UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Avatars of the Work Ethic:
The Figure of the Classical Musician in Discourses of Work

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Communication

by

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2019

The Dissertation of Yi Hong Sim is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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On one side, the artist is kept to the level of the workingman, of the animal, of the creature whose sole affair is to get something to eat and somewhere to sleep. This is through necessity. On the other side, he is exalted to the height of beings who have no concern but with the excellence of their work, which they were born and divinely authorized to do.

William Dean Howells, *A Traveler from Altruria* (1894)

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Avatars of the Work Ethic:
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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Communication

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In *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2005), Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello argue that critiques of capitalism have historically taken two forms: the "social" and the "artistic." The artistic critique, which values individual autonomy and authenticity, takes special aim at the institution of work, against which it "counterposes the freedom of artists." The artistic critique's massive countercultural uprising in the 1960s had been matched, however, by an overwhelming response from the bourgeois establishment. As a result, ideologies of work at the turn of the

twenty-first century have become inscribed in the figure of the artist, who is "highly specialized, creative and personalized."

How did the artistic critique come to be "artistic"? How did the values of freedom and authenticity that Boltanski and Chiapello assigned to the artistic critique come to be associated with artists, and, more importantly, how do they continue to be seen as values held by artists? Through the figure of the classical musician, this dissertation explores how this association between artists and the work ethic has been, and continues to be, reproduced in American discourses of work. It examines the figure of the classical musician as it has been used to communicate the work ethic in three empirical domains: English-language business management scholarly journal articles, entrepreneurship education discourse in American higher education, and popular American television comedy as represented by the Amazon Original series, *Mozart in the Jungle*. In addition, this dissertation traces the more general emergence of the Bohemian artist as a work-related figure in the popular American imagination. In doing so, it conceptualizes the human face that capitalism gives to its "ideal type" of the work ethic as the *avatar of the work ethic*. The avatar of the work ethic is a discursive sign, either concretely or symbolically embodied in a human figure, that is imbricated within the web of signs that point to the discipline of the work ethic.

Introduction

Three Pictures of (Classical) Musicians in the Popular Press

Picture No. 1: "There is nothing quite as impressive and majestic as experiencing a fine symphony orchestra performing a grand classical score," wrote Michael Solender in 2015 for *The Business Journals* at www.bizjournals.com. The article headline is "Leadership Lessons from Conducting an Orchestra." Solender tells his readers that they can find in the symphony orchestra such experiences as "finding self satisfaction from a job well done," the ability to "inspire and enable," and the capacity to be selfless. "Art is not selfish, it is not give and take, it is give and give," Solender quotes a conductor as saying. Business, Solender suggests, can be like "a collective wave of music that can be awe inspiring."[1]

Picture No. 2: On May 14, 2010, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi praised the Affordable Care Act at the Asian American and Pacific Islanders Summit on Capitol Hill: "We see it as an entrepreneurial bill. A bill that says to someone, if you want to be creative and a musician or whatever, you can leave your work, focus on your talent, your skill, your passion, your aspirations because you will have health care."[2] She reprised this trope at a news conference on March 22, 2012: "You want to be a photographer or a writer or a musician, whatever—an artist, you want to be self-employed, if you want to start a business, you want to change jobs, you

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[1] Michael Solender, "Leadership Lessons from Conducting an Orchestra," *The Business Journals*, April 20, 2015, https://www.bizjournals.com/bizjournals/how-to/marketing/the-ups-store/2015/04/leadership-lessons-from-conducting-an-orchestra.html.

[2] Nicholas Ballasy, "Pelosi to Aspiring Musicians: Quit Your Job, Taxpayers Will Cover Your Health Care," *CNSNews.com*, May 14, 2010, http://cnsnews.com/node/65950, accessed via the Internet Archive: Wayback Machine, https://web.archive.org/web/20110714115209/http://cnsnews.com/node/65950.

no longer are prohibited from doing that because you can't have access to health care."[3] Pelosi

continued to refer to healthcare reform as a boon to artistic careers in her public statements on

the Affordable Care Act until its passage in 2014.[4]

Picture No. 3: In 2015, Debbie Chachra, a professor at the Olin College of Engineering

outside Boston, contributed an article to *The Atlantic* titled "Why I Am Not a Maker" that went

viral. It criticized tech culture's glorification of "makers," or those who do creative work that

results in a tangible commodity:

> When new products are made, we hear about exciting technological innovation, which
> are widely seen as worth paying (more) for. In contrast, policy and public discourse
> around caregiving—besides education, healthcare comes immediately to mind—are
> rarely about paying more to do better, and are instead mostly about figuring out ways to
> lower the cost. Consider the economics term *Baumol's cost disease*: It suggests that it is
> somehow pathological that the time and energy taken by a string quartet to prepare for a
> performance—and therefore the cost—has not fallen in the same way as goods, as if
> somehow people and what they do should get less valuable with time.[5]

Chachra's string quartet reference may seem slightly oblique, but, for much of her audience, she

does not have to be any clearer. It has been a popular economics trope since acclaimed American

economist William J. Baumol first used it in 1965 to explain the "cost disease."[6] "Human

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[3] Elizabeth Harrington, "Pelosi: Obamacare Allows You to Quit Your Job and Become 'Whatever,'" *CNSNews.com*, March 22, 2012, https://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/pelosi-obamacare-allows-you-quit-your-job-and-become-whatever.

[4] Elizabeth Harrington, "Pelosi: Obamacare Means 'You Could Be a Photographer or a Writer,'" *CNSNews.com*, March 21, 2013, http://cnsnews.com/news/article/pelosi-obamacare-means-you-could-be-photographer-or-writer.

[5] Debbie Chachra, "Why I Am Not a Maker," *The Atlantic*, January 23, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2015/01/why-i-am-not-a-maker/384767/.

[6] The concept of the "cost disease," which has been lauded as Baumol's signal contribution to economic thought, designates a complex set of factors that lead to the chronic inability of a field of labor to make significant productivity gains by capitalist standards. In brief summary, the factors are labor, inflation, and technology. According to the theory of the cost disease, the rate of inflation of a capitalist economy is largely set by the productivity gains of its major industrial sectors. As those industries increase their productivity through technological advancement, inflation happens: the economy grows, commodity prices increase, costs of living increase, and therefore so does cost of labor. Under these conditions, labor-intensive industries that are unable to perform similar feats of productivity gain through technological labor replacement—industries such as teaching, healthcare, and the live performing arts—become increasingly beleaguered by cost deficits. Not only must they pay more each year, like all other industries, for the cost of equipment and materials, but they must pay increasingly more than most industries for the cost of labor, and they are unable to recoup those expenses, as other industries do, by producing more goods and services. William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, "On the Performing Arts: The Anatomy of Their Economic Problems," *The American Economic Review* 55, no. 1/2 (March 1965): 500.

ingenuity has devised ways to reduce the labor necessary to produce an automobile, but no one

has yet succeeded in decreasing the human effort expended at a live performance of a 45-minute

Schubert quartet much below a total of three man-hours," Baumol and Bowen wrote in their

landmark treatise of cultural economics, *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma*.[7] This image

of the primitive productive capacity of the string quartet has subsequently become the poster

child for the "cost disease." It appears in publications ranging from influential intellectual

monographs, such as Daniel Bell's *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1976); and award-

winning, non-fiction bestsellers, such as Robert J. Gordon's *The Rise and Fall of American*

Growth (2016); to countless academic articles in the social sciences and humanities; and pieces

in popular magazines and newspapers such as *Forbes*, *The Economist*, *The Atlantic*, and *The*

Wall Street Journal.

   In these opening images from popular discussions of work in American society, artists,

especially musicians, and especially *classical* musicians, embody a contradictory set of ideas.

First, even though they tacitly acknowledge that musicians and artists exist among us, they invest

them with concepts and desires that lie outside the political present, whether it is in the ideal

future (universal healthcare) or in the idealized past (primitive labor). Second, even though

artists are woven into political debates about work, their own work is relegated to the realm of

leisure or not-work. As Pelosi liked to say, being a musician or artist was the opposite of being

"job-locked."[8] Third, musicians and artists are viewed as guardians of the creative spirit—of

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[7] This is its more widely circulated formulation as presented in William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966), 164-165.

[8] Harrington, "Pelosi: Obamacare Allows You to Quit Your Job and Become 'Whatever,'" *CNSNews.com*, March 22, 2012, https://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/pelosi-obamacare-allows-you-quit-your-job-and-become-whatever; and Elizabeth Harrington, "Pelosi: Obamacare Means 'You Could Be a Photographer or a Writer,'" *CNSNews.com*, March 21, 2013, http://cnsnews.com/news/article/pelosi-obamacare-means-you-could-be-photographer-or-writer.

such qualities as passion, talent, awe, generosity, and inspiration. These qualities are depicted as generally desirable; yet, they are sequestered to art as the realm of their true expression.

In this dissertation, I explore in the context of United States the exclusionary means by which artists have been included in conversations about work and the economy. To do so, I focus empirically on the figure of the classical musician, specifically on the question of how it is made to function as a cultural carrier of ideas about labor and the economy. The primary sources I use to illuminate this figure are published texts in a variety of United States-based social domains. I define "artists" in this study in the way that it has been handed down in popular Western thought since the Saint-Simonians and Bohemians of the early nineteenth century: as a category that includes "painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, and novelists," a category tinged with the Romantic notions of creative genius and authentic self-expression.[9] My choice to focus on the classical musician as an artistic figure in such symbolic usage is based on personal happenstance and the serendipitous amassing of anecdotal empirical observations. My own history is that of a classical musician. I played the piano from the age of four, began writing music when I was thirteen, and studied classical voice as a soprano intermittently in high school and college. I was admitted to the Oberlin Conservatory of Music as a student of music composition and graduated with a Bachelor's degree in music history. From there, I went on to complete a double Master's in historical musicology and library and information studies with the intention of becoming a music librarian. It was with this background that I became intrigued, once I had begun my doctoral work, by the frequent references to musicians—orchestra musicians, conductors, string quartets, and opera singers—in writings by Western political economists and sociologists such as Karl Marx, Adam Smith, and Daniel Bell. Further exploration revealed that such references to

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[9] Ephraim Mizruchi, "Bohemia as a Means of Social Regulation," in *On Bohemia: The Code of the Self-Exiled*, edited by César Graña and Marigay Graña (New York: Routledge, 2017), 15.

classical musicians were littered throughout the literature of business management and economics.

Focusing on the figure of the classical musician in American cultural texts makes this dissertation, in some ways, a companion study to Matt Stahl's *Unfree Masters: Recording Artists and the Politics of Work* (2013).[10] In Stahl's examination of the symbolic representation versus material realities of the popular music industry, popular music stars are a fascinating "avatar" of authentic, autonomous work: they "often appear to be so free and to be doing such enjoyable, expressive, and fulfilling work that it almost seems strange to think of them as working people."[11] Yet, as Stahl shows, it is exactly as working people that they are symbolically exploited in reality shows like *American Idol* (2002-present) and rockumentaries like *Dig!* (2004). In these narratives, popular recording artists are characters in a meritocratic world of career success and failure. They "interweave discourses of popular music and political and economic autonomy with themes of musical professionalization, self-actualization, and the achievement of social mobility."[12] Crucially, as Stahl argues, popular music stars are both "prefigurative" and "atavistic" in their representation of work and working life. They embody, on the one hand, a future of work relevant to "many (if not most)" American workers; while calling up, on the other, "outmoded forms of work from the distant past."[13] In this dissertation, I build on Stahl's work by exploring the possibility that such ways of thinking about artists and musicians do not cluster uniquely around mass entertainment celebrities. Rather, I suggest that even categories of artists such as classical musicians, who are traditionally seen as belonging to

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[10] Matt Stahl, *Unfree Masters: Recording Artists and the Politics of Work* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
[11] Stahl, *Unfree Masters*, 1.
[12] Stahl, *Unfree Masters*, 65.
[13] Stahl, *Unfree Masters*, 10.

the realm of high art and whom popular media often presents as cultural relics, are symbolically invested with such meanings in mainstream American culture.

Daniel Bell has described Max Weber's concept of the work ethic as an "ideal type": a "construct or collage drawn from diverse and even startlingly different writers."[14] In this dissertation, I investigate the figure of the classical musician as it has been used to represent this ideal type in three empirical domains: English-language business management scholarly journal articles, entrepreneurship education discourse in American higher education, and popular American television comedy. What these domains have in common is their function as sites for the reproduction of American discourses of work. Discourse, as understood in the Foucaultian vein, is a disciplinary apparatus. It is a production of truths as rational knowledges, and is constituted as "continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviors."[15] Discourses of work, then, produce knowledges and truths about work. In the American context, this largely means that they reproduce the ideology that Max Weber has called the "spirit of capitalism," which provides justifications for engagement in the capitalist system of work; and that they instill in subjects the discipline of the work ethic.[16]

The Foucaultian analytic of discourse focuses on "power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations."[17] By seeing ideologies as constituted at these "capillary" points, it privileges the influence of knowledge-making that takes place in "more regional and local forms and institutions."[18] In my analyses, I ultimately merge this view of capillary power with a Marxist

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[14] Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976; 20th anniversary ed., New York: Basic Books, 1996), 289.
[15] Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," chap. 5 in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, 79-108 (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), 97.
[16] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Routledge Classics, 2001), Taylor & Francis e-Library; and Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2005), 8.
[17] Foucault, "Two Lectures," 96.
[18] Foucault, "Two Lectures," 96.

view of ideology through Gramsci's concept of the "traditional intellectual." In Gramsci's terminology, the "intellectual" is not a professional intellectual, as such, but rather one whose function in society is intellectual in the sense that they play influential roles in meaning-making. The "traditional intellectual," Gramsci argues, is "given by the man of letters, the philosopher, the artist."[19] Like all intellectuals, they "perform[] an essential mediating function in the struggle of class forces."[20] In the figure of the classical musician as an "ideal type," the traditional intellectual can be seen operating discursively in its "essential mediating function" between the extremities and centers of power.

