agency thought would suit me as a person. UG12, Group Financial Controller, UMG*

*It was just a job at Sony; it was a household name, a blue-chip company... WM6, VP Finance, SBMG*

Individuals identified that they were motivated more by opportunistic access to particular roles that offered possibilities to engage in functional activities that would facilitate entry into novice positions and movement towards sanctioned professional designations within situated professional practices, rather than by their passion for or the glamour of the industry.

It was found that individuals participated in professional career practices to gain professional qualifications by which they might progress their career regardless of the industry. Similar to those holding academic qualifications, individuals believed that there is a strong correlation between the amount and quality of education received and on-going progression through record company roles. As the recorded music industry struggles to address new and emerging digital music technologies, professional practices, such as Accounting and Finance, or Human Resource Management (HRM), increasingly mediate activities across functional practices to facilitate the development of strategic and integrated solutions.

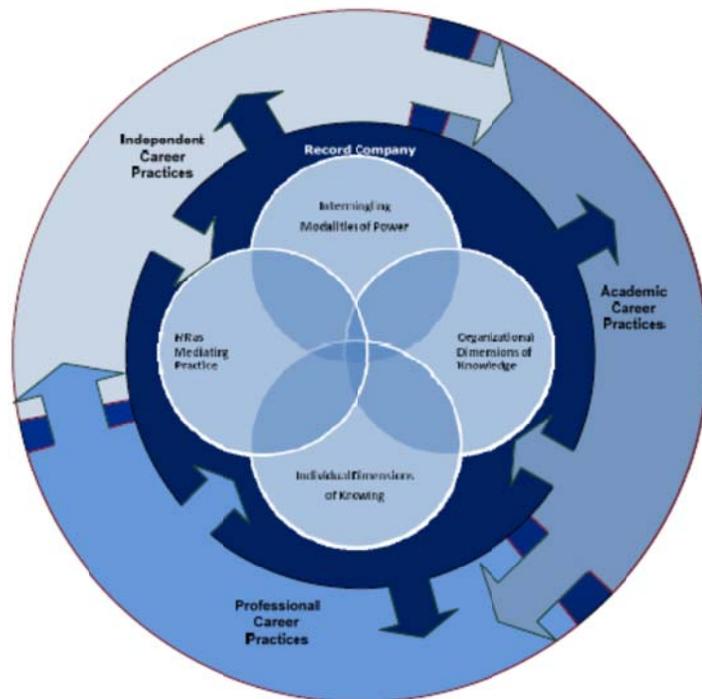
### **5.3 Framework for Analysis: Practice, Power and Learning**

Practice-based conceptions regard power and learning as inseparable from, and interwoven into, the actions, activities, and interactions which constitute organizations as nexuses of practices, socio-material arrangements and social and power relations. Individuals across all three case study organizations reported that

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

participation in industry practices enabled them to: gain entry into the music industry as novice practitioners; move to expert positions within their role and function; understand social and power relations through knowing how particular individuals, their function and roles, were positioned in relation to others; and, consequently, to formulate particular insights into the nature of the recorded music industry's power/knowledge dynamics of 'who knows what' and 'who is positioned where' within industry practices and networks of relations.

Figure 5-2: Framework for Case Study Analysis



Individuals possess identities and bear meanings situated within the constellation of practices constituting the record company. Consequently, pre-career music genre-based meanings and identities and ways of participating in recorded music industry career practices, constitute contextual dimensions that interact and intermingle with recorded music company practices to mediate individual access to particular knowledge domains and opportunities for knowing-in-practice. The next section presents a three-part framework for analysis that emerged from the data to organize the case study analyses that follow: organizational dimensions of

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

knowledge, individual dimensions of knowing and Human Resource Management (HR) as a mediating practice.

### **5.3.1 Situating Power**

How power and knowledge come together is determined by the situated nature of their enactment; by the particular physical spaces, social and material relations by which individuals and practices are located and positioned in relation to each other within/across an organization's constellation of practices (Allen 2003:2; Foucault 1977, 1994b; Rouse 2001:194; Schatzki 2002a:45).

#### **5.3.1.1 Modalities of Power**

This requires accounting for the modalities by which power is mobilized, exercised, and produced through individual actions, interactions, and practices. Consequently, developing insights into power and learning involves focusing on *what is exercised*, rather than *how it is exercised* through directing attention to the *situated interactions* or *modes of interplay* by which individual identities are (re)negotiated and (re)aligned through active participation within/across recorded music industry socio-material practices and arrangements (Allen 2003:116).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 5-5: Allen's Modalities of Power

Modalities of Power	Techniques	Description
<b>Domination</b>	<i>conflict, constraint &amp; control</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• closing down individual &amp; collective possibilities</li> <li>• those who were formally free to do otherwise have no choice but to comply</li> </ul>
<b>Coercion</b>	<i>threat of force or negative sanctions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• restricted to the production of compliance</li> <li>• functions through highly visible &amp; overt actions</li> </ul>
<b>Authority</b>	<i>hierarchical organization or hierarchical attribution of values to particular characteristics</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• role, position, function, profession, expert knowledge, etc.</li> <li>• serves as a means to secure a willingness to comply</li> <li>• functions through compliance which is not imposed but is conceded by others</li> </ul>
<b>Manipulation</b>	<i>manipulation of needs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• individuals willingly place themselves in spaces &amp; situations &amp; may find themselves subject to a form of control simply by following their own wants &amp; desires</li> <li>• functions through the concealment of intent or the selective restriction of information</li> </ul>
<b>Seduction</b>	<i>renunciation of total domination</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• individuals' needs &amp; wants are indulged in selective ways through the arousal of a particular set of interests as opposed to others</li> <li>• functions through the projection of predetermined choices as desirable</li> <li>• where choices are possible through leaving open the possibility that an individual can opt out</li> </ul>
<b>Inducement</b>	<i>rewards for compliance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• individuals are won over to the advantages of something &amp; bring themselves into line</li> <li>• functions through the constitution of predetermined choices</li> <li>• intended to act upon those who have the ability to opt out</li> </ul>
<b>Persuasion</b>	<i>communication across symmetrical relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• facilitation of a two way process of communication</li> <li>• functions in an atmosphere of reciprocity where all parties are prepared to listen &amp; communicate, where choices are possible &amp; where existing concerns &amp; interests are projected as desirable</li> <li>• involves no obligation to comply on the part of all those involved</li> </ul>
<b>Negotiation</b>	<i>communication across asymmetrical relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• two way process of communication between disparate groups with differences in resources at their disposal</li> <li>• functions in an atmosphere of reciprocity where all parties are prepared to listen &amp; communicate &amp; involves cooperation between unequal partners &amp; no obligation to comply on the part of all those involved</li> </ul>

Adapted from: John Allen (2003)

Modalities of power facilitate certain activities while constraining others, such that some forms of participation acquire new significance while others become obsolete and less relevant, influencing how individuals construe their activities, make sense of social practices and formulate fundamental beliefs about knowledge, its nature and the appropriate ways to create it (Billett 2003; Eteläpelto and Saarinen 2006). What an individual understands or believes

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

influences individual learning in organizations through constraining or promoting how individuals perceive their scope of action (Harteis et al. 2006).

#### **5.3.1.2 Epistemological Modalities of Power**

Epistemological modalities of power are constituted by 'a knowledge from individuals and ...a knowledge *about* those individuals who are subjected to observation and already controlled by those different powers...' (Foucault 1994c:83). They are an outcome of observation, recording, analysis, classification and comparison of those individuals' actions to accumulate, produce and construct organizational dimensions of knowledge for the purposes of governance and control (Foucault 1994c:84). Knowledge extracted from individuals themselves, as well as knowledge of their participation in practices, is utilized by an organization's HR practice, as well as its managers and executives, to develop insights and understandings of the context within which individuals work and of the processes by which individuals accomplish their role and function (technical knowledge of production). This knowledge, in turn, is very often used to legitimate and sanction access to particular domains of knowledge and knowing to specific individuals and practices.

#### **5.3.2 Knowledge and Knowing**

Power relations are constituted through the administration of knowledge and a politics of knowledge as truth in organizations by particular technologies and mechanisms of regulation which link organizational knowledge of individuals to organizational practices (Foucault 1980b:69; Rouse 2005). As emergent digital music practices marginalized traditional music industry expertise, knowledge of and knowing how to move, speak and use the tools and techniques appropriate for the (re)production of digital practices became increasingly important. It was found that record companies focused on reconstituting traditional music industry-based practices into digital ones through constructing new digital music-based knowledge domains and practices while individuals focused on gaining access to domains of digital knowledge and knowing to enable them to participate in new and emerging digital music practices within the record company.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 5.3.2.1 Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge

Knowledge is the operation of discipline by which individuals and practices are rendered objects of power and made vulnerable to action and intervention (Townley 1993:521). As new and emerging digital music technologies and applications rendered traditional domains of music industry knowledge increasingly obsolete, with or without their awareness, record companies were compelled to modify three central organizational dimensions of knowledge: knowledge of the workforce, knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken, and knowledge of the individual (cf. Foucault 1977; Townley 1993, 1994).

Table 5-6: Three Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge

Dimension	Description
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>  <i>Dividing Practices - the art of distributing &amp; assigning hierarchical positions onto individuals &amp; practices</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• knowledge &amp; co-ordination of large numbers of individuals</li> <li>• knowledge of &amp; the ability to differentiate between individuals</li> <li>• knowledge of where &amp; how to locate individuals within the organization's socio-material arrangements</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>  <i>Controlling Activities – the art of naming, inscribing &amp; articulating organizational time &amp; space</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• knowledge &amp; co-ordination of the range of actions &amp; activities underlying an organization's constellation of practices</li> <li>• knowledge of the spatial &amp; temporal nature of practices articulated in terms of individual personal characteristics, elementary operations &amp; serially ordered actions &amp; activities</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the individual</b>  <i>Constructing Individuals - the art of constituting individuals as objects of knowledge &amp; subjects of power</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• knowledge of how systems of dividing practices &amp; controlling activities contribute to rendering individuals visible to the organization &amp; vulnerable to its power relations</li> <li>• knowledge of &amp; access to individuals' bodies, thoughts, actions, activities, attitudes &amp; everyday practices</li> </ul>

Adapted from: (Foucault 1977; Townley 1993; 1994)

To coordinate and deploy a new digital workforce, each of the record companies developed new policies, processes and procedures designed to enable them to differentiate between individuals participating within/across functional practices. This resulted in the (re)construction and (re)production of the organization's particular *knowledge of the workforce* and in the (re)constitution of the sanctioned set of sayings and doings by which individuals were known, represented to others, and ordered within the record company. In addition, the shift of operations to new physical locations and/or the adoption of new technologies, infrastructures and organizational hierarchies by each of the record companies had the effect of (re)constructing and (re)producing the organization's

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*knowledge of the labour activity*. This resulted in the (re)codification, (re)enumeration and (re)ordering of the organization's space and time and of individuals' bodies, movement and everyday gestures, actions and activities in accordance with the needs of an emerging digital music reality. Taken in combination, these activities resulted in the (re)construction and (re)production the particular organization's *knowledge of the individual*, the effect of which was that individuals, with or without their awareness, were rendered objects of organizational knowledge and power, and were inculcated with organizationally sanctioned values, beliefs, meanings and identities.

### 5.3.2.2 Individual Dimensions of Knowing

As emergent digital music practices marginalized traditional music industry expertise, knowledge of and knowing how to move, speak and use the tools and techniques appropriate for digital practices became increasingly more important. Individuals focused on gaining access to new roles and experiences in order to learn about how to work within the emerging digital music reality. While individual explanations of career and learning offered highly personal and unique accounts, these may be grouped into three broad categories: first, knowing the music industry and its constellation of interconnected practices; second, knowing the network of relations produced by this interconnection; and third, knowing how to enact and co-(re)produce a functional practice.

Table 5-7: Three Individual Dimensions of Knowing

Dimensions		Description
Knowing the recorded music industry & its constellation of interconnected practices	<i>Music Industry Structure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>recorded music industry knowledge</li> <li>understanding the range of music industry practices, its structure, opportunities, threats &amp; requirements for career success</li> </ul>
	<i>Organizational Structures</i>	
	<i>Functional Practices</i>	
Knowing the network of relations produced by the interconnection of practices	<i>Networks of Relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>knowledge of central relationships &amp; social contacts</li> <li>involves identifying &amp; gaining proximity to practitioners which represent opportunities &amp; important resources for information &amp; progression</li> </ul>
Knowing how to enact and co-(re)produce a recorded music industry functional practice	<i>Functional Identity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>knowledge of how to perform actions, use tools &amp; develop relations within particular functional practices</li> <li>involves acquiring functional identify through active participation in recorded music industry practices</li> </ul>
	<i>Practical Knowledge</i>	

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*Knowing the music industry* involves individuals developing insights into the constellation of interconnected practices constituting the recorded music industry. It involves moving from an early passion for a particular artist, band, or musical genre towards the realization that behind the music there is an industry composed of interconnected practices engaged in discovering artists, producing music and promoting and distributing musical products. Music industry knowledge is formed and circulates in networks of relations that traverse, interweave, and interconnect individuals<sup>70</sup>, artefacts<sup>71</sup>, the socio-material arrangements of organizations and the constellation of recorded music industry practices. Therefore, it is important that individuals gain insights into how to do their jobs, how their activities relate to other activities and how these are dependent on and intermingle with other activities taking place in the record company and in the recorded music industry.

*Knowing how to gain entry to and participate in networks of relations* requires that individuals gain insights into how to participate in a particular situated network of relations and understand how to access the domains knowledge and knowing circulating in these networks. Knowing via networks of relations involves establishing connections-in-action<sup>72</sup>, participating in and constructing stable relationships, repairing them when they fail, and terminating them when they are no longer relevant to facilitate access to information, resources and opportunities (Gherardi 2006:xxi). In simultaneously constituting a way of knowing, a system of knowledge and an order (system of power), networks of relations constitute resources which can be mobilized to enact different modalities of power to sanction particular meanings and identities and position individuals and practices in relation to each other (Gherardi 2006:191-194; Townley 1994).

*Knowing how to co-(re)produce practices* involves becoming a full participant, a member or particular type of individual able to contribute to new activities, perform a new role or function, or master new understandings within a particular

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<sup>70</sup> Artists, musicians, vocalists, music fans, music consumers, bloggers, photographers, designers, managers, radio and club DJs, VJs, etc.

<sup>71</sup> Digital music files, computers, digital players, intranets, extranets, radios, or CDs, etc.

<sup>72</sup> According to Gherardi (2006:48) '...practice is simultaneously a doing, a saying, and a knowing-in-practice which establish connections-in-action. ...knowing in practice is about accomplishing connectedness-in-action.'

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

practice (Gherardi 2006). As individuals progress through careers, knowing-in-practice is mediated by past experiences and previous knowledge/learning. Individuals draw on legacies of knowing and knowledge to activate and utilize new forms of situated knowing and situational knowledge thereby participating in the on-going co-(re)production of practices (Gherardi 2006:229).

### 5.4 Mediating Power/Learning Tensions

Research conducted within each of the case study organizations surfaced that power/learning tensions arose from the juxtaposition of central organizational dimensions of knowledge against individual dimensions of knowing due to the

**Figure 5-3: HR as Central Mediating Practice**



record company's privileging of particular organizational knowledge requirements over individual requirements for knowing. It was found that, while power/learning tensions were mediated by a number of co-mingling practices in record companies, such as senior management, senior executive, and organizational development practices, Human Resource Management

(HR) practices were most concerned with mediating power and learning. As will be demonstrated the case study discussions that follow, record company HR practices mobilized the employee lifecycle framework and the organizational learning curriculum as technologies of regulation by which individuals and practices were made objects of knowledge and rendered vulnerable to intervention. Record label HR practices had the effect of (re)constructing and (re)producing digital music-based organizational dimensions of knowledge to (re)constitute individual meanings and identities. They endowed different individuals and practices with different types of rights through constituting sanctioned meanings and identities. Individuals, groups and practices were rendered objects of knowledge that effectively facilitated the (re)construction and (re)production of organizational dimensions of knowledge that were mobilized as

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

power/knowledge resources to enact power for the purposes of governance and control (cf. Foucault 1980b:102; Schatzki 2002a:222; Townley 1993:526).

### 5.4.1 Employee Lifecycle Framework

All three case study organizations deliberately constituted the employee lifecycle framework as a central and continuous technology of regulation by which HR, management and executives acted on individual meanings and identities in response to new and emerging digital music realities. The employee lifecycle framework is utilized to 'define the nature of work, organize the spatial and temporal dimensions of the labour process, and control the degree of effort required from the worker'(Townley 1994:52). It sanctions particular meanings and identities by which compliance to organizational ends are secured through 'gain[ing] access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of every day behaviour' (Foucault 1980a:125). Consequently, by compelling individual movement across each of the framework's categories (recruitment, selection and engagement, performance management, development and disengagement), record company HR practices constituted individuals as objects of organizational dimensions of knowledge and, thereby, subjects of power.

Category	Description
<b>Recruitment, Selection &amp; Engagement</b>	Involves selecting & engaging individuals who are best able to perform as defined by the organization
<b>Performance Management</b>	Integrative function which aligns organizational strategy or business objectives to job design, organizational structure, rewards & incentives, career planning, etc.
<b>Appraisals</b>	Assessing, recording & tracking individual performance to facilitate the distribution of rewards and development opportunities to influence organizational development
<b>Rewards</b>	Remuneration, promotion, benefits, bonuses, stock options, career opportunities, expanded roles & responsibilities, status, study programs, etc.
<b>Development</b>	Developing individuals to enhance current organizational performance & prepare them for further demands in new roles & functions
<b>Disengagement</b>	Identifying & managing out under-performers, preparing individuals for retirement & post-retirement relationship

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

The employee lifecycle framework constitutes an arena within which the organization and individuals acted on each other and by which an organization's socio-material arrangements and social and power relations came to be (re)produced and stabilized across its constellation of practices and network of relations. HR practices had the effect of (re)constructing and (re)producing *knowledge of the individual* to constitute individuals as objects of knowledge and subjects of power; *knowledge of the workforce* to (re)locate and (re)position individuals and practices in relation to each other; and *knowledge of the labour activity* to constitute individual movement through the organization's temporal and socio-material arrangements. With or without their awareness, individuals were rendered calculable and manageable objects of organizational dimensions of knowledge and vulnerable to the organization's particular mechanisms of regulation by which an internalized self-discipline could be enacted to compel them to self-model and self-monitor personal meanings and identities against the organization's sanctioned taxonomy of meanings, identities, behavioural repertoires and/or cognitive constructs.

### **5.4.2 Organizational Learning Curriculum**

To amplify the effects of the employee lifecycle framework, HR practices in each record company enacted an organizationally sanctioned learning curriculum by which learning was posited as a shared responsibility, and individuals constituted as continuous learners responsible for managing, integrating, and aligning their learning to emergent socio-material arrangements and social and power relations.

## **5.5 Summary and Conclusion**

The case studies reveal that HR practices in each of the recorded music companies worked to constitute new digital music realities, effectively by (re)producing and (re)constructing central organizational dimensions of knowledge as power/knowledge resources by which individuals were rendered calculable, known and governable and through which formal learning activities were deployed to inculcate new organizationally sanctioned digital music-based meanings, identities, behavioural repertoires and/or cognitive constructs. When mobilized in conjunction with the employee lifecycle framework, the

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

organizational learning curriculum is intrinsic to enacting intermingling modalities of power through (re)constructing and (re)producing organizational dimensions of knowledge and mobilizing these as power/knowledge resources. Individual knowing was (re)constituted as central to working in organizations; organizations as central to knowledge and knowing; learning as a shared responsibility between management, employees and the HR practice; and individuals as continuous learners responsible for managing, integrating and aligning individual requirements for knowing to organizationally sanctioned ends.

The case studies presented below explore how participation in the actions, activities and socio-material arrangements of career practices constitutes *knowing* about the recorded music industry in context of the organization, the dynamics of uncertainty, competitiveness, opportunities, threats and power relations through which participants learn to become competent members of recorded music functions<sup>73</sup> over time. The analysis of the case studies examines the mutually constitutive and coextensive effects of knowledge, knowing, and power: mediated modalities of transmission and appropriation of knowledge; regulated access to particular knowledge domains and forms of knowing; and (re)constituted individual meanings and identities within SonyBMG (SBMG), the Warner Music Group (WMG), and the Universal Music Group (UMG).

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<sup>73</sup> i.e. A&R, Sales and Marketing, Promotions, Legal and Business Affairs or Licensing  
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## 6 Case Study One: SonyBMG

*It was tough... because it was almost like taking everything you know about the company you work for and say, "Right, forget all that, put it in a box over there and file it. So, going back to production and all those things, it meant getting to know a whole new team of people... It was like starting school again in a way...*

**SB10, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG**

Individual access to knowledge and knowing in SBMG was complicated by the November 2004 Sony Music/BMG merger, which repositioned SonyBMG (SBMG) as the second largest international record company globally. More importantly, individuals working within SBMG experienced disruption to, and the (re)constitution of established roles, functions, practices and networks which rendered most forms of Sony and BMG centric knowledge and knowing obsolete and (re)configured the organization's social and power relations. This was characterized by the enactment of instrumental arrangements of power such as domination, coercion, and authority, which guided the merger of Sony and BMG into SonyBMG and constituted the newly formed organization's social and power relations. Instrumental arrangements of power are characterized by conflict, constraint and control and function through closing down individual and collective possibilities for action: those who were formally free to do otherwise, have no choice but to comply (Allen 2003).

**Table 6-1: SBMG Merger**

Dimensions	Case Study Data
<b>Socio-material Relations</b>	<i>It's pretty intense ...going through a merger was the most bizarre experience ... [for] me and my colleagues who went through it. ...it was such a disruption in your life ...because to bring two companies together and the personalities ...2005 was a pretty tough year on me... SB2, Director of Licensing, SBMG</i>
<b>Social Relations</b>	<i>...the actual merger itself ...was ...going into a whole period where you don't know what the outcome is going to be, where people are going to be...the whole point of a merger is getting rid of people, whatever they dress it up as. So, we all knew that there were friends and colleagues that weren't going to be here in three or four months time. SB11, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i>
<b>Power Relations</b>	<i>The merger was very sticky. The department that I had been working with ...had been stripped ...down from 22 people to two people, myself and my boss. So, I was very much aware that I was expendable... SB3, Product Manager, SBMG</i> <i>...it was not like a normal year because ...everyone ...was either going to lose their job or keep them ...we were going to keep them because we were quite cheap to keep ...so we all stayed ...it was very bizarre, everyone was on a kind of a down, no one was really up doing much... SB6, Junior Product Manager, SBMG</i>

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Individuals reported feeling helpless and out of control because individual and collective possibilities for action had been closed down by the threat of negative sanctions (lay-offs). Acutely aware that 'everyone was either going to lose their job or keep them', individuals described experiencing high degrees of stress, anxiety and uncertainty; of not knowing which projects or forms of participation would position them more favourably within SBMG as it developed. In having been forced to move into BMG's building and adopt some of this organization's processes and technological applications, individuals who moved from Sony Music described the experience of the merger as a 'dark place' that represented a significant 'disruption to... life...'

*It was horrible, absolutely horrible. It was a really dark place, actually, I think, actually, from speaking to friends and colleagues on the Sony side, I think it was worse over there because Sony wasn't doing particularly well at that time and BMG was doing really well... SB11, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG*

Further, in having been compelled to move into BMG's building and into using BMG's computer and office systems, individuals from Sony Music experienced the merger more as a 'takeover' whereby they were disadvantaged by disruption to established networks of relations and by the irrelevance of Sony Music centric knowledge domains and forms of knowing.

*The only complaint I have was that, for Sony people, it was almost like a takeover in one respect. Things went fine; it was only a minor little thing... I didn't go home in tears at night, it didn't really worry me but I still noticed that we kept a lot of their [BMG's] systems, their building, their this, their that. And we had to adapt to it very quickly. SB8, Junior Product Manager, SBMG*

*It felt like I started a new job. It felt like, for most Sony people, that we left our building, left our computer systems and were pretty much working for BMG now. Because we almost were, we were in their building and we're using their computer systems, it was all their office systems. SB1, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG*

The processes and procedures agreed by Sony and BMG to manage their merger had the effect of rendering individuals subject to coercion and authority and compelled them to participate in (re)positioning and (re)locating themselves within the SBMG's emerging social and power relations. Required to reapply for their jobs and compete against colleagues for continued employment, individuals

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

reported either feeling displaced (in the case of Sony employees) or over run (in the case of BMG employees).

*...we had to go through interviews to reapply for our job... I don't think you will find too many people that will say it was anything but a pretty dark period, people didn't really know what was going on, it was just a horrible process... SB11, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG*

*[I] felt like I had to prove myself again. I had new bosses, so whatever challenges came my way I just had to find a way of dealing with them. SB10, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG*

*...issues around people settling into new jobs, unusual reporting lines, in some cases where people were actually reporting to people that previously they had managed. It was quite an unusual situation, with people in new roles... SB9, HR Manager, SBMG*

Individuals were forced to take on new positions junior to the ones they held before, as their previous positions and the associated domains of knowledge and knowing, had been rendered obsolete by the merger. Others, who had formerly occupied high-status positions within Sony or BMG, lost their jobs, and yet others, who had participated in low-status temporary work experience positions, were relocated into more central and higher status roles within SBMG.

### 6.1 Individual Knowing

Given this significant disruption to established networks and social and power relations, individuals seeking to become competent members of SBMG needed to generate insights into the sanctioned set of meanings and identities linked to SBMG's emerging power/knowledge dynamics<sup>74</sup>, its language, values, culture and socio-material arrangements. The central object of knowing-in-practice for individuals, then, was to learn how to adapt to changing forms of participation. To accomplish this, interviews revealed that individuals focused predominantly on two dimensions of individual knowing: first, knowing how to reconnect with new and emerging networks and second, knowing how to participate in SBMG's merged practices.