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter One examines the persistent appearance of symphony orchestra and string quartet metaphors for work and organization in business journal scholarship. Classical music metaphors for work and organization have been appearing in the writings of Western political economists since at least as far back as Henri de Saint-Simon, Karl Marx, and Adam Smith. In this chapter, they are examined via a content analysis of English-language academic business articles published between 1946 to 2015. This chapter establishes the basic fact that symbolic exploitation of classical musicians in discussions about work outstrips their presence as a real demographic in American society. The seven decades covered by the study yielded 707 unique metaphors in 693 different articles that compared work or organization to orchestras or string quartets. One out of four times when the words "orchestra(s)" or "string quartet(s)" appeared in a scholarly article in the business research database *Business Source Complete*, it was to use them in a metaphor. Most of these metaphors framed the orchestra and string quartet as models for

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[19] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, eds. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: ElecBook, 1999), 141.
[20] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 132.

teamwork or coordination. They also tended to use the analogy of music-making to emphasize work as a voluntary orientation towards the common good. Overall, the number of articles containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors rose steadily beginning in the early 1970s, with an especially sharp increase in the early 1990s.

In Chapter Two, I offer an explanation for the increase in orchestra and string quartet metaphors in business scholarship. To do so, I pull back on the narrow focus of the classical musician figure to trace the more general emergence of the Bohemian artist as a work-related figure in the popular American imagination. Through genealogical analysis of a mix of secondary and primary sources, I extrapolate a framework for the social process by which capitalism gives a human face to its "ideal type" of the work ethic: the secularization of a group of former outsiders to mainstream society, followed by their re-sacralization as *avatars of the work ethic*. The account takes a historical path through Bohemianism as it has manifested in the United States, beginning with its initial transplantation in the 1850s, moving on to its mass popularization in the 1880s, and then to its politicization in the 1910s and 1960s. Ultimately, I show how the figure of the Bohemian artist has been mass-reproduced in economic discourses of "creativity" since the 1990s as avatars of the ideal subjectivity of twenty-first century capitalism: the worker-entrepreneur.

Chapter Three traces the figure of the classical musician through the formal and informal publications of the institution of entrepreneurship education in American higher education. Using the new institutionalist approach to institutional analysis, I study how classical music education and the example of the classical music entrepreneur have been mobilized in the institutional rhetoric of entrepreneurship education to justify the installation of entrepreneurship education as a pedagogical priority in college and university curricula. These analogies are routine features of

the institutional discourses of entrepreneurship education that speak with a heightened passion of the ideals of democracy, yet without the political danger out of which the passion arises. Using the figure of the classical musician as an avatar, entrepreneurship education discourse has therefore managed to pose precarious work itself as an expression of democratic values. Furthermore, the historical animosity between the avant-garde and traditional factions of the field of classical music enhances the classical musician's productivity as a discursive figure for ideologies of work.

In the fourth and final empirical chapter, I look at how the figure of the classical musician has been explored through creative narrative and humor as a cipher for American anxieties about work. I undertake this as a cultural analysis of the Golden Globe-winning Amazon Original television series, *Mozart in the Jungle* (2014-2018). In depicting the farcical antics of a symphony orchestra's personnel, *Mozart in the Jungle* highlights creative individuals' day-to-day anxieties surrounding material and professional security in the entrepreneurial work society and, more generally, the capitalist work society. Through the world of classical music, the show mocks the ideal subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur while also articulating confusion about what it means to be "middle" or "working" class in American society. Ultimately, its trope of the "blue-collar tuxedo" suggests an incoherence at the heart of traditional conceptions of social class, and opens up the possibility of greater inclusivity in the politics of work.

The New Spirit of Capitalism and the Problem of the "Artistic Critique"

In part, the question of why an artistic figure like the classical musician may function effectively as a representation of the work ethic's "ideal type" appears to already have been answered. French sociologist Luc Boltanski and management scholar Ève Chiapello's *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, published in the French in 1999 and first translated into English in 2005, has

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been hailed as a monumental contemporary treatise in political economy. In their theory, the spirit of capitalism undergoes periods of crisis and legitimation that cause it to change incrementally over time. Periods of crisis occur as a result of popular upswellings of anti-capitalist sentiment, or what they call "critiques." According to Boltanski and Chiapello, these critiques have historically taken two forms: the "social" and the "artistic." The "social critique" takes issue with inequality and poverty. Its dissatisfactions are class-based, seeking to expose exploitation and the "egoism of private interests in bourgeois society." The "artistic critique," on the other hand, decries the "loss of meaning and, in particular, the loss of the sense of what is beautiful and valuable" in the massification of goods and social experience.[21] It opposes domination, and with it the regimentation and inauthenticity of life under capital.

In the present era of Western capitalism, Boltanski and Chiapello argue, the artistic critique has been deeply enervated by capitalism's ideological assimilation of its values. The artistic critique's massive countercultural uprising in the 1960s had been matched by an overwhelming response from the bourgeois establishment. The resulting ideological adaptations on the part of capitalism appropriated the artistic critique's values of authenticity and freedom and perverted them towards profitable ends. Using the rhetoric of creativity and innovation, corporations today claim to offer authentic, self-actualizing work. As a result, ideological values have become embodied by the artist, who is "highly specialized, creative and personalized."[22] In response to capitalism's adaptations, the social critique, according to Boltanski and Chiapello, has rallied successfully around the issues of deepening income inequality and racial inequity. The artistic critique, however, continues to falter. The future of social justice hangs in the

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[21] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 38.
[22] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 116.

balance. The values of freedom and authenticity have lost their political power, a state of affairs that needs to be reversed by "revitalizing the artistic critique."[23]

Although Boltanski and Chiapello imply the role of art and artists in legitimating the present regime of work, they do not explain how they came to be affiliated with the artistic critique. How did the artistic critique come to be "artistic"? How did the values of freedom and authenticity that Boltanski and Chiapello assigned to the artistic critique come to be associated with artists, and, more importantly, how do they *continue* to be seen as values held by artists? This dissertation explores how this association has been, and continues to be, inscribed in discourses of work.

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[23] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, chap. 7 and conclusion.

- CHAPTER 1 -

Working for the Common Good:

Classical Music Metaphors for Work and Organization, 1946-2015

> During a single banquet you may find business problems equated with an airplane, a broad highway, a boat being rocked, a river, a riverbank, a stream, a bridge, a train, a three-legged stool, and, sometimes, three or four of these things at once in which case the passage is generally summed up with something like "It's as simple as that," or "That's all there is to the problem."
>
> —William H. Whyte, "The Language of Business" (1950)[1]

The use of metaphors to explain the workings of organization is commonplace in the language of business management. From orchestras to football teams, computers to ecologies, metaphorical images are foundational to the depiction of corporate organization. These figures of speech occur frequently in the language of business management not simply because metaphor is ubiquitous in everyday speech. Rather, as scholars of organizational metaphor have established, metaphors are an influential, organized, and pervasive means of knowledge production in the fields of business management and organization theory.[2]

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[1] William H. Whyte, "The Language of Business," in *Technical and Professional Writing: A Practical Anthology*, ed. Herman A. Estrin, 78-92 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963; previously published in *Fortune* magazine, November 1950), 82. Whyte is most well-known for his bestselling work of popular sociology, *The Organization Man* (1956).

[2] The study of organizational metaphors was established as a major topic in the field of organizational theory in the mid-1980s. Its founding text was Gareth Morgan's *Images of Organization* (1986), which categorized the deeper structuring metaphors of organizational theory such as the metaphors of machines, organisms, brains, and cultures. Morgan's central thesis, which still animates much scholarship on organizational metaphors today, was that "all theories of organization and management are based on implicit images or metaphors that lead us to see, understand, and manage organizations in distinctive yet partial ways." Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization* (1986; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 4.

Of interest to the present study is one common type of business management metaphor: the metaphorical image that, according to business communication scholar Joep Cornelissen, is drawn from "'social' and 'human' domains" and illuminates the corporation as "a group of people working together."[3] By Cornelissen's casual observation, "theater, jazz, orchestras, culture, sports teams, and tribes" are the "domains" of human activity frequently used for this purpose. A couple of examples will help illustrate this phenomenon. In a 2017 opinion piece in *Smart Business Akron/Canton* titled "Conducting Your Business: What Businesses Can Learn from Orchestras," Anthony Margida, CEO of the Akron Global Business Accelerator, claims: "A great orchestra performance takes more than having a number of musicians play the right notes or strike the cymbals in unison. It requires vision, effective interpretation of the score and communication. An effective business may benefit from the same."[4] Besides depicting overall organizational coordination, social metaphors are also used to illustrate individual work roles. In a 2018 article in *Human Capital* titled "Theatre as a Learning Tool," Sunil Vishnu K., CEO of Training Sideways, writes: "[H]ow can one think of doing sales training without teaching them how to script, rehearse, and perform to a client, not to forget the skills to adapt—all techniques of improvisational theatre."[5]

Social metaphors, or what Cornelissen has called metaphors drawn from "'social' or 'human' domains," are ubiquitous in the language of business management. Yet, they have not received much attention from scholars of organizational metaphor. Following the precedence set by the field's founder, Gareth Morgan, scholars of organizational metaphor tend to focus on

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[3] Joep Cornelissen, "Metaphor in Organization Theory: Progress and the Past," *Academy of Management Review* 31, no. 2 (April 2006): 486. https://doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2006.20208700.

[4] Anthony Margida, "Conducting Your Business: What Businesses Can Learn from Orchestras," *Smart Business Akron/Canton* (May 2017): 14, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.

[5] Sunil Vishnu K., "Theatre as a Learning Tool," *Human Capital* 22, no. 2 (July 2018): 49, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.

deep-structure metaphors that afford transformative, theoretical exploration of the concept of organization.[6] For their purposes, social metaphors such as orchestras and football teams, while pervasive in everyday business language, lack scholarly interest because they appear to be inconsequential, merely rhetorical strategies to capture a reader or listener's interest.[7] The field of critical cultural communication, however, seeks to illuminate ideological discourse—the patterns by which dominant beliefs and ways of thinking are expressed in routine, everyday communications. Thus, it is precisely the social metaphor for organization, informally yet habitually used in business communication, that becomes salient.

Sports and music are two perennial favorites among the many social activities used in everyday business language as metaphors for organization. In a 2002 article for *Public Relations Quarterly* called "Polishing Your Spokesperson Skills for News Media Interviews," Carole M. Howard urges her readers: "If you love sports, use a football analogy to illustrate your point. If your taste leans to music, make a comparison using the orchestra as a metaphor."[8] The metaphor of sports has already received some scholarly attention from a critical cultural perspective. Jeffrey O. Segrave traces the "ubiquitous football metaphor" in the language of business back to the more "generic game metaphor."[9] According to Segrave, sports metaphors for business became widely used when corporate America's mission of "serving society…gave way to

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[6] David Grant and Cliff Oswick, "Introduction: Getting the Measure of Metaphors," in *Metaphor and Organizations*, ed. David Grant and Cliff Oswick, 1-20 (London: Sage Publications, 1996).
[7] Cornelissen refers to these metaphors dismissively as "familiar metaphorical variations on the topic of organization" that would impoverish the study of organizational metaphor if they were made a scholarly focus ("Metaphor in Organization Theory," 486). Dunford and Palmer also note the relative neglect of "the use of metaphorical language in popular management discourse" by scholars of organizational metaphor. Richard Dunford and Ian Palmer, "Metaphors in Popular Management Discourse: The Case of Corporate Restructuring," chap. 5 in Grant and Oswick, *Metaphor and Organizations*, 95.
[8] Carole M. Howard, "Polishing Your Spokesperson Skills for News Media Interviews," *Public Relations Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2002): 19. EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.
[9] Jeffrey O. Segrave, "The Sports Metaphor in American Cultural Discourse," *Culture, Sport, Society* 3, no. 1 (2000): 53. https://doi.org/10.1080/14610980008721862.

making a profit." The football metaphor in particular emphasizes an "ideology" of "success" as "predicated on aggression, instrumentalism, regimentation, and the zero-sum game." It also reflects the "highly specialized division of labour" that is necessary in business.[10]

While the Americanness of football gives it a certain cachet as a metaphor for corporate organization in the United States,[11] the metaphor of the symphony orchestra has been in use for much longer in the West as a depiction of work-based organization. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), the French theorist who inspired the first socialist movement, used the metaphor of an orchestra, along with a ship and an army, to describe his ideal view of social organization in the industrial age, where "each person fulfils a function in accordance with his competence."[12] Karl Marx referred repeatedly in *Capital* (1867-1894) to a factory owner-manager as an orchestra conductor and his workers as the orchestra.[13] In English-language business writing of the mid- to

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[10] Segrave, "Sports Metaphor," 53-54.

[11] Segrave notes that "football is not *like* American business; it *is* American business. The metaphor is so complete that it appears incontrovertible…" ("Sports Metaphor," 54).

[12] Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*, special anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 77, 68. Although Bell provided no source citation and I was unable to find the original source by searching the full text of Saint-Simon's writings in the original French, Bell is emphatic on this account and repeats it three years later in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, 20th anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 5n6.

[13] Perhaps the most notable nineteenth-century user of the orchestra metaphor was Karl Marx. Musical metaphors for labor are peppered throughout all three volumes of *Capital* and its so-called "fourth volume," *Theories of Surplus Value*, including references to singers, pianists, and other types of musicians. The orchestra image in particular, however, was repeatedly invoked. The following are some examples (boldface emphases mine):

> All directly social or communal labour on a large scale requires, to a greater or lesser degree, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious co-operation of the activities of individuals, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the motion of the total productive organism, as distinguished from the motion of its separate organs. **A single violin player is his own conductor: an orchestra requires a separate one.** The work of directing, superintending and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital, from the moment that the labour under capital's control becomes co-operative. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (1976; repr., London: Penguin Classics, 1990), 448-449.

> …in all labour where many individuals cooperate, the interconnection and unity of the process is necessarily represented in a governing will, and in functions that concern not the detailed work but rather the workplace and its activity as a whole, **as with the conductor of an orchestra**. This is productive labour that has to be performed in any combined mode of production. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 3, trans. David Fernbach (1981; repr., London: Penguin Classics, 1991), 507.

> Capitalist production has itself brought it about that the work of supervision is readily available, quite independent of the ownership of capital. It has therefore become superfluous for this work of supervision to

late twentieth century, it is common to find orchestra metaphors for work and organization in both scholarly and popular literatures on business management. In recent decades, they have been joined by another classical music metaphor for organization, the string quartet.