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<sup>74</sup> i.e. which forms of knowing would be relevant, which individuals would have access to or control access to particular forms of knowledge and knowing and who is positioned where within the merged organization's social and power relations.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 6.1.1 Knowing the Networks of Relations

Individuals participating within/across recorded music industry practices must be able to discern which forms of knowing are valuable or central to a practice, which are not, as well as how and when to mobilize particular resources or network opportunities, and when not to. Networks simultaneously constitute a system of knowledge, a way of knowing and an order (system of power). To be able to participate in opportunities for digital music-based knowing-in-practice, individuals were compelled to enter into, and engage with, SBMG's emerging network of relations.

**Table 6-2: SBMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing**

Knowing Dimension	Case Study Data
	<i>...the music business is quite a closed network... if there was any information ...needed, you made friends at ...other labels... anything ...I didn't know and needed to know ...was all word-of-mouth and talking to people... SB2, Junior Marketing Manager, SonyBMG</i>
<b>Knowing the network of relations produced by the interconnection of practices</b>	<i>...I had built up relationships with people ...I'm still going around having lunch with people and talking to them about their jobs, not just about my job... and you listen to what's happening in other areas, as opposed to just hanging around with a small circle in your team. SB8, Junior Product Manager, SonyBMG</i>
	<i>...just trying to ...build new relationships with a new boss because I had new line managers to report into, learning how they work. SB10, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i>

SBMG's emerging networks functioned to facilitate or constrain access to particular power/knowledge resources by which individuals might protect their position as experts or secure roles within SBMG's new and emerging practices. Individuals identified their relations as being 'quite a closed network', in which participation was essential for gaining insights into 'what's happening in other areas' and for learning about 'new line managers... [and] learning how they work'. As a consequence, individuals reported having to 'prove' themselves through finding ways of dealing with new bosses, new practices and new roles which emerged from Sony Music and BMG's merger.

### 6.1.2 Knowing How to Co-(re)produce Merged Practices

As the SBMG merger progressed, individual meanings and identities, the organization's post-merger language, values, culture and socio-material

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

arrangements stabilized. Individuals shifted their focus from knowing the organization's network of relations to knowing how to perform competently within/across the organization's emerging mix of traditional and digital music practices.

Table 6-3: SBMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing

Knowing Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>Knowing how to enact and co-(re)produce a recorded music industry functional practice</b>	<p><i>It was tough...because it was almost like taking everything you know about the company you work for and say, "Right, forget all that, put it in a box over there and file it... it meant getting to know a whole new team of people... It was like starting school again in a way... SB10, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i></p> <p><i>...there is one girl in the office who works my team who got herself.. into a mess to the point that she just broke down because it was piling up around her desk. Now working in that atmosphere for me, is like -- how can you do that? Because it just surrounds you, because you never see it going away. SB2, Director of Licensing, SBMG</i></p> <p><i>It was a less complicated system back at Sony, in terms of, everything now is centralised, the whole of Europe, it is all centrally manufactured... back then a lot in manufacturing was done in the UK, and it was done in Germany, you had your little team, you knew who to go to. Whereas now, we have got a whole big global release umbrella here ... SB10, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i></p>

Individual knowing related to Press and Promotions within SBMG, for example, was significantly challenged by new forms of digital music interactivity facilitated by the emerging internet-based music technologies and applications. Music consumers, utilizing internet-based *pull* technologies and applications<sup>75</sup>, challenged traditional record company marketing *push* techniques that distributed music products to fans via established channels. The unintended effect for consumers in mobilizing pull technologies as power/knowledge resources was that, without awareness, they enacted indeterminate (seduction/inducement) and transverse modalities (persuasion/negotiation) of power and engaged in collective mutual action. This had the effect of altering the recorded music industry landscape through the (re)positioning and (re)locating artists, consumers and record label practices in relation to each other and of redefining the nature of a music product within an emergent digital music industry.

<sup>75</sup> social networking sites (MySpace, Facebook), fan blogs, podcasts, instant messaging, pirate and legitimate downloading sites, webcasts and streaming, etc.,

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*...you need to be media aware ...you have to know what's going on and if something is changing in media then you need to be across that. ...A great example of that is digital, for example, we now know that mobile sales can count towards the singles chart ...everything is constantly evolving, so you need to be across what is happening because it affects where we spend money and how we are going to market and promote things. ...and what is happening in the digital space that is very, very important. The business model is changing, you're using digital more and using different promotional online tools, and things like that, so that is handy to have knowledge of that area. SB8, Junior Product Manager, SBMG*

For those individuals involved in traditional Sales and Marketing within SBMG, the need for digital knowing-in-practice involved (re)constituting traditional music projects, tasks and actions to accommodate new and emerging digital music products being promoted through established, experimental and emergent digital distribution channels.

*...part of it is taking a wish list from the marketing department and trying to make that happen at the digital retailers and part of it is looking ...at the catalogue ...at how to best exploit it and then doing deals with the digital retailers to make sure it happens... it's Business Affairs actually procuring the rights... we just put together a very complicated iTunes pre-order campaign for the Kasabian album which involved doing a very fast turnaround on some tracks that were recorded ...and we had to ...make sure that when the session was finished the agreement had been signed and we could actually take it away and master that in order to start putting it into to our digital systems to get it to iTunes in time. SB7, Digital Business Accounts Manager, SBMG*

This involved the (re)creation of networks of relations characterized by unique and sometimes unanticipated digital music sales and marketing partnerships.

Success depended on securing access to opportunities to participate in the projects, tasks and actions underlying digital knowing-in-practice, and on gaining proximity to individuals who had been favourably (re)located and (re)positioned as expert practitioners within SBMG's emergent social and power relations. Through securing access to projects deemed central to SBMG's digital future, individuals hoped to facilitate movement from digital novice to expert positions by which reputational and experiential resources would be accrued and potentially mobilized to resist particular organizational modalities of power. In this manner, individuals worked to facilitate access to organizationally sanctioned digital music-based knowledge domains and opportunities for participation in increasingly complex forms of knowing-in-practice.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 6.2 Human Resource Practices

SBMG's Human Resource (HR), management and executive practices focused on restructuring the organization's hierarchy. The company (re)constituted traditional practices, functions and roles into newly created digital music-based ones while, concurrently, identifying, (re)constructing and (unintentionally) (re)producing digital music-based domains of knowledge and knowing deemed central for individuals working in a new digital music reality. Interviews revealed that SBMG's HR practice played a dominant role and power/learning tensions arose from HR's need to (re)construct and (re)produce central organizational domains of knowledge at the expense of individual requirements for knowing.

*I think the bigger thing is ...the structure and the way that it looks regardless of which company you are sitting in [or] which other labels you're sitting in. We're all facing the same issue at the moment with digital and physical and that is ...going to influence your structure or it should... SB9, HR Manager, SBMG*

*Challenges for the department would be finding a structure that works for everyone, not just me personally. Obviously, people feel that there is a sense of structure and people know who they report to and for what, each of those people knows their remit, so I think that's very important. SB1, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG*

As a consequence of the merger, individuals were rendered *less visible* and *less known* to the organization and *less subject* to traditional power/knowledge resources by which Sony and BMG's HR practices had developed understandings of individuals, their thoughts, actions, activities, attitudes and everyday practices. Sarah Davis<sup>76</sup>, Vice President (VP) of Human Resources, tasked with managing SBMG's transition to a digital music reality, focused first, on (re)structuring the organization and its hierarchy of practices, functions and roles. Secondly, she constructed organizational dimensions of knowledge through conducting a workforce inventory to understand who in the organization had which skills and competencies and how these aligned with SBMG's digital music strategy. Outputs from this workforce inventory (organizational dimensions of knowledge) were constructed and produced to sanction particular digital music-based skills and competencies over others. These were integrated into a human resource strategy designed to either (re)locate individuals within SBMG's new and emerging digital

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<sup>76</sup> pseudonym  
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## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

music-based practices, functions and roles or to identify, attract and retain appropriate new hires. Thirdly, Davis mobilized the employee lifecycle framework as a technology of regulation by which individuals were rendered known and calculable for the purposes of identifying which individuals to retain or hire and which to fire.

*...since coming in, I really noticed they don't know what good looks like for two reasons, one is because the world is changing frequently around them, so what was good five years ago isn't relevant now. And then secondly ...some of the skills that we ...need now have changed ...not necessarily from a creative perspective, but more from a business perspective. I mean, it is double the size it was before pre-merger and so, that in itself means that you do need to put in some tools and techniques that make managing people easier. Sarah Davis, VP Human Resource, SBMG*

Davis (re)constituted SBMG's HR function as an *intermediating practice* in order to facilitate change across all levels and functions within the organization. As a consequence, merger and post-merger organizational dimensions of knowledge were (re)constructed and (re)produced and mobilized as power/knowledge resources to *discipline* the interior of the organization. In this manner, she was able to identify, legitimate and reinforce particular digital music-based meanings and identities over others, thereby (re)constituting SBMG's post-merger practices and social and power relations.

*I think one of the biggest things has been ...how do you take some of the elements that are good practice in organizations, set people targets, give them feedback, develop them in a way that suits the purposes of the company. ...As a whole, given the balance ...I think every employee should have ...reviews ...how do you take some of those principles and apply them in a way that is set for ...the organization. So, one of the biggest issues that I have been grappling with is how to create that, how to create a management language in an environment where there isn't any basis to establish that on... Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

Early in the merger, Davis mobilized the performance management category of the employee lifecycle framework as a mechanism of regulation. The consequence of this was that, with or without her awareness, seduction was enacted to compel individuals to adopt SBMG sanctioned meanings and identities through indulging their requirements for knowledge and knowing to facilitate career progression (individual movement from novice to expert positions in a particular practice, function or role).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

To amplify the effects of the employee lifecycle framework, Davis developed a learning curriculum for SBMG to manage, integrate and align individual learning with the organization's vision of the emerging digital music industry.

Table 6-4: SBMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
(Pre) Recruitment, Selection & Engagement		None Applicable
Performance Management	SonyBMG Presentation Skills Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>presentation of self</b> – sanctioned appropriate use of voice, body and space</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Specialist Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>individual training needs</b> - specialist &amp; professional skills related to functional responsibilities - finance &amp; accounting accreditation, contract law, etc.</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Personality Measures in Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>technology of regulation</b> - OCEAN (Big 5 Personality Inventory) used to (re)locate individuals as objects of organizational dimensions of knowledge</li> <li>provided a sanctioned framework for performance discussions focused on individual development</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Performance Review Workshop (Appraisee)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>organizational positioning as appraisee</b> – articulated rationales for (re)positioning individuals as 'appraisee' within SBMG's social &amp; power relations</li> <li>outlined sanctioned forms of participation designed to facilitate individual compliance with the performance review process &amp; its outcomes</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Performance Review Workshop (Appraiser)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>organizational positioning as appraiser</b> - articulated rationales for (re)positioning individuals as 'appraiser' within SBMG's social &amp; power relations</li> <li>outlined sanctioned perspectives on purpose &amp; benefits of performance reviews, on individual roles in the process and organizational expectations for participation and compliance</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Digital Music Workshop (Digital Amnesty)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>novice / expert positioning</b> – identified &amp; articulated SBMG's novice threshold for knowing in the digital music space</li> <li>facilitated access to sanctioned domains of digital knowledge &amp; forms of knowing</li> </ul>
Development	SonyBMG Management Rotation Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>knowledge/power resources</b> - facilitated access to reputational and accreditational resources &amp; networks of relations central to mobilizing intermingling modalities of power within SBMG</li> <li>situated and located 'high potential employees' more favourably within SBMG's social &amp; power relations through engaging individuals in a 12 month program comprised of 2 - 3 functional placements within/across SBMG's constellation of practices</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Twin Spin Management Simulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>knowledge/power resources</b> - facilitated access to business management accreditational resources</li> <li>facilitated access to management knowledge domains &amp; forms of knowing</li> </ul>
	SonyBMG Coaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>knowledge/power resources</b> - facilitated access to senior management reputational &amp; accreditational resources</li> <li>facilitated access to one-to-one coaching to (re)constitute personal &amp; professional meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
Disengagement		None Applicable

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Townley (1993; 1994) identifies that learning activities which enable individuals to *know* their managerial style, personality type or behavioural competencies cause them to identify and act on their personal meanings and identities in a manner that is consistent with organizational priorities. SBMG's learning curriculum constituted an arena within which the organization and individuals influenced each other, and by which SBMG's socio-material arrangements and social and power relations were (re)produced and stabilized across the organization's practices and individuals' professional networks. Through developing an organizational learning curriculum consisting of targeted vocational training, mandatory professional development, opportunities for educational accreditation and other formal learning activities, Davis was in effect reinforcing the regulatory effects of the employee lifecycle framework.

### **6.2.1 Performance Management**

In order to promote individual commitment to and to identify with the organization, Davis mobilized HRM knowledge/truth resources to construct new roles and accountabilities and to implement performance measurement techniques by which individuals were compelled to adopt newly sanctioned digital music-based meanings and identities.

*...we have got to land the role. What is it the new roles look like? What do the new accountabilities look like? What do the new skills look like...and then to actually say, "Where are you looking for your talent pools?" to be able to say, "Okay, you need to get people ready from this group to be able to step up here"....  
Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

Performance management techniques manifest control in organizations to align the actions of individuals with the interests of the organization (Stiles 1999:60-61). SBMG's HR practice mobilized the organizational curriculum to legitimate the performance management category of the employee lifecycle framework through facilitating management access to sanctioned knowledge domains and knowing by which individuals might be rendered vulnerable.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 6-5: SBMG - HR Projects, Tasks & Actions - Performance Management

<b>Description</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>focuses on nurturing &amp; maintaining individual commitment to &amp; identity with the organization through the strategic development of personal, functional &amp; professional expertise over the span of an individual's career</i></li> </ul>		
<b>Objectives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>performance reviews</b> –aligned individual performance to the organization's requirements               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ inculcated &amp; reinforced sanctioned meanings &amp; identities &amp; linked these to sanctioned behaviours</li> <li>○ established a culture in which individuals were responsible for continuous learning</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>rewards</b> – mobilized as a resource to enact intermingling modalities of power               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ aligned individuals to organizationally sanctioned meanings, identities &amp; behaviours</li> <li>○ delineated performance-based remuneration strategies to facilitate differential access to organizational perquisites &amp; benefits</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		
<b>Human Resource Projects, Tasks &amp; Actions</b>	<b>Projects</b>	<b>Tasks</b>	<b>Actions</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• talent management</li> <li>• succession planning</li> <li>• organizational 'human capital' resource planning</li> <li>• work reviews</li> <li>• forward work planning</li> <li>• individual support &amp; development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reward, salary &amp; incentive design</li> <li>• reward alignment to performance development measures</li> <li>• competency model design</li> <li>• performance metrics</li> <li>• individuals cross referenced against performance levels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• co-ordinating performance reviews &amp; self-appraisals</li> <li>• rating &amp; ranking individuals</li> <li>• assessing &amp; implementing performance based rewards</li> <li>• (re)deploying individuals across practices</li> </ul>

Performance reviews were mobilized by SBMG's HR practice as a mechanism of regulation to enact power by which individuals were compelled to adopt sanctioned behaviours, meanings and identities considered central to the organization's emerging digital music reality.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 6-6: SBMG - Technology of Regulation Performance Reviews Q&A**  
[document excerpt] July 2006

Modality of Power	Case Study Data
<b>Authority</b>	<p>... I have regular meetings with my manager and I know how I'm doing in general. Do I still have to do this review?</p> <p>Yes. Ged and the Senior Management Team have committed to all employees having a performance review before September. This will be a formal review and should be in addition to on-going meetings with your line manager which would tend to focus on day-to-day priorities rather than your long-term development.</p>
<b>Manipulation</b>	<p><b>What is the point of doing this review?</b></p> <p>You will identify key strengths and development areas and then agree key priorities for the rest of the year. This will give you some direction and will form the basis of your development plan to help you achieve what you want from your career at SONY BMG.</p>
<b>Inducement / Seduction</b>	<p>The Company will use this information to help create training plans for the Company and the reviews will also inform bonus and salary decisions.</p> <p><b>How will this benefit me?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. It will give you the chance to speak your mind and get your point of view across</li> <li>2. You can discuss your development and longer term aspirations and agree some action plans</li> <li>3. You can get feedback on how you are viewed and the Company's expectations of you</li> <li>4. You can get clear direction in your job</li> <li>5. You can give feedback to your manager ...</li> </ol>

SBMG's HR practice mobilized the learning curriculum in conjunction with knowledge/truth resources, such as the *Developmental Discussion Guideline* (below), to enact power in order to articulate and disseminate organizationally sanctioned rationales of the purpose and benefits of performance reviews.

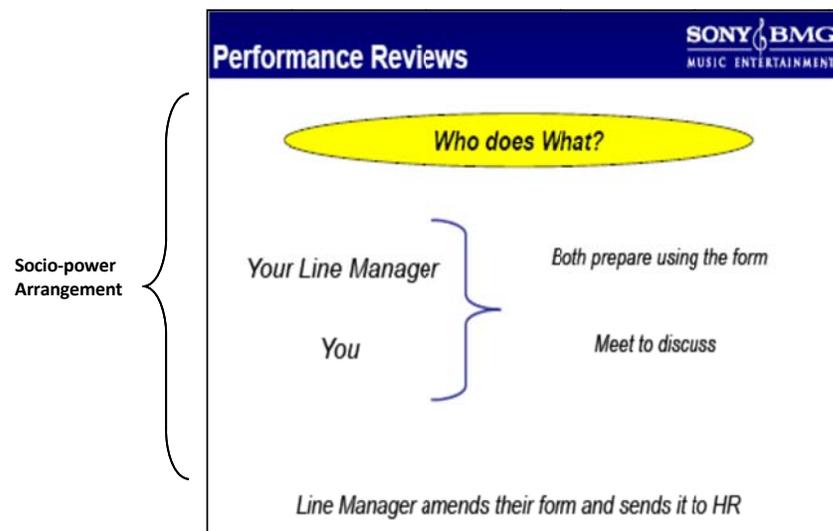
**Table 6-7: SBMG - Developmental Discussion Guidelines**  
[document excerpt] July 2006

Modality of Power	Case Study Data
<b>Authority</b>	<p><b>Developmental Discussion Guidelines</b></p> <p>The procedure for developmental discussions will be individually tailored to meet the needs of each person. The key people involved in this will be you, your line manager and a member of the HR team or an external consultant who specialises in this tool.</p>
<b>Seduction Inducement</b>	<p>Assuming that you agree to participate in this, generally the following will apply:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. You complete the test under the guidance of a member of the HR team who is qualified as a test administrator. The results are analysed and compared to average results from a large replies sample or the population</li> <li>2. Your job description is analysed to determine the relationship of the personality profile to the job role.</li> <li>3. You have a development meeting with the assessor...</li> <li>4. The nature of the personality inventory is explained</li> <li>5. Together, you examine and discuss the personality profile</li> <li>6. Specific developmental feedback is provided</li> <li>7. You formulate a personal action plan to address developmental needs...</li> <li>8. The profile, developmental targets and action plan items are discussed with your line manager...</li> </ol>
<b>Manipulation</b>	<p><b>What happens if you don't want to participate?</b></p> <p>It clearly becomes more difficult to determine your development needs and therefore your prospective career progression.</p>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Davis can be seen to have mobilized Human Resource Management (HRM) knowledge/truth resources, such as the *Performance Reviews Q&A*, and managers' and senior executives' location within SBMG's emerging hierarchy, to enact authority and manipulation (determinate modes of power) and inducement and seduction (indeterminate modes of power) by which individual compliance to participating in performance reviews was secured. Authority legitimized the organization's internal rationale for positioning individuals as *appraisees* or *appraisers*; seduction and inducement legitimated the process and compelled individuals to disclose personal meanings and identities; and manipulation constituted within individuals the understanding that career progression requires participation in performance reviews. To legitimate individual positioning as appraiser or appraisee within the socio-power arrangements of the performance review, SBMG's HR managers constructed the *Performance Review Workshop for Appraisees* and the *Performance Review Workshop for Appraisers* to constitute managers as appraisers and non-managers or direct reports as appraisees. In this manner, individuals were predisposed to adopt pre-determined actions, activities and behaviours associated with their particular positioning and location within the socio-power arrangement of a performance review.

Figure 6-1: Performance Reviews – 'Who Does What'



## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

In articulating 'who does what' and in 'framing' the roles involved in the experience of a performance review, this PowerPoint slide taken from the appraisee workshop's learning materials demonstrates how both curriculum and pedagogy can be mobilized as a technique for regulating individual meanings and identities in a manner that maintains, reinforces and legitimates SBMG's social and power relations (cf. Antonacopoulou 2000, 2006c, 2006d; Chappell et al. 2003; Worsham 2001). This slide, and the one that follows, constitutes organizationally sanctioned understandings of the 'you' (appraisee) and the 'line manager' (appraiser) involved and, in doing so, legitimates SBMG's performance management process and inculcates organizationally sanctioned rationales, meanings and identities constituting the socio-power arrangement of a performance review. As demonstrated by the slide below, authority was enacted to compel individuals to participate in performance reviews through the clear articulation of Senior Management support and commitment for the process. Negotiation was enacted as a two way process of communication between appraisees and appraisers characterized by differential access to resources.

Figure 6-2: Performance Reviews – Rob and Senior Management Team

**Performance Reviews** **SONY BMG**  
MUSIC ENTERTAINMENT

*Rob & the Senior Management Team have committed that all employees will have a review by the end of September*

**Why is it important?**

*Sony BMG continues to change to stay ahead. We need all our people to be great*

*The whole Company will go through this & we will identify our strengths and areas that we need to focus on*

*You'll have a two-way discussion with your manager about what you've achieved and how you've gone about it. You will also agree key priorities for the rest of the year*

Authority

Sanctioned Rationale

Negotiation

Although SBMG's HR practice purported that performance reviews functioned in an atmosphere of reciprocity, it engaged individuals positioned as *managers* and

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*subordinates* within a socio-power arrangement that involved no obligation for either side to agree with the other. This was underscored by the finding that both appraisees and appraisers were not required to nor provided with an opportunity to indicate agreement or disagreement with a performance review assessment.

*...we have ...said to managers, there will be times when you need to agree to disagree, but as a manager you are the person that ultimately will make a judgement call on what is an acceptable level of behaviour in that particular role. So you will make the ultimate decision... you might want to recognize when you write up the form that they didn't agree with their rating, so that you are making the final decision on what the rating actually is, ...we just didn't feel it was necessary for people to actually sign to say, "Yes, I agree"... SB9, HR Manager, SBMG*

The effect of performance reviews was to enable SBMG's managers and HR practice to gain access to individuals' personal knowledge in order to (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions of knowledge which informed the adoption of other mechanisms of regulation such as behavioural repertoires or cognitive schema for use across the employee lifecycle framework. Power enacted within performance reviews was obscured by the construction of appraisees as *confessants* required to self-reflect and disclose personal or professional shortcomings to line managers constructed as *confessors* (cf. Townley 1994:118). As a consequence of the socio-power arrangement of the performance review, confessants were encouraged to exercise self-discipline, identify and attend to personal deficiencies, and (re)constitute personal meanings and identities in a manner deemed beneficial to SBMG.

### **6.2.1.1 Behavioural Repertoires**

Behaviourist techniques and practices applied to learning strategies within organizations constitute an underlying rationale and framework for HR practices<sup>77</sup> focused on constructing organizational environments (stimulus) which facilitate, direct and manage individual learning activities in organizations. In response to the performance requirements of particular roles, levels and functions, organizational structures, processes and procedures constitute learning opportunities according to organizationally sanctioned behavioural repertoires

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<sup>77</sup> i.e. human resource development, recruitment, retention and appraisal processes, leadership development etc.

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

(response). At the outset of the merger, Davis worked exclusively with managers and senior executives to construct a sanctioned taxonomy of behaviours: business knowledge, digital understanding, achieving results, thinking style, people skills, and entrepreneurial mind-set, designed to support SBMG's shift to a new digital music reality.

*...in putting together basic behaviours and performance review forms, we ...worked from draft copies ...and then had been speaking to some key senior managers rather than employees in the business, to get their views on a) whether it made sense and how it would be perceived process wise and the actual contents. There were conversations, quite informal conversations, with them [managers and executives] so that we actually then agreed the final version ...being rolled out. SB9, HR Manager, SBMG*

By engaging in a collective and integrative series of informal conversations, Davis worked to facilitate a two-way process of communication between disparate groups (managers, executives, HR) for the purposes of securing agreement on those skills, behaviours and competencies to be sanctioned by SBMG. Through mobilizing her role as VP HR and the HR profession's knowledge/truth resources, Davis used persuasion and negotiation to secure compliance with the sanctioning of preferred skills, behaviours, and competencies. This process was characterized by differences in resources at the disposal of each group and asymmetrical relations that involved no obligation to comply on the part of all those involved.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 6-8: SBMG - Behaviour Descriptions**  
[document excerpt] July 2006

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
	...
	BUSINESS KNOWLEDGE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the way you see your role in the context of the Company, the wider industry and how you use this to deliver results.</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>	DIGITAL UNDERSTANDING <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It explores how you keep up-to-date with changes in the industry and how you apply this knowledge.</li> <li>• How we understand the downloads market, the emerging mobile market, new products, channels and services (such as ring tones, social networking sites) and how we look at the marketing and commercial benefits of these new opportunities.</li> </ul>
	ACHIEVING RESULTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Looks at how you approach your job and overcome problems to achieve results.</li> </ul>
	THINKING STYLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This looks at how you solve problems that you encounter and use your knowledge and judgement to make appropriate decisions.</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the Individual</b>	PEOPLE SKILLS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This focuses on team working and relationship building inside and outside the Company, as well as your ability to communicate effectively.</li> </ul>
	ENTREPRENEURIAL MINDSET <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This describes how you find new, better ways of doing things by being more creative.</li> <li>• It's also about how you approach the challenges you encounter.</li> </ul>
	...

Each dimension of SBMG's taxonomy was weighted according to pre-determined behavioural measures and benchmarks for particular roles or functions and mobilized as power/knowledge resources to enact specific dividing practices by which the measurement, ranking, comparison, rewarding, and (re)location of individuals was accomplished within the organization's emerging digital music-based practices. This is consistent with Townley's (1993:531; 1994) finding that that behavioural specifications enable organizations to define a taxonomy and hierarchy of behavioural repertoires by which individual activities are rendered visible, known and quantifiable and, therefore, governable. Through applying behavioural repertoires to SBMG's workforce, Davis was able to evaluate individuals and understand how well aligned they were to SBMG's sanctioned constructs.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*...we are going to put people through [and measure them against] against our core behaviours; these are the standards we expect. So, focusing more on the behaviours and their management and leadership potential to take people throughout and say "Okay, we are going to ...evaluate everybody at senior level and then look at skills separately, but you start with behaviours... it is really a benchmarking exercise, ...it's an individual's view of another individual ....because what the individual will get out of it is that they will get a strong sense of what they are doing... Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

Behavioural repertoires were mobilized as a mechanism of regulation within performance reviews, effectively to (re)construct and (re)produce knowledge of the workforce to enact manipulation and seduction by which individuals were encouraged to adopt sanctioned meanings and identities and comply with being (re)located within SBMG's emerging digital music reality. As indicated in the quote above, 'focusing on the behaviour and their management and leadership potential' involves articulating individual and collective activity as behavioural repertoires. These constitute an underlying rationale for the mobilization of performance management practices by which *optimal organizational environments* are constructed to render individual actions and activities visible, known and quantifiable for the purposes of governance (cf. Townley 1993:121, 531; 1994).

When guided by a trained appraiser, privileged access to individuals' bodies, thoughts and actions (re)constructed during HR performance reviews can be mobilized via organizational dimensions of knowledge to compel individuals to self-model and self-monitor personal behaviours, meanings and identities against an organization's sanctioned taxonomy (Deetz 1996; Townley 1993, 1994). Davis, for example, mobilized learning activities within SBMG's organizational learning curriculum to inculcate within individuals a sanctioned vocabulary for self-management. In relating individual and group learning activities directly to pre-determined behavioural repertoires assigned to particular roles, levels, functions, structures, processes and procedures within SBMG, she compelled individuals to link personal behaviours, meanings and identities to organizationally sanctioned norms, knowledge domains, and forms of knowing. Through the premise of addressing personal or professional deficiencies as assessed against SBMG's sanctioned taxonomy of behaviours, individuals were compelled to set development goals and act on personal meanings and identities to increase

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## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

personal effectiveness while contributing to SBMG's agenda for digital change and renewal.

To reinforce this, Davis introduced managers to particular knowledge domains and forms of knowing related to the use of *conditioned and instrumental learning* techniques in performance reviews. Positioned as appraisers, managers were afforded access to *conditioned learning* knowledge/truth resources which, when mobilized as praise or overt expressions of appreciation, could be used to seduce appraisees into complying with sanctioned behaviours, meanings and identities. Managers were also afforded access to *instrumental learning* knowledge/truth resources and techniques by which rewards, incentives or disincentives were mobilized to enact manipulation through selectively indulging individual needs, wants and desires. In contrast, for those individuals positioned as appraisees, SBMG's HR practice constrained access to these same knowledge/truth resources in order to secure individual compliance with the performance review process. In this manner, appraisees were rendered willing subjects of power who, in seeking to progress their careers, were compelled to adopt SBMG's sanctioned range of behaviours.

### 6.2.1.2 Cognitive Schema

Cognitivist techniques and practices focus on developing individual cognitive abilities and frameworks conducive to the organization's purposes. Human resource and management practices are centrally concerned with identifying and managing cognitive differences across individuals through targeting particular personality traits and cognitive schema across such dimensions as: *cognitive abilities*<sup>78</sup>; *cognitive controls*<sup>79</sup>; *cognitive styles*<sup>80</sup>; and *learning styles*<sup>81</sup> to render individuals subject to organizational dimensions of knowledge (Jonassen and Gabrowski 1993 cited in Knowles et al. [1978] 2005:205-207). Cognitivist mechanisms of regulation were mobilized by Davis to secure individual compliance with adopting sanctioned cognitive schema and, thereby, compelling

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<sup>78</sup> psychometric models of intelligence

<sup>79</sup> function to regulate perception, patterns of thinking that control the ways in which individuals process and reason about information

<sup>80</sup> reflect ways in which individuals process information and make sense of the world

<sup>81</sup> individual preferences for processing information and assessed by self-reported preferences

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

them to act on personal meanings and identities and align them more closely with SBMG's requirements.

*... what I've done is I have brought in a personality questionnaire that we are using for selection, induction and development, which focuses on looking at five key aspects of personality, which is how stable you are, how extroverted or introverted you are, how open you are to new experiences, conscientiousness and agreeableness [OCEAN]. We are looking at that as being a fundamental foundation for development... I wanted to use the same tool for selection as for development because ...if you understand yourself better and how you relate one, to the role, but two, to the business, ... [then] openness is a great indicator of how you will manage through change... Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

The OCEAN taxonomy rendered individuals visible and comparable against organizationally sanctioned determinations of cognitive role profiles deemed appropriate for particular roles across five pre-determined cognitive factors: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion/introversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.

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**Table 6-9: SBMG - Technology of Regulation OCEAN Factor Analysis Tool**  
[document excerpt] July 2006

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<b>Openness to experience</b>	rates an individual's approach to life - independent vs. conforming, broad-minded vs. narrow-minded, creative vs. practical
<b>Conscientiousness</b>	rates an individual's tolerance for risk - high vs. low tolerance for risk, well-organized vs. disorganized, well-disciplined vs. impulsive
<b>Extraversion – Introversion</b>	rates whether an individual is sociable or assertive - sociable vs. reserved, assertive vs. timid
<b>Agreeableness</b>	rates individual interaction with others - warm-hearted vs. ruthless, trusting vs. distrusting, helpful vs. uncooperative
<b>Neuroticism</b>	rates an individual's emotional stability depressive vs. calm, secure vs. insecure, maladjusted vs. well adjusted

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Davis interposed the OCEAN taxonomy between each of the employee lifecycle framework categories to (re)construct organizational knowledge of the individual in order to render them subject to classification, enumeration, and hierarchical ordering within/across SBMG's emerging socio-material arrangements and social and power relations.

*...I wanted to use the same tool for selection as for development because... I wanted something that was one, simple, two, you could run across the employee lifecycle and ...something that was digestible, because I think, without that foundation of people understanding we all have strengths and weaknesses, then*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*you're not going to be able to really maximise development. Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

Townley (1993; 1994:117) argues that technologies of regulation, such as OCEAN, link individual identity to organizational requirements through facilitating managerial insights into the hidden affective and aspirational dimensions of an individual's self-knowledge. Davis developed the *SonyBMG Personality Measures in Development* course to inculcate within individuals OCEAN's cognitivist language for self-management to secure compliance with setting personal and professional development goals that would contribute substantively to SBMG's agenda of organizational change and digital renewal.

*... [through] the personality aspects of the personality questionnaire ...we are looking to understand ...how people set against the average. So, are you more or less? And if you are more, or if you are less conscientious, does that matter in a creative role? Probably not, because creativity and lack of conscientiousness ...go hand-in-hand. But if you're looking at it for a financial role, we would say that is going to be a problem. So ...there isn't an absolute standard ...we like people to ...be open to new experiences, high achievement seeking, so that they are driven and open to change or they will learn quickly. They are two indicators that I think are absolutes. Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG*

In conceding HR and management access to their private internal mental states, (cognitive constructs and schema), individuals were made vulnerable to instrumental (authority and manipulation) and associational arrangements of power (inducement, persuasion and negotiation) and compelled to act on and (re)constitute personal and professional meanings and identities. Simply through participating in performance reviews to achieve personal and career wants and desires, individuals were compelled to discipline themselves and deny aspects of their self.

### 6.3 Senior Executive Practice

In conjunction with HR, management and senior executive practices can be seen to have mediated power/learning tensions within SBMG to sanction the organization's post-merger digital music reality through enacting associational arrangements of power to initiate, frame, and sanction particular forms of dialogue. Ged Doherty, SBMG's Chairman and Chief Operating Officer (CEO), mobilized resources attached to his role and hierarchical position to exercise

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

power with rather than over others through (re)constructing and (re)producing organizational dimensions of knowledge. To foster productive social relations, he assembled four *Ideas and Vision* focus groups and deployed an *Organizational Effectiveness Survey*.

Table 6-10: SBMG - Organizational Effectiveness Survey  
[document excerpt] July 2006

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'	<p><b>Why undertake this exercise?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assist us in understanding whether our culture and leadership practices are consistent with best practices -- i.e. what great companies do</li> <li>Understand to what extent our existing culture and leadership will support our new vision and strategy</li> </ul>
Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)	<p><b>What are the benefits?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Helps to identify where best to concentrate our change effort</li> <li>Creates a benchmark against which to measure the success of any changes</li> <li>Creates an open communication channel for all employees to have their say</li> </ul>
Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'	<p><i>The survey is the start-point &amp; should be followed by focus groups/team meetings to deepen understanding of key themes identified.</i></p>
Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)	<p><b>Four Key Components Measured</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How aligned are our employees with the aims of the organization?</li> <li>How engaged are they in SonyBMG's objectives</li> <li>How adaptable do they believe we are as a Company?</li> </ul>
Knowledge of the individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How well do we deliver as a Company against what we set out to achieve?</li> </ul> <p>...</p>

Doherty can thus be interpreted as having actively engaged SBMG's workforce to (re)construct and (re)produce knowledge/truth resources across all three organizational dimensions. He did so through ensuring that the Organizational Effectiveness Survey captured relevant information and measured four components identified as central to SBMG's change initiatives: organizational alignment, organizational adaptability, individual engagement and delivery (change implementation). Further, in doing so, he compelled individuals from different functions to volunteer to participate in four cross-functional Ideas and Vision groups to (re)construct and (re)produce additional organizational dimensions of knowledge in order to establish control over SBMG's future.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 6-11: SBMG - Ideas and Vision Groups**  
**Ged Doherty, Chairman and CEO, SBMG**  
 [email excerpt] Sent: 29 August 2006 11:47

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>	<b>Subject: VISION GROUP</b>
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	<p>As I mentioned at our conference, we are currently looking at various aspects of our company - e.g.: new business model - and I would like to know if anyone is interested in joining a group to help us create a vision for the company, i.e.:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• who/what are we</li> <li>• what do we want to be</li> <li>• what kind of company do you want to work for</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the individual</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• from your point of view, what would make you stay</li> <li>• how green should the company be</li> <li>• what makes us stand out from our competitors, etc.?</li> </ul> <p>...The focus should be on SONYBMG UK, not SONYBMG. Not only for practical reasons, but more because in spite of how 'globally aware' we all are, it's still what's on our doorstep that interests and affects us most.</p> <p>Where do you start? Everywhere. One or two initiatives won't achieve this alone, but many.</p>
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	<p><b>EXAMPLES OF INITIATIVES</b></p> <p>Outside of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• defining the business model for the 'new record company'</li> <li>• dropping the big brother act (no DRM, no court-cases, no policing music)</li> <li>• changing artist deals in the artist's favour</li> <li>• overhauling pricing structure so consumers feel they're getting their money's worth</li> <li>• making it easier to access/stream/purchase music</li> <li>• encourage interactivity with the consumer</li> <li>• listen to their ideas, enlist their help</li> <li>• set a precedent for 'legal' peer 2 peer sharing</li> <li>• pioneer the 'music like water' subscription mode</li> </ul> <p>If you are interested, please let Teresa know ASAP as I would like the group to meet this week.</p> <p>...</p>

In sanctioning mutual collective action to facilitate *looking inwards* and *looking outwards*, the effect was that Doherty initiated the organization's transformation into a digital music company through (re)producing, (re)constructing and (re)aligning SBMG's organizational dimensions of knowledge by which its socio-material arrangements and social and power relations were (re)constituted. In *looking inwards* he facilitated the (re)production and (re)construction of knowledge of the workforce and knowledge of the actions and activities undergirding new digital music practices in order to transform SBMG's socio-material arrangements. In *looking outwards*, he reintegrated and realigned SBMG's new digital music reality and its emerging social and power relations into

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

the recorded music industry's (re)constituted networks of relations and connections-in-action.

**Table 6-12: SBMG - Vision Group Presentation**  
[document excerpt]

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>SBMG's Vision</b>	Transforming SONY BMG Our vision has SONY BMG built on TRUST and RESPECT Our vision looks INWARDS first, then OUTWARDS
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	<p><b>Our Vision - Looking INWARDS, we transform SONY BMG by "getting our house in order":</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trust and respect – nurturing across all our dealings</li> <li>• "One team" mentality – putting "SONY v BMG" to an end</li> <li>• Home grown successes – we are proud to be SONY BMG UK</li> <li>• Self-sufficiency – less reliant on US for our product</li> <li>• Cross-pollination – breaking down the walls</li> <li>• Simplifying – our processes, structures, communications</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>	<p><b>Our Vision - Looking INWARDS, we transform SONY BMG by "getting our house in order":</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Label subcultures – nurture uniqueness within same core values</li> <li>• Accountability – "stop scoring points, start scoring goals"</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial spirit – creating the future ourselves</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The music-loving company – "involving everyone in the music"</li> <li>• Digital – not the future, but the here and now</li> <li>• Ethical/environmental – as trendsetters and tastemakers, we can influence attitudes by example</li> <li>• Robust infrastructure – "investing in the future"</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	<p><b>Our Vision - Looking OUTWARDS, we transform SONY BMG by:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nurturing trust and respect with artists and their advisers, and with consumers</li> <li>• Redefine – we are a "music and entertainment" company</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the individual</b>	

In addition, Doherty compelled individuals to participate in predetermined forms of digital knowing-in-practice through enacting inducement, an indeterminate mode of power, in conjunction with authority and seduction to declare an organization-wide *Digital Amnesty Month*.

*...Ged ...wanted to have a Digital Amnesty Month to help people who are a bit embarrassed or aren't aware of basic things like how do you download a track. Now I can download ...from iTunes ...but I wouldn't know how to download something from an illegal site. I wouldn't want to, maybe that's because it's drummed into your head that you shouldn't be doing it, so I don't know how to do that. ...He said people need to understand the whole digital world... things are changing at a dramatic pace. SB2, Director of Licensing, SBMG*

*I think he's just initiating an amnesty to get everyone up to speed and then, afterwards, there will be no excuse for anyone to say, "Well, I didn't know about iTunes." ...I imagine there will be a tutorial, the legal way of getting music, the*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*illegal way of getting music and all the different things in between. SB4, Digital Product Manager, SBMG*

Through authority and seduction, Doherty stabilized digital music-based power/knowledge resources across the three central organizational dimensions of knowledge and secured consensus on and compliance with his vision for SBMG's future in the digital music industry.

**Table 6-13: SBMG - Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge**

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'	<p><i>I guess the key thing about the last year has been that, acting on the immediate things, working with them on the immediate priorities in the immediate people issues. SB9, HR Manager, SBMG</i></p> <p><i>Challenges for the department would be finding a structure that works for everyone, not just me personally. Obviously, people feel that there is a sense of structure and people know who they report to and for what, each of those people knows their remit, so I think that's very important. SB1, Senior Marketing Manager, SBMG</i></p>
Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)	<p><i>...we have got to land the roles; What do the new roles look like? What do the new accountabilities look like? What do the new skills look like? ...then actually say, "Where are you looking for your talent pools?" to be able to say, "Okay, you need to get people ready from this group to be able to step up here." I mean, that is the next piece. Sarah Davis, VP Human Resources, SBMG</i></p> <p><i>...in terms of the more long-term things, ...of what is the structure going to look like going forward and helping people in certain divisions that wanted support in terms of creating training plans and that kind of thing. SB9, HR Manager, SBMG</i></p> <p><i>...Futures is the area of SonyBMG that was set up in response to the declining record sales across the industry as a whole, so, it deals with stuff like ring tones, digital downloads, and then our area which is brand partnerships. So, they are all sort of more at the cutting-edge in ways in which record companies might make more money in the future as record... SB5, Brand Partnership Coordinator, SBMG</i></p>
Knowledge of the individual	<p><i>...I thought they were fine ways of measuring how people perform because they have to apply to the whole company. There was one issue in there about the digital marketplace and how do you view your understanding and knowledge of the digital marketplace. Obviously, for us who are in Futures, we are at the forefront of that, so we are going to answer those questions in a very different way than somebody in finance. But, you can understand that they do have to standardize it... SB5, Brand Partnership Coordinator, SBMG</i></p>

Through mobilizing SBMG's (re)constructed and (re)produced organizational dimensions of knowledge as digital music-based power/knowledge resources, Doherty realigned SBMG's socio-material arrangements and practices; rendered individuals known and governable; sanctioned new digital norms, values, meanings and identities; and facilitated consensus on and compliance to an emerging digital music-based social order.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

### 6.4 Summary

Foucault (1980: 125) recognized that in order to (re)constitute individual meanings and identities and secure individual compliance with an organization's emerging socio-material arrangements 'power had to be able to gain access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour'. In managing the merger between Sony and BMG, Davis mobilized the employee lifecycle framework talent as a technology of regulation by which she was able to (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions of knowledge of individuals entering into SBMG as well as knowledge of the newly merged workforce and the organization's (re)constituted constellation of practices. By integrating and coordinating HR's set of projects, tasks, actions, methodologies, and mechanisms of regulation across the employee lifecycle framework's series of categories, Davis's activities had the effect of (re)constructing and (re)producing new forms of organizational dimensions of knowledge to replace those rendered obsolete by the merger. These were mobilized as power/knowledge resources to enact behaviourist and cognitivist mechanisms of regulation by which HR was constituted as a mediating practice and individuals inculcated with a sanctioned cognitive schema through which personal meanings and identities were (re)constituted to address SBMG's post-merger requirements for digital music-based knowledge and knowing. This was reinforced by compelling individuals to participate in the organization's learning curriculum by which particular pedagogical techniques were used to legitimate organizationally sanctioned knowledge domains and forms of knowing.

As enacted by Doherty, SBMG's Senior Executive practice worked in concert with HR to mobilize organizational resources by which individuals were rendered subject to power. In mobilizing the Organizational Effectiveness Survey and the four Ideas and Vision focus groups, for example, Doherty successfully (re)constituted individuals as agents of organizational change charged with (re)constructing and (re)producing the power/knowledge resources required to *discipline* the interior of SBMG and constitute new digital roles, functions and

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

practices. He achieved this through developing common digital vocabularies<sup>82</sup>, sanctioning the formation of new digital identities by which individuals might be ordered and made known, and, finally, by (re)positioning individuals as *digital novice and digital experts* in relation to each other within SBMG.

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<sup>82</sup> organizational sayings and doings  
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## 7 Case Study Two: Warner Music Group

*...it's a very weird time; there [are] always rumours. There [are] rumours with the EMI merger, the EMI takeover. We've had a difficult time at Warner, we need to be number one again, we need to come back and fight again...*  
**WMB, Head of TV Licensing, WMG**

Individual networks, as well as organizational domains of knowledge and knowing, within the Warner Music Group (WMG) were disrupted by the 2004 Bronfman-led acquisition (demerger) of WMG from Time-Warner, and by the numerous rounds of lay-offs<sup>83</sup> which rendered the organization more vulnerable to an on-going threat of a hostile merger or takeover<sup>84</sup> by Electric and Music Industries Ltd. (EMI).

**Table 7-1: WMG - Acquisition, Lay-offs and Mergers**

Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>Acquisition</b>	<p><i>... [in] moving out of ...AOL Time Warner, we've lost a lot of the outside support that we would have had for certain things ...there's been quite a bit of pressure since we separated from Time Warner ...just from that lack of support really. WM6, VP Finance</i></p> <p><i>...we don't know either way what's happening and that affects the department and the company ...the whole ethic of how we work changes... WM13, Royalty Manager, WMG</i></p>
<b>Lay-offs</b>	<p><i>...we are ...in an industry that is in flux. Nobody knows if they've got a job next month, let alone in six months' time. It's been like that for a long time, it's not a nice situation... WM7, Head of Catalogue Marketing, WMG</i></p> <p><i>Since I started in my particular job eight months ago, the department has ...contracted and exploded again. We have had an awful lot of change in personnel and marketing people and new managers, it's a whole new face now... The problem is with an increase in work and an increase in department, controls become less controlling... WM17, Planning Assistant, WMG</i></p> <p><i>I think that everybody is aware that we are under-resourced in just about every area. There is a very, very tight headcount policy right now because the company is in flux; nobody knows quite where we're going. WM7, Head of Catalogue Marketing, WMG</i></p>
<b>Mergers, Takeovers &amp; Reverse Takeovers</b>	<p><i>...there's been a lot of change in recent years, and there's been a threat of merger for about five or six years. ...people ...started to believe it was going to happen a few weeks ago [July 2006], but then that ...reverse offer, it was like, "Oh!" ...I think people are ...sick of it being on the cards." Helen James, HR Manager, WMG</i></p> <p><i>There [are] ...rumours all the time about possible buyouts or mergers with other record companies and it may or may not come to pass... But, consequently ...nobody's spending any money and they won't bring in any more staff ...everybody is pretty much flat out... WM7, Head of Catalogue Marketing, WMG</i></p>

Having been under the threat of merger for over five years, most of WMG's departments were constantly in flux as they '...contracted and exploded again'.

<sup>83</sup> WMG saved \$250 million in the months after Bronfman's acquisition, by cutting jobs, wages, and company investments (Jelveh 2008).

<sup>84</sup> In May 2006, Bronfman rejected a takeover bid from EMI of \$31 a share (Jelveh 2008).

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Individuals were expected to assume extra responsibilities not knowing whether they would still have a job 'in the next month, let alone in six months' time'. In 'having been removed from Time-Warner', individuals 'lost a lot of the outside support' and struggled with disruption to established personal and professional networks which had, in the past, been a vibrant source of industry and organizational knowledge and knowing. As those practices, functions and roles which had formerly been integrated into Time-Warner were (re)constituted into an independent WMG, individuals inevitably lost access to particular forms of knowledge and knowing-in-practice and experienced constrained access to those expert practitioners who remained within Time-Warner (i.e. financial and accounting).

As a consequence of the acquisition of WMG from Time-Warner, individuals experienced determinant arrangements of power. As the 'whole ethic of how [they] work[ed] chang[ed]', individuals reported feeling subject to a new hierarchical order which resulted in an increase in organizational conflict, constraint and control (domination). Individuals also conveyed that they had lost control over their functions and roles due to on-going lay-offs and the uncertainty created by on-going and persistent threats of merger, takeover, or reverse takeover (coercion). As in the previous case study, much of the Time-Warner-based knowledge and knowing was rendered obsolete and irrelevant to individuals participating in reconstituted practices and they struggled with the uncertainty of knowing which projects, tasks and actions would position them more favourably within an independent WMG. With 'nobody ...spending any money [or] bring[ing] in any more staff', WMG was found to be chronically under-resourced. Individuals were '[working] pretty much flat out' in roles which merged a number of functions that had been previously been shared across many individuals at Time-Warner.

### ***7.1 Individual Knowing***

The transition from working within Time-Warner, an integrated communications, media and entertainment corporation, to working within WMG, an independent record company, meant that the company was much more vulnerable and

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

exposed to the threat of new and emerging digital music technologies. Individuals, having had no choice but to take on extra roles, and concerned with being made redundant, focused on reconstituting all three dimensions of individual knowing-in-practice: knowing the recorded music industry; knowing the network of relations; and knowing how to do their jobs in context of the record company and the recorded music industry (enact and co-reproduce recorded music industry practices).

### 7.1.1 Knowing the Recorded Music Industry

Having been 'sold out of Time Warner' and having had to deal with the on-going possibility of merger over many years, individuals reported having to come to terms with a recorded music industry in flux and understanding WMG's position within this emerging digital music reality.

Table 7-2: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
	<p><i>...the general consensus has been that as things change, as technologies change ...people would like to know more and more about what goes on and they would like to know ...how the industry is changing... WM5, Special Projects Coordinator, WMG</i></p>
	<p><i>...we've been in this [merger]position three years ...in our case ...we were sold out of Time Warner, the whole merger possibility has been with us for goodness knows how many years now and over those years, I think it does affect the behaviour. WM6, VP Finance</i></p>
Knowing the recorded music industry & its constellation of interconnected practices	<p><i>Well, the very fact that we are now competing ...with other forms of entertainment that weren't around ...we are having to fight harder to get people's money ...and ...that has an impact on our structure, our resources, our personnel, cutting corners, short term budgeting. ...also the fact that we are in this digital download age, we are catching up on it, we didn't see that coming...WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG</i></p>
	<p><i>... it's been an eye opener, you are learning for yourself by talking to other record companies because it's a huge media, it's massive and it's something we've had talks of in here but I don't really understand. WM8, Head of TV Licensing, WMG</i></p>

Individuals identified a strong need to develop knowledge of 'other record companies because it's a huge media' and because they were 'competing ...with other forms of entertainment that weren't around' previously. With the music industry having been transformed by new and emerging digital music technologies and applications, they recounted having 'to fight harder to get people's money ...and ...that [that had] an impact on [WMG's] structure ...resources, [and]

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

...personnel'. With the 'business changing all the time', the recorded music industry's reliance on traditional record retail outlets was disrupted by new digital music-based competitors. Individuals reported actively searching for sufficient 'detail of knowledge' that would enable WMG to compete more effectively against emerging forms of entertainment within a new digital music-based industry.