This chapter analyzes orchestra and string quartet metaphors for work and organization in academic business journal articles. I focus on English-language journal articles because it represents the body of journal scholarship most widely accessible to the American business community, as well as the body of journal scholarship most representative of the contributions of American scholars and scholars based in American institutions. Creativity and innovation, with their artistically charged notions of work and success, became buzzwords in American corporate culture in the 1990s. However, the present content analysis, which depends on sources collected from the EBSCO database *Business Source Complete*, shows that the number of articles containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors has risen steadily since the early 1970s, with an especially sharp increase in the early 1990s (see Fig. 1.1). This growth in the usage of orchestra and string quartet metaphors has not merely been an artifact of an overall increase in scholarly publication activity. When expressed as a percentage of the total number of articles indexed in *Business Source Complete* for each publication year, the number of articles containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors shows a general increase from 1971 to 2015 (see dotted linear trajectory in Fig. 1.2), with a notable spike in the early 1990s.

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be performed by the capitalist. **A musical conductor need in no way be the owner of the instruments in his orchestra, nor does it form part of his function as a conductor that he should have any part in paying the "wages" of the other musicians**. *Capital*, vol. 3, 511.

In these metaphors, a properly functioning factory is likened to an orchestra, where the conductor—or factory manager—is, importantly, the "governing will" and "directing authority" of all work activity. Marx's orchestra metaphors live on in capitalist work discourse today, where scholars (economists and sociologists especially) continue to quote the very same passages excerpted above.
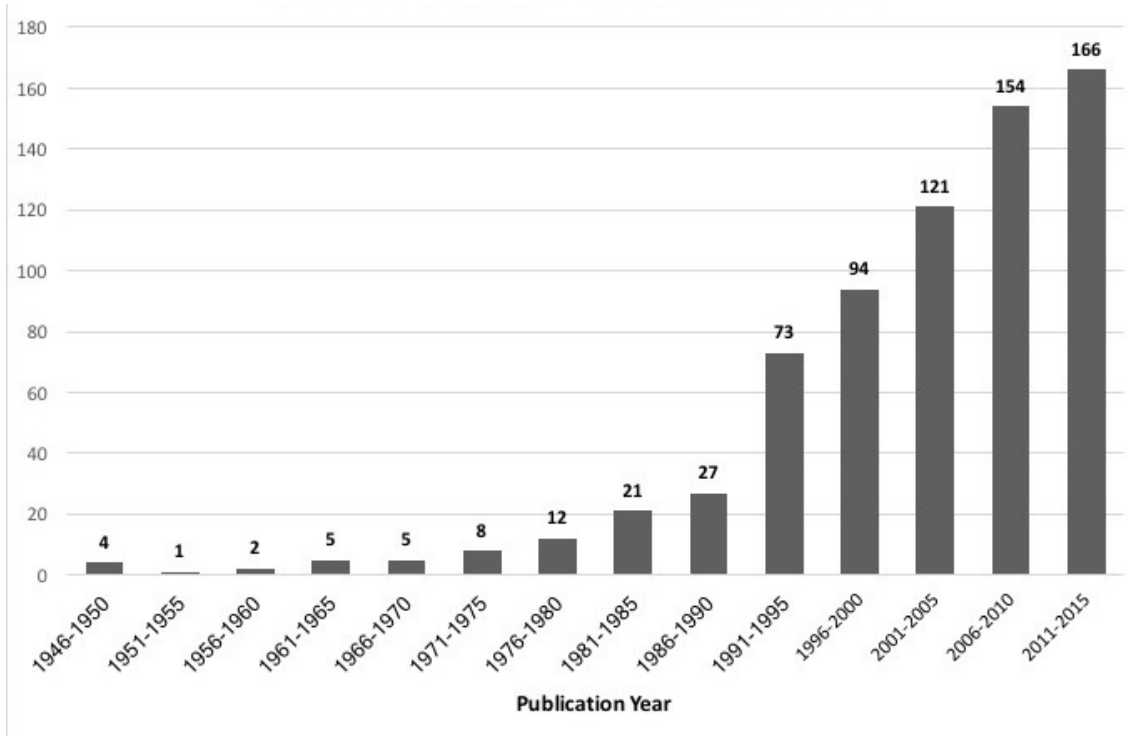
Figure 1.1: Raw number of English-language academic articles in *Business Source Complete* containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors
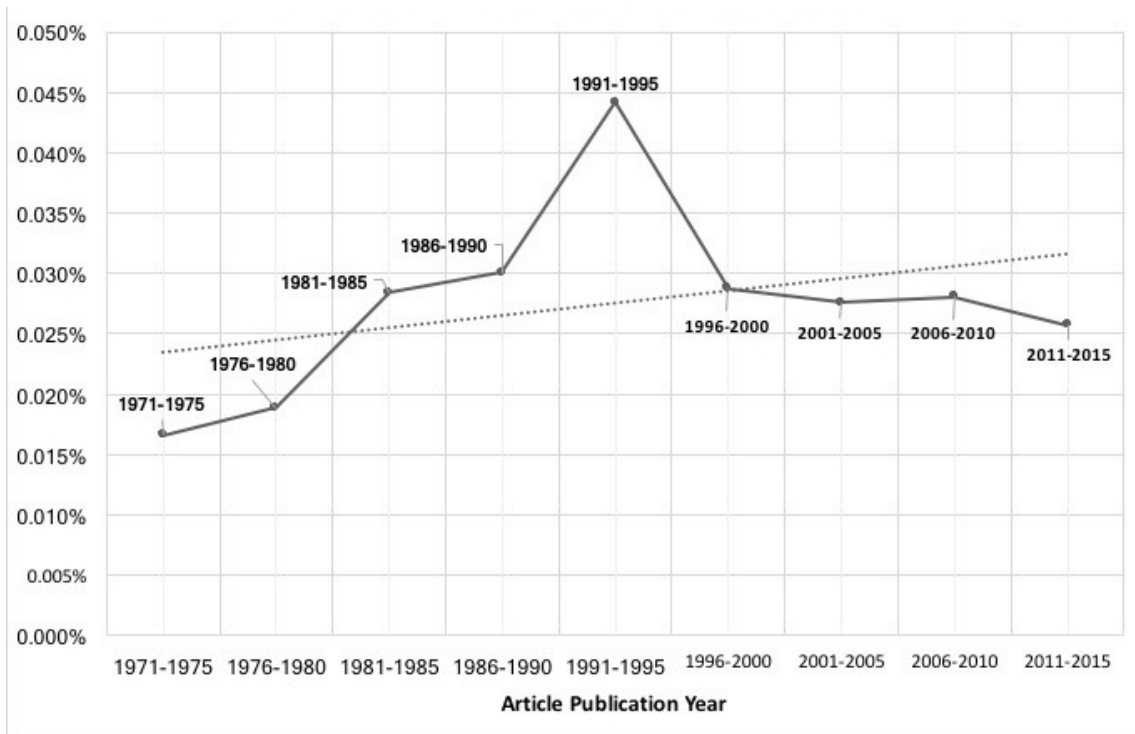
Figure 1.2: Percentage of English-language academic articles in *Business Source Complete* containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors

Based on a qualitative and quantitative examination of the metaphors discovered in this content analysis, this chapter investigates the nature of orchestra and string quartet metaphors for work and organization over their historical timeframe of development. How are these metaphors constructed? What kinds of beliefs about work and corporate business activity do they communicate, and what kinds of beliefs about classical music and artistic activity do they produce in the process? I explore these questions through metaphors as they manifest in academic rather than popular business literature because business scholars are recognized among business practitioners as important producers of knowledge about work and organization. Their rhetorical choices and the ideas they generate in their scholarship are influential upon business speech and writing at large. In this chapter, I am therefore attempting to understand a discourse of work and organization as reproduced in business scholarship through the artistic metaphors of classical music. What I refer to as business scholarship should be understood as the field of business scholarship as defined by the journal coverage of *Business Source Complete*. According to EBSCO's webpage for *Business Source Complete*, the database "covers all disciplines of business, including marketing, management, accounting, banking, finance and more."[14] It includes fields of interest to the academic business community, such as economics, psychology, education, sociology, law, public administration, and political science. When I refer to business scholarship, then, I am referring to this group of business and business-related fields.[15]

In addition to the questions above, I am curious about the rise in popularity of orchestra and string quartet metaphors from the 1970s to the 2010s. What characterizes the spike in the

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[14] EBSCO, "Business Source Complete," https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/business-source-complete, accessed September 24, 2017.
[15] Business management articles account for 465 (66%) of the 707 metaphors in the data corpus, while economics articles contribute another 72 (10%) of the metaphors. The findings in this study therefore largely reflect the predilections of the disciplines of business management and economics, which together account for seventy-six percent of the metaphors analyzed. See the chart in Appendix A1 for a more detailed breakdown of the data corpus by discipline.

early 1990s? And how do metaphors from the 1990s to the 2010s compare to those from the

1940s to 1980s, before the dramatic spike in popularity in the early 1990s?

Avatars of the Work Ethic and the Spirits of Capitalism

Boltanski and Chiapello's *The New Spirit of Capitalism* defines the Weberian concept of

the "spirit of capitalism" as "the ideology that justifies engagement in capitalism."[16] As an

economic system, capitalism is driven by the accumulation of profit, a process otherwise known

as capital accumulation. It requires the participation of capitalists, who amass wealth to invest in

enterprise (capital), and wage-earners, who produce profit for capitalists by working more than is

necessary to produce the value of their own upkeep (surplus value). As Boltanski and Chiapello

put it, capitalism is "in many respects, …an absurd system" where "wage-earners have lost

ownership of the fruits of their labour and the possibility of pursuing a working life free of

subordination," and capitalists "find themselves yoked to an interminable, insatiable process,

which is utterly abstract and dissociated from the satisfaction of consumption needs, even of a

luxury kind."[17]

Boltanski and Chiapello's work is an extension of Max Weber's. In *The Protestant Ethic*

and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber offered the first explanation of how such capitalistic

practices came to be widely accepted. In the sixteenth-century Northern European world that

Weber wrote of, a traditionalist view of work prevailed where one worked only when one needed

the income, and the hoarding of wealth was viewed as avaricious. Capitalism arose at the same

time, however, as a set of Protestant teachings that included, powerfully, the idea of the calling:

the instruction to fulfill one's duties of religious faith through worldly activity. Even though the

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[16] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 8.
[17] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 7.

traditionalist view of work challenged the hoarding of wealth, the Protestant ethic guarded even more fiercely against the sin of idleness. It inculcated a discipline of industriousness and rationalization, which were applied to the worldly activities of work and industry. Through this religious lens on the mundane world, work and industry became no longer for the mere purpose of procuring income or producing goods with which to satisfy one's immediate needs or desires, but rather outlets through which capitalists and wage-earners demonstrated their morality and devotion to greater ideals.[18]

The key insight of Weber's *Protestant Ethic*, according to Boltanski and Chiapello, is that "people need powerful moral reasons for rallying to capitalism."[19] Such moral justifications provide capitalism with an authentic, motivational core—the "spirit of capitalism." Such justifications are not, however, exclusively religious in nature. Rather, taking a cue from twentieth-century sociologist Alfred Hirschman's work on Enlightenment ideology, Boltanski and Chiapello develop Weber's thesis on secular grounds. The spirit of capitalism is not, as Weber suggests through his genealogy of the Protestant ethic, animated purely on the basis of individual moral self-interest, Boltanski and Chiapello argue. Rather, as it has been configured by the "secular thinking of the Enlightenment," it also appeals to the individual through a compelling vision of a common interest, or common good.[20]

Boltanski and Chiapello's study uses a content analysis of business management textbooks to tease out the ideological underpinnings of capitalism. It outlines three different iterations of the spirit of capitalism that have emerged in the last hundred and fifty years or so across France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The first spirit of capitalism, which

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[18] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*.
[19] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 9.
[20] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 9.

dominated at the end of the nineteenth century, championed "progress" and "industry" as the

common interests of society. In service of these goals, individuals were encouraged to physically

relocate to wherever employment or profit could be found, and to take comfort in business and

savings, in lieu of family and geographical roots, as their source of security.[21] From the 1930s to

the 1960s, the height of Fordist and Taylorist industrial production, a second spirit of capitalism

valorized rationality, efficiency, top-down control, and large corporate bureaucracy. In this post-

Depression era, material security came from social safety nets and federal labor regulations and

subsidies established by FDR's New Deal policies—social security, the Works Progress

Administration, unemployment welfare, and the legislation of maximum work hours and

minimum wages, among other things. However, in order to earn the benefits of the new social

safety nets, people were expected to play their role in the efficient functioning of the large,

bureaucratic corporations that were now the norm in profit-making enterprise. Under the new

capitalist work structures of the second spirit, employees were encouraged to adopt a regimented

approach to productivity, with highly circumscribed schedules and tasks, in the name of

"efficiency." Managers became all-important in the running of businesses with such minute

divisions of labor, and it became typical for large companies to have multiple ranks of such

managerial staff whose job it was to supervise the many technical "specialists" under their

command.[22]

From the early 1990s to the present day, a third spirit of capitalism has supported the

workplace and job market norms imposed by the neoliberalization of government and regulation

in the early 1980s. A big part of the neoliberal turn was the responsibilization of individual job

security. The dependable monotony of the forty-hour work week was done away with, replaced

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[21] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 17.
[22] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 17-19.

by contract work and on-call shifts to enable more spontaneous corporate downsizing. This shifted the burdens of a capitalist economy's instabilities onto private citizens to bear as individual risks. The "gig economy," an employment market comprised largely of short-term, contingent work, became an institution of the post-Fordist, post-Taylorist working world.[23] To legitimate this new norm of material insecurity, the third spirit of capitalism emerged to champion the values of autonomy, flexibility, mobility, and project-based organization in the job market and in the workplace. Those who had found work in the industrial era repetitive, soulless, and dehumanizing were now faced with "creativity" and "innovation" as the benefits they were to receive from their jobs, in exchange for which they were expected to be flexible enough to absorb the constant threat of job loss. Concurrently, the monolithic corporate bureaucracies of the mid-twentieth century were transformed into network-model organizations. As entities, these organizations have fluid boundaries with their external environment. They are widely scattered through outsourcing, the routine employment of independent contractors, and geographically dispersed employees, offices, and subsidiaries. This fragmentation of organizational structure, justified in the service of stimulating creativity and innovation, is reflected internally as well, where employees are organized around project teams that are frequently dismantled and reconstituted.[24]

Creativity, as the new moral self-interest, and innovation, as the new common interest of society, are deeply intertwined in the third spirit of capitalism. Their installment as the new justifications for engagement in capitalism took place over the 1970s and 1980s, as the bourgeois establishment scrambled to respond to the criticisms of the countercultural uprisings that took

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[23] Tina Brown, "The Gig Economy," *The Daily Beast*, January 11, 2009, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2009/01/12/the-gig-economy.html.
[24] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, chaps. 1, 3, and 4.

place in the 1960s.[25] Similarly, the justifications of the second spirit of capitalism—rationality and efficiency—emerged over the 1920s and 1930s in response to the public outcry against the excesses of the upper class and the economic devastation of the Great Depression.[26] According to Boltanski and Chiapello, this is the crisis-and-legitimation pattern of capitalist ideology in its historical development. Each new spirit of capitalism is built in reaction to criticism against the previous one, and each spirit of capitalism is eventually torn down by a new set of criticisms, setting in motion a period of ideological crisis before a new spirit of capitalism can be consolidated from the struggle.[27]

In Boltanski and Chiapello's historical framework, the second spirit of capitalism was stable from approximately the 1930s to 1960s, and the third spirit from the 1990s onwards. The years from the late 1960s to late 1980s were a period of crisis, transition, and re-legitimation between the two ideologies.[28] Most of the data that I will discuss in this chapter come from what Boltanski and Chiapello have delineated as the third spirit's era of stability. Of the metaphors I analyzed, 87.8% (621 metaphors in raw number) date from 1991 to 2015. Some of the data come from the transition era between the second and the third spirits (10.5%, or 74 metaphors in raw number, dating from 1965 to 1990), while relatively few come from the second spirit's era of stability (1.7%, or 12 metaphors in raw number, dating from 1946 to 1965).