*...you just have to know absolutely everything about how Radio 1 and Radio 2 work. The characters involved, what music they play, what works for them, what doesn't work for them, how you can convince people. ...its persuasiveness and its knowledge... of how the radio stations work. WM2, Head of Radio, WMG*

*...knowledge of how they work. They have changed, but our business is changing all the time. With the introduction of supermarkets ...the specialist stores are finding it all that much more difficult now but you have to balance out what you're doing and the direction that they are going in ...I think the detail of knowledge that you need now ...has to be much greater, ...I mean, if you are selling to these big organizations, I always feel that they've got more information power to hand than we generally have ...you really do have to have very detailed information, knowledge is in power... WM11, Senior National Accounts Manager, WMG*

Individuals recounted the need to improve knowledge of how partner and competitor organizations were ordered and structured, of how emerging digital music-based practices were transforming the recorded music industry and how this was affecting WMG relative to other record labels. This included the need to understand how to compete against new and emerging digital music products and applications, and how to engage in new digital music partnerships while disengaging from traditional ones.

### **7.1.2 Knowing the Network of Relations**

Rather than being focused on reconstituting their personal and professional networks, individuals at WMG were more concerned with sustaining their networks to ensure timely access to information, knowledge and knowing. They described maintaining and developing internal relationships within WMG as well as external ones with customers, radio personalities, press and media contacts, agents, managers, retailers, distributors, wholesalers, etc.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 7-3: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
Knowing the network of relations produced by the interconnection of practices	<i>I'm a firm believer in building relationships with people. I've been here for a long time now and I feel a large part of what I'm able to do is because I can draw favours from people, get them to do things for me, and know where to go for information... if I want something done or just want to find out about something, I can go and get it and it's very useful to mix with these people and just keep that relationship up and you pick up the phone and ask them something and they'll do it for you... if you've got an edge over someone else, in terms of drawing on someone's time for results then use it, so by and large I use it... WM6, VP Finance, WMG</i>
	<i>...a lot of the physical contact is personal relationships with the customers, the retailers... personal relationships with the generations of people that you deal with from time to time... WM11, Senior National Accounts Manager, WMG</i>
	<i>...I've got to be really good at developing relationships and being able to chat to people over various different levels for various different reasons...being able to deal with the Managing Directors upwards. When we present at the unit's meetings, we have to present to the Chairman and everybody else. ...you need to be able to speak to all different levels about all different things, [and] be able to hold relationships... WM9, National Accounts Manager, WMG</i>

Individuals recounted needing to know how to identify, develop and manage personal and professional connections across wide ranging digital music-based networks of relations; in other words, to 'be really good at developing relationships and being able to chat to people over various different levels for various different reasons'. Further, individuals described WMG as being a highly political organization in which they needed to know how to be able to 'deal with the Managing Directors [and] upwards', that comprised their internal networks of relations. Knowing in this context involved understanding that '...when [they] ...present at [a] ...unit's meetings, [they] have to present to the Chairman and everybody else [and that they] ...need to be able to speak to ...different levels about ...different things'.

*...there's politics within departments, there's politics between departments, there's politics between the labels - so Warner Brothers and Atlantic, the other Warner label, there's politics there. There's politics between hierarchies of staff, there's politics between us and the label and people in the central Warner's department who are setting up salaries and setting up agendas, you know, there's an awful lot of politics going on... but that's part of the job, that's not a massive problem... WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager, WMG*

Knowing the networks of relations within WMG enabled individuals to navigate through the politics within 'departments [and] between departments ..., the labels

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

[and] hierarchies of staff', which might act to facilitate or constrain access to traditional and digital music-based knowledge and knowing.

### 7.1.3 Knowing How to Co-reproduce Practices

As digital music technologies and applications were reshaping traditional music-based practices, individuals indicated that they were confused by the rapid changes in WMG's organizational structure and the addition of new organizational practices. They struggled to gain insights into which forms of knowledge and knowing would remain relevant to the recorded music industry's emerging digital music reality. Those individuals who had been traditional music industry experts were compelled to manage the loss of status and authority associated with having been (re)positioned as digital music novices within WMG's emerging digital music reality.

Table 7-4: WMG - Individual Dimensions of Knowing

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
Knowing how to enact and co-(re)produce a recorded music industry functional practice	<i>I think we're the most understaffed company there is - our Licensing department has, at the moment, 6 people, doing TV alone at Universal have 9, that's just doing TV comps [compilations], I have myself and one other person, I am doing everything... WM8, Head of TV Licensing, WMG</i>
	<i>I would say we're pretty understaffed. I'd say the workload is frantic... [and] that's a direct result of the lay-offs. We had a promotions team of 13, now we have 7... WM2, Head of Radio, WMG</i>
	<i>...resources are quite stretched, so a lot of people working in a record company, for example ...might be wearing three hats as opposed to one. So, another company with money to burn might have two or three people doing the work that one person would be doing here. WM3, PA to Director of Commercial, WMG</i>
	<i>...I think not enough people know about each other's jobs to understand timelines involved, or deadlines involved, or why this person needs it now or exactly what they need and why they need it. WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG</i>
	<i>...no one could tell me exactly what I needed to know or what skills would be better for me to really hit the ground running in my potentially new department... WM5, Special Projects Coordinator, WMG</i>
	<i>...we don't know either way what's happening and that affects the department and the company. Well, I mean, as far as the company, the whole ethic of how we work changes...WM13, Royalty Manager, WMG</i>

Within Licensing, for example, as traditional music projects, tasks and actions were transformed into digital music ones, individuals who had previously been positioned as experts were (re)located as digital music novices.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*...all of a sudden, we went from licensing cassettes and CDs ...this digital thing came in from nowhere, and we were told you've got to licence a bundled download, what is that? I went to Business Affairs and I said, "Look, I can't write something that I don't understand what I'm writing." ...if someone comes to me when you send a compilation and they want to be able to download 85% that's what bundled download is. WM8, Head of TV Licensing, WMG*

Individuals were required to participate in more complex activities to facilitate access to digital music-based knowing-in-practice, and knowledge of new and emerging digital music products, assets, partnerships, contract structures, and royalty terms. With traditional-music-based understanding and practices having been rendered obsolete, individuals spoke about how the 'frantic pace' they had to follow while working at WMG prevented them from learning about new and emerging digital music practices and developing new forms of expertise. They reported that numerous rounds of lay-offs had resulted in WMG being 'the most understaffed company there is' in which 'resources [were] ...quite stretched' and in which they 'might be wearing three hats as opposed to one'. The consequence of numerous rounds of lay-offs and the merging of roles was that networks of everyday knowledge and knowing were disrupted within WMG. '[N]ot enough people [knew] about each other's jobs', individuals struggled with understanding '...exactly ... [what] needed to [be known] or what skills would be better' for moving from novice to expert positions within particular organizational practices.

*...I think we've all been given digital responsibilities without any of us knowing what digital is. I have not even got an MP3 player but I'm supposed to ...manage accounts that are all digital downloads and I've never downloaded a song. ...if you're giving me digital national accounts, surely ...you should give me an MP3 player and say right, "Go and speak to, you know, go and speak to so-and-so and learn how to download and learn what the problems are with downloading, what the customer experience is of downloading a track from Napster or from MSN and find out what the issues are and how as a record company we're attracting customers. WM9, National Accounts Manager, WMG*

Individuals learned from personal experience through being 'thrown in the deep end' and then in having to 'keep at it', but lacked insights into which projects, tasks and actions would enable them to transition their careers into roles in which they might become digital music experts, and which would position them more favourably within WMG's emerging digital music reality.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Consistent with de Certeau's (1984) notion of power as a matter of everyday practice, those individuals who managed to access and accrue digital music-based knowledge and knowing, mobilized these as experiential and reputational power/knowledge resources to enact micro-strategies of resistance by which they (re)positioned and (re)located themselves more favourably in relation to others working and learning in WMG's emerging digital music reality.

*You intrinsically learn from your personal experience, how to deal with situations because if you've been in a situation, and another situation like this arises, you ...know how to deal with it by then. ...you have to keep at it, and that's what it is, like carving yourself your part, which is hard... WM16, Temporary Worker, WMG & UMG*

Individuals drew on experience embedded within their networks to facilitate access to digital music-based knowledge and knowing. Power/learning tensions arose from differential access by which individuals could realize expert forms of knowing crucial to (re)positioning themselves within the WMG's emerging digital music-based socio-material arrangements and social and power relations.

### 7.2 Human Resource Practices

Townley (1994) and Vince (2004) observe that HR practitioners are generally positioned as intermediaries responsible for navigating an organization's social and power relations for the purposes of identifying and implementing sanctioned experiences of work and learning. In order to be effective at rendering organizations and individuals known and governable, HR and its practitioners must be favourably positioned within an organization's hierarchy of practices and have access to relevant knowledge/power/truth resources to enable them to enact mechanisms and techniques of power. In having been reduced from a full service division down to one part-time and two full-time practitioners, WMG's HR function was (re)located to the periphery of the organization's hierarchy and displaced as an intermediating practice. The marginalization of HR within WMG was exacerbated by assigning Helen James<sup>85</sup>, a Manager and novice practitioner, with responsibility for developing and managing WMG's employee lifecycle framework and aligning it with the organization's learning curriculum. In

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<sup>85</sup> A pseudonym.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

occupying a junior role within the organization's hierarchy, and in lacking experience and reputation, she was limited in her ability to access and mobilize the range of power/knowledge resources required to enact instrumental or associational arrangements of power. In particular, in not having access to, nor understanding HR's financial resources, James was severely limited in her ability to constitute the employee lifecycle framework and WMG's learning curriculum as effective technologies of regulation.

### **7.2.1 Employee Lifecycle Framework**

With the exception of the (pre)recruitment, selection, and engagement phase of the employee lifecycle framework, it was discovered that WMG's HR division was less effective in constituting individuals as objects of organizational knowledge and subjects of power than the other case study organizations.

#### **7.2.1.1 (Pre)recruitment, Selection and Engagement**

By reinforcing and indulging a view of the music industry as being weird, wonderful and glamorous, WMG's HR practice mobilized the (pre)recruitment, selection and engagement phase of the employee lifecycle framework to seduce individuals into joining the record company. Individuals were selected to join WMG based on having a 'passion for music' or on having a strong music-genre-based identity. With or without their or HR's awareness, these individuals were also most vulnerable to WMG's dominant power relations and most aligned to the organization's emerging values, mission and culture.

*I firmly believe that you need a passion for music, I just don't think that you can enthuse and sell something and tell people that they should be playing something when there's absolutely nothing going on for this brand new artist. ...you need to be able to appreciate a really broad range of music ...you have to be able to say, 'This is guy is brilliant because..', you have to know all about his back catalogue, you have to know about ...what he's done and how iconic he is and be able to tell people and sell that ...it's a love of music, its enthusiasm, its persuasiveness and its ...knowledge... WM2, Head of Radio, WMG*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 7-5: WMG - (Pre)Recruitment, Selection and Engagement**

*focuses on promoting individual commitment, engagement & identity with organization through encouraging individual alignment to the 'myth' and culture of the record company*

Objectives	Induction		
	<b>Pre-entry</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>recruitment &amp; selection</b> - to identify, qualify and select individuals for access to record company practices               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ individuals with particular identities are sought &amp; recruited, i.e. passion for music genres</li> <li>○ individuals are already preconstituted or pre-disposed to labels' predominant social &amp; power relations</li> <li>○ appeal to 'passion for music' used to gauge commitment &amp; engagement</li> <li>○ individuals selected according to the organization's particular meanings &amp; identities through appealing to a 'passion for music'</li> <li>○ individuals selected are preconstituted or pre-disposed to the record label's power arrangements through particular genre-based music identities</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		
	<b>Post-entry</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>orientation &amp; on boarding</b> - to orient individuals through inculcating the sanctioned values, meanings and identities               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ individuals encouraged to adopt the meanings and identities related to the 'myth' and culture of the particular record company</li> <li>○ individuals encouraged to identify closely with the artists &amp; projects they work on</li> <li>○ individuals are encouraged to identify closely with the artists &amp; projects they work on</li> <li>○ notion of creative work</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		
Human Resource Projects, Tasks & Actions	Projects	Tasks	Actions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• identifying and qualifying new talent</li> <li>• facilitating individual entry to organization</li> <li>• managing organizational staffing function</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• job analysis</li> <li>• job design</li> <li>• deploying personnel to functional areas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• induction</li> <li>• on boarding</li> <li>• basic skills training</li> </ul>

WMG's HR practice mobilized knowledge of a job candidate's music genre-based meanings and identities and their 'love of music, [and] ...enthusiasm' to seduce and manipulate them into subjecting themselves to the organization's interests. Individuals were attracted and recruited through indulging their desire to wear alternative non-formal music-based fashions; work in highly informal environments; create highly personalized workspaces; and through facilitating access to free CDs, artists, concerts and merchandise.

*...loads of people want to work in the glamorous music industry, including intelligent, whiz kid graduates, so right, let's have the cream of the crop, since we can pick and choose. WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Consequently, WMG's HR practice was able to 'pick and choose' from 'loads of people [willing] ...to work in the glamorous music industry' for lower wages in exchange for the *privilege* of participation.

*...a lot of the music industry is a passion industry... [in] which ...an awful lot of the people that work in it don't really get paid what they would ...if they were working in just about any other industry in that role. It is almost a privilege to work here, but the pay does not match up to a lot of the outside world. WM3, PA to Director of Commercial, WMG*

*I would say [we pay] below market rate... [because] more people want to work the music industry, so they [the record labels] think they can get away with it... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

*...they are basing it [lower pay] on the fact that music is entertainment and ...that by being in the music industry you're part of some sort of exclusive group... they give the impression that you're a lucky to have this job. WM16, Temporary Worker, WMG*

In contrast to the associational arrangements of power described above, HR enacted instrumental arrangements of power (domination, authority, and coercion) in situations in which professional designations were more important to the role than music genre-based meanings and identities. Assessment centres, for example, were mobilized by HR as a coercive technology of regulation by which profession-based candidates (Finance, Accounting, and Legal Affairs) were rendered visible particularly for the purposes of selection. In contrast to non-profession based roles, individuals competed against other candidates through multiple rounds of tests, interviews, and questionnaires and were compelled to disclose deeply held personal, professional, and biographical information.

*The first round was very much a two-part assessment centre really, one was numerical tests, logical reasoning tests, I think it may have been just those two at the first stage and an interview as well with HR. ...I don't think the interview was really as important as the test results; ...they pretty much decided who ...got through to the second round purely on the test results. WM17, Planning Assistant, WMG*

Consistent with Townley's (1994:98-101) findings that assessment centres and other tests render individuals calculable and manageable, WMG's HR practice focused on measuring and evaluating individuals in order to select those deemed most appropriate for gaining entry into the organization.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*...The second round ...was a far tougher round. ...we had some tests, there was a fast-track test, [where] you were given a bunch of cards and you had to see patterns within the cards, say times tables and then you then had to fill the answers on a piece of paper ...I think there were eight or ten of these challenges within 45 minutes, you had to answer as many as possible...two more computer tests, one was a royalties test and another one was kind of looking at huge amount of sales and trying to formulate an agenda for a board meeting of what this data actually says.... WM17, Planning Assistant, WMG*

In addition to facilitating entry into the organization, assessment procedures, comprised of hierarchical evaluations and validations of individual performance by senior executives and managers, also constituted individuals' post-assessment meanings and identities in a manner that reinforced and legitimated WMG's hierarchy and social and power relations.

*There was a group exercise... [we were] was given a scenario, [and asked to] discuss possible outcomes... there were four or five observers, all senior managers from throughout the company ...there was a presentation to do ...in front of our own group ... [and] in front of other senior managers ...another interview with a senior member of staff. A one-to-one finance interview ...one with the two senior finance people, and another one with two other finance people from Accounts and Royalties. WM17, Planning Assistant, WMG*

Assessment centres reinforce hierarchy because validation and selection of a particular candidate is made by senior managers in context of the organization's social and power relations. In this situation, a candidate's failure to be selected may not necessarily be because of their incompetence, but might be attributed to the senior managers' perception of fit with the organization and its dominant social and power relations (cf. Townley 1994:100).

### 7.2.2 Organizational Learning Curriculum

After being recruited into the organization, individuals first encounter WMG's learning curriculum during the induction phase of the employee lifecycle framework. As previously discussed, however, James' position as a novice practitioner and as a junior employee within WMG and its HR department, meant that she was unable to mobilize sufficient financial and knowledge/power/truth resources to enact the organizational learning curriculum as an effective technology of regulation that could amplify the effects of the employee lifecycle framework in the organization.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*To be honest ...I don't know how much the training budget is ...I don't think many people take much notice...we just use it for ...central training and that's it ...as long as we don't go outside that and book lots of extra courses, then no one really looks it. ...I don't know what [and] how the finance thing [works]... it's not going to change unless we have a complete overhaul... There may be a couple of courses that we add; there may be ones that we take out... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

In not having knowledge or control of the budget allocated for training and development, James was compelled to focus on providing 'central training' comprised of generic organizational development courses which '[were] not going to change that much'. As a result, WMG's learning curriculum was not responsive to individual needs for access to digital music-based knowledge and knowing and could not contribute effectively to transforming WMG into a digital music-based record label.

### 7.2.2.1 Induction

Induction activities are centrally concerned with power, knowledge and learning as they constitute multiple formal and informal opportunities for novices and experts to interact for the express purpose of building new hire commitment to and engagement with an organization (cf. Clegg et al. 2005b; Lave and Wenger 1991; Sprogøe and Elkjaer 2006; Sprogøe and Rohde 2007; Wenger 1998). WMG's HR practice mobilized knowledge of the individual constructed during its recruitment activities for the purposes of establishing mechanisms of governance and control over new recruits.

Table 7-6: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
	<b>Induction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Post-entry - orientation &amp; on boarding</b> - to orient individuals through inculcating the sanctioned values, meanings and identities</li> <li>• Warner Music UK &amp; Organizational Structure, Health &amp; Safety, Employee Handbook, Standards of Business Conduct, Company email &amp; Internet Policy &amp; Procedures</li> </ul>
<b>(Pre) Recruitment, Selection &amp; Engagement</b>	<b>Graduate Training Program</b> <sup>86</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>knowledge/power resources</b> – 9 month training program designed to facilitate access to reputational power/knowledge resources &amp; cross functional knowing-in-practice for individuals assess as high potential employees</li> <li>• provides access direct &amp; on-the-job coaching &amp; development by expert practitioners through facilitating exposure to &amp; experience of a range of organizational practices</li> </ul>

<sup>86</sup> The program emphasizes a hands-on approach, combined with on-the-job experience to encourage continuous personal and professional development supported through management level coaches.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Drawing on Foucault (1977), Townley (1994; 1995:563) observes that HR practices utilize organizational dimensions of knowledge to develop systems for comparing individuals: taxinomia<sup>87</sup> and mathesis<sup>88</sup>. These are utilized to constitute a disciplinary matrix by which populations are made known in detail, through which populations are ordered, and by which technologies and mechanisms are constituted for the supervision, administration, and regulation of individuals and groups. WMG's HR practice mobilized a disciplinary matrix during recruitment, as a power/knowledge resource to categorize certain individuals as *high potential* and to enact authority and coercion to compel them to enter into the *Graduate Training Program*.

*... [the Graduate Scheme is an] initial introduction for selected candidates ...they get to spend a period of time in the whole group and from there they should be able to ... [join] a profession in the music business or with this company. So they must be good enough, they get the opportunity to go into what area they feel is best suited to them and best suited for the company... WM11, Senior National Accounts Manager, WMG*

*...it's hard to get on the Graduate Scheme because there are so many people that want to get on it and you know there are two assessment centres and an interview with the Managing Director. So, by the time we've whittled them all down, they are very good people ...and we'll want to get those people in the business... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

Participation in the Graduate Training Program ensured that high potential individuals gained preferential access to central domains of organizational knowledge and knowing. It also ensured that these individuals were positioned more centrally within WMG's social and power relations through extending their professional network of relations to include Managing Directors, VPs, and other senior executives early in their careers. In contrast to other new hires, high potential individuals were provided with 'the opportunity to go into what area they feel is best suited to them' and given access to knowledge and knowing by which they might occupy expert positions within/across traditional and new and emerging digital music practices.

*...that Graduate [Scheme] started about four years ago, and it was really supposed to be a fast track and nine-month training course, rotational course, so there's three schemes the music, the finance, and the business. ...in the music*

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<sup>87</sup> '...the development of an order through a taxonomy' (Townley 1995:560).

<sup>88</sup> '...the establishment of an order through measurement' (Townley 1995:560).

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

*scheme, the graduates ...rotate around Press, Promotions, and Marketing and A&R.... [in the] business scheme it was between Commercial, Production and Rhino, which is the catalogue label. ...and in Finance [it] would be Royalties, Financial Planning and Accounts. ...I think [graduate scheme] probably does [offer individuals more opportunity] because those people would have been exposed to all of the Managers ...and the MDs around the business... So in that sense yes, because they've seen them right from the beginning... and I think it will be easier ...to get that movement around the company. So, they ...will be able to move about more easily... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

The Graduate Training Program functioned to legitimate the organization's hierarchy of practices and social and power relations through sanctioning and guiding senior management and executive coaching and mentoring between high potential individuals and senior executives. Finally, through indulging individual interests in pursuing a career in the music industry, WMG's HR practice seduced high-potential individuals to enter into the Graduate Training Program and to work in the organization for nine months without wages.

### **7.2.2.2 Performance Management**

Performance management is a systematic process of developing criteria for assessing individual performance in their organizational function or role, the purpose of which is to reinforce particular behaviours, meanings and identities over others (Stiles 1999:60-61). Appraisals form the basis of performance management in most organizations through linking the individual to the population in a disciplinary matrix that functioned to enhance organizational control over individual behaviours. They operate through the application 'of a taxinomia of desired behaviour and their translation into a mathesis' and provide a sanctioned rationale for acting on, and compelling individuals to act on, personal meanings and identities (Townley 1995:568). WMG's HR practice mobilized the disciplinary matrix as a knowledge/truth resource by which manipulation was enacted to sanction an internal rationale for positioning certain individuals as appraisees and others as appraisers. As a precondition to gaining access to opportunities for learning by which they might progress in their careers within WMG, individuals were compelled to situate themselves within the socio-power arrangements of the appraisal/ performance review.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 7-7: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
Performance Management	Appraisal Skills for Appraisees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>organizational positioning as appraisee</b> - internal articulations &amp; rationales on individual positioning as appraisee within the socio-power arrangements of appraisals</li> <li>outlined sanctioned perspectives on how to negotiate &amp; agree on performance development goals, activities &amp; SMART objectives</li> </ul>
	Appraisal Skills for Appraisers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>organizational positioning as appraiser</b> - internal articulations &amp; rationales of individual positioning as appraiser</li> <li>outlined sanctioned procedures for conducting appraisal reviews through appropriate framing of development discussions, setting goals, activities &amp; SMART objectives</li> </ul>

The operation of appraisal schemes usually relies on creating clear linkages (through appraiser training) between the sanctioned taxonomy of desired behaviours and its measurement in individuals to a particular set of organizational rewards, i.e. promotion or merit pay. WMG's HR practice, however, was significantly constrained in its ability to mobilize appraisals across three main dimensions: first, the organizational alignment between the learning curriculum and the employee lifecycle framework; second, the organizational incentive structure by which individuals could be rewarded for compliance; and, third, individual opportunities for mobility in the organization.

Table 7-8: WMG - Performance Reviews

	Case Study Data
	<p><i>Almost non-existent, they don't cross-reference it, they don't get the objectives and say, "In your next 12 months we want you to have gone on the following courses, or we want you to have learned this." It's all very run-of-the-mill you go ... very bog standard. You do it, you fill in the form, it's very disappointing to me... WM8, Head of TV Licensing, WMG</i></p>
<b>Lack of alignment to employee lifecycle</b>	<p><i>...you're going to appraise us but you're already telling us we can't be outstanding, so we can work our asses off, we can stay here until eight o'clock at night every night of the week, without any overtime or anything. We can bust our balls for you but we'll never be better than very good... WM7, Head of Catalogue Marketing, WMG</i></p> <p><i>...our appraisal form ...doesn't seem to [be relevant] "What five key objectives and how you can meet these objectives" don't really seem to fit what we do. It's quite hard to build those in, but we'll sit down with people and I'll say, "Look your weakness is your relationships with so and so, and you need to work on that" ...I don't know if they benefit from it... WM2, Head of Radio, WMG</i></p>
<b>Lack of incentives</b>	<p><i>Incentives? I mean, in terms of remuneration, Warner never promises anything. Even when I took on this extra digital work, they said, "Don't think that you're going get paid for it." And I was like, "Well, okay, fair enough. I will just do it and see what happens..." WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG</i></p>
<b>Lack of advancement opportunities</b>	<p><i>...you're appraising somebody in industry where you're sitting there, you're asking them to set out what they see as their advancement plan in a business where there is no advancement. ...it's ... really sad, but I can't see it with any of my team, right now ...where one will be in two years' time? ...the only answer is in employment ...there ain't any moving up no [reporting] lines, maybe we get redundant or we get pissed off and leave. WM7, Head of Catalogue Marketing, WMG</i></p>

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Linkages between WMG's organizational learning curriculum and its employee lifecycle framework were '...almost non-existent'. Appraisal forms were viewed as irrelevant in that they were not aligned to the organization's 'key objectives and how [individuals could] meet these objectives' as they did not 'fit [with] what individuals do'. Interviews indicated that this left many individuals feeling highly cynical about WMG and that they experienced appraisals as a coercive process in which they might be 'appraise[d] ...but [they were being told that] no one could be outstanding' regardless of effort. Organizational incentive structures by which individuals could be rewarded for compliance were non-existent, in terms of remuneration: 'Warner never promises anything'. Individuals occupying non-professional roles experienced this most acutely, observing that 'there is no end game', and that participation in the organization's learning curriculum does not mean that they will 'get paid more or get recognized more' '... [as] opposed to ...the Finance people who will do ...finance exams... [and] know that once they ...complete that, they are more marketable'. Individuals identified experiencing limited opportunities for career mobility within the organization and, therefore, limited opportunities to move from novice to expert positions within or across organizational practices. They reported having to develop an 'advancement plan in a business where there is no advancement', that it did not 'really matter what you put down' because it was 'pretty bleak out there'. As a consequence, individuals were more likely to 'get redundant or ...pissed off and leave'.