What is most interesting for the present study is the strong implication, in Boltanski and Chiapello's discussion of their data, that the spirits of capitalism are anchored not just by abstract ideas, but also noticeable patterns of cultural representation. Boltanski and Chiapello argue, for instance, that the early to mid-twentieth-century era of big enterprise and Fordist production

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[25] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, chap. 3.
[26] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, xl-xli.
[27] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 28-30.
[28] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, xiii.

subscribed to "an ideal of industrial order embodied by engineers—belief in progress, hope

invested in science and technology, productivity and efficiency."[29] They suggested that the

"heroic figure" of this period, the scientifically rational manager of Taylorism, was forged in the

image of the efficient engineer.[30] In the third spirit of capitalism, which they describe as "rooted

in the invention of a bohemian lifestyle,"[31] Boltanski and Chiapello argue that the values of

capitalist society have become embodied in the figure of the artist. Their content analysis of

business management textbooks offers glimpses of this phenomenon in their data. Quoting

snippets from the texts they analyzed, they describe how innovative managers are featured in

1990s business textbooks as the ideal project leaders (italics theirs):

> These *innovators* have scientists, and especially artists, as their models. "The informal network is the preferred organizational mode of writers, scientific researchers and musicians who develop in domains where knowledge is highly specialized, creative and personalized" (Aubrey, 1990). The intuitive manager, like the artist, "is accompanied by disorder" (Le Saget, 1992), is "in a permanent state of alert and doubt" (Vincent, 1990) and "at ease in *fluid* situations" (Archier *et al.*, 1989).[32]

Summarizing their findings further, Boltanski and Chiapello observe:

> The way in which the figure of the manager is today assuming the qualities of the artist and intellectual tends to blur the distance, established since Romanticism, between the realism of those in business and the idealism of cultured people. … Is not the neo-manager, like the artist, a creative figure, a person of intuition, invention, contacts, chance encounters, someone who is always on the move, passing from one project to the next, one world to another? Like the artist, is he not freed of the burdens of possession and the constraints of hierarchical attachments, of the signs of power—office or tie—and also, consequently, of the hypocrisies of bourgeois morality?[33]

These connections between the artist and the ideal manager that Boltanski and Chiapello find in

business textbooks of the 1990s lead them to theorize that each spirit of capitalism is

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[29] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 18.
[30] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 18.
[31] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 38. For their contention that the values of capitalist society are embodied by the figure of the artist, see especially pages 113, 116, 312, 359, and 422 and their argument on the artistic critique overall.
[32] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 115-116.
[33] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 311-312.

characterized by a "great man" archetype who embodies the most desirable qualities of the era.[34] In the third spirit of capitalism, they are the qualities of being "enthusiastic, involved, flexible, adaptable, versatile, having potential, employable, autonomous, not prescriptive, know[ing] how to engage others, in touch, tolerant."[35] Thus, the "great man" of the third spirit of capitalism, who furthermore "possess[es] intuition and talent," is modeled after the figure of the creative artist.[36]

How was this link forged? If the ideal, heroic figure of the working world at the turn of the millennium is modeled after the artist, then what were the pathways by which this representational pattern took shape? In this chapter, I answer this question by following the figure of the classical musician through the texts of academic business journals. By using business texts as its source of data, this study follows deliberately in Boltanski and Chiapello's methodological footsteps. The scope of its analysis, however, is much narrower. Rather than trying to illuminate capitalist ideology in general, I am interested in the specific discourses of work and organization that depend upon the figure of the artist for their reproduction. Thus, focusing on orchestra and string quartet metaphors, I seek to understand the discourses of work and organization that are reproduced through the figure of the classical musician.

This chapter also illuminates how the second and third spirits of capitalism are reproduced via what I call *avatars of the work ethic*: representational human figures that function as cultural signifiers of the disciplinary values of the spirit of capitalism. The figure of the classical musician is the avatar of the work ethic in this case. While Boltanski and Chiapello's concept of the "great man" is abstract and ideological, avatars of the work ethic are symbolically concrete. They are traceable as distinct cultural representations, and can be used to anchor an

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[34] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 112-115.
[35] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 112.
[36] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 113.

empirical analysis of the relationship between art and capital in ideological discourse. I will develop this concept in much greater detail in Chapter 2. The present chapter, however, establishes the roteness with which the classical musician has functioned historically as a figure invested with meanings about work. This is the basic quality of any cultural figure that may be interpreted as an avatar of the work ethic.

Before I performed this content analysis, I had hypothesized that orchestra metaphors might decrease in popularity during the transition between the second and third spirits of capitalism, and be superseded by string quartet or even jazz metaphors around the turn of the millennium. The data, however, proved the opposite. Popularity of the orchestra metaphor continued to rise in the era that Boltanski and Chiapello marked as the stable period of the third spirit of capitalism, and was furthermore characterized by the continued appearance of metaphors expressing values associated with the second spirit of capitalism.

Method

In order to investigate how the figure of the artist has been symbolically manipulated to communicate capitalist ideologies, this chapter performs a content analysis of orchestra and string quartet metaphors for work and organization in English-language business scholarship. The metaphors were collected from academic business journal articles extracted from *Business Source Complete* (henceforth *BSC*), the standard academic research database for business scholars and students in the United States. The data sample is a census; in other words, rather than analyzing only a selective sample, it includes all the orchestra and string quartet metaphors I found in *BSC* within the parameters of articles in the English language published in academic journals.[37]

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[37] For further details about the data collection process, see Appendix A2.

The data corpus produced by the census consists of 707 metaphors extracted from 693 English-language academic articles, representing publication years from 1946 to 2015. The 1946 start date, while significant as the beginning of the postwar era, is an artifact of the census. It happens to be the publication date of the earliest academic article in *BSC*'s holdings that contained an orchestra or string quartet metaphor. I enforced 2015 as the final year of the census for the purpose of statistical validity. There is often a delay between article publication and indexing in a commercial database, observable in the dramatic drop in the overall number of articles in *BSC*'s index for the most recent year of publication,[38] that would have skewed the data's representation of the field of academic business journal article publishing. For the purposes of data collection and analysis, the primary unit of analysis in this study is the metaphor in its unique individual instantiation, as expressed in the course of a unique piece of scholarly writing.[39] Figures of speech that in literary analysis would strictly be considered similes or metonymy—respectively, the linking of two images by the word "like" or synonyms of "like," and the linking of two images by linguistically indirect means—are here also considered metaphors for the purpose of this study. The secondary unit of analysis is the journal article, a unique publication by a scholar in a journal in the field of business or a business-related discipline.[40]

A few examples will help to illustrate what these orchestra and string quartet metaphors look like when encountered in the course of a scholarly business article. In the following excerpts, the sections in boldface type were isolated as the text constituting an individual

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[38] See Appendix A2 for a chart demonstrating this phenomenon.
[39] See Appendix A2 for further details about the parameters used to isolate the individual instantiation of the metaphor in the process of data collection.
[40] See Appendix A3 for the full content analysis codebook, which shows the variables coded at both the level of the journal article and the metaphor.

instantiation of a metaphor for the purposes of data collection. The first example is of an

orchestra metaphor appearing in a 1986 article in *Human Resource Management* on the

challenges of personnel changes in executive leadership.

> Organizational transformation, as noted, begins with roles of "G2/U2" and "challenger." It draws, early on, upon political sensitivities and skills. The transformation process begins to differ from organizational change at this point. **Executives involved with transformation have to lead activities which produce useful scenarios of the organization's future environmental circumstances, and which produce the surfacing of the organization's present deep meanings. These are very difficult tasks, taxing of executive leadership. Executives must play some combination of "sponsor," "enthusiast," and "first violinist" as they guide the work which specifies the organization's future and current culture. The ability to synthesize information and to perceive themes, to in effect step outside of prevailing thoughtways, is pertinent, as is the ability to articulate discoveries.** Someone, most often the executive, must provide the articulated eloquence that captures and inspires others. "Wordsmithing," therefore, is another role, one that carries forward throughout the transformation process.
>   **The next transformation role is akin to an "orchestra conductor" (Galbraith, 1985), guiding the design of a process plan (Beckhard and Harris, 1977) for transition strategy and tactics.** As a new image emerges and is communicated, members quite naturally begin to feel (even more strongly than earlier in the process) the anxiety associated with new uncertainties and the loss of familiar and comforting perspectives. …[41]

The two discontinuous boldface segments were analyzed as part of a single long instantiation of

an orchestra metaphor for the work of executive leadership that highlighted the roles of the first

violinist and conductor. Thirty-five percent of the metaphors in the data corpus were this length

or longer.

The second example is of another orchestra metaphor, this time from a 2011 article in the

International Journal of Innovation and Technology Management about applying "lean thinking"

in for-profit research and development:

- The differentiation of creative and repetitive processes is one basic element for value stream definition in a project. For both—creative and repetitive activities—the value stream has to be designed avoiding waste. In doing so, the different degrees of freedom have to be taken into account. **While repetitive activities can be determined exactly, creative activities need more degrees of freedom for ideas**

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[41] Craig Lundberg, "The Dynamic Organizational Contexts of Executive Succession: Considerations and Challenges," *Human Resource Management* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 297, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 39, Article ID: OR-1985-076]

and try outs. Like a "score" for an orchestra, the target value stream map is an overall working plan for all stakeholders of a project.

- R&D projects suffer, whenever capacity conflicts occur. The results are shortages, waiting times, and product quality issues. Capacity levels need to be smoothened and balanced also within R&D. A balancing model for capacity planning, therefore, is a precondition for lean innovation.[42]

Relatively brief metaphors like these constituted 26% of the data corpus.

The final example is of a string quartet metaphor in a 2000 article in *Leadership and Management in Engineering* on the civic responsibilities of civil engineers:

> … I shall not comment here on the educational and training needs of engineers at the beginning of their careers, except to say that I hope prospective engineers will begin their education early (perhaps in their pre-teens), starting with languages, literature, economics, history, and some of the arts, which pressures of science and engineering subjects later will tend to suppress.
> **The willingness and ability of civil engineers to take part in "development engineering" in the future will depend largely on their own mind-set, their capacity to take a broader view of the place, the project, the country, or society in which they are working, and their willingness to assert themselves as members with a strong voice, not a domineering voice, but the self-assured, correct, and confident voice of a team player. Perhaps I should explain the kind of team I am referring to here: I don't mean football or soccer, where your team must win at all cost; I mean the type of team that a band is, or a string quartet, where a few people are working together for hours, trying to produce a pleasant sound, a tune worth remembering. A team in which each player has their part which must be played as well as possible, to contribute to the whole, which is far superior to the sum of its parts and leaves a lasting impression. That kind of team consists of members attuned to each other, responsive and attentive to the partners around them.**
> The acceptance of civil engineers by other disciplines in the development process (e.g., economists, politicians, bankers, and business interests) will depend in part on the way civil engineers act, because these other disciplines will also have to adapt to team activities some of them may not be used to. …[43]

This is a substantial length metaphor, midway between "brief" and "long."[44] It also illustrates a feature of many metaphors in the data corpus—contrast or comparison with other metaphorical

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[42] G. Schuh, M. Lenders, and S. Hieber, "Lean Innovation: Introducing Value Systems to Product Development," *International Journal of Innovation and Technology Management* 8, no. 1 (2011): 48, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 108, Article ID: OR-2011-064]

[43] Peter Engelmann, "Development Tasks for Civil Engineers," *Leadership and Management in Engineering* (October 2008): 191, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 687, Article ID: SQ-009]

[44] Although it is shorter in word count than the "long" metaphor of the first example, metaphor length was operationalized for this study on the basis of the number of sentences—rather than raw words—involved in the expression of the metaphor. See Appendix A3 for more details.

images such as sports or popular music—that will be addressed in the next section on analytical methods. Thirty-five percent of the metaphors in the data corpus were about the length of this example or slightly shorter.

Analytical Methods: Metaphor and Frame

Frame analysis, which is a common approach to the critical cultural analysis of news media, is more generally a way to observe the reproduction of ideology in cultural discourse. As Stephen D. Reese puts it, frames are "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world."[45] Generally, they manifest as simple narratives or images used to "make information interesting and palatable."[46] Metaphors, being common linguistic devices for linking one image or narrative to another, are one of the more prevalent framing devices in verbal discourse.[47]

Adopting Reese's approach to frame analysis, I paid attention to frames both in terms of their content ("what") and their construction ("how"). As Reese puts it, an analysis of the "what" of a frame emphasizes its cultural and ideological content: the way of thinking being conveyed. It concerns "the network of concepts and the unique narrative and myths that make it work."[48] By performing close textual readings of each metaphor in the data corpus within the contexts of the articles in which they appeared, I was able to identify the conceptual frames that they reproduced. I focused on two types of conceptual frames. The first were work frames, which

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[45] Stephen D. Reese, "Finding Frames in a Web of Culture: The Case of the War on Terror," chap. 2 in *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers, 17-42 (New York: Routledge, 2010), 17.
[46] Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers, "Introduction: Doing News Framing Analysis," chap. 1 in D'Angelo and Kuypers, *Doing News*, 1.
[47] Several contributors to D'Angelo and Kuypers, *Doing News* refer to metaphor as a linguistic framing device. See, for example, Reese, chap. 2, "Finding Frames," 19, 24, 25; Matthew C. Nisbet, chap. 3, "Knowledge Into Action: Framing the Debates Over Climate Change and Poverty," 49, 68-70; and Baldwin Van Gorp, chap. 4, "Strategies to Take Subjectivity Out of Framing Analysis," 91, 100.
[48] Reese, "Finding Frames," 19.

were the metaphorical equation of some aspect of work and business organization to classical

music entities. Examples of common work frames found in the data corpus include

MANAGERS/LEADERS ARE ORCHESTRA CONDUCTORS and EMPLOYEES/SUBORDINATES ARE

ORCHESTRA MUSICIANS. The second type of conceptual frame I focused on were music frames,

which established certain views of orchestras and string quartets. Common examples of these

found in the data corpus include ORCHESTRAS ARE MODELS OF COORDINATION and CONDUCTORS

ARE INSPIRATIONAL/VISIONARY. Overall, I identified twenty-seven work frames and fifty-eight

music frames.[49] The complete list of frames used in the coding process can be found in the

codebook in Appendix A3.

While analysis of frame content—the "what" of frames—offers insight into the

ideologies that drive the reproduction of orchestra and string quartet metaphors, the "how" of

frames focuses on the communicative strategies by which frames are produced. They

acknowledge the ways in which ideology is perpetuated not only by power, but also by the

routinized practices of symbolic manipulation by groups and institutions. Reese's approach to

the analysis of frame construction, developed from his analysis of news media framing

processes, sorts framing strategies into three categories: transmission, reification, and

naturalization.[50] Working from Reese's definitions of these categories, I operationalized them for

use in the context of academic journal literature.[51] As applied in this content analysis,

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[49] These figures exclude all open-ended "other" categories that allowed for the coding of unexpected frames.
[50] Reese, "Finding Frames," 30-34.
[51] There are key differences between Reese's formulation of these categories and my adaptations of them. This is because Reese's categories are operationalized for analyzing news journalism whereas I am analyzing scholarly writing. What I kept the same were the rhetorical strategies that the categories entailed. Transmission passes along a frame from an acknowledged source, reification creates the frame as if spontaneously, and naturalization communicates the frame at much more subliminal levels of metaphor. Since scholarship is generally produced at a much slower rate and with much more time for consideration of its contents than news journalism, however, the depth of frame internalization implied by each of these categories appears deeper in the case of scholarship. Transmission is not mere reporting, but choosing a lineage of knowledge. Reification goes beyond reporting

transmission is the "passing along" of a previously existing expression of a frame, usually by

quotation or paraphrase. It is accompanied by either formal or informal source citation.[52] The

following is an example of transmission with informal source citation:

> Benjamin Zander, conductor of the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra, said, "The conductor
> of an orchestra doesn't make a sound. He depends, for his power, on his ability to make
> other people powerful." Likewise, leaders should steer employees into roles that enhance
> their skills and develop initiative, including higher roles like examining the overall
> strategy of an organization. This is the essence of empowerment.[53]

The author borrows an insight made by orchestra conductor Benjamin Zander, a well-known

individual in business circles who has made a successful side career out of speaking at corporate

events on the topic of leadership.

The second type of framing strategy, *reification*, presents a frame as common sense or

even "material fact."[54] It goes "[b]eyond simple transmission" to become "uncritically routine,

with the frame and its underlying assumptions taken for granted."[55] Instances of reification

sometimes justify the frame by presenting the framing metaphor as a "famous," "common," or

"popular" analogy. They often dispense with this gesture, however, and get by on speaking with

the conviction of truth. In these cases, the framing metaphor is presented as if it were original

and spontaneously generated, as in this example:

> …just as in an orchestra, each instrument contributes some essential part to the selection,
> so in business operation, each facet of accounting reflects a particular, essential phase in
> order to guide management in the achievement of its goal—a profitable venture.[56]

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something as material fact to treating it as common sense and a way of life. Naturalization goes beyond common
sense and way of life to the construction of the built environment of language.

[52] Reese, "Finding Frames," 30.

[53] Ji-Eun Ye, "7 Principles for Employee Empowerment," *SERI Quarterly* (October 2012): 93, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 127, Article ID: OR-2012-004]

[54] Reese, "Finding Frames," 30.

[55] Reese, "Finding Frames," 30.

[56] Harry R. Edwards, "The Use of Accounting in Business Policy Determination," *Accounting Review* 22, no. 4 (October 1947): 397, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 46, Article ID: OR-1940-016]

The third type of framing strategy, *naturalization*, as I apply it here, is the seeping of a frame into the basic "built environment" of language—into its naming conventions and word stock. Specifically, what I considered naturalization were such subtle instances of metaphor as uses of the verb "orchestrate" in its layman sense, meaning "to arrange or combine so as to achieve a desired or maximum effect"[57]; or the use of "orchestration" as specialized business and technology jargon to mean the process of coordinating supply chain logistics or digital networks; or the naming of software or initiatives "Orchestra," "Symphony," "Melody," etc. Examples include:

> Business Process Execution Language (BPEL) is a Web service orchestration language.[58]

> Postmodern organizational analysis is…concerned with local patterns of orchestration in which the affairs of the world are made more pliable, wieldable and hence more amenable to human intervention and control.[59]

That such uses of the word "orchestrate" in its various forms are discursively linked to the image of an orchestra is demonstrated by articles that contain such uses in conjunction with more explicit metaphorical invocations of an orchestra.[60] I also coded as naturalization any use of

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[57] *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "orchestrate," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/orchestrate.

[58] Qing Li, Cheng Wang, Jing Wu, Jun Li, and Ze-Yuan Wang, "Towards the Business-Information Technology Alignment in Cloud Computing Environment: An Approach Based on Collaboration Points and Agents," *International Journal of Computer Integrated Manufacturing* 24, no. 11 (November 2011): 1044, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 122, Article ID: OR-2011-119]

[59] Robert Chia, "From Modern to Postmodern Organizational Analysis," *Organization Studies* 16, no. 4 (1995): 599, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 327, Article ID: OR-1995-011]

[60] Here is a passage from a 2013 article in *MIS Quarterly* that refers to orchestration as a specialized business process and in its layman sense as the effective coordination of elements, along with an obvious metaphorical image of an orchestra:

> We define network orchestration as the set of deliberate, purposeful actions undertaken by the hub firm (digital delivery platform) as it seeks to create value and capture value from the network. …
>
> …
> … In the loosely coupled coalition (type 2), it is much more valuable to play in an orchestra than to be an outstanding soloist as part of a value creation ecosystem (Adner 2006; Adner and Kapoor 2010). Value creation is the output of a process that encourages creativity and diversity, yet does not allow the players to go out of tune completely. …
>
> …
> Value in Orchestration: As modularization takes hold, the ability to coordinate among the modules will become the most valuable business skill.

orchestra or string quartet musicians as empirical subjects for studying business concepts, such

as teamwork or organizational communication.[61]

In adapting Reese's schema for use in this analysis, I also created a subcategory of

reification that I called *suture*. Suture takes place when the commonsensical relationship between

an aspect of work or organization and orchestras or string quartets is established with the help of

additional metaphors. In the orchestra and string quartet metaphors I analyzed, images of

orchestras and string quartets were frequently compared to or contrasted with images of sports

teams and coaches, military formations and command, and surgical teams. They were also

sometimes connected in these ways to images of jazz ensembles. The following examples show

how suturing typically manifests:

> Some larger, though loose, sense of purpose shapes organizing activity, whether it is the
> orchestra (e.g., the score), the jazz quartet (e.g., chords, the score, one's style), or a
> production facility (e.g., a strategy or routine).[62]

> Arbitration advocacy is to courtroom advocacy what a string quartet is to a symphony,
> what tennis is to football. Lawyers trained only in the traditions of courtroom advocacy
> may be ill-prepared for arbitration's informality and efficiency.[63]

> Governance rehearsal may sound like a strange concept, but it is hard to think of any
> group task that is successfully performed without rehearsal. We understand that
> orchestras, sports teams, and armies need to rehearse. We know that the board job is a
> group or team job. So it seems logical that the board should rehearse its "plays" as
> thoroughly as any other team does.[64]

Margherita Pagani, "Digital Business Strategy and Value Creation: Framing the Dynamic Cycle of Control
Points," *MIS Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (June 2013): 623, 627, 629, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID:
165, Article ID: OR-2013-033]

[61] Business studies of leadership and teamwork often use musicians as study participants. The data corpus includes
published articles resulting from these studies as well as articles citing these studies, as long as they fulfill the search
inclusion criteria of containing the words "orchestra(s)" or "string quartet(s)."

[62] Andrew Wicks and R. Edward Freeman, "Organization Studies and the New Pragmatism: Positivism, Anti-
Positivism, and the Search for Ethics," *Organization Science* 9, no. 2 (March-April 1998): 133, EBSCOhost
Business Source Complete. [Case ID: 387, Article ID: OR-1998-046]

[63] Tim Bornstein, "To Argue, To Brief, Neither or Both: Strategic Choices in Arbitration Advocacy," *Arbitration
Journal* 41, no. 1 (March 1986): 77, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 702, Article ID: SQ-029]

[64] Miriam Carver, "Governance Rehearsal: A New Tool," *Board Leadership*, no. 69 (September/October 2003): 4,
EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 480, Article ID: OR-2003-021]

> …the teams themselves are unitary and share common objectives: this is implicit in the examples of teamwork quoted by Nichol (1981, p. 3) which include a soccer team, a symphony orchestra and a team of transplant surgeons.[65]

Suture is therefore a tight linkage between two metaphorical images constructed through a relationship of comparability. Reese thinks of frames as "embedded in a web of culture, an image that naturally draws attention to surrounding cultural context and the threads that connect them."[66] My intention in defining suture as a subtype of the reification framing strategy is to extend the repertoire of identifiable practices by which such connective threads are woven.

General Findings I:

Orchestras and String Quartets as Metaphors for Teamwork and Coordination

Before delving into nuances and historical changes, it must be acknowledged that virtually all the metaphors in the data corpus, across all the years from 1946 to 2015, framed the orchestra and string quartet as models for teamwork or coordination in some form. From basic mechanistic coordination to complex diversity, multilevel hierarchies to collaborative teams, 55 out of the 58 discrete music frames that were observed as repeated patterns concerned interpersonal, communicative, or work function coordination in some form.[67] This brings the

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[65] Steve Harrison, "Consensus Decision-Making in the National Health Service: A Review," *Journal of Management Studies* 19, no. 4 (1982): 391, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 3, Article ID: OR-1980-010]

[66] Reese, "Finding Frames," 18.

[67] The codebook (see Appendix A3) lists all the music frames used in the coding process. The three music frames that were not coordination-related were MF38 STRING QUARTET AS CREATIVE/INNOVATIVE, MF59 ORCHESTRA AS MODEL OF CREATIVITY and MF71 ORCHESTRA AS SEATING TIER. Although only two of the 58 specified music frames cited coordination explicitly (MF1 ORCHESTRA AS MODEL OF COORDINATION and MF31 STRING QUARTET AS MODEL OF COORDINATION), these categories were used only in cases where basic mechanistic coordination was strongly indicated. Whenever another type of coordination was indicated, the applicable frame was coded instead of or in addition to these, depending on how present the sense of basic mechanistic coordination was.

total number of coordination-related metaphors in the data corpus to 606, or 87% of the metaphors collected.[68]

Analysis of work frames shows how this image of coordination was achieved. Thirty-five percent of the metaphors portrayed managers and leaders as orchestra conductors. Twenty-two percent portrayed employees, workers, specialists, or subordinates as orchestra musicians.[69] Fifteen percent of the metaphors in the data corpus did both. Forty percent of the metaphors equated a business, team, or organization directly to an orchestra, with 16% doing so without using either the conductor or employee frame. Eleven percent of the metaphors equated a work process or a body of resources rather than a human organization to an orchestra. In 14% (11 in raw number) of these cases, some type of employee, such as a specialist or manager, was labeled as a "conductor" of the work process or resource orchestra.

Like football metaphors for corporate organization, orchestra metaphors are useful to business scholarship because they illustrate a "highly specialized division of labour."[70] This quality proves highly adaptable in metaphorical usage. Over the seven decades represented in the data corpus, the symphony orchestra's division of labor has been used to illustrate everything from regimented hierarchy to egalitarian diversity in the workplace. The following two metaphors, for instance, use the orchestra metaphor to wildly opposite effects, and both appeared in articles published in 2008:

> …on their own, [workers] cannot enable a firm to do a new task. … Once the collection
> of workers is in place, the employer has monopsony power in its relations to any new
> employee. The employer can give a worker the opportunity to perform a given task—e.g.
> only in a good symphony orchestra can a violinist realize the dream of playing the most

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[68] This is a minimum number of metaphors in the data corpus that used coordination-related frames. It excludes any metaphors coded solely under the open-ended "other" frame categories, which could also have contained coordination-related frames.

[69] Although it might seem like each portrayal would imply the other, only metaphors that made these image links explicitly were coded for each work frame.

[70] Segrave, "Sports Metaphors," 54.

challenging of symphonies—but a single worker cannot enable a firm to have a new task performed within its ranks.[71]

… true diversity is not limited to only hiring diverse people, but developing and promoting them to reach their self-actualization, i.e. be involved in decision making and leadership. True diversity is analogous to a modern symphony orchestra, where every instrument or group of instruments are important, perform independently, in support of the whole.[72]

The first metaphor, from an article on the training of workers published in *LABOUR: Review of Labour Economics & Industrial Relations*, depicts individual orchestra musicians as deeply constrained in their ability to affect the orchestra as a whole. The second metaphor, which comes from an article on unemployment published in *Advances in Competitiveness Research*, depicts orchestral musicians as independently skilled, but also active participants in "decision making and leadership."