#### **7.2.2.3 Individual Development**

WMG's HR division maintained a narrow instrumental focus on delivering generic development programs and, with or without awareness, ignored humanist techniques and practices by which a culture for learning might be inculcated within the organization.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 7-9: WMG - Organizational Learning Curriculum

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
Individual Development	Proof Reading Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to particular functional practices</li> </ul>
	Speaking to Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>presentation to self</i> - facilitated sanctioned professional meanings &amp; identities</li> </ul>
	Emotional Intelligence (EI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>knowledge/truth resources</i> – facilitated access to EI knowledge/truth resources by which individuals were categorized for the purposes of control</li> </ul>
	Creative Thinking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to general organizational practices</li> </ul>
	Time Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to particular functional practices</li> </ul>
	Specialist Skills <sup>89</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>knowledge/power &amp; knowledge/truth resources</i> - facilitated access to accreditational &amp; reputational resources &amp; forms of knowing related to functional &amp; professional responsibilities, i.e. Finance &amp; Accounting Accreditation, Contract Law, etc.</li> </ul>
	Technology Futures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to new &amp; emerging technologies for distribution</li> </ul>
	Negotiation Basics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to negotiations</li> </ul>
	Marketing in Music <sup>90</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – functional, professional &amp; specialist skills &amp; competencies related to marketing as they apply to the front line music business</li> </ul>

WMG's over-reliance on external training and development consultants further constrained its ability to constitute the organization's learning curriculum and employee lifecycle framework as an integrated, central and continuous technology of regulation.

*...the programme started in about 2002 ...It was originally run ...by HR ...and it was written by an external course provider ...when the department decreased in size, we didn't have time to do the training courses as well, so the external trainer came in. When it first started, it was ...just the core training courses like time management, presentation skills ...soft skills training. ...each year we look at it with the external trainer and we go by what she says, as well as the reactions in course evaluation sheets that we go through... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

In focusing on 'just the core training courses like time management, presentation skills ...soft skills training' and, in relying almost exclusively on external training resources, WMG's HR practice was less sophisticated in mobilizing behavioural

<sup>89</sup> Particular individual requirements have to be identified during appraisals, approved and arranged by HR and are not included in WMG's standard offerings.

<sup>90</sup> This program is limited to particular functional practices, i.e. marketing, advertising or promotions and publicity.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

repertoires and/or cognitive schema as mechanisms of regulation than the other case study organizations.

*...we are just offering those courses but it's not a means to anywhere... I don't think we do [consider the employee lifecycle]... I think certain people that are seen as great prospects for the company are ...highlighted along the way but there's nothing actually in place to do that. Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

In 'just offering courses' as a 'means to nowhere', WMG's ability to mobilize the organization's learning curriculum as a technology of regulation was compromised and consequently, it was less successful in securing individual compliance with, and commitment to, the organization. Individuals were highly cynical that the organization's 'amateurish courses' would enable them to move from novice to expert positions or to be promoted in their roles and functions. Participation in the organization's learning curriculum was deemed particularly irrelevant by those who had earned prior degrees or accreditation. They observed that much of what WMG was offering had been covered in greater detail in university and was not relevant to current roles and responsibilities.

*...they sent you on little courses internally - but not job specific - they were things like time - usages of your time [time management] - presentation skills - which if you are a graduate trainee - you do that stuff at university and it was a bit irrelevant - and they weren't very well run courses to be perfectly honest - I didn't get a lot out of them... they were very amateurish courses ...and it wasn't relevant to what I was doing at the time... WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager, WMG*

*I got ...disillusioned with the training courses. I went on them every year until last year... but I didn't think they were good value and a good investment in my time ...but I don't think the execution is great. The last one I went on was something called Future Technology which I went on for fairly obvious reasons but ...I naively thought that it was going to be focused on the industry side but that wasn't what it was about... did I actually learn anything for my work? No. WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG*

In being chronically under-resourced, WMG's HR practice outsourced its learning function to external consultants who limited opportunities for learning to generic and non-music industry specific learning, consequently, individuals rejected the organization's learning curriculum as a relevant source of knowledge and knowing.

*...the problem was that it [marketing course] was run by a guy who knew his subject well but he wasn't a music marketing guy, he wasn't a record company guy, which made me think, "Well, what's the point?" I'd much rather have a guy*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*who's got 20 years' experience marketing in a record label talk to me rather than some guy who's got 20 years selling Fuji film... I'm sure he's very good at it, but it's not what I'm doing... he didn't know, he was asking us questions about the business ...he didn't know the reality of the record company. WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager, WMG*

Disillusionment with WMG's learning curriculum prompted individuals to focus more intently on the organization's *situated curriculum*: the situated pattern of activities by which individuals access knowledge and knowing in the context of on-going work activities (cf. Gherardi et al. 1998; Lave and Wenger 1991).

*We learn every day at doing this job ...because every project is very subjective and very different. You wouldn't have a certain blueprint or ...a cookie cutter approach... you wouldn't have that one approach on how to develop a band's career... WM14, Head of A&R, WMG*

*[learning] ...just come[s] with more experience of being within the role and just more interaction with the labels and just being in here and being more confident within myself and in my abilities to do the role ...when you first start a job, ...you're on a steep learning curve, and there's things that you're not confident about making decisions on, perhaps not confident of speaking out at meetings as I am now. So it is more of a self-development thing rather than anything that I've been trained, I guess. WM9, National Accounts Manager, WMG*

Consistent with Gherardi's (2006:118-119) findings, individuals articulated two phases that facilitated their learning as novices: first, the *way in*, a period of observation of the actions and activities comprising specific tasks; and second, the *actual doing*, wherein they started to take responsibility for some or all of the projects, tasks and actions comprising their practice.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 7-10: WMG - Situated Curriculum

Dimension	Case Study Data
the 'way in'	<p>...with the music industry, you're ...thrown in and you ...have to ...survive and fish, you've just got to get on with it... WM8, Head of TV Licensing</p> <p>Just jumping in the deep end, really, just experience ...when I first started it was very much just learn from my boss at the time ... [to] see how he did it ...it was just me observing just how he dealt with it... it was very much just asking questions ... WM17, Planning Assistant (Finance), WMG</p> <p>...it's basically taught me how a record company works ...sitting in meetings when I was starting, not actually participating, but listening to what people say. It's just experience, I think that's what people at the moment place value on in terms of training, it's just getting experience and learning as you go along... WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager</p>
the 'actual doing'	<p>... it was ...by me observing what goes on and using my initiative and saying, "Right, so that's how you do it," rather than any direct kind of ..."this is what you do when you are supervising an interview" or something like that... WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager</p> <p>... [I] got stuck in [and] asked as many people as possible... I just went to them directly and said, 'Hey, I'm here, send me the forms that I need to fill in, let me know what your processes are and I will make sure everything gets done correctly.' So, I contacted them directly, a hell of a lot of winging it really and calling on the guys... so together, we all worked it out ourselves... WM5, Special Projects Coordinator, WMG</p>

Individuals recounted 'being thrown in' or 'jumping in the deep end' and being compelled to 'survive and fish' through sitting in meetings and listening to others to understand context and language; observing how others participate to gain insights into how to accomplish particular projects, tasks and actions; asking questions; and through taking direction and focusing on details in order to learn. The actual doing involved independent participation in increasingly more complex projects, tasks, and actions to develop experience and access knowledge and knowing related to a particular practice's hierarchy, language, culture, etiquette, processes and procedures. In this manner, individuals facilitated their own movement from novice to expert positions within WMG's practices.

### 7.3 Management Practice

Individuals' shift in emphasis to the situated curriculum as the primary source for learning in the organization meant that WMG's management practice occupied a more central role in facilitating/constraining access to opportunities for learning than its HR practice.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*...it was all so informal, you ...get the impression from, which, understanding the business, I completely understand now ...that they [management] think, "Ah, another young graduate ...just get on with it, you'll learn it" because all of the people in senior levels never had any ...formal training that you would get in other professions. So I think they ...think, "Well, if I had to do it, you've got to do it. Do the dirty work and you'll get there, you'll learn by experience." WM4, Marketing and Artist Development Manager, WMG*

WMG's management mobilized reputational, experiential and accreditational resources as well as resources attached to their position as managers in the organization's hierarchy to enact authority and used the promise of access to the organization's situated curriculum and associated knowledge and knowing to manipulate and/or seduce direct reports into compliance. Authority was used to position direct reports as *subordinates*, render them visible to management practices and subject to particular management actions in order to control individual access to knowledge and knowing in the situated curriculum. In situations where opportunities for career progression and/or lateral movement were limited, it was found that some managers mobilized access to the situated curriculum to induce individuals to assume additional functions and roles (usually those of the manager) under the pretence of learning.

*...by taking the time to train people in certain areas, audits being a good example, by taking the time ...to explain how to do things and what not to give and what not to show, will mean that that frees up time for me that I can learn things from my line manager or do other things that are perhaps outside of Royalties... Someone else will be learning by me showing them how to do that, that keeps them interested but also allows me to concentrate on other areas... I've been putting off because this person can [now] take some work off me. WM13, Royalty Manager, WMG*

Some managers 'free[d] up time for learn[ing] things from [their] line manager or do other things that [were] outside of' their everyday practices through constructing role expansion as desirable for novices to be able to access more complex knowledge domains and forms of knowing.

*...in terms of varying their role, I think that develops people, gets them involved in things they haven't done before, maybe ...pushing down some of what I do to them to vary their roles... I like to try to keep my staff happy and a large part of it is how can I do that, how can I keep them interested in the role, keep them motivated and it's whatever we can do to do that within the constraints that we have got, budgetary or otherwise. WM6, VP of Finance, WMG*

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Under the pretence of ‘develop[ing] people’ and ‘getting them involved in things they haven't done before’, managers facilitated their own learning and movement to expert positions through compelling subordinates to expand their participation into management-related functions and roles while forgoing any additional remuneration or recognition for their extra efforts. It was found that some managers selectively indulged subordinate career needs for learning while concealing from them the main intent behind role expansion: to enable the manager to free up time to participate in learning by which they might themselves progress in their careers and be more favourably (re)positioned and (re)located within WMG's management practices and social and power relations.

### *7.4 Senior Executive Practice*

When Edgar Bronfman became WMG's Chairman and CEO he faced a number of significant challenges. First, he laid off a significant number of experienced employees in a series of cost cutting measures that further disrupted the organization's network of relations. Second, Bronfman needed to restructure WMG in order to reconstitute particular roles and functions that had been centralized within WMG's parent organization, Time Warner. Third, he needed to respond to changing industry dynamics caused by new and emerging digital music technologies that threatened many of WMG's traditional revenue streams. Faced with these challenges, Bronfman can be seen as having mobilized power/knowledge/truth resources attached to his hierarchical position as Chairman and CEO to enact instrumental (authority, domination, and coercion) and associational (persuasion and negotiation) arrangements of power. Bronfman used his authority to compel WMG's UK workforce to attend a personal presentation at the Royal Albert Hall in London during which he positioned himself as an ‘inspirational leader’ and legitimated his perspectives on WMG's emerging digital music reality as the ‘views and opinions of people that matter’.

*...Edgar Bronfman, our God, came over about this time last year... and addressed the company. It was the first time we had seen him face-to-face. He gave us his overall take on things, how he saw things going, had a Q&A and, again, I can't speak for everyone, I really appreciated that... It is nice to see and hear about the big picture; hear about the views and opinions of people that matter. WM3, PA to Director of Commercial, WMG*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*He's a fantastic speaker ...he's one of those quite inspirational people... Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

While successful in communicating *his* understanding of WMG's digital state of affairs, Bronfman was not effective in translating this into any form of mutual collective action focused on transforming the organization's traditional music industry practices into new digital music-based ones.

*...I sat in a roundtable meeting with Edgar [Bronfman] ...he's up for ...developing systems, for developing people, developing a company – “what aren't we doing right? Show me what we're doing wrong and let me correct it” – that's his theory and he was very black and white about what's happened recently in our small department... [but] politics have had a huge impact on morale, on people's outlook... WM8, Head of TV Licensing, WMG*

*...I think we've all been given digital responsibilities without any of us knowing what digital is. ...I have not even got an MP3 player ...I've never downloaded a song ...I think all of those things should have been addressed before we were ever given digital accounts. WM9, National Accounts Manager, WMG*

*...you've got people that understand Apple [iTunes] and what they're trying to achieve but they don't understand what goes into actually trying to sell. So, you have people in the music side of things who might not have the experience of the digital world... WM11, Senior National Accounts Manager, WMG*

Rather than engaging with WMG's HR, management and executive practices to (re)constitute the organization's socio-material arrangements and social and power relations, Bronfman enacted persuasion to communicate a general message of digital music success. His use of emails and other corporate power/knowledge resources, however, was met by indifference and/or rejection by individuals working within WMG.

*... [Edgar Bronfman] ...sends us corporate memos every so often about how well the company is doing and how much percentage we're up, but I know I've had some [negative] feedback. ...he says that the company is doing so well, but we're not seeing any of that. ...we're still really tight, budget wise, so he says how great it is, but we are not benefiting from it. Helen James, HR Manager, WMG*

In the context of on-going lay-offs, disruption to individuals' networks of relations and, WMG's social and power relations, Bronfman used corporate memos and emails to negotiate and create an atmosphere of reciprocity through which he hoped that all parties would exchange ideas on the range of digital music-based issues and challenges facing the organization. Some individuals reported taking this initiative very seriously and, upon initiating direct email communications

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

reported receiving personal responses from Bronfman that indicated that WMG had acted on some suggestions for change.

*...I spent a year trying to get someone in the UK to promote the need to invest in the maintenance of our archive and get it updated for the digital age, nobody was interested. I then got so frustrated that I took a calculated risk and sent an email direct to the guy [Bronfman] who bought this company ...a few days after he [Bronfman] had sent a memo around saying "Here I am, ...please do not hesitate to e-mail me direct if you have any issues or concerns," which most people took as, "Yeah, whatever." ...It went straight to Edgar Bronfman Jr., I was then flabbergasted to get a reply from him in my inbox a couple of days later and he said, "...I consider this very important, I am appointing someone to look into this." ...then suddenly one of his right-hand men in the US is here, I started speaking to him... and in the end we got budgetary approval... WM4, Tape Library Manager, WMG*

By using negotiation to reach organizational agreement, Bronfman appeared to focus on shared outcomes in an effort to displace confrontation and opposition, and in this manner, was exercising 'power to' through enacting associational arrangements of power. In the context of on-going lay-offs and low morale, individuals reported feeling powerless and, as a consequence, experienced Bronfman's efforts as instrumental arrangements characterized by domination and coercion. The experience of domination and coercion within WMG was rooted in the closing down of individual and collective possibilities for continued employment, and in the demand that individuals continue to work in chronically under-resourced departments and accommodate to taking on the additional roles and responsibilities of those individuals who had been let go.

*I would say we're pretty understaffed. I'd say the workload is frantic. That's a direct result of the lay-offs. We had a promotions team of 13, now we have seven... I think that we've got an absolute skeleton staff, I think to get rid of anyone would be nonsense... WM2, Head of Radio, WMG*

*...we are understaffed at the moment, a lot of cutbacks, but still no less demanding in terms of what work has to be done. WM17. Planning Assistant, Finance, WMG*

*...I joined a department that unfortunately all got made redundant before I got here - so I am the sole member of my department - unknown to me before... WM5, Special Projects Coordinator, WMG*

Individuals across all functions and roles, including managers and executives, experienced WMG as an instrumental arrangement of power (domination and coercion). Bronfman was consequently limited in his ability to constitute any form

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

of mutual collective action towards (re)constituting WMG's socio-material arrangements and social and power relations and (re)aligning these to the organization's emerging digital music reality.

### **7.5 Summary**

In recounting that they had 'been given digital responsibilities without any of [them] ...knowing what digital is', individuals recognized being disadvantaged by the lack of access to opportunities for digital music-based knowing-in-practice and expressed concern in moving from expert positions within the traditional music industry to novice position within emerging digital music practices. WMG's HR practice was not constituted by the organization as a mediating practice. It lacked access to adequate resources by which power might be enacted, and was ineffective in mobilizing the employee lifecycle framework to (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions of knowledge. WMG's HR practice lacked the resources by which mechanisms of regulation such as behavioural repertoires or cognitive schema might be mobilized to compel individuals to adopt organizationally sanctioned meanings and identities and locate themselves within the organization's emerging post-demerger/digital music reality.

WMG's management and executive practices were similarly constrained in their ability to (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions of knowledge and mobilize these as power/knowledge resources by which different modalities of power might be enacted for the purposes of governance and control. They were also constrained in their ability to mobilize digital music power/knowledge resources to enact wider modalities of power to (re)constitute digital music-based socio-material arrangements and social and power relations to sanction and legitimate particular digital music-based meanings and identities. Individual bodies, minds, sayings and doings remained *less known*, the organization *less governable*, resulting in a general failure to secure individual consensus on and compliance with WMG's emerging digital music reality.

## 8 Case Study Three: Universal Music Group

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*When new people come in, whichever part of the company they come into, all the managers here are very good and very alert to people's specific talents, in a way, but aspirations as well, in another way. We do regular appraisals and, if we feel that someone would benefit from being sent on a course, there is a lot of money spent on training and development in the company, we would try and help them along.*

**UG10, Managing Director, UMG**

Power and learning within the Universal Music Group (UMG) were characterized by stability in a period during which other record companies were struggling with unprecedented levels of uncertainty and instability. The acquisition of UMG by Vivendi provided it with access to a wide range of financial and non-financial resources that enabled the company to thrive while other record companies struggled to survive. UMG's HR, management and executive practices mobilized access to these resources to develop effective responses to new and emerging digital music technologies and applications which enabled the organization to manage risk and exposure to protracted declines in recorded music industry revenues and associated industry lay-offs. UMG was able to access Vivendi Universal's financial resources to position the organization more favourably within the industry through engaging in a proactive series of acquisitions of musical assets, artist catalogues, and competing and/or distressed record companies. These were mobilized by UMG's HR, management and executive practices to ensure that the organization was flexible and its employees responsive to the wide-ranging challenges embodied in new and emerging digital music technologies and applications. In contrast to the other case study organizations, individuals working at UMG experienced power as an associational arrangement; as *power with* rather than *power over* others characterized by an emphasis on 'teamwork... [in which they] work[ed] together [to get] ...better results'.

*...record labels are based around teamwork ...the team that plays well together and celebrates well together ...recently we've had a bit of success at Mercury and everyone goes out for a drink to celebrate and you can see on the following Monday morning people still want to work for each other and ...the acts I work on, the ones that...are nice to you and appreciate what you do even in difficult moments, ...you work together you end up getting better results with it... I think*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*there's a good atmosphere at Mercury, it's tough the music business, it's not all fun and games, but I think people enjoy it. UG3, Senior Press Officer, UMG*

UMG's employees benefited from the stability, flexibility and responsiveness of the organization's operations in a 'tough ...music business' and that '[while] ...not all fun and games ...[they could still] ...see on the following Monday morning [that] people still want[ed] to work for each other'.

### 8.1 Individual Knowing

Interviews revealed that, because UMG was protected from the distractions and costs associated with threats of merger, takeover or reverse takeover experienced by other organizations in the industry, individuals were more focused on knowing how to adapt to changing forms of participation in the recorded music industry; knowing the network of relations relevant to their particular function and role; and in knowing how to participate in the organization's traditional and emerging digital music-based practices.

#### 8.1.1 Knowing the Recorded Music Industry

As digital music technologies and applications (re)constituted traditional music-based practices, individuals working in UMG shared similar concerns in needing to understand which projects and domains of knowledge and knowing would be relevant to the recorded music industry's emerging digital music reality.

Table 8-1: UMG - Knowing the Recorded Music Industry

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
	<i>...physical sales don't understand the shift ...a lot of them...have been around for a long time, so that history is steeped in a completely different world of physical product. So ...our sales team five years ago probably numbered about 25 and these days it is six... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG</i>
<b>Knowing the recorded music industry &amp; its constellation of interconnected practices</b>	<i>...the issues that are facing the industry ...is understanding the importance [of] how the digital side is changing... [and how] that has a massive impact on the business. I would say ... the biggest challenge [is] that people have to keep up with all that activity. UG17, General Manager, Marketing, UMG</i>  <i>... everything is so much geared towards downloading now. ...maybe my job is going to change greatly in the next years, we will be servicing things, digital downloads maybe, I don't know if that will make things easier, maybe that will mean we spend less time out of the office. A lot of our time we are out servicing... people, maybe that's going to change my job quite a bit...UG15, Senior National Promotions Manager, UMG</i>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Interviews revealed that knowing the recorded music industry involved understanding ‘the importance [of] how the digital side is changing’, how this was ‘completely different [from the] world of physical product’, which domains of knowledge and forms of knowing would remain central to their function or role, and which would not.

*It was my awareness that I needed to train myself; it wasn't a natural talent that you could get through it all.... that is where the credit goes to [MG] because she takes a personal interest in people's development... she cleverly helped me by laying out a framework of courses ...that helped me develop ...she helped me develop ways and means.... UG4, Director A&R, UMG*

In contrast to the other case study organizations, individuals working at UMG reported that HR was very effective in mediating access to particular knowledge domains and opportunities for digital music-based knowing. Consequently, they were much more reliant on and confident in HR sustaining individual career progression through facilitating access to relevant knowledge and knowing delivered via the organization’s learning curriculum.

### 8.1.2 Knowing the Network of Relations

As emergent digital music practices marginalized traditional music industry expertise and rendered traditional forms of knowing-in-practice obsolete, individuals recounted proactively seeking out and participating in established, new and emerging networks of relations to sustain access to recorded music industry knowledge and knowing.

Table 8-2: UMG - Knowing the Network of Relations

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>Knowing the network of relations produced by the interconnection of practices</b>	<p><i>...gained [knowledge] over the years by making good relationships with the suppliers and manufacturers, that's where I've learned... I'd be in trouble if I hadn't, if I didn't have good relationships with those people because that's where most of my knowledge base for production has come from. UG2, Director of Global Production, UMG</i></p> <p><i>...you have to keep close to the market in terms of studying trends and studying the charts. Talking to retailers, having regular focus groups, showing people different concepts... seeing whether those would work... UG10, Managing Director, Universal Classics and Jazz, UMG</i></p> <p><i>.. I have never really struggled that badly, because if I couldn't get information from one person, I would just call somebody else... that's because I know so many artists and musicians ...I can always ask them. UG18, Work Experience, UMG</i></p>

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Interviews revealed that individuals placed a high value on established networks of relations with suppliers, manufacturers, retailers, artists, etc. for ensuring that access to industry relevant knowledge and knowing by which they might continue to understand and be responsive to the needs of an emerging digital music marketplace.

### 8.1.3 Knowing How to Participate in Emerging Practices

Interviews indicated that most individuals participating within/across UMG's constellation of practices identified learning as the most important activity that they could undertake to be able to cope with transformations in the recorded music industry. While they identified the need to understand how organizational structures, roles and responsibilities were changing in order acquire the 'commercial skills' required for 'managing the business side', they also recognized that they needed to be able to navigate UMG's social and power relations. This required knowing how to 'manage the people they work with ...manage upwards and downwards', how to 'negotiate so that people at senior levels [could] understand' or how to remain 'relaxed and [able to] step away from situations'.

**Table 8-3: UMG - Knowing How to Participate in Emerging Practices**

Individual Dimension	Case Study Data
<b>Knowing how to enact and co-(re)produce a recorded music industry functional practice</b>	<i>...understanding...commercial skills that are important... I think the most important thing is for managers to be good managers and manage the people they work with and manage upwards and downwards. About what will motivate their team to get the best out of them which will then drive the business? UG17, General Manager, UMG</i>
	<i>...a lot more of ... managing the business side ...more managing people... a lot more responsibility financially... a lot more delegation... a lot more of an overview. UG13, Head of PAL and Fiction, UMG</i>
	<i>...I need to be a people person, I need to communicate effectively, I need to know how to negotiate so that people at senior levels can understand that when they want something done they can't always have it done there and then... UG11, Office Services Manager, UMG</i>
	<i>...learning is still the most important thing. I have so much to learn... you have to learn when to act in a certain way, when not to say exactly what I think when not to butt in, when to hold things back, when to maybe tell a white lie and maybe to think laterally, say something laterally, that is going to get you what you want. UG5, Head of Digital, UMG</i>
	<i>...you have to be organized, even if it is your own version of organization. ...you need to be thick-skinned ...there are going to be people who just piss you off ...but you know, you have to be quite relaxed and step away from situations.... just being organized and ...calm... UG1, PA to Senior Director of Business Affairs, Legal and Business Affairs Assistant, UMG</i>

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Individuals participating in UMG's Artist and Repertoire (A&R) practice recounted how A&R's position within the industry and the organization had been eroded by new and emerging digital music technologies and applications.