Beginning in 1981, string quartet metaphors help to illustrate coordination in the less regimented, more spontaneous context of small project teams. The following two examples from a 2001 article in the *MIT Sloan Management Review* and a 2000 article in *Public Administration Review*, respectively, demonstrate how business scholars see orchestras and string quartets as large and small organizations in their ideal forms:

When an organization reaches a certain stage in its development, instead of developing like a self-organizing string quartet, it becomes more like an orchestra whose disparate sections now need a conductor.[73]

Organization is, by definition at least, the relations between two persons, and most often these days is described as "complex organization" or "bureaucracy." In simple form we see the two come together in the string quartet, individual artists in a simple organization playing music together. In a more complex form, the performance of a symphony is the wedding of many individual artists, each agreeing to obey shared rules and

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[71] Alison K. Booth and Gylfi Zoega, "Worker Heterogeneity, New Monopsony, and Training," *LABOUR: Review of Labour Economics & Industrial Relations* 22, no. 2 (June 2008): 252, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 646, Article ID: OR-2008-111]

[72] Syrous K. Kooros, "In Search of a General Model of Unemployment," *Advances in Competitiveness Research* 16, no. 1 (2008): 101, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 625, Article ID: OR-2008-041]

[73] John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid, "Creativity Versus Structure: A Useful Tension," *MIT Sloan Management Review* 42, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 93, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 705, Article ID: SQ-007]

understandings and to follow the tempo and feeling of the maestro—in short, to be an organization.[74]

These metaphors demonstrate how an artistic domain like classical music, which has a variety of productive social formations, can be continually exploited for the illustration of work and organization simply by emphasizing different social formations as suit the business structures at hand.
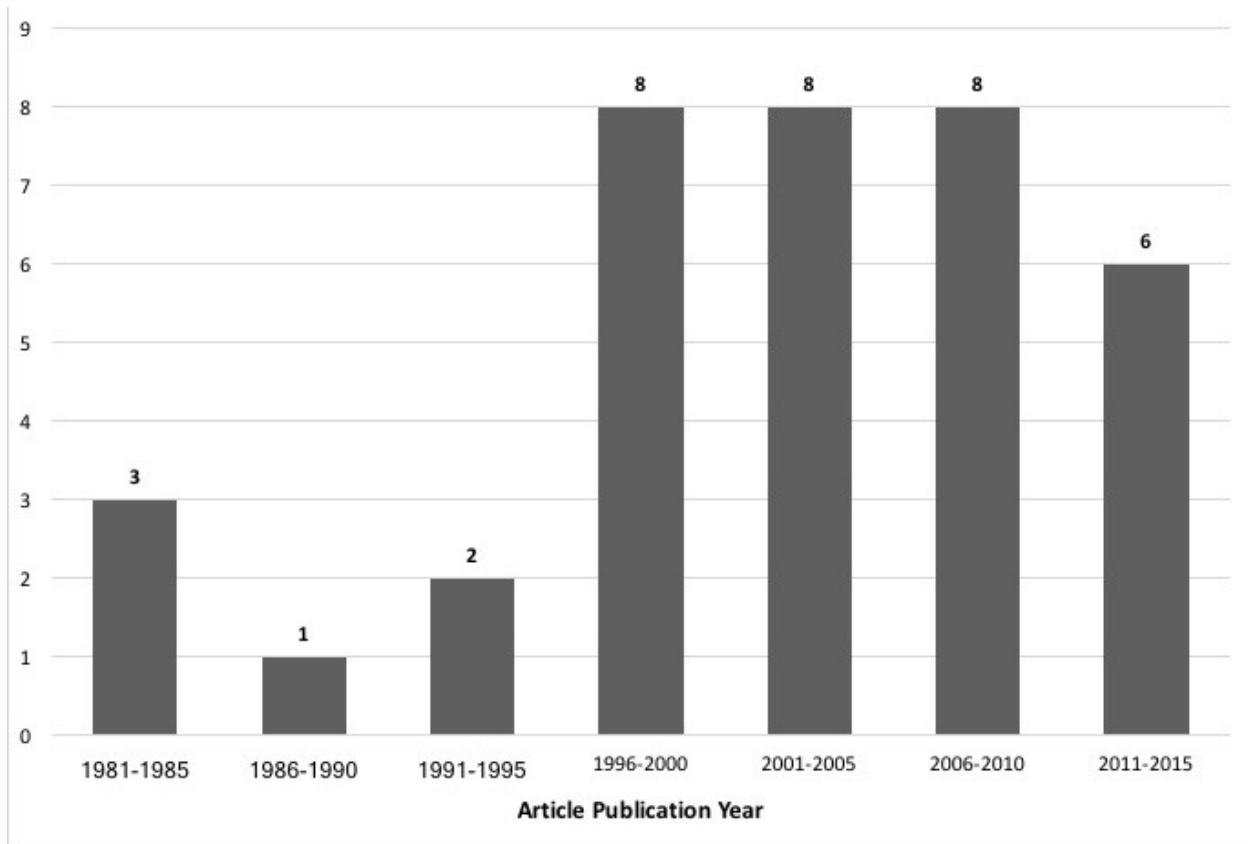
Figure 1.3: Raw number of string quartet metaphors in data corpus

It must be noted that only five percent (36 in raw number) of the metaphors in the data corpus referred to string quartets. However, the fact that most of them were clustered in the years 1996 to 2015 (see Fig. 1.3) signals their heightened usefulness to business scholars in this time

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[74] H. George Frederickson, "Can Bureaucracy Be Beautiful?," *Public Administration Review* 60, no. 1 (January 2000): 48, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 684, Article ID: SQ-002]

period. The string quartet metaphors found in the data corpus were typically used to convey the

heights of interpersonal cohesion that a small project team can achieve:

> …all really important music is done in a group. A string quartet can play together for decades, and they can play the same piece for decades. As they do, they get deeper and deeper into the nuances of what the artist is trying to say. It creates a type of teamwork that allows them to complete each other's sentences, so to speak, teamwork that is beyond the notes of the score.[75]

> The Portland String Quartet is a "real team"—"a small number of people with complementary skills who are equally committed to a common purpose, goals, and working approach for which they hold themselves mutually accountable" and one that is truly a "high performance team" whose "members are also deeply committed to one another's personal growth and success" (Katzenbach & Smith, 1993, p. 92).[76]

The first example, quoted from a 2014 interview in *Research-Technology Management* on the

topic of engineering education, emphasizes the need for a team of engineers to communicate

seamlessly. The second example, which appears in a 1996 case study of the Portland String

Quartet for the *Journal of Management Inquiry*, emphasizes the importance of having a unified

purpose within a team and having a deep sense of responsibility for motivating one's teammates.

It was the first article to connect string quartets to the management concept of the "high

performance team"—the self-managed, deeply creative team with superb communication skills.

Although the present data census ended before more detailed trends within the string quartet

metaphor corpus could be identified (a cursory glance through the search results in *BSC* from

2016 and 2017 suggested that the string quartet metaphor continued to be popular), the use of

string quartets to illustrate high performance teams showed signs by the early 2010s of becoming

a common trope in business scholarship.[77]

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[75] Jim Euchner, "The Future of Engineering Education," *Research Technology Management* 57, no. 1 (January-February 2014): 17, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 692, Article ID: SQ-025]
[76] Christian F. Poulson II and Stanley C. Abraham, "The Portland String Quartet," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 5, no. 3 (September 1996): 197, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 700, Article ID: SQ-026]
[77] See, for example, Frederick A. Seddon and Michele Biasutti, "Modes of Communication Between Members of a String Quartet," *Small Group Research* 40, no. 2 (April 2009): 115-137, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete* [Case ID: 696, Article ID: SQ-018]; and Malka Tal-Shmotkin and Avi Gilboa, "Do Behaviors of String Quartet

General Findings II: Working Together for the Common Good

Why do these orchestra and string quartet metaphors work? Unlike the football metaphor, which emphasizes "aggression" and the "zero-sum game,"[78] orchestra and string quartet metaphors emphasize a voluntary orientation towards the common good—a "win-win" situation, if you will. A 2010 article in the *Journal of Business Continuity & Emergency Planning* articulates this perspective with an orchestra metaphor, insisting that the field of business continuity will find its "foundation…only if…the profession can move from the cacophony of individuals simultaneously singing from their own hymn-sheets to the symphony of a well-articulated and generally understood value proposition substantiated by solid research and documentation."[79] Working together with a common purpose is equated here to a "symphony" where the purpose is "generally understood."

The shared purpose of working together for the common good idealizes work as a willing or voluntary effort. In the case of the string quartet, it has already been shown that a "real team," as exemplified by the Portland String Quartet, has members who are "deeply committed to one another's personal growth and success." This commitment, it is implied, is voluntary, something intrinsically motivated. A 1983 article on human resource management makes the point of voluntary commitment especially clear in an orchestra metaphor for "leadership and organization alignment":

> Organization alignment behind visionary leadership must involve the merging of the individual's strength and will with that of the collectivity, along with a willingness to be directed by the leadership. In high-performing organizations animated by noble purpose this may not feel like much of a sacrifice. It is a bit like being a member of a fine symphony orchestra. Instead of playing in their own tempo, volume, and style, the

Ensembles Represent Self-Managed Teams?," *Team Performance Management* 19, no. 1/2 (2013): 57-71, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete* [Case ID: 688, Article ID: SQ-010].

[78] Segrave, "Sports Metaphors," 54.

[79] John Copenhaver and David Lindstedt, "From Cacophony to Symphony: How to Focus the Discipline of Business Continuity," *Journal of Business Continuity & Emergency Planning* 4, no. 2 (March 2010): 172, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 677, Article ID: OR-2010-038]

members "line up" behind the conductor in the service of his vision of the ideal rendition of the noble and aesthetic qualities of the piece being played. By doing so, each is able to be a part of an achievement which no one could aspire to alone. Much of the time it must be a satisfying experience.[80]

This author presents corporate work as the opportunity "to be a part of an achievement which no one could aspire to alone." Work is an experience that is "satisfying" and does not "feel like much of a sacrifice," and workers follow their leaders willingly because all of them believe in "the ideal rendition of the noble and aesthetic qualities of the piece being played."

Orchestra and string quartet musicians are idealized as willingly working together for an outcome that is beneficial to all. What makes this believable is not only the implication of voluntary effort, but also the idea that such voluntary cooperation will have desirable results. The metaphors emphasize this by presenting flawless coordination as natural and essential to orchestras and string quartets. "[W]hen in sync with one another music is truly made," says a 2010 article in the *International Journal of Disclosure and Governance*, comparing the "players" in an independent auditing process to the members of a string quartet.[81] An article on the topic of leadership for the *Harvard Business Review* in 1998 describes an orchestra as an organization where it is a "[g]iven that all the musicians have to play in perfect harmony," and where "the role of conductor emerges naturally."[82] That orchestra and string quartets' perfect coordination is generally assumed in this discourse of work and organization is made especially clear by a group

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[80] Roger Harrison, "Strategies for a New Age," *Human Resource Management* 22, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 211-212, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 13, Article ID: OR-1980-051]

[81] Robert J. Kueppers and Kristen B. Sullivan, "How and Why an Independent Audit Matters," *International Journal of Disclosure & Governance* 7, no. 4 (November 2010): 292, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 693, Article ID: SQ-015]

[82] Henry Mintzberg, "Covert Leadership: Notes on Managing Professionals," *Harvard Business Review* (November-December 1998): 144-145, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 75, Article ID: HBR-001] In a different article, Mintzberg goes so far as to describe orchestras as being "destined" to cooperate harmoniously (boldface emphasis mine): "…the organization adopts a "hybrid" power structure, which need not, of course, be dysfunctional (as in the case of the symphony orchestra, which seems **destined** to combine the personalized leadership of the conductor with the expertise of the musicians, despite the tension generated)." Henry Mintzberg, "Power and Organization Life Cycles," *Academy of Management Review* 9, no. 2 (1984): 209, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 11, Article ID: OR-1980-042]

of metaphors I coded as reproducing the AN UNSUCCESSFUL BUSINESS IS A RIDICULOUS

ORCHESTRA frame. In these metaphors, business scholars use the image of what they consider an

absurd orchestra to represent a dysfunctional organization (ensuing boldface emphases mine):

> Witness the bankruptcy of GM, once one of the largest and most admired corporations in the world, and hundreds of its suppliers. Its leaders believed for a company to be at its best each department had to operate at peak efficiency. … …for the last 30 years, numerous signs warned this approach was not working. This is because such thinking simply is not true. **Imagine how an orchestra would sound if each member played as loud as possible just to show off.**[83]

> …Brad Bird of Pixar points out that the carrying out of innovation involves collaboration among many different functions and that an organization needs to establish a way to integrate creative ideas into a coherent whole. "Otherwise, **it's like you have an orchestra where everybody's playing their own music. Each individual piece might be beautiful, but together they're crazy**" (Rao, Sutton, and Webb, 2008, p. 3).[84]

> …the four reporting categories of objectives must work in concert to succeed. Inaccurate, incomplete, or untimely reporting of internal information…is **akin to each member of an orchestra playing a different song altogether**. Similarly, reporting inaccurate, incomplete, or untimely external nonfinancial information is **like the strings section playing at a different tempo than the brass**. In either event, the audience experience is unpleasant.[85]

> Leaderless teams seem to be effective only up to some modest size (Katzenbach & Smith, 1993). The idea of replacing *all* workers with "self-directed" boss types results in an organization with *all* bosses. The stockholders' capital would be well supervised, but probably not very productive. (**What is the sound of an all-conductor orchestra?**)[86]

Nineteen metaphors in the data corpus use the image of an absurd orchestra in this way. Whether

they are castigating mismatched tempos, hubristic loudness, unchecked individual whimsy, or

excessive autonomy, these metaphors are effective because they depend upon the tacit

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[83] Thomas A. Smith, "Safety Management: A Personal Development Strategy," *Professional Safety* 56, no. 3 (March 2011): 61, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 115, Article ID: OR-2011-090]

[84] Michael Song and Yan Chen, "Organizational Attributes, Market Growth, and Product Innovation," *Journal of Product Innovation Management* 31, no. 6 (November 2014): 1312, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 211, Article ID: OR-2014-094]

[85] Michael J. Head and Cris Riddle, "Finding Harmony in Reporting," *Internal Auditor* 70, no. 5 (October 2013): 27, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 168, Article ID: OR-2013-047]

[86] Alan W. Goodhue and Karen E. Norum, "When an Incentive Isn't: An Addictive Motivator That Works Too Well," *Emergence* 3, no.4 (2001): 53, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 456, Article ID: OR-2001-078]

assumption that *real* orchestras and string quartets are intrinsically harmonious in their coordination.

This assumption of perfect coordination, of course, goes beyond the perception of orchestras and string quartets as well-organized groups. It is assisted by the fact that they are musical, artistic groups. When business scholars write of "noble purpose" and a "vision of the ideal rendition of the noble and aesthetic qualities of the piece being played,"[87] they are speaking of more than the coordination of activity. "[W]hen in sync with one another music is truly made," said the author who compared an independent audit to a string quartet performance.[88] In these statements, art is perceived as a realization of human effort in its best form: beauty.[89] Thus, in artistically-inflected discourses of work and organization in business scholarship, beauty is the common good to which workers in an organization should aspire. Orchestra and string quartet metaphors help to articulate this ideology by presenting the common good as harmonious, beautiful music, skirting the fact that, in corporate organization, the common good is, of course, profit.[90]

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[87] Roger Harrison, "Strategies for a New Age," *Human Resource Management* 22, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 211-212, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 13, Article ID: OR-1980-051]

[88] Robert J. Kueppers and Kristen B. Sullivan, "How and Why an Independent Audit Matters," *International Journal of Disclosure & Governance* 7, no. 4 (November 2010): 292, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 693, Article ID: SQ-015]

[89] In the scholarly business discourse of work and organization, beauty is viewed as an objective yet transcendent quality of classical music that can be achieved by rational effort. Some authors go to great lengths to make this logic clear. "In a discipline like music, people don't talk about 'my pitch (truth),' and 'your pitch (truth),'" write the authors of a book titled *The Managerial Moment of Truth*, an excerpt of which was published in a 2006 issue of the journal of the Society for Organizational Learning North America. "There is an objective reality they can understand, and because of that objectivity, over one hundred people can play together in a symphony orchestra, and play in tune with each other." Bruce Bodaken and Robert Fritz, "The Managerial Moment of Truth," *Reflections* 7, no. 2 (2006): 59, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 574, Article ID: OR-2006-091] They further justified this assertion of objectivity by prefacing it with a lengthy exposition on the science of musical pitch involving oscilloscopes and acoustic physics.

[90] Boltanski and Chiapello observe of the "common good" in the spirit of capitalism: "By logical analogy, whatever created a profit (and thereby served the individual capitalist) also served society. In this perspective, regardless of the beneficiary, increased wealth is the sole criterion of the common good" (*New Spirit*, 13).

Orchestra and string quartet metaphors are also helpful in business communication, however, for a more mundane reason: they are able to portray the physicality of work in action. In *The Work of Nations* (1992), political economist Robert B. Reich described the rise of a type of professional in the late twentieth century he called "symbolic analysts": high-status, white-collar workers like financial and management consultants, information management specialists, strategic planners, marketing strategists, and systems analysts. Their work was important to the information-age corporation, but also highly abstract. "Symbolic analysts solve, identify, and broker problems by manipulating symbols," Reich argues. "They simplify reality into abstract images that can be rearranged, juggled, experimented with, communicated to other specialists, and then, eventually, transformed back into reality."[91] A regular problem that business communicators encounter in the mid- to late twentieth century, then, is finding accessible ways to speak about such abstract work. Classical musicians are, conveniently, highly educated and skilled workers whose labor is nonetheless expressed with the realness of manual labor. Thus, such images can be found among the metaphors in the data corpus:

> Their public manager is something of a maestro at the front of an orchestra pit, "conducting" both the horizontal relationships he or she makes and the vertical relationships imposed by institutional and constitutional structures.[92]

This was from a 2005 review in *Public Administration Review* of books about "the development of the network perspective on post-hierarchical public management."[93] This example exploits the physical aspect of classical musicians' labor very explicitly, but it was more common for metaphors in the data corpus to rely upon that physicality implicitly. A metaphor such as this one, for instance, from a 2004 article in *Academy of Management Executive* about the training of

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[91] Robert B. Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 177-178.
[92] R. Karl Rethemeyer, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Collaborative Networks," *Public Administration Review* 65, no.1 (January 2005): 119, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 525, Article ID: OR-2005-025]
[93] Rethemeyer, "Conceptualizing," 117. [Case ID: 525, Article ID: OR-2005-025]

new managers, relies tacitly upon the reader's ability to visualize the work of a violinist versus a

conductor in an orchestra:

> First-time managers had to unlearn the deeply held attitudes and habits they had
> developed when they were responsible simply for their own performance. … To use an
> orchestral analogy, new managers had to move from concentrating on one task, as an
> accomplished violinist does, to coordinating the efforts of many, like a conductor.[94]

Through orchestra and string quartet metaphors, the often intangible, internal, and mental

processes of white-collar work become visible, embodied in the physical actions of violin players

and orchestra conductors.

More generally, the physical expression of a highly skilled mental labor is a quality of the

live performing arts. The resulting visibility of such intellectual labor, due not only to its

physical expression but also its performance on public stages, makes the live performing arts a

ready source of metaphorical images for resolving tensions between mental and manual labor.

This opportunity has not been lost on business management scholars. The author of a 1981

article for *Management Review* titled "Preparing Future Leaders" complained: "[T]hose few who

have studied 'management' know it only in theory, not in practice." He argues: "Effective

management is not a theory, it is artful performance. Artful performance, the kind of

performance that we hear in an accomplished string quartet, or see on the stage in a well-

rehearsed ballet, or in the theater in a captivating performance."[95] A phrase like "artful

performance" gives pride of place to manual labor while asserting the legitimacy of a kind of

work that blends intellectual with manual labor.

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[94] Linda A. Hill, "New Manager Development for the 21st Century," *Academy of Management Executive* 18, no. 3 (August 2004): 121, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 513, Article ID: OR-2004-053]
[95] James L. Hayes, "Preparing Future Leaders," *Management Review* 70, no. 5 (May 1981): 2, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 697, Article ID: SQ-021]

The visibility of highly skilled labor in live classical music performance has led many business management scholars to study management concepts using actual string quartets and orchestras as empirical subjects. Of the 693 articles included in this study, 30 were empirical studies investigating business management ideas such as leadership and teamwork using real orchestras or string quartets as objects of study. The more rigorous study methods among them included in-depth field observations of single or multiple ensembles and interviews with musicians and conductors. Also common were articles based entirely upon anecdotal inferences from personal experiences of authors who had performed in orchestras, as well as articles by professional orchestra conductors reflecting on how their experiences could apply to business leadership and management. The validity of such studies as scholarly contributions was seldom defended. Rather, when justification was occasionally offered, it was on the basis of the practicality of the choice of empirical subject due to observability. In an article based on personal anecdotal inference, published in 1982 in the *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management*, the author wrote (ensuing boldface emphases mine):

> String quartets operate without a separate leader, as do brass groups of 12 or more…. What role does sheer size play in determining the point at which a conductor is needed? How much does the diversity of instrumentation determine that point? To what extent does it depend on the quality of the score or of the music being played? **Musical ensembles, as relatively easily observable entities**, may yield insights into these generic issues of management.[96]

Business scholars generally acknowledge this as an advantage of orchestras and string quartets as study subjects. Here is another example, made in passing by an author of a 1996 article in *Academy of Management Executive* on management careers:

> Few companies can realize the ideal of efficient internal markets…. There are some instances, however, where the human capital model is realized…—e.g. some sports teams, software houses, trading floors, management consultancies, and **orchestras**. What

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[96] Dennis Young and James W. Vaupel, "Organization and Orchestra: Lessons from the Pit," *Journal of Policy & Management* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1982): 266, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 10, Article ID: OR-1980-039]

these have in common are some important preconditions: complex well-understood role demands; shared intelligence about relevant skill sets; a developmental imperative; overriding collective goals; and **high visibility of attributes, fit, and performance**.[97]

Orchestra and string quartet images make work interactions between people and resources visible and observable. The fact that this is generally recognized by business scholars accounts for the popularity of orchestras and string quartets as both real and metaphorical vehicles for producing knowledge about business management. Orchestras and string quartets are not alone, however, among "social" and "human" domains in offering this advantage. Sports teams are another popular source of images, as are the other performing arts, as will be discussed later in this chapter. However, different "social" and "human" domains offer different sets of cultural connotations, and the particular set associated with classical music has made it a productive domain for the scholarly business discourse of work and organization. To summarize, they are the implication of a voluntary orientation towards working for the common good, the idealization of voluntary cooperation as flawless cooperation, and the conception of the beauty of music as the epitome of harmonious coordination.

The Orchestra Metaphor as Reconciler of Change

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, American business management guru Peter Drucker published a number of articles proclaiming a sea change in the structure of the modern corporation. The two most influential of these, both published in the *Harvard Business Review*, were "The Coming of the New Organization" (1988) and "The New Society of Organizations"

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[97] Nigel Nichols, "Career Systems in Crisis: Change and Opportunity in the Information Age," *Academy of Management Executive* 10, no. 4 (November 1996): 46, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 341, Article ID: OR-1996-002]

(1992).[98] Neither of these were collected for the content analysis data corpus.[99] However, 294 metaphors in the data corpus used transmission (quotation or paraphrase) as a framing strategy, and 30 of these (10%) quoted or paraphrased the orchestra metaphors that Drucker used in these articles.[100] In his essays, Drucker argued that large corporations of the future would be "information-based organizations." Unlike the manufacturing businesses of the second spirit of capitalism, these information-based organizations would rely intensely upon computer technology to produce data-driven knowledge, which would be used to inform organizational decisions. As a result, such organizations would primarily employ highly-specialized knowledge workers. Drucker argued that their greater ability to work independently—aided by their higher level of education as well as constant access to information on the computer network—would allow large corporations to be structured as much flatter hierarchies than previously possible.

The ideologies that governed corporate work and organization in the information age were what Boltanski and Chiapello called the third spirit of capitalism. In place of efficiency, it championed innovation and creativity. Instead of repetitive, regimented duties, employees would enjoy authenticity, creativity, and freedom in their work lives. Drucker's essays energized the orchestra metaphor for the late twentieth century and helped consolidate the third spirit of capitalism in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In "The Coming of the New Organization" (1988), he portrayed the orchestra as a high-functioning model of a flat hierarchy, where orchestra musicians were highly independent and self-disciplined knowledge workers, and the orchestra conductor was a leader who intuitively gathered and harnessed employees' energies. Although

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[98] Peter F. Drucker, "The Coming of the New Organization," *Harvard Business Review* 66, no. 1 (January-February 1988): 45-53, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*; and "The New Society of Organizations," *Harvard Business Review* 70, no. 5 (September-October 1992): 95-105, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.
[99] These articles were not turned up by the initial keyword search retrieval of articles from *Business Source Complete*. See Appendix A2 for further details about the data collection process.
[100] This made Drucker the most-cited single source of orchestra metaphors in the data corpus.

corporations remained large, Drucker argued that such autonomy amongst its workers would be possible, since it was amply manifested in the symphony orchestra:

> A large symphony orchestra is…instructive, since for some works there may be a few hundred musicians on stage playing together. According to organization theory then, there should be several group vice president conductors and perhaps a half-dozen division VP conductors. But that's not how it works. There is only the conductor-CEO—and every one of the musicians plays directly to that person without an intermediary. And each is a high-grade specialist, indeed an artist.[101]

> Because the "players" in an information-based organization are specialists, they cannot be told how to do their work. There are probably few orchestra conductors who could coax even one note out of a French horn, let alone show the horn player how to do it. But the conductor can focus the horn player's skill and knowledge on the musicians' joint performance. And this focus is what the leaders of an information-based business must be able to achieve.[102]

These claims contrasted sharply with those that were characteristic of orchestra metaphors from even just a few years earlier. From 1946 to 1986, 35% of metaphors used orchestras to exemplify top-down organization and multilevel hierarchies.[103] Figure 1.4 presents segments of the preceding quotations from Drucker's essay side-by-side with contrasting passages from earlier metaphors. While the orchestra metaphors from 1982 and 1961 are used to portray a regimented, multilevel hierarchy, Drucker's metaphors characterize the orchestra as a loose yet direct leadership of one to many. The earlier insistence that managers be able to instruct subordinates specifically in their tasks (manager as generalist) is transformed, in Drucker's metaphors, into an emphasis on managers as inspirational enablers (manager as artistic visionary). Drucker assumes that specialist workers' expertise is simply beyond the comprehension of non-specialists—the opposite of what was assumed in the earlier metaphors.

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[101] Drucker, "Coming," 49.
[102] Drucker, "Coming," 49.
[103] This counts all metaphors using the frames MF2 ORCHESTRA AS TOP-DOWN ORGANIZATION, MF6 ORCHESTRA AS MULTILEVEL HIERARCHY, MF15 ORCHESTRA AS LARGE BUREAUCRACY, or MF21 CONDUCTOR AS CENTRAL DIRECTOR.

Drucker's Metaphors	Earlier Metaphors
There is only the conductor-CEO—and every one of the musicians plays directly to that person without an intermediary.	1982: Central leadership consists of the conductor of the ensemble, who leads with his baton and with pantomimed instructions. Beneath the conductor, each instrument section may also have a leader, who occupies the first chair; the leader may be looked to for signals during passages in which the given instrument section is especially important. These subleaders will, of course, be coordinated through the conductor.[104]
Because the "players" in an information-based organization are specialists, they cannot be told how to do their work. There are probably few orchestra conductors who could coax even one note out of a French horn, let alone show the horn player how to do it. But the conductor can focus the horn player's skill and knowledge on the musicians' joint performance. And this focus is what the leaders of an information-based business must be able to achieve.[105]	1961: …it is essential for specialists to report to a senior arbiter or interpreter. … To fulfill such a co-ordinating role, a man must know what the various specialties are about. … An analogy is the function of a good orchestra leader. The best conductors play a number of instruments very well and must have familiarity with all of them.[106]

Figure 1.4: Comparison of Drucker's orchestra metaphors to earlier orchestra metaphors

Drucker himself made the effort to pivot from the earlier views to the new spirit of capitalism using the orchestra metaphor. In an illuminating passage of four short paragraphs in "The Coming of the New Organization," he begins by acknowledging the continued need for mechanistic coordination and a unified set of instructions:

> Several hundred musicians and their CEO, the conductor, can play together because they all have the same score. It tells both flutist and timpanist what to play and when. And it tells the conductor what to expect from each and when. …
>   Information-based organizations, in other words, require clear, simple, common objectives that translate into particular actions. At the same time, however, as these examples indicate, information-based organizations also need concentration on one objective or, at most, on a few.