*The market has shrunk, the margins have shrunk, the places to get your acts on aren't there anymore in terms of TV, musical outlets, the British ration of musical channels. Kids are now turning to YouTube. Their entry point of music is different, it is not the traditional model anymore. You have to accept that. You have to adapt to that. Those things are on going and ever changing from the point where you start an act, assuming the market place is one, by the time you finish the record the marketplace has changed. Your entry point into the marketplace has changed. Digital versus download, physical versus download, these things add intensity to what you do. UG4, Director of A&R, UMG*

The result was that first, traditional forms of A&R knowledge and knowing-in-practice related to artist discovery, signing, and talent development that had been tightly guarded and attributed to having a fine tuned industry gut feel or intuition, was rendered more transparent to all; and second, that those individuals who had been highly valued because of the depth of their industry knowledge and knowing, their broad networks of relations and presumed ability to 'spot talent' lost status both within UMG and the broader music industry.

Through mobilizing new internet-based music technologies, applications and platforms such as digital music channels, fan sites, virtual performance venues and alternative promotional outlets and initiatives as power/knowledge resources, for example, artists and consumers (without their awareness) enacted associational arrangements of power that counteracted and challenged traditional recorded music industry marketing, promotion and distribution activities. The emergence and adoption of peer-to-peer networks, torrent networks and other alternative digital music channels by artists and consumers transformed the recorded music industry's socio-material arrangements. This had the effect of (re)locating consumers more centrally within the industry's emerging digital music-based social and power relations. In this manner, artists and consumers became more directly linked and collectively were able to assert greater control over traditional A&R projects, tasks and actions and facilitate access to new knowledge domains and forms of knowing including: the discovery and sanctioning of particular artists over others, the financing of artist projects, the production and release of digital

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

music products, and the creation of ancillary digital music assets. Consequently, artists and consumers counteracted the mobilization of traditional record company A&R knowledge/truth resources thereby diminishing the department's status in relation to new and emerging digital music-based, as well as other, more traditional music-based departments.

### **8.2 Human Resource Practices**

Individuals recounted that UMG's HR practice was central and effective in facilitating/constraining access to new and emerging knowledge domains and forms of knowing, and that opportunities for learning were embedded into the organization's employee lifecycle framework and delivered through the organization's learning curriculum at regular and pre-determined career milestones.

*...HR are playing a very active role ... [they] work within the unstructured nature of the business and ...have a programme of doing things and identifying courses and bringing people on them. UG16, Business Solutions Manager, UMG*

*When new people come in, whichever part of the company they come into, ...the managers ...are very good and very alert to people's specific talents, in a way, but aspirations as well, in another way. We do regular appraisals and if we feel that someone would benefit from being sent on a course, there is a lot of money spent on training and development in the company, we would try and help them along. UG10, Managing Director, UMG*

With or without their awareness, UMG's HR practice mobilized humanist techniques and practices as knowledge/truth resources the effect of which was that they were able to (re)construct organizational dimensions of knowledge. This in turn enabled HR to constitute a new culture for learning within the organization. As early as 1998, Polydor/UMG's HR department identified the need to secure consensus on and compliance with developing a coherent organizational response to new and emerging digital music technologies. HR worked in conjunction with UMG's executive and management practices to mobilize surveys, employee focus groups, question and answer sessions, and ad hoc conversations to 'raise the organization's game' through: identifying and promoting the adoption of Key Performance Indicators, defining key digital music priorities, breaking down the perception of 'Director's versus Workers', and through the creation of a 'fun environment for all departments'.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-4: Polydor Group/UMG - Organizational Dimensions of Knowledge

[email excerpt] Eddie Cunningham Sent: 16 January 1998 4:21:10 PM

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
	<b>Raising Our Game</b>
	...
	<b>Immediate Actions</b>
	i. Autumn Presentation to be set up for all staff.
	a. Agenda: Key Performance Indicators at the half year
	b. Autumn line up and priorities etc.
	c. Likely full year position
	d. Questions/Feedback Session
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>	ii. Set up a quarterly update, arrange four in advance now.
	a. Agenda: Business Update
	b. Marketing to make presentations on the key priorities
	c. PR etc. - what's happening?
	d. Key issues going forward
<b>Knowledge of the activity or labour to be undertaken (work)</b>	e. Everyone will be invited to table agenda issues under AOB
	f. Question and answer session to the Directors
	g. Feedback
	...
	iii. Should we introduce a quarterly achievement award?
	a. What criteria should be used to judge this?
	b. How would we manage this?
	...
	v. Set up another feedback questionnaire early next year, 6 months after the first one to check what progress is being made.
	...
	<b>Medium/Longer Term Actions</b>
	i. The Mission Statement
	ii. The 5 year business plan
	iii. The Broader organizational/cultural issues which were raised and are highlighted in brief here. To note, the plan of action regarding these points is being worked by the team now, and an update will follow Within one month from today
<b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lose The Directors vs. Worker's perception</li> <li>• The need for employees to feel "valued"</li> <li>• Feeling more part of a team (and not disposable!)</li> <li>• More project 'ownership' not just 'delegation'</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge of the individual</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greater recognition for good work</li> <li>• Need for staff incentives, where appropriate</li> <li>• Greater emphasis on training (to help staff do their job better)</li> <li>• Improved Personnel management - greater career guidance, and better integration into the PolyGram group.</li> <li>• Create a 'fun' environment for all departments - become the envy of other companies - (the best product, the best people because the best environment)...</li> <li>• More flexible working hours</li> <li>• More respect (not just top down, but bottom up)...</li> </ul>

UMG executives institutionalized HR control over learning in their organization through establishing and embedding a rigorous employee lifecycle framework-based process in conjunction with an exhaustive organizational learning curriculum. This was mobilized to render individuals *known* and *visible* for the

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

purposes of governance and control. Individuals were compelled to navigate through established milestones embedded into the employee lifecycle framework and to participate in targeted learning activities via the organization's learning curriculum. In this manner, individuals were compelled to monitor and act on personal meanings and identities to adopt those sanctioned by UMG's HR practice.

As with the other case study organizations, power/learning tensions arose out of the conflict between UMG's need to constitute new digital music-based socio-material arrangements and social and power relations and individual requirements for addressing the increased obsolescence of traditional music-based knowledge and knowing. Marnie Grafton<sup>91</sup>, UMG's Head of Learning and Management Development, addressed these tensions through focusing on how to manage change in the industry and the organization. She worked to identify all of UMG's digital music activities and interests and resolved to develop an organizational learning curriculum that would 'help people grow their knowledge' in organizationally sanctioned ways. This required that she: actively (re)position HR in UMG as the central mediating practice for learning; identify, consolidate organizational dimensions of knowledge; sanction relevant forms of digital music-based knowledge and knowing; and facilitate/constrain access to particular domains of knowledge and knowing to specific individuals at defined milestones in their careers.

*How do we capture everything that we are doing in the digital space and have people grow their knowledge in that area, where they are still so busy in the more traditional space?...the whole issue of how we deal with change, I think it's a real challenge. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

According to Grafton, enabling individuals to 'grow their knowledge' required that HR have an ability to 'capture everything we are doing in the digital space' for the purpose of 'deal[ing] with change'. This involved shifting HR's focus from a narrow concern with delivering generic training, to an informed and comprehensive concern with facilitating a sanctioned culture for learning within UMG.

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<sup>91</sup> A pseudonym.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*My philosophy ...is that [learning] should be open to all and for me that is fundamental. So, in any of our in-house programs, we have individuals who are Directors ...who are PAs and I think that it's right. ...I think that it is important that individuals learn from each other, you learn as much from a PA who says it like it really is as you can learn from a Director who ...has experience in a particular function. I believe that ... [learning] should be about what individuals' need. So, if you are in a particular function and you need some marketing skills let's put together a program portfolio for you that will really help you but let's not open marketing courses up to individuals who work in ...law because it is not really going to add anything to the bottom line... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Grafton mobilized humanist based knowledge/truth resources to inculcate within individuals organizationally sanctioned values of self-actualization, personal growth, and freedom. This formed a foundation upon which UMG acted on individuals' personal meanings and identities to (re)constitute them as responsive and proactive learners who, through their collective abilities to learn, embodied the flexibility and adaptation required to address new and emerging digital music technologies and applications to benefit UMG.

Grafton mobilized knowledge/truth resources attached to her role as Head of Learning and Management Development to enact authority by which she engaged those individuals participating within/across UMG's management and executive practices in a series of formal, informal, and ad hoc conversations. She began by developing relationships with UMG's Managing Directors and organized them into a forum designed to develop common understandings of individuals' learning requirements and to enable them to identify the possibilities for addressing the challenges being presented by new and emerging technologies.

*I got to know the MDs [Managing Directors] and worked with them in a forum on a monthly basis where we would talk very openly and honestly about the development issues of their people and identify which training could help... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development*

As the forum progressed and she won the trust and confidence of Managing Directors, Grafton shifted to a more proactive stance in advocating for the adoption of HR's agenda for addressing these issues and challenges.

*I started off being very supportive and agreeing with a lot of the issues that they came to the table with, trying to help them to find a way out or a way through these issues that may or may not necessarily involve training. And then after a*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*while ...I started to be ...a lot more challenging... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development*

In this manner, Grafton initiated organizational processes central to developing deeper understandings of UMG's workforce and individuals' particular requirements for learning and development. HR was (re)positioned as the central mediating practice in UMG through helping managers and executives to 'find a way out or a way through these issues'.

To build on these efforts, Grafton mobilized broader organizational surveys to (re)construct organizational dimensions of knowledge of individuals in order to constitute the organization's initial learning curriculum as an integrated series of sanctioned learning opportunities undergirding the employee lifecycle framework.

*I had everybody complete a confidential survey on how they felt things were working in the company... the results were quite shocking to the management team because people were saying quite openly, "We don't know what we are doing... we don't feel that we are fully qualified in things... we don't know how to manage ...people just didn't understand how our industry works... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

The survey was mobilized by UMG's HR department to (re)position managers and executives as organizational learning novices who '[didn't] know what [they were] ...doing ... we [didn't] feel ...qualified' in knowing 'how to manage ...people' while HR was (re)positioned as an important and strategic practice. This was facilitated by HR's expertise in gaining deep insights into individuals' personal meanings and identities, and career needs, wants and motivations, and in its ability to develop organizational understandings of individuals, their roles and functions.

*...I rolled out a performance appraisal system which was different from the one I had been designing as a consultant ...we got groups of staff together to ...look at ...and input into the form and ...we had some training in groups of managers where we talked about how to complete the formal appraisals... then [I] started by introducing ...business related training like Introduction to the Music Industry...a Royalty Seminar; people just didn't understand how our industry performs, and then we started with Legal and Business Affairs and Financial Awareness, stuff that really meant something to people, we had in-house deliverers... before we ...started on things like the 360° [Feedback Tool].' Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Organizational dimensions of knowledge were mobilized by UMG's HR practice to constitute a disciplinary matrix by which individuals were compared and ordered

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

against each other and through which access to sanctioned organizational domains of knowledge and knowing was either facilitated or constrained at particular career milestones. After joining UMG, individuals were offered opportunities to build organizationally sanctioned skills and competencies through participation in the development phase of the organization's learning curriculum.

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
Individual Development	Functional, Professional & Specialist Skill Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>ad hoc &amp; individual courses</i>- public speaking, lateral thinking, research, public relations, business objects, program &amp; project management</li> </ul>
	Presentation Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>presentation of self</i> - to increase self-confidence regarding presentations through making clear, logical &amp; well organized verbal presentations in a persuasive way to create a professional impression</li> </ul>
	Influencing Skills & Presentation of Self	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>presentation of self</i> – teaches how individuals are perceived by others to develop strategies for influencing others</li> </ul>
	Prioritization & Time Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - prioritization &amp; time management as well as delegation, saying no &amp; managing upwards</li> </ul>
	Fundamentals of Negotiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - basic negotiation skills for junior staff</li> </ul>
	Marketing Fundamentals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - music industry focused program covering principles of marketing</li> </ul>
	Brand Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - music industry focused program covering building the brand</li> </ul>
	Briefing Advertising & Creatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - music industry focused programme covering excellence in marketing communications</li> </ul>
	Legal & Business Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – focused on legal &amp; business affairs &amp; recording agreements</li> </ul>
	Financial Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> – fundamentals of assessing music deal, recording &amp; production spend, recoupable costs, etc.</li> </ul>
	Recording Agreements & Business Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs</i> - implications of the artist agreement for all functions in the artist value chain to maximize revenue</li> </ul>
	Team Development & Strategy Workshops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>mechanism of regulation</i> - variety of team development &amp; strategy workshops for discrete teams using psychometric tools, i.e. MBTI, Herrmann Brain dominance, etc.</li> </ul>
	Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>mechanism of regulation</i> - Meyers-Briggs Personality Inventory (MBPI) - how the combination of different personality types has implications for the way individuals and teams work together</li> </ul>
	Consultative Selling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>individual training needs &amp; presentation of self</i> – focuses on inculcating sanctioned meanings &amp; identities which support the strategic development of UMG's commercial goals</li> </ul>
WINS Negotiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>knowledge/truth resources</i> - ensures all managers &amp; staff who negotiate with colleagues, customers, suppliers &amp; artist managers have a full range of skills &amp; techniques available to them</li> </ul>	

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Individuals moved from being inducted into the organization and inculcated with novice meanings and identities in the induction phase, to participating in sanctioned personal and professional development activities by which individual commitment to, and identity with, UMG was nurtured and maintained.

### 8.2.1 Performance Management

Townley (1993; 1994; 1995) recognizes the link between individual development and performance management and observes that organizations mobilize a range of performance management techniques that vary according to an organization's particular focus on results/outcomes or process. Further, she notes that individuals are assessed, categorized and ordered according to an organization's specific disciplinary matrix of relative or absolute values constructed through subjecting individuals to different rating scales or so-called subjective or objective standards through mobilizing HR employee lifecycle related projects, tasks and actions (Townley 1995). This is consistent with the finding that UMG's HR practice facilitated/constrained access to development opportunities through mobilizing the *Training Plans and Talent Review Process* (traffic light process) as a technology of regulation within the organization.

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**Table 8-6: UMG - Training Plans and Talent Review Process [policy document]**

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#### Case Study Data

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##### Training Plans and Talent Review Process

###### Talent Reviews

Talent reviews are carried out annually by the HR managers at most sites, (MK do not really do them), in Hammersmith the annual training plans reflect the talent review categorisation, as follows:

- Staff who have been identified as having Very High Potential (not more than about 5% of the population at any one time) are categorised as Pink
- Staff who are good performers and/or ready for a development move or increased responsibility are rated Green
- Staff who are ok/standard performers or new to the business are rated as Amber
- Staff who are rated as potential problems, due to a range of reasons, (underperformance against objectives, diminished roles, attitude problems) are rated as Red

###### Annual Training Plans

Annual Training plans for each area of the Business are carried out as follows:

- Identifying training/development needs from the Appraisal process
- Identifying any carry-overs from the previous year's plan, needs not met for whatever reason
- Ad-hoc requirements that occur and are notified to us/HR managers during discussions or via emails

We simply list the individuals, their needs and any likely fulfilment date from the schedule of courses and this goes to the HR Manager and the relevant MD for their information...

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

The *Training Plans and Talent Review Process* constituted a disciplinary matrix based on organizationally sanctioned performance criteria by which individuals were assessed, against which they were ordered, and through which they were accorded access to learning (or not).

*When we do our talent review we look at two things, so, we look at the individual so, each individual is rated as Hot Pink, which is an absolute star, somebody whose skills are eminently transferable and will end up in Director or MD positions at some point in the future. And we have Green that we call good to go, so these are individuals who are ready for the next move and we need to think about what we are building into their jobs to keep them motivated. Then we have Ambers, the cruisers, and then we have Reds, these are individuals who are poorly performing or they are individuals their job won't exist in three years time. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Individuals categorized as *Hot Pink* or *Green* (organizational stars or good to go), for example, were identified to be *managed up* in the organization and accorded greater access to traditional and digital music-based knowledge domains and opportunities for knowing-in-practice.

*...If we have individuals who are Greens and we know that they are ready for a move but maybe there is no real responsibility that we can build into their role right now, we just don't have the resources to support that through, we will look at how training and development can keep them motivated. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Access to management and executive domains of knowledge and knowing-in-practice was mobilized by HR to induce those Hot Pinks or Greens (most able to opt out of the organization's constellation of practices) to comply with limited opportunities for career mobility and low levels of remuneration. For those individuals categorized as *Ambers* (cruisers), and identified to be *plateaued* or *levelled off* in the organization, access to particular knowledge domains and opportunities for knowing was limited to that which would sustain current levels of performance in particular roles and practices.

*With our cruisers what we make sure is that they are talked to about training and development, that they are guided to use the intranet sites, they know what's available in terms of helping develop their skills. We don't put heavy pressure on them to attend training but we make sure that they cover off the basic portfolio. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

Finally, for those categorized as *Reds* (poor performers), identified to be managed out of UMG, access to knowledge, and knowing was completely closed down.

*With those individuals who are Red, we need to manage them out of the business. We take away [training and development], unless it is a real performance issue around a particular competency like time management or whatever. We don't utilize training and development for our Reds. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

The example of the *Training Plans and Talent Review Process* outlined above illustrates how UMG's HR practice mobilized a disciplinary matrix through articulating a taxinomia of desired behaviours, skills and experiences and translating these into a mathesis that enhanced organizational control over individual behaviour through directly facilitating or constraining individual access to learning. In order to maintain employment or progress in their careers, individuals were compelled to exercise self-discipline and (re)constitute personal meanings and identities according to organizationally sanctioned performance profiles related to their particular role, function, or practice. In combination, the *Training Plans and Talent Review Process* rendered individuals and their activities visible to HR practices to (re)construct and (re)produce organizational dimensions knowledge for the purposes of governance through disciplining the interior of the organization via the organization's learning curriculum.

### **8.2.2 Individual Development**

UMG's HR practice sanctioned individual development within the organization through effectively mobilizing and aligning particular material, economic and symbolic resources via the employee lifecycle framework targeted at particular individuals having reached specific career milestones.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

**Table 8-7: UMG - Organizational Curriculum Development Phase**

*focuses on nurturing & maintaining individual commitment to & identity with the organization through maximizing individual, team and professional performance through maintaining and developing sanctioned capabilities*

- Objectives**
- **individual development** – to integrate & align individual access to particular knowledge domains & knowing & inculcate organizationally sanctioned aptitudes, behaviours, meanings and identities within individuals
    - identifying organizational requirements for individual development
    - directing individual development towards organizationally sanctioned career practices
  - **team development** - to enhance organizational performance through inculcating & aligning individual & collective meanings & identities within particular practices
  - **management / executive development** – to inculcate management/executive meanings and identities over & functional ones & to (re)position and differentiate managers/executives in relation to others in the organization
  - **professional development** - to promote individual professional commitment & alignment to organization
    - sponsoring professional development activities to sanction organizationally aligned professional meanings & identities

Human Resource Projects, Tasks & Actions	Projects	Tasks	Actions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• appraisals</li> <li>• talent reviews</li> <li>• succession planning</li> <li>• professional development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• facilitating continuous individual &amp; team development</li> <li>• aligning reward systems to development strategies</li> <li>• individual &amp; team assessment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• career counselling</li> <li>• continuous performance review &amp; appraisal</li> <li>• feedback</li> <li>• continuous learning &amp; self-development</li> <li>• continuous training &amp; development</li> </ul>

Early iterations of the UMG’s learning curriculum consisted almost exclusively of label-based team away days. During these sessions, UMG’s HR practice facilitated broad based participation in the *Team Development and Strategy Workshop* and/or the *Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop*.

*...I ...started by doing away days or team builds using maybe Meyers-Briggs which people had never come across and thought it was absolutely amazing. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Over the ten years prior to this study, UMG’s HR practice institutionalized the MBPI as an organizationally sanctioned mechanism of regulation in the employee lifecycle framework.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-8: UMG - Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop

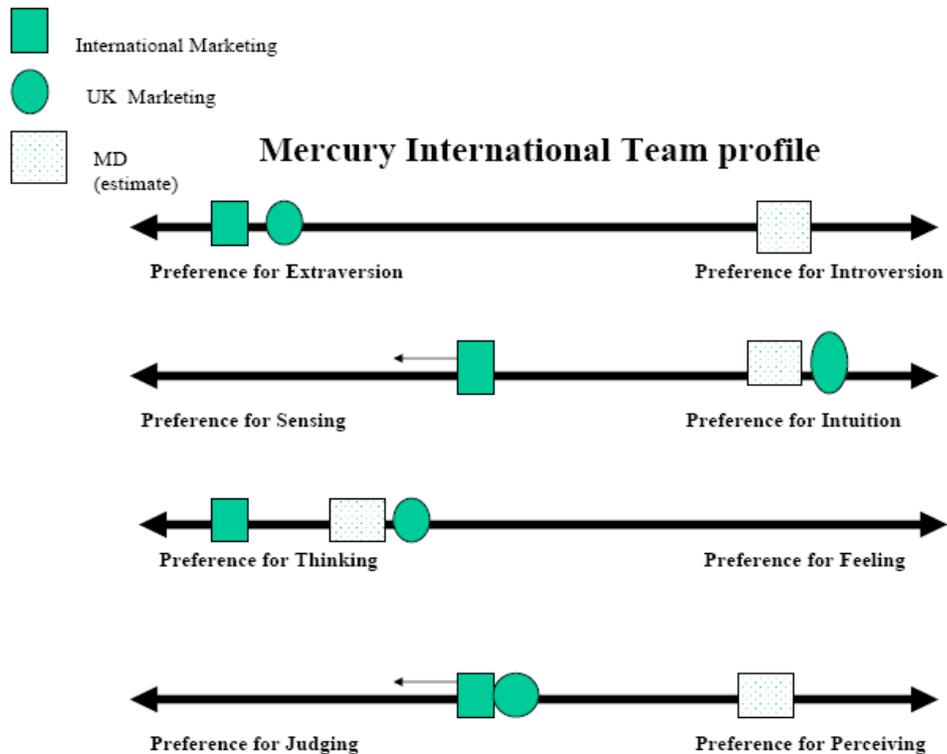
[invitation letter] Marnie Grafton

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
<p><b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b></p>	<p><b>Meyers Briggs Team Workshop</b></p> <p>One of our most popular workshops is the Meyers-Briggs team workshop. The workshop is based around a Meyers-Briggs personality questionnaire, which all attendees complete before the workshop. The questionnaire is the best-validated questionnaire on the market, and most people believe its results to be a very accurate and positive description of their personality types.</p> <p>The personality questionnaire is based on Jungian Psychology and looks at four things:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The different ways we create energy in ourselves and others</li> <li>• How different people prefer to take in and process information</li> <li>• The different ways that people make decisions</li> <li>• The combination of factors that determine our attitude to life</li> </ul> <p>The workshop itself is a fun way of looking at how a team develops given that in any team, the combination of different personality types is vast, and this has implications for the way team members work together.</p> <p>...</p>
<p><b>Knowledge of the individual</b></p>	<p>...</p> <p>The output of the day is an action plan to improve the effectiveness of the team. However, most people who attend the workshop say that they learn more about themselves and more importantly about their colleagues, which is both interesting and helpful to them in their day-to-day work. (In fact, the majority of people ask for a questionnaire to take home for their other-halves to complete as they have found it so interesting and useful)</p> <p>...</p>

HR mobilized the organization's learning curriculum to facilitate and sustain organizational knowledge of the individual and thereby prescribe *how* individuals and teams should come to *know* themselves and make sense of their practice through compelling Managing Directors and their teams to participate in the *Team Development and Strategy Workshop* or the *Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop*. During these sessions, HR exposed, sensitized and made individuals vulnerable to the *Meyers-Briggs Personality Inventory (MBPI)* through mobilizing it as a mechanism of regulation by which individuals' and teams' private internal mental states, cognitive constructs and schema were translated into MBTI's four cognitive dimensions: **(E-I)** introversion/extroversion; **(S-N)** sensing/intuition; **(T-F)** thinking/feeling; and **(J-P)** judging/perceiving.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Figure 8-1: Mercury International MBTI Team Profile



As demonstrated by the figure above, UMG's HR practice utilized the MBPI to render individuals and teams visible for the purposes of governance, which enabled them to extend organizational control over individual and team processes. Movement from novice to expert positions was managed within UMG through facilitating or constraining access to more complex forms of knowledge and knowing based in part on an individual's or a team's particular MBPI profile.

UMG's HR practice acted on individual pre-career personal and music genre-based meanings and identities to encourage the adoption of organizationally sanctioned ones, for example, through facilitating opportune access to foundational knowledge domains and knowing essential for novice practitioners in the *Marketing Fundamentals*, *Brand Management*, *Legal and Business Affairs* or the *Recording Agreements and Business Affairs* courses. For those individuals identified as having been plateaued or levelled off (amber), however, participation in the organization's learning curriculum was closed down and limited to only

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

those courses, such as *Financial Awareness, Prioritization and Time Management, Presentation Skills* or *Influencing Skills and Presentation of Self*, deemed sufficient for maintaining sanctioned meanings, identities, and performance within particular functional practices. For those individuals requiring more expert forms of knowledge and knowing-in-practice, i.e. A&R, Legal and Business Affairs and Sales practices, and more importantly, for those individuals identified to be managed up the organization's hierarchy, UMG's HR practice sanctioned individual participation in high value and intensive courses such as *WINS Negotiation* and *Consultative Selling*.