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[104] Dennis Young and James W. Vaupel, "Organization and Orchestra: Lessons from the Pit," *Journal of Policy & Management* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1982): 265, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 10, Article ID: OR-1980-039]

[105] Drucker, "Coming," 49.

[106] Marion Harper, Jr., "A New Profession to Aid Management," *Journal of Marketing* 25, no. 3 (January 1961): 4, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 50, Article ID: OR-1960-001]

So far in the metaphor, orchestras are apparently centrally coordinated through the musical score. Yet, in the very next sentence, Drucker turns to argue that a corporate organization's "score" is improvisatory:

> Yet a business has no "score" to play by except the score it writes as it plays. … So an information-based business must be structured around goals that clearly state management's performance expectations for the enterprise and for each part and specialist and around organized feedback that compares results with these performance expectations so that every member can exercise self-control.
> The other requirement of an information-based organization is that everyone take information responsibility. The bassoonist in the orchestra does so every time she plays a note.[107]

With this new improvisatory spirit in place, the idea of an orchestral musician playing their part becomes no longer simply about doing what you are told or even exercising a specialized skill, but rather about the taking of "responsibility." The regimentation of bureaucratic work structure remains the same: one conductor and many musicians playing different instruments. However, coordination now depends upon the individual worker's initiative and self-discipline.

Drucker's articulation of the late twentieth-century shift in corporate organizational structure via the orchestra metaphor is indicative of how a bureaucratic structure that remained in many ways the same became ideologically construed as something completely different. Drucker described the information worker as "a high-grade specialist, indeed an artist."[108] In the third spirit of capitalism, the orchestra became a model of "integration," which emphasized holism and the organicity of artistry over simple mechanistic coordination:

> …the best firms successfully address competitive challenges…because their strategies so effectively integrate market positioning with execution capabilities. Integration recalls a symphony orchestra. An orchestra demands at least three things to render a fine performance; a comprehensive complement of talented musicians, an ability to play as a perfectly aligned unit, and an emphasis on the right musicians for the right compositions. In the corporate context, strategic integration—and the outstanding performance that

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[107] Drucker, "Coming," 49.
[108] Drucker, "Coming," 49.

accompanies it—demands all of these same qualities of comprehensiveness, alignment, and thematic emphasis.[109]

A system is identified, conceived, designed, …
by means of the harmonious "integration" of qualities
of things, factors, actions, processes, performances, …
which in accordance with human criteria
are indispensable parts of every particular human concern
such as an orchestra, a workshop, a factory, a company, …[110]

In these metaphors, which come respectively from a 2000 article in *California Management Review* and a 1994 article in *Systems Research*, integration is a mechanistic blend that achieves an artistic whole. Not only is an integrated business operation "harmonious," "strategic," and "perfectly aligned" to "render a fine performance," but it is also "comprehensive," "conceived," and "designed" with "thematic emphasis." The mechanistic efficiency of the second spirit of capitalism is not dispensed with, but rather is articulated *within* the third spirit of capitalism's greater goal of holistic integration. Similarly, as seen in the earlier analysis, the hierarchical structure of power characteristic of the second spirit of capitalism does not vanish. Rather, its categories and divisions of labor, while recognizable, are renamed and redistributed to support the ideological priorities of worker autonomy and creative leadership.

The key finding of this content analysis therefore contradicted what should have been expected given Boltanski and Chiapello's historically phasal framework of capitalist ideology. There was no drop-off of music frames related to the second spirit of capitalism when the data entered the 1990s. Instead, frames conveying the values of top-down organization and hierarchical regimentation continued to rise alongside those that emphasized egalitarian

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[109] Peter H. Fuchs, Kenneth E. Mifflin, Danny Miller, and John O. Whitney, "Strategic Integration: Competing in the Age of Capabilities," *California Management Review* 42, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 119, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 427, Article ID: OR-2000-060]

[110] J. L. Elohim, "The Systemic, Cybernetic and Synergetic Alternative in Quality Management," *Systems Research* 11, no. 1 (1994): 24, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 321, Article ID: OR-1994-049]

collaboration and self-organization (see Fig. 1.5). Furthermore, 14% of metaphors dating from between 1991 and 2015 combined elements of *both* spirits of capitalism.
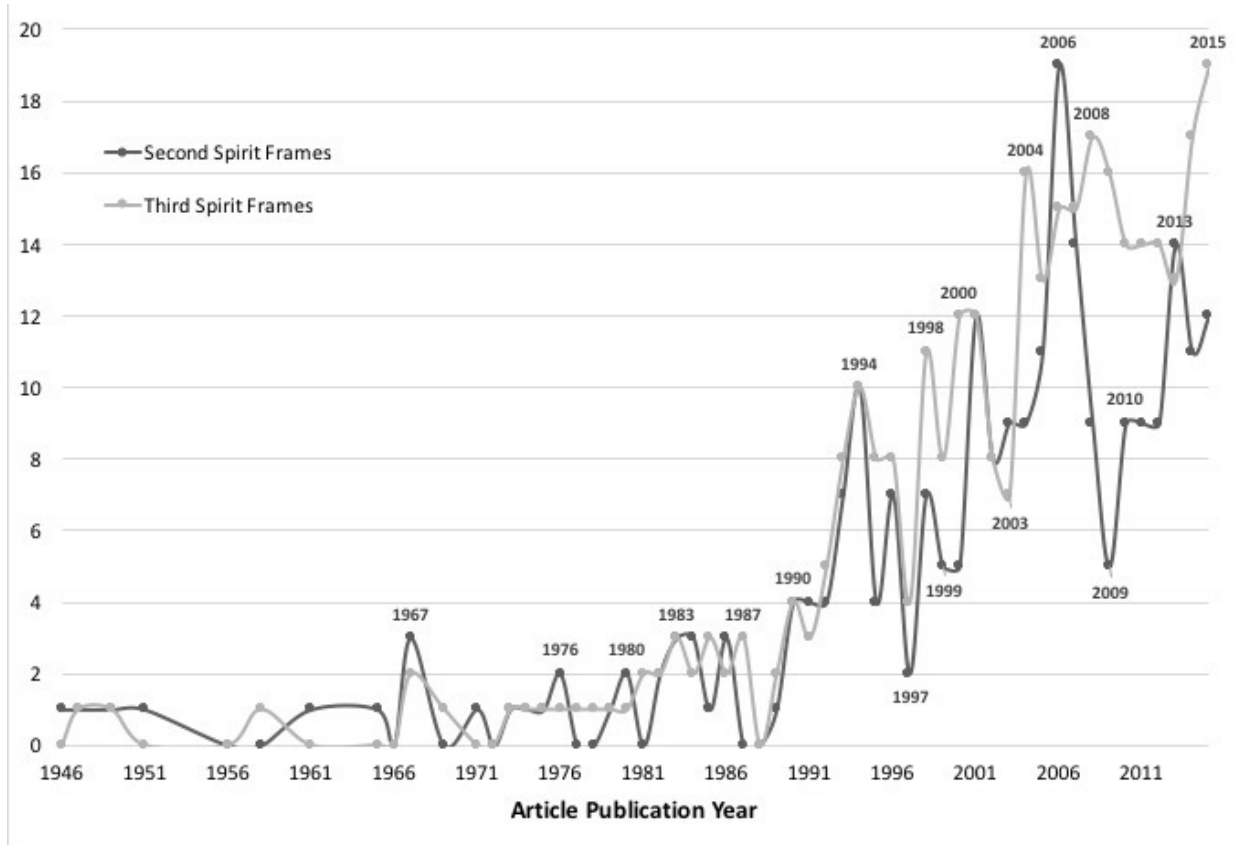
Figure 1.5: Metaphor frequencies by ideological frames, 1946-2015

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, only 1.7% of the metaphors in the data corpus date from 1946 to 1965, and only 10.4% date from 1966 to 1990.[111] Nonetheless, 25% of metaphors between 1946 and 1965 expressed third-spirit frames, while 35% of metaphors between 1991 and 2015 expressed either second-spirit frames alone or blended them with third-spirit frames (see Fig. 1.6). These percentages are significant enough to suggest that while

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[111] In Boltanski and Chiapello's framework, these time periods correspond roughly with, respectively, the latter half of the stability phase of the second spirit of capitalism, and the phase of transition—a turbulent period of crisis and legitimation—between the second and third spirits of capitalism.

Boltanski and Chiapello's phasal framework of capitalist ideology may apply at the broadest

levels of historical generalization, a great deal of more nuanced ideological work is taking place

that does not fall so neatly into their chronological divisions.

Article publication years	Total # of metaphors	Metaphors using 2nd-spirit frames	Metaphors using 3rd-spirit Frames	Metaphors using *exclusively* 2nd-spirit frames	Metaphors using *exclusively* 3rd-spirit frames	Metaphors using *both* 2nd-and 3rd-spirit frames
1946-1965	12	6	3	5	2	1
1966-1990	74	29	34	16	21	13
1991-2015	621	215	287	125	197	90

Figure 1.6: Raw number of metaphors by ideological frame, 1946-2015[112]

The present content analysis of orchestra and string quartet metaphors shows that the

values of the second spirit of capitalism continue to hold sway in business scholarship from 1991

to 2015. Furthermore, it shows that there are constant efforts to make peace between them,

evidenced in the way that second and third spirit frames are combined in many of the metaphors.

The main tension between the second and third spirits is articulated succinctly by one such

metaphor in a 1997 article in *Sloan Management Review*:

> Current management recognizes the nature and potential of the knowledge worker. In
> a comparison of employees to the members of a symphony orchestra, each orchestra
> member is an expert and has a unique skill and knowledge. However, if the orchestra
> leaves each member to his or her own devices to play whatever and whenever, chaos
> ensues. Therefore, the orchestra members need a conductor and a score to tie their
> individual activities together.[113]

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[112] For a list of the frames counted as second spirit frames versus third spirit frames, see Appendix A4.
[113] Anthony A. Atkinson, John H. Waterhouse, and Robert B. Wells, "A Stakeholder Approach to Strategic
Performance Measurement," *Sloan Management* Review 38, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 31, EBSCOhost *Business Source
Complete*. [Case ID: 362, Article ID: OR-1997-007]

The third spirit of capitalism had a conundrum to solve. How would one reconcile the new

emphasis on individual creativity and autonomy with the continued need for coordination and

efficiency? How could one celebrate the creative freedom of workers while continuing to

impress upon them the need for conformity?

The problem of centralized coordination in the new era of increased worker initiative was

solved in orchestra metaphors via the familiar idea of artist deviance. Creativity, however

necessary to the overarching goal of innovation, could not be given complete freedom. Thus,

while creativity was celebrated as the autonomous right of workers and the engine of innovation

and profit, it was also posed as unruliness and a new source of chaos. The following metaphors

come from a 1990 article in the *Review of Business* and a 2000 article in the *California*

Management Review respectively:

> Creativity can be inconvenient; it is often disruptive. Creative individuals are frequently
> dissatisfied with the status quo, impatient, and single minded; they commonly experience
> estrangement from their group. Similarly, empowered employees behave in surprising,
> unpredictable ways; they discard structure, routing, rules, and accepted procedures.
> Refusing to be part of a finely tuned orchestra, they occasionally produce noise—
> cacophony; they substitute effectiveness for efficiency.[114]

> Social and cumulative learning processes require new ways of organizing for innovation,
> even if this means greater chaos and uncertainty. In the network economy, it is much
> more valuable to play in an orchestra than to be an outstanding soloist. Value creation is
> the output of a process that encourages creativity and diversity, yet does not allow the
> players to go out of tune completely.[115]

In these metaphors, the orchestra image is used to set desired boundaries for the new ideology.

By depicting organizations of creative workers as dysfunctional orchestras, where individual

musicians were overly indulgent in their creative license, these authors were able to argue

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[114] Betty A. Velhouse, "Creativity and Empowerment: A Complementary Relationship," *Review of Business* 12, no.
3 (Fall 1990): section titled "The Downside," EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 260, Article ID:
OR-1990-005]

[115] Mohanbir Sawhney and Emanuela Prandelli, "Communities of Creation: Managing Distributed Innovation in
Turbulent Markets," *California Management Review* 42, no. 4 (Summer 2000): section titled "Theoretical and
Managerial Issues," EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 417, Article ID: OR-2000-018]

convincingly that there still ought to be checks on the autonomy granted to employees. Workers were artists, and for that very reason, they needed executive direction. Despite the celebration of creativity and individual empowerment, the implicit bottom line is that a corporation still has to produce orchestral "harmony."

Deepening the orchestra metaphor's bridging function here between the second and third spirits of capitalism is the fact that the stereotype of the temperamental artist served a similar delimiting purpose in the second spirit of capitalism. In the following two examples, from a 1971 article in *Management Science* and a 1966 article in the *Academy of Management Journal* respectively, the rational, efficiency-oriented manager of the large, bureaucratic corporation is frustrated by his subordinates:

> As generalist, the manager is obliged to assume responsibility for…the handling of disturbances…an essential duty of the manager.
>> There is clear evidence for this role both in our study of chief executives and in Sayles' study of production supervisors [24, p. 162]:
>>> The achievement of this stability, which is the manager's objective, is a never-to-be-attained ideal. He is like a symphony orchestra conductor, endeavoring to maintain a melodious performance in which contributions of the various instruments are coordinated and sequenced, patterned and paced, while the orchestra members are having various personal difficulties, stage hands are moving music stands, alternating excessive heat and cold are creating audience and instrument problems, and the sponsor of the concert is insisting on irrational changes in the program.[116]

> …bureaucracy is a 'dirty' word to many individuals. It stands for the strains and inefficiencies associated with government. Some of its characteristics are, however, present, even where face-to-face leadership is still possible, as in an orchestra. A large orchestra has subdivision and specialization of tasks – the wind instruments and the strings. Sometimes these groups develop intergroup rivalries and tensions; the second violins can't get along with 'that bloody drummer.' An orchestra has 'standard practice instructions' – the score. It has personal leadership – the conductor. It is only when all these 'influences' are melded, and each individual player is highly trained, that you get a distinguished rendering of a great piece of music. All