### **WINS Negotiation**

Designed as a five-day intensive residential program and limited to six individuals, the WINS Negotiation course was compulsory for those identified as Hot Pinks in UMG's A&R, Marketing, Business and Legal Affairs and Sales functional practices.

*...for the WINS courses, we say anybody that does any negotiation at all should go on them. It is vital for sales; all our sales staff have done it. Vital for A&R, just about all of A&R staff have done it. It is vital for Marketing because they have so much input into the whole creative process they need to negotiate and then all of our highfliers have to do it simply because it is one of the life changing programmes. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

UMG's HR practice constituted 'training and development in terms of reward' and mobilized access to 'premium' opportunities for learning to enact seduction and inducement by which loyalty was secured from those individuals identified as 'high value'. In addition, through facilitating access to premium opportunities for learning, individual needs and wants for career progression were indulged to secure compliance with low remuneration and the chronic lack of opportunities for career movement.

*...the good MDs [Managing Directors]... [and] Lucien [CEO]... use training and development in terms of reward. So if somebody comes to them and says, "Sony has made me an offer," they will go, "Well, we can't up your salary ...I see you haven't done the WINS course, that is worth about £4500. We will make sure that you get on that in January." They use it for motivation of their people, rewards for their people. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

In setting out the purpose of the *WINS Negotiation Course* as ensuring that all managers and staff who negotiate with colleagues, customers, suppliers and artist managers have a full range of negotiation skills and techniques available to them, HR was clearly concerned with enhancing particular individuals' *power over* others in their social relations and professional networks.

Table 8-9: UMG - WINS Negotiation Course

Course	Case Study Data
	...
	<b>Purpose</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>to ensure that all managers and staff who negotiate with colleagues, customers, suppliers and artist managers have a full range of skills and techniques available to them</li></ul>
<b>WINS Negotiation</b>	<b>Objectives</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>to enable delegates to contrast and use Win/Win and Win/Lose styles of negotiation</li><li>to provide a structured environment to practice and develop a range of single and party negotiation tactics</li><li>to encourage all staff to examine their commercial focus, and develop an action plan to improve ...</li></ul>

It is not surprising, therefore, that many individuals identified the course as having been 'life changing'.

*I think the number of people that went through WINS and came back saying, "This is the most fantastic course that I have ever done," probably was the start of the tipping point because the WINS course focused on changing people's mind-sets about money... it does teach negotiating skills, but it is more than that... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

While ostensibly focused on teaching negotiation skills, the WINS Negotiation course was specifically designed to 'chang[e] people's mind-sets about money' and, more importantly, to (re)constitute personal meanings, identities, and behaviours in a manner that was aligned with UMG's organizational objectives and its emerging digital music reality.

*So, we have gone from a culture with the support of WINS [where] people just haemorrhage [money], ...Jonathan has this saying, "There is no such thing as company money and personal money, there is only one kind of money it is called money." ...that whole week's focus is about ...how you use money, this is how scarce it is, this is how important it is ...it really started to turn people's attitudes to what they were going to do ...actually, this is a business. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

In order to 'to turn people's attitudes to what they were going to do', the external lead facilitator was positioned as expert and participants as novices within the course's socio-power arrangements. Within this power dynamic, individuals were compelled to participate in a 'breaking down/building up process' by which personal, functional and music genre-based meanings, identities and behaviours were (re)constituted into organizationally sanctioned ones which propounded UMG's understanding of and values for money and organizational finances.

*...it is residential, and the trainer [JS] is a really, really hard taskmaster. He is not frightened of swearing, you can swear at him all you like, he will just swear back and he will cut you down to size. And that is all part of that kind of breaking down/building up process ...that ...you really ...need ...in this industry. Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

On completion of the course and on return to their day-to-day roles and functions, HR mobilized organizational dimensions of knowledge of individuals garnered through tests, exams, presentations, etc. to (re)locate them into more favourable positions within UMG's social and power relations.

### Consultative Selling Course

The *Consultative Selling* course was developed by UMG's HR practice as a *life-changing* program focused on inculcating behaviours to support the pursuit of higher sales and profitability for the organization.

Table 8-10: UMG - Consultative Selling Course

Course	Case Study Data
	...
	<b>Purpose</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to ensure that all managers and staff who negotiate with colleagues, customers, suppliers and artist managers have a full range of skills and techniques available to them</li> </ul>
<i>Consultative Selling</i>	<b>Objectives</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to enable delegates to contrast and use Win/Win and Win/Lose styles of negotiation</li> <li>to provide a structured environment to practice and develop a range of single and party negotiation tactics</li> <li>to encourage all staff to examine their commercial focus, and develop an action plan to improve</li> </ul>
	...

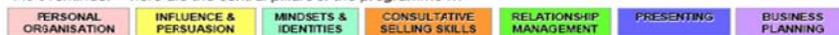
## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

The Consultative Selling course was designed to 'really find... out what the customer wants rather than telling them what they need' through facilitating individual access to knowledge and knowing by which they could act more effectively on UMG's customers and buyers in pursuit of the organization's interests. Through participating in this course, individuals were trained in particular techniques by which they might enact different modalities of power (i.e. manipulation, seduction or inducement) to secure customer/buyer compliance with UMG's organizational and commercial interests.

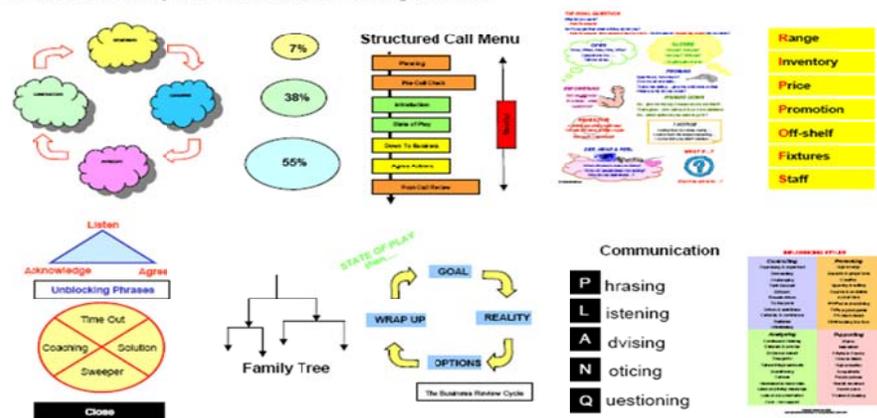
*...we are ...doing a consultative selling course ...which is looking at a more forward thinking, all embracing approach to sales and training as opposed to a selling-buying ...as it says in the title, it is more of a consultative approach... we're just building on the fundamental principles of building relationships, really finding out what the customer wants rather than telling them what they need. UG9, Senior National Accounts Manager, UMG*

The course's facilitators clearly signalled their intention to act on individuals' personal and professional meanings and identities to enable them, in turn, to act on client meanings and identities through enacting different modalities of power such as manipulation, seduction, or inducement. This was encouraged through organizing the learning according to seven 'central pillars of Consultative Selling': personal organization, influence and persuasion, mind-sets and identities, consultative selling skills, relationship management, presenting, and business planning.

As a reminder – here are the central pillars of the programme ...



....and some of the key tools & ideas we've been working with so far:



### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

The Consultative Selling course clearly relied on the facilitators' ability to mobilize an inventory of behaviourist tools and techniques to act on individuals participating in the course. In contrast to the explicit aims of the course, however, interviews revealed that individuals mobilized the Consultative Selling course's knowledge/truth resources to resist organizational social and power relations in their day-to-day activities at UMG and act to influence their Managers.

*We actually sat down with the [facilitators] who were running that course, they are very much "Here's some theory, here is using it practically," but they are also almost... life coaches. They ...say, "You know what ...there is an opportunity here for you to have more influence" ... I think there is an opportunity for the team of Senior Sales guys...to actually step up and come up with ideas, plans of action ...we are currently looking at ways that we can influence our Commercial Directors and have a little bit more impact on decisions and strategies with the compilations markets, singles markets and other things... UG9, Senior National Accounts Manager, UMG*

One unintended outcome of the Consultative Selling course, therefore, was that UMG's Senior Sales managers mobilized its knowledge/truth resources to use persuasion and negotiation by which they might act on and 'influence ...Commercial Directors and have ...more impact on decisions and strategies [related to] the compilations markets, singles markets'. In this manner, the Senior Sales participants mobilized Consultative Selling to cut across the organization's vertical social and power relations and exert influence over UMG's traditional and digital music sales strategies. Resistance for UMG's Senior Sales participants was, as de Certeau (1984:xix) observed, a tactical process of utilizing the course materials, knowledge and knowing at hand to insinuate themselves into the Commercial Directors' place, 'fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety'.

### **8.2.3 Executive Development**

UMG's executive development curriculum provided limited opportunities for executives to access complex forms of knowledge and knowing by which movement from novice to expert positions might be accomplished.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-11: UMG - Executive Development Curriculum

Lifecycle Phase	Curriculum	Description
Executive Development	Executive & Senior Management Away Days	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>expert positioning</b> – reinforces individual positions within UMG’s hierarchy &amp; locates them as experts within their functional practice</li> <li>• facilitates access to sanctioned domains of knowledge &amp; forms of knowing related to senior management and executive practices</li> </ul>
	Executive & Senior Management Coaching & Mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>individual training needs</b> – access sanctioned domains of knowledge and knowing-in-practice</li> <li>• facilitates the development of sanctioned executive and management meanings and identities through a focused program of coaching &amp; mentoring</li> </ul>
	Executive Development Program (EDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>presentation of self &amp; organizational positioning as high value employee</b> – inculcates sanctioned meanings &amp; identities in early stage managers, executives or high value employees in <i>managing self, managing the work &amp; working with others</i></li> <li>• <b>knowledge/truth resources</b> – individuals inculcated with sanctioned cognitive models and behavioural repertoires – Hermann Brain Dominance, Kolb &amp; Fry (learning cycle), &amp; Belbin Team Roles, MBTI, etc.</li> </ul>
	Individual Coaching & Mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>knowledge/truth resources</b> – facilitates access to knowledge/truth resources by which managers might enact modalities of power for the purpose of control</li> <li>• <b>presentation of self</b> – focuses on inculcating sanctioned management meanings &amp; identities which support the strategic development of UMG’s commercial goals</li> </ul>

Participation in the *Executive and Senior Management Coaching & Mentoring*, *Executive and Senior Management Away Days* and *Individual Coaching and Mentoring*, for example, focused on aligning executive practices through (re)constituting management meanings and identities into executive ones, and through creating a common set of understandings and vocabularies essential for participating in executive projects, tasks and actions.

### 8.2.3.1 Executive Development Program

Delivered offsite for three days, and restricted to those identified as Hot Pinks and Greens, UMG’s HR practice mobilized the *Executive Development Programme* (EDP) to seduce individuals into compliance through indulging individuals’ need for career progression by facilitating access to executive domains of knowledge and knowing.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

*The high potential programme is a huge success. We didn't really have anything like that, in fact this organization really shied away from an elitist programme. We managed to...introduce our third Executive Development Programme [EDP] and it is elevating people, it is saying these people are special and we are putting together something really special for them... we need to take care of them, we need to develop them, we need to motivate them, we need to give opportunities to shine and show their strengths otherwise they will go somewhere else... Marnie Grafton, Head of Learning and Management Development, UMG*

Through 'saying these people are special and ... [in] putting together something really special for them', HR facilitated access to UMG's executive network to elevate individuals' status and standing in the organization's social and power relations. In this manner, individuals were effectively seduced into remaining in the organization while movement into competitor organizations was proactively curtailed. As a prerequisite for entry into the EDP, individuals were compelled by HR to participate in self-assessments (Skills Inventory) and peer assessments (360° Feedback Tool) for the purposes of developing deep organizational insights into and knowledge of individuals. Organizational understandings of particular individuals' acts, attitudes, and modes of everyday behaviour were utilized during the EDP to encourage them to act on personal and management meanings and adopt sanctioned executive identities.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-12: UMG - Self Assessment

NAME: XXX		CURRENT POSITION: XXX		COMPLETED BY: XXX	
BUSINESS UNIT / COUNTRY: UMG / Polydor		NEXT POTENTIAL POSITION:		DATE:	
Key Areas	Competence Rating	Comments on Key Strengths	Comments on Areas for Development		
<b>People /Social Skills</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Builds &amp; maintains relationships at all levels in/outside the business</li> <li>Provides concrete feedback on strengths and areas of development</li> <li>Communicates regularly / clearly to ensure that everyone is informed.</li> <li>Disseminates all appropriate influencing skills</li> <li>Exercises appropriate leadership skills</li> <li>Communicates well with 'creative' people</li> <li>Avoids unnecessary and confusing jargon</li> </ul>	7	Excellent external network / contacts Communicates well with them – gets results. Manages team well – doesn't mind addressing Conflict Direct – deals with a problem immediately and Directly	Assertiveness in meetings		
<b>Business Acumen</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Understands business and financial implications of decisions</li> <li>Leverages organisational awareness (culture, politics)</li> <li>Understands consumers, markets, creative people, artists, trends, etc</li> <li>Demonstrates entrepreneurial approach</li> <li>Understands music industry and the impact of decisions on business</li> </ul>	6	Good knowledge within promotions area	Needs to develop knowledge of other Business units – but will learn quickly		
<b>Creativity and Problem Solving</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Solves problems by going below the surface to root causes</li> <li>Generates new and innovative ideas that impact the business</li> <li>Challenges the way it has always been done.</li> <li>Proactive, thinks ahead and offers advice before situations become critical</li> </ul>	7	Challenges ways in which to get things done.			
<b>Delivery of Results</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monitors progress against objectives and highlights areas of concern</li> <li>Creates a sense of urgency for deliverables</li> <li>Ensures that time and resources are focused on key areas required for achieving objectives</li> <li>Organises self and manages time effectively</li> <li>Keeps commitments; delivers on deadline</li> </ul>	7	Gets results - organised and has different / resolved Approach to getting things done.			
<b>Professional Ability</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deal-making, negotiation skills</li> <li>Presentation skills</li> <li>Has appropriate / necessary qualifications (academic, professional)</li> </ul>	7		Needs to improve presentation/confidence to large groups of people		
<b>Personal Attributes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has integrity</li> <li>Is self-aware (strengths and weaknesses)</li> <li>Self-confident</li> <li>Calm, self-controlled</li> <li>Self-motivated</li> </ul>	8	Honest, Quietly confident Very calm and Measured	More confidence		
<b>Competency Rating Scale:</b> (This is a ten point rating scale and for every key area you can choose the higher or the lower number to reflect this person's capability): 10- 9: Exceptional (one of the best professionals I have ever met), 8 - 7: Very Good (consistently demonstrates very high level of competence), 5 - 6: Good (consistently demonstrates above average level of competence), 4 - 3: Partial (does not always demonstrate the required competence level), 2 - 1: Poor (has significant problems in this area)					

The self-assessment was used to compel individuals to exercise self-discipline, to identify personal and professional deficiencies and to act on related meanings, and identities in accordance with the EDP's *Skills Inventory*.

*...it has changed the way I interact within the organization. You have to position yourself, position your acts or position your department in a way that people take you seriously or your people seriously, and that you understand the workings from a personal level to a departmental level and managing the varied scenarios that go down every day. Whether that is getting feedback from your 360°, whether that is being on that EDP course where you discover what kind of person you are ...within the working framework, or managing your boss, or any of those things ...I am a completely different person [to when I came in]... UG4, Director A&R*

Completed prior to participating in the program, the EDP's *Skills Inventory* provided UMG's HR practice with significant insights into particular individuals' personal orientations to working (managing myself) and into how they enact their day-to-day practices of work (managing the work).

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-13: UMG - Executive Development Skills Inventory

Personal Dimension		Case Study Data
<b>Managing Myself</b>	<b>Emotional Control</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>remains calm and objective in stressful situations</li> <li>manages own reactions appropriately and gives considered responses</li> </ul>
	<b>Flexibility</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adapts own behaviour, style or approach to reach a goal</li> </ul>
	<b>Adaptability</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>remains effective within a changing environment such as when faced with new tasks, responsibilities or people</li> </ul>
	<b>Tenacity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>perseveres with an issue or a problem until the matter is settled or the objective is no longer reasonably attainable</li> </ul>
	<b>Independence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>acts on own convictions rather than on a desire to conform</li> <li>willing to challenge the norm</li> </ul>
	<b>Initiative</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>originates and actively influences events rather than passively accepting and reacting to them</li> </ul>
	<b>Proactivity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>anticipates future events and acts accordingly</li> <li>forward-thinking</li> </ul>
	<b>Resilience</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>remains positive in face of disappointment or rejection</li> <li>does not give up</li> <li>manages stress effectively</li> </ul>
	<b>Energy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>maintains high levels of alertness and activity</li> <li>achieves high levels of output</li> </ul>
	<b>Focus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>sets self and others high standards of performance and strives to over-achieve</li> </ul>
	<b>Self-Development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>accurately assesses own performance and skills</li> <li>builds own plans for development</li> </ul>
	<b>Self-Discipline</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>makes best use of own time and effort to achieve goals</li> </ul>
<b>Managing the Work [Others]</b>	<b>Visioning</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>develops 'vision' of the future for self and others</li> </ul>
	<b>Planning &amp; Organising</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>establishes efficient, effective and appropriate course of action for self and/or others to achieve a goal</li> </ul>
	<b>Operational Control</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>establishes and maintains control over processes, projects, teams, budgets and performance to achieve goals</li> </ul>
	<b>Delegation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>allocates responsibilities and decisions to the appropriate person, and actively empowers individuals to perform effectively</li> </ul>
	<b>Leadership</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>uses appropriate interpersonal styles and methods to effectively motivate and guide individuals/teams to achieve a goal</li> </ul>
	<b>Financial Awareness</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>has an understanding of the financial impacts of own plans and decisions</li> </ul>
	<b>Developing Others</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>develops the performance, skills and knowledge of others through appropriate use of training, coaching, feedback, mentoring, delegation, goal-setting and appraisal</li> </ul>
	<b>Organizational Sensitivity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>understands the positive and negative impacts of decisions and actions on other parts of the organization</li> </ul>

UMG's use of self-assessments and skills inventories is consistent with Townley's (1993; 1994:117) observation that these function as technologies of regulation

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

which link individual meanings and identities to organizational requirements through constituting personal and/or HR practice insights into the hidden affective and aspirational dimensions of an individual's self-knowledge. Through promising to identify and address personal or professional deficiencies, individuals were encouraged to set development goals that contributed substantively to UMG's emerging digital music reality.

### **8.3 Senior Executive Practice**

UMG's Chairman and CEO, Lucian Grainge, was more favourably positioned within the music industry's network of relations than either Kennedy at SBMG or Bronfman at WMG.

*He may just be 'a suit', but the number of recording artists who attended a ceremony in Grainge's honour testified to his clout. ... [he] is, undoubtedly, one of the most powerful people in the music industry. Heading one of the two biggest record labels in the world, he has some of the biggest names in music (U2, Duffy, Snow Patrol, Eminem and Mariah Carey to name a few) on his roster. So, whether the people attending the ceremony were there to thank him for handling their careers or because they knew that he could make or break them, everyone from Abba to U2, Simon Cowell, Louis Walsh, Simon Fuller, Take That and Girls Aloud showed up (Lindvall 2008).*

Grainge mobilized his hierarchical position as CEO to secure individual compliance with on-going lay-offs and organizational restructuring linked to UMG's strategic response to new and emerging digital music technologies. The organization's HR practice reinforced Grainge's activities through positioning him and his executives as expert participants within the organization's learning curriculum. Participants in the EDP were compelled to make formal presentations to UMG's Board of Directors and were obliged to participate in one-on-one personal development sessions with Grainge during which individual needs for knowing were contraposed against organizational requirements for learning.

## Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies

Table 8-14: UMG - EDP Invitation and Debrief Documents

Organizational Dimension	Case Study Data
	<p><b>UMG Executive Development Program (EDP) Invitation Document</b>  <b>Lucian Grainge, Chairman &amp; CEO</b>  <b>[document excerpt]</b></p> <p><i>Key Features of the programme and Pre-work</i></p> <p>The focus for the first evening's work will be on your individual strengths and weaknesses, and in preparation we would like you to complete an online questionnaire on 'Belbin's team roles', and also get some feedback from your peers and colleagues. A separate Email will be forwarded to you shortly by Simon Cain which will give you more information about the 'Belbin' questionnaire and how to complete it online.</p>
<p><b>Knowledge of the workforce or 'population'</b></p> <p><b>Knowledge of the individual</b></p>	<p>Second, the UMUK Board will be attending the programme on Thursday night, Lucian Grainge, (Chairman and CEO), Peter Thompson (Chief Financial Officer), Clive Fisher (Director, Legal and Business Affairs) and Malcolm Swatton (Human Resources Director). We would like you, in groups of three or four, to make a short presentation (15 – 20 minutes) to the Board on the evening of Wednesday, 24 March 2004.</p> <p>Your presentation should be broadly based around the following theme: "Key things we would change about the way Universal does business."</p>
	<p><b>UMG Executive Development Program (EDP) Debrief Document</b>  <b>[document excerpt]</b></p> <p>...</p> <p>Nathan would like to stay; he believes that Universal offers the most potential and excitement for synergy and development going forward.</p> <p>I have asked Nathan to do the following in preparation for a development discussion with Lucian:</p> <p>A. to think through and email me his top three most significant achievements, which demonstrate some or all of the following, his:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• versatility</li> <li>• creativity</li> <li>• focus</li> <li>• willingness to work synergistically within the group</li> <li>• superior management skills</li> <li>• drive</li> <li>• willingness to take actions outside of the norm</li> <li>• ability to drive significant and positive change to 'the way it's been before'</li> </ul> <p>We talked about what might make it onto this list. Nathan has at least two good examples.</p> <p>B. To think through and email me what three clear and exciting objectives he could create for himself for the remainder of his time in Jazz, to further develop his skills in any or all of the areas above.</p> <p>I also said that we needed to pick up on three clear areas that he could work on for personal development, over the coming months, and this is what I want to revisit with him.</p> <p>...</p>
	<p>...</p>

In developing the EDP, with or without his awareness, Grainge was able to (re)produce and (re)construct organizational dimensions of knowledge as power/knowledge resources which could be mobilized to align and amplify different modalities of power. He used his authority to position himself as both

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

leader and knowledge expert; manipulation to sanction particular forms of meaning and identity through selectively indulging individual needs and wants for digital learning and knowing-in-practice; and inducement to constitute agreement on UMG's emerging digital music reality. Grainge secured consensus through facilitating the (re)constitution of UMG's HR practice as a central mediating practice; actively participating in the mobilization of HR technologies and mechanisms of regulation to reward individual compliance; constituting a comprehensive learning curriculum to sanction particular individual meanings and identities; and through selectively embedding himself in UMG's employee lifecycle framework and learning curriculum.

#### ***8.4 Summary***

UMG's HR practice mobilized the organization's learning curriculum to mediate the on-going (re)construction and (re)negotiation of individual meanings, identities, values and beliefs through facilitating/constraining access to traditional and digital music-based knowledge domains and opportunities for knowing-in-practice in the development phase of the employee lifecycle framework. In this manner, the employee lifecycle framework and organizational learning curriculum were constituted as technologies of regulation by which behavioural and cognitive knowledge/truth resources were mobilized as mechanisms of regulation by which individual access to knowledge and opportunities for expert knowing was facilitated or constrained.

Through interjecting the organization's learning curriculum onto individual, management and executive career practices via its employee lifecycle framework, UMG's HR practice effectively facilitated/constrained individual movement from novice to expert positions within/across its constellation of practices and superimposed organizationally sanctioned meanings and identities over personal ones. In this manner, particular traditional and digital music related meanings, identities, sayings and doings were (re)constituted as relevant to UMG's emerging digital music-based socio-material arrangements and social and power relations while others deemed obsolete were discarded. Through facilitating individual/team participation in the *Team Development and Strategy Workshop* or

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

the *Meyers-Briggs Team Workshop*, UMG's HR practice compelled individuals/teams to self-classify, self-categorize and self-discipline in accordance with organizationally sanctioned MBPI thresholds in order to act on and (re)constitute personal/team meanings and identities into organizationally sanctioned ones.

UMG's HR, management and executive practices effectively coordinated the integration of the organization's employee lifecycle framework and learning curriculum and mobilized this as an integrated technology of regulation by which organizational dimensions of knowledge were used to render the organization a calculable arena and individuals as known and governable. In particular, through the categorization and measurement of tasks, behaviours, and interactions and through the mobilization of sanctioned behavioural repertoires, cognitive structures and schema as knowledge/truth resources, intermingling modalities of power were enacted to sanction individual learning, meanings and identities.

## 9 Conclusion

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*Institutional practices such as the madhouse, prisons, schools and universities, rather than containing particular subjects, actually and actively create them: thus, prisons create prisoners, universities create students. Prisoners and students are inconceivable outside of the institutions that give them meaning.*

**Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (1995:4)**

This research is situated in record companies competing with the recorded music industry during which traditional record company practices and social and power relations were disrupted by new and emerging digital music technologies. HR practices in record companies were required to assume a central role in supporting organizational transformation through: leading the realignment of organizational structures, redefining functional competencies, reassessing leadership and remunerative practices, and revisiting recruitment and redundancy strategies. Record company social and power relations were reconstituted by the development of new functions and individual personal and professional cross-industry networks were significantly disrupted. This resulted in major record companies having to: rationalize operations through restructuring, downsizing and reducing their workforce and artist roster; reassess traditional organizational priorities as a response to the need to develop digital music-based operations; and identify new and emerging digital music knowledge domains and knowing, that could be (re)constructed and (re)produced throughout their organizations. As knowledge, knowing, meanings and identities rooted in traditional recorded music industry practices were rendered obsolete, individuals were required to learn and to adapt to new and emerging digital music realities.

The literature review argued for the adoption of a practice-based conception of power and learning that recognizes that practices continuously produce new forms of knowledge, objects for knowing, and new types of individuals actively engaged in an organization's particular social and power relations and material arrangements. The conception of *power as practice* utilized in this analysis moved beyond views of *power over* and *power to* through recognizing that power is situated within a specific time and a particular space and continuously constructs

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

and produces knowledge and opportunities for knowing, which conversely, engenders effects of power. This study recognized that power is an inescapable and ubiquitous feature of human interaction and that organizations are tangled arrangements of power comprising particular resources such as ideas, expertise, knowledge, contacts, finance, office layouts and computer infrastructures, etc. that might be mobilized to enact particular modalities of power for the purposes of governance over and control of individuals. The literature review posited an understanding of learning as being achieved within the boundaries of a practice that connects knowing with doing. Learning involves becoming more knowledgeable skilled in specific ways of participating in particular situated practices through crafting new meanings and identities whereby what you know is shaped by who you are becoming. Knowledge, therefore, is understood as being continuously (re)constructed and (re)produced by individuals engaged in on-going participation in practice within which individual meanings and identities are constantly being (re)negotiated.

In focusing on how power facilitated and/or constrained access to knowledge and knowing (learning) in SonyBMG, the Warner Music Group and the Universal Music Group, the case studies surfaced understandings of how certain forms of knowledge and knowing, and how specific individuals or practices, were privileged at the expense of others. In particular, three themes emerged from these case studies, which contribute to a practical understanding of power, knowledge and knowing in recorded music industry organizations. First, pre-career music genre-based meanings and identities render individuals vulnerable to the enactment of power within/across recorded music industry practices. Second, participation in particular recorded music industry career practices influences how individuals enter into record companies, progress from novice to expert positions and participate in the organization's practices, socio-material arrangements and social and power relations. Third, HR practices within each of the three record companies mediated power, knowledge and knowing in the organization.

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

### *Pre-Career Music Genre-based Practices*

This study revealed that everyday participation in pre-career musical practices constituted particular social relationships and music genre-based meanings and identities that prefigured those found within recorded music industry organizations. It was discovered that, while record company marketing and promotional practices actively constructed and (re)produced particular music genre-based meanings and identities to manipulate and seduce individuals into purchasing music, an unintended effect was that when adopted by fans, these music genre-based meanings and identities regulated the range of activities and expressions available to them as individuals within the organization. Through defining and sanctioning the public expression of particular genre-based musical identities, individual socio-musical identities were pre-constituted within individuals in such a way that future music industry employees were rendered vulnerable to a record company's particular modes, technologies and mechanisms of power. These findings build on and extend Hargreaves and North's (1999:79-80) and De Nora's (2000) research, in which individuals recounted how active participation in particular musical genre practices constituted the pre-career musical meanings and identities by which they defined themselves and signalled information to others about who they were and how they should be perceived. Developing insights into how individuals transition from being a fan with particular music genre-based meanings and identities into becoming a record company employee with (re)constituted meanings and identities provides a unique contribution to cultural studies of the life course issues of fans (cf. Bailey 2005; Bennett 2006; Cavicchi 1998; Frith 1996; Harrington and Bielby 2010).

### *Music Industry Career Practices*

Transitions from pre-career knowledge and knowing to career-based ones were found to be facilitated or constrained by individual participation in one or more of three dominant career practices: independent, academic and professional career practices. Independent career practices were characterized by the absence of educational or professional based activities and by the rejection of formal educational accreditation and/or organizational training and development initiatives in favour of having a 'passion for music' and having strong pre-career

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

music genre-based meanings and identities. Academic career practices involved individual participation in undergraduate and graduate studies across a wide range of private and public institutions and the mobilization of accreditation as a strategy to gain entry into a particular record company and to secure preferred access to the organization's central domains of knowledge and forms of knowing-in-practice. Finally, participation in professional career practices involved gaining access to formalized and hierarchical domains of expert knowledge and knowing in order to achieve role stability and career certainty regardless of organizational affiliation. These findings on music industry practices are consistent with, and build on, previous studies that identified a link between educational attainment, job retention and accreditation in which individuals having academic credentials experienced higher levels of job security during periods of uncertainty and industry downsizing than those without (cf. Bansak and Raphael 2006; Beneria 2001; Capelli 1999; Galarneau and Stratychuk 2001; Katz 2000; Leigh 1995; Royalty 1998). In addition, the case studies contribute a music industry perspective to Grey's (1994:1467) and Hoskin and Anderson-Gough's (2004) findings that professional practices regulate individual entry into, and progression within, hierarchical domains of expert knowledge and forms of knowing.

#### *HR as a Central Mediating Practice*

The case studies revealed how power/learning tensions within UMG, WMG and SBMG emanated from the juxtaposition of individual requirements for learning (individual dimensions of knowing) against the organization's needs to develop deep insights into the individuals, teams and practice that comprise its workforce (identified as central organizational dimensions of knowledge) for the purpose of governance and control. While it was found that power/learning tensions were mediated by intermingling senior management and senior executive practices, close analysis of the data revealed that HR was positioned as the central mediating practice in each of the record companies. This was accomplished through constituting the employee lifecycle framework as a central and continuous technology of regulation, as an arena within which the organization and individuals could act on each other and by which each organization (re)produced and stabilized its particular socio-material arrangements and social and power

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

relations. By embedding the employee lifecycle framework within/across organizational practices and through compelling individual movement within/across the framework's categories (recruitment, performance management, appraisal, individual development disengagement), each organization's HR practice reconciled individual knowing with particular organizational dimensions of knowledge. Consistent with Foucault (1980a:125), the case studies revealed that HR in each of the record companies mobilized the employee lifecycle framework to gain access to the bodies of individuals and their acts and attitudes in order to constitute them as objects and subjects of organizational dimensions of knowledge. In this manner, with or without being explicitly aware of it, individuals were rendered known by HR and made subject to technologies and mechanisms of regulation by which they were compelled to model and monitor themselves against the organization's sanctioned taxonomy of meanings, identities, behavioural repertoires and/or cognitive constructs for the purposes of governance and control.

The regulatory effects of the employee lifecycle framework in each record company were amplified through the development of an organizational learning curriculum consisting of targeted vocational training, mandatory professional development, opportunities for educational accreditation and other formal learning activities. Through compelling individuals to participate, the organizational learning curriculum was found to be intrinsic to the operation of power in the record companies. These findings build on Gherardi's (2006:207, 208) research which identifies that an organization's learning curriculum establishes a connection between control agencies (managers, senior executives, HR) and constitutes a space within which organizations and individuals influence each other. The case studies also support Alvesson and Willmott's (2004:442, 447-451) assertion that, with or without individual awareness, an organization's induction, training and promotion practices are centrally concerned with identity regulation. These case studies demonstrate *how* power was mobilized in each of the organizations to constitute, or attempt to constitute, an internalized self-discipline within individuals and compel them to self-model and self-monitor personal behaviours, meanings and identities against the organization's

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

sanctioned taxonomy of meanings, identities, behavioural repertoires and/or cognitive constructs. In doing so, this work also builds on Deetz's (2003:37-39) observations, and is consistent with and extends, Vince's (2004) and Townley's (1993; 1994) examination of HR and how the everyday practice of human resource management (re)constitutes individual meanings and identities in context of the organization's particular socio-material arrangements and social and power relations.

To conclude, in having been situated in the context of recorded music industry challenges related to the emergence of digital music technologies and applications, these case studies respond to Bennett's (2002), Frith's (1998; 2000) and Negus' (1998) call for research that contributes to understandings of the UK recorded music industry in comparison to other industries and businesses. Further, in focusing on the relationship between power and learning in organizations, this study addresses Alvesson and Willmott's (2004), Contu et al's (2003), Coopey's (1996) and Huzzard's (2004) call for research that develops insights into how power legitimates, constitutes, and is constituted by, knowledge and learning in organizations. Finally, in choosing a cross-disciplinary approach that integrated conceptions of practice, power and learning, this research took up Vince's (2004:43) challenge to adopt perspectives which recognise that learning processes in organizations are directly mediated by power relations.

### ***9.1 Strengths and Limitations of Research***

Fundamental to the critical perspective is the tenet that the research process 'constitutes a (re)construction of social reality' through which researchers actively interact with and influence those being researched and continuously interpret and selectively reinterpret experiences, situations and relations, and in so doing, limit the possibilities for alternative interpretations (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000:6). This requires that critical researchers adopt a reflective approach characterized by careful interpretation and reflection (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000; Johnson and Duberly 2003). Reflexivity recognizes that the involvement of the researcher 'as an active participant in the research process shapes the nature of the process and the knowledge produced through it' (King 2004a:20). As a result, researchers need to

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

develop a 'habit of awareness and critical thinking' regarding their engagement with the research process and its participants, and reflect on the 'nature of their involvement just as they consider the meanings of their participants' contributions' (King 2004a:20). Reflexivity was practiced in this research first, through identifying and articulating personal assumptions and presuppositions at the outset of the research project and referring back to these at regular intervals during the research process; second, through maintaining a research diary that recorded personal insights and thoughts about the research process and, in particular, of the interviews; and, third, through conscious listening to the taped interviews focusing on the personal performance as an interviewer and how this influenced the nature of the interview.

In keeping with Vince's (2004) perspective that learning processes in organizations are implicated in power relations, the production of this dissertation should be understood as a political project. It was founded in the original conception of the research focus as being practice, power and learning and accomplished through navigating the socio-material arrangements and social and power relations of the Judge Business School and the University of Cambridge, and those of SonyBMG, the Warner Music Group and the Universal Music Group. The researcher enacted power through inducing HR practitioners to grant access to their organization with the promise of an organization-specific and a cross-organizational learning report as a reward to HR for complying with the request to participate in the study. Upon gaining access, authority and disciplinary power were implicated in the researcher's relationship with the interviewees. First, the organization exercised authority to compel individuals to participate as subjects of research. Second, the interview guide, protocol and conduct of the interview were mobilized as technologies of disciplinary power by the researcher for producing self-knowledge through compelling interviewees to 'set up a relationship with the self' (Townley 1994:110) 'for self-reflection, self-knowledge, self-examination, for the deciphering of the self by oneself' as a principle (Foucault 1991 cited in Townley 1994:110). Consequently, while this account recognizes interviews as valuable in producing highly informative accounts and viewpoints from individuals, interview statements are understood as being context dependant and interviewees as

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

inevitably 'politically conscious' participants concerned with 'impression management' through the provision of 'script following accounts' (Alvesson and Deetz 2000:195). In order to develop trust, the independence of the researcher was stressed and interviewees were reassured about anonymity several times during the interview. Interviewing was not restricted to individuals permanently working at the particular case study organization, but also included temporary workers and individuals who had left one or more of the case study organizations. Finally, to transcend script following and impression management, and to facilitate in-depth understandings of each of the case study organizations, this research utilized a technique of power referred to by Alvesson and Deetz (2000:197) as 'drilling'. This involved communicating the researcher's previous work experience in the music industry and through highlighting insights and understandings of sensitive or problematic issues gained from previous interviews to demonstrate knowledge of the organization and to signal that other interviewees had trusted the researcher.

In conjunction with the interviews, a considerable number of documents were collected from each of the case study organizations. In many cases, the documents were uneven; some featured in-depth information of relevance to the research focus while others contained very little of relevance. Nevertheless, documents were useful in providing additional perspectives and understandings that did not surface in the interviews, and informed the development of appropriate questions in constructing the interview guide. Therefore, as incomplete and uneven as they were, the documents and secondary sources were important to informing the development of the interview guide and supplementing insights generated from the interview data.

In conclusion, this study rejects the concept of an objective researcher able to capture or discover some freestanding 'truth' mirrored in research and posits that all references to empirical data are the results of interpretation. As there is no such thing as a neutral or value free position, researchers must proceed with 'care and reflection' in planning, interpreting and reporting on research (Alvesson and Deetz 2000; Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2000:6). Equivocality engenders the need for

## **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

researchers to adopt strong reflective practices that uncover the theoretical assumptions, language, preconceptions, or biases, which constitute their interpretations (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2000:5). Consequently, this research recognizes that listening to and transcribing interviews and the selection of relevant documents and secondary sources constitute 'vocabularies, ways of representing ...and ways of ordering' (Townley 1993:520) in the construction and production of knowledge of the organizations and individuals researched. The construction and production of this dissertation as knowledge involved being highly selective in which interviews, excerpts, documents and secondary sources were chosen and documented in the construction of a coherent analysis.

### *9.2 Implications for Future Research*

The three-part framework presented for the discussion and analysis of power and learning has a number of implications for policy and research. From a policy perspective, this research provides an explanation of how power is implicated in the design and management of learning in organizations that practitioners can use to consider how a proposed design for an employee lifecycle framework that is integrated to the organization's learning curriculum might positively or negatively affect individuals. It also contributes to practitioner understandings of why some individuals might benefit from learning in organizations while others become cynical; and how to design solutions that maximize individual benefits and lead to enhanced skills while contributing to the organization's performance. With regard to the research agenda, it highlights the need for future research to be situated in an organization's socio-material arrangements and social and power relations in order to develop strong understandings of power, learning and organizational practices. Gaps in understanding power and learning in organizations still exist and further work could be undertaken to develop insights into socio-material practices; sensible knowledge and practice-based Learning; gender and race practices; and space.

#### *Socio-material Practices*

Gherardi (2006:227; 2009), Orlikowski (2007:1435; 2006) and Suchman (1987; 2007) posit materiality as constitutive of everyday life. They assert that human

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

knowledgeability is inextricably entangled with materiality in every aspect of organizing from visible forms (bodies, clothes, rooms, desks, chairs, buildings, vehicles, phones, computers and books) to those less visible (data and voice networks, learning management systems or other infrastructures) and that this influences the possibilities for learning available to individuals. Future research could adopt a view of power and knowing as not only situated and emergent, but also as materially entangled, to explore the ways in which power and learning intermingle with the particular material forms and spaces and non-material technological objects through which humans act and interact and how material practices incorporate and anchor control over individual action and knowing.

#### *Sensible Knowledge and Practice-based Learning*

DeNora (1999; 2000), Rentfrow and Gosling (2003; 2006; 2007) and Hargreaves et al (2005; 2002; 1999) assert that music has a profound effect on those hearing it. Music has the power to create and influence individual meanings and identities and to act as a force for social ordering as well as action, both at the level of the individual and the collective. Strati (1992; 1996; 2007; 2009) asserts that aesthetics are a form of knowledge, that they have their own truth and that each organizational context has specific cultural values, meanings, identities and aesthetic-material constructs with which organizations and knowledge are constituted. These authors argue that knowledge and knowing in organizations is corporeal and multi-sensorial which derive from individual sensory faculties of touch, hearing and sight. Future research could focus on understanding how organizations mobilize aesthetics and aesthetic practices to enact power to (re)constitute individual knowing and sanction particular aesthetic meanings and identities.

#### *Gender and Race Practices*

Gherardi (2009:119-120) asserts that gender should be understood as a social practice and a politics of knowledge that cuts across an organization's particular constellation of practices. She argues that particular gender codes are transmitted by gendered practices and mobilized to enact power by which hegemonic masculinity is sustained within organizations. Similarly, Lave (1996:159) asserts that individuals learn about social divisions and sanctioned identities of particular

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

social formations through participation in practices. Both assert that learning a practice also involves learning the gender and race codes implicit in a particular practice. UK recorded music industry practices are centrally implicated in the constitution of gender and racial meanings and identities through the on-going construction and production of genre-based music deemed particularly profitable (such as Hip-Hop or Rock). These involve the production of gendered and racial meanings and identities that lead to the constitution and reification of particular socio-material arrangements, and social and power relations. Future research could focus on how organizations mobilize knowledge and knowing to enact power by which particular gendered and racial meanings and identities are sanctioned and constituted within music workers, fans and consumers.

#### *Space*

Finally, Foucault (1994a) observes that space is fundamental to any examination of power. Beckett and Hagar (2000), Antonacopoulou (2006c:3) and Fournier (1998:63) suggest that power operates through the constitution of subjectivity. By mapping individuals into subject positions in relation to each other within hierarchized spaces, individuals experience differential access to resources and possibilities for learning. Further, Allen (2002; 2003; 2005; 2006) argues that organizations mobilize the design and layout of particular socio-material arrangements to offer individuals choices of movement and patterns of interaction, while simultaneously limiting the possibilities for undertaking those very same movements and interactions. In this manner, power, knowledge and knowing are sanctioned and stabilized through particular spatial ordering practices. Future research could focus on the particular spatial practices on display in recorded music industry organizations and how these are mobilized to enact power by which individuals interact in social and power relations and gain access to opportunities for learning.

## 10 Afterword

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*When we study practice we thus always scrutinize two practices at the same time: our epistemic practice and whatever we are concerned with. Davide Nicolini (2006:2)*

In navigating through the twists and turns of my life, shifts in career and movement through multiple overlapping identities as artist, musician, manager, director, and now, a PhD student, I adopted a 'mindful' approach to learning. In hindsight, my notion of learning was based on a fluid understanding of identity - learning occurred through participation in situated practices by which my identity was continuously acted on and (re)constituted as I moved from novice to expert positions within and between intermingling music industry practices. Intuitively, I understood learning as a way of becoming part of the social world and realized that, to become more knowledgeably skilled or to become a competent practitioner in the live music industry, I needed to participate in it. This involved consciously reflecting on how emerging opportunities to participate in new practices would enable me to access particular forms of knowledge and knowing-in-practice. This required making the right choices to facilitate movement from novice to expert positions within different music industry practices; choices which ultimately led to the production of this PhD dissertation.

I entered into live music industry as a novice singer/songwriter and, through touring solo and with my band, Hard Poetry, learned about the particular situated practices and socio-material arrangements which constituted this practice: performing in clubs, recording demos, creating press packs, generating press interest, assembling and rehearsing a band, and booking local gigs and national tours. As I began to participate more fully and more competently within Canada's live music industry, I moved towards an expert position in which my identity was slowly (re)constituted from that of being an amateur week-end musician to that of a successful independent touring singer/songwriter. In having been (re)positioned as an expert practitioner, I was then afforded greater opportunities to participate within other music industry practices in such a way that I was invited to join Perryscope Concert Productions to produce all of their club dates - thereby, facilitating my entry into the practice of concert production. I gained access to

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

concert production knowledge and knowing that complemented and extended understandings that I had gained as a touring singer/songwriter: vetting contracts and artist deals, building show budgets and venue ticketing, building and managing live productions, coordinating all elements on show days and finally, settling the show.

Through participation in the actions and activities comprising concert production, my identity as a singer/songwriter was (re)constituted into that of a concert producer. While in everyday practice I found it quite easy to move between and bridge both practices, my identity as concert producer was viewed by artist managers, agents, venue talent buyers and concert promoters as being antithetical to that of being an independent touring singer/songwriter. Consequently, my ability to participate in the live music industry was constrained when I stopped receiving offers to headline or open shows as an artist and was offered opportunities to produce these shows instead. This shift culminated in the formation of Frantic Music Productions, a concert and tour production company that I founded to build out more expert opportunities to work with major North American concert promoters in facilitating the stadium, festival, theatre and club tours of international artists.

While participating in the music industry as an artist and as a concert producer, I gained a firsthand understanding of how new and emerging digital music technologies were challenging traditional music industry practices. In the late 1990s, most universities in Canada and the United States had invested significant resources in high speed broadband networks and all of their students were provided university sponsored broadband accounts in their residences. Combined with the development of the MP3 format, MP3 players, CD burners and the appearance of Napster and other competing peer-to-peer (P2P) music applications and, in the absence of compelling legal digital music offerings, these students and music fans, in general, began using the internet to search, discover, download and share songs that could be played back on their computers, burnt to CDs or compiled into personal playlists for use on personal MP3 players. At the time, I realized that this was a watershed moment for the music industry and that

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

if it was going to survive, music industry practitioners would need to respond through developing compelling digital music offerings that leveraged, rather than criminalized, new and emerging forms of fan engagement with digital music. It was these experiences and insights which informed my decision to contextualize my PhD research against the backdrop of the recorded music industry's transition to an emerging digital music reality.

I worked towards developing a greater understanding of the business and technology issues facing record companies, and in late 1999, I closed down Frantic Music Productions, left the music industry, and began MBA studies with a specialization in the management of technology. Participation in these courses facilitated access to business and technology management knowledge and knowing that extended my music industry understandings and, upon graduating (re)constituted my professional identity from that of concert promoter to MBA/professional manager with expertise in the management of technology, legitimizing the practical music industry knowledge I gained as an expert participant in the live music and concert production practices. Consequently, I was hired by Accenture as a Senior Manager with their Communications, Media and Entertainment practice, positioned as a global music industry expert and chosen to lead the development of the firm's ground-breaking Peer-to-Peer (P2P) Music Exchange Prototype; a project that was initiated to address specific business, intellectual property and technology challenges facing music industry organizations at the time.

My experience of Accenture's internal organizational practices and my participation in the firm's particular business/technology consulting practices, provided me with three early insights that contributed to the framing and orientation of my PhD dissertation research: first, I experienced the operation of power within a multinational organization; second, I developed an understanding of Accenture as a carefully constructed 'hierarchy of practices'; and third, I became aware that through participating in the employment relationship, I was made subject to the firm's Human Resource (HR) management practices which, I noted, were centrally positioned within the firm's hierarchy practices. My early

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

experience of power within Accenture occurred when a Canadian Partner mobilized his position to enact authority by which he circumvented the typical route for MBA graduates seeking entry into the firm (attending career fairs, sending in applications or participation in group interviews) by forwarding my resume directly to Accenture's global Lead Partner for the Communications, Media and Entertainment (CME) practice based in Seattle. Similarly, after having met and having engaged this Partner in conversation for three hours, he mobilized his position as Lead Partner to enact authority by which he directed and guided HR in the hiring process to facilitate my entry into the firm as a Senior Manager within the CME practice.

In addition, I became aware of how resources were being mobilized within Accenture to enact wide ranging modalities of power by which clients, Partners, practices and individuals were governed and controlled to benefit the firm (although, at the time, I did not have the language that I am using here to articulate my understanding). I experienced how domination, coercion and authority was enacted to legitimize the positioning of Partners and their control over decision making; how formal learning opportunities were mobilized by HR and the design aesthetics of offices, office layouts, and the purchase and display of original artworks by the Facilities practice to enact manipulation, seduction and persuasion by which individuals were encouraged to work longer hours; and how persuasion and negotiation were enacted through the mobilization of salaries, bonuses and promotions to facilitate the retention of individuals deemed to be 'high value'.

As I participated in increasingly more complex activities within the business/technology consulting practice, I observed that Accenture was characterized by a carefully constructed hierarchy which positioned practices in relation to each other within the firm's situated set of social and power relations and socio-material arrangements. I realized that differential resources were accorded to particular practices based on their relative positioning within this hierarchy. Those practices identified as being client facing (consulting) or as contributing explicitly to the Accenture's strategic values and mission (HR) were

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

more centrally positioned within the organization's social and power relations; while those back office and organizational support practices (facilities, IT) located to the periphery, were accorded less respect from client facing participants and garnered limited resources from the firm. Due to the knowledge intensive nature of Accenture's business technology consulting practice, I observed that its HR practice occupied an inordinately central position within the firm's hierarchy of practices. Through engaging with Accenture's HR practices as a Senior Manager, I learned that it was tasked with articulating a 'human capital' strategy that was fundamentally integrated and aligned to the firm's current and future strategic requirements for ongoing recruitment, skills development and retention. I gained direct insights into the particular actions, activities, technologies and mechanisms of regulation that HR mobilized to enact intermingling modalities of power by which individuals across roles were (re)constituted as 'human capital' assets whose activities could be quantified, measured, managed and controlled.

Finally, the decision to focus on learning in multinational organizations was a direct outcome of my role in promoting and pitching the P2P Music Exchange to CEOs, CFOs and technical leads working within record companies and rights organizations. Through these interactions, I discovered that I could not assume that Senior Executives positioned as experts in recorded music industry practices actually had access to knowledge and knowing (learning) related to new and emerging digital music technologies and practices. In fact, the inverse seemed true to me; recorded music industry novices displayed stronger understandings of the potential for digital music technologies gained through participation in digital music practices as music fans, and not as music industry practitioners. Further, I realized that record company employees experienced limited opportunities to access digital music-based knowledge and knowing because HR practitioners lacked strategic insights into the significance of emerging digital music technologies and that HR generally was not centrally positioned within the hierarchy of practices of most music industry organizations and therefore, lacked adequate resources to implement strategic learning programs. To compound this, I learned that Senior Executives remained fixated on the traditional paradigm of record company as manufacturer and marketer of hard goods (albums), and that

### **Practice, Power and Learning in UK Recorded Music Companies**

with limited access to opportunities for learning about digital music, Senior Executives mobilized established social and power relations within their organizations to perpetuate traditional recorded music industry practices that were becoming increasingly obsolete and irrelevant in the face of an emerging digital music reality.

In having navigated through multiple practices and managed the (re)constitution of personal and professional identities associated with my participation in these practices, I felt left Accenture confident about pursuing PhD research. My music industry and consulting experiences, understandings and insights converged in a manner that enabled me to clearly articulate the focus and context for my PhD dissertation research: the examination of how power facilitates and/or constrains learning in recorded music companies in context of the music industry's transition to new and emerging digital music technologies and applications. Practical knowledge and knowing garnered through participation in music industry and technology business consulting practices, informed how I entered into academic research practice as a novice PhD candidate faced with making decisions on how to navigate through the academic literature on power and learning, and on which particular theories, methods and methodologies I should rely on in framing out my PhD dissertation research. Of course, as I progressed through this journey – all bets were off!

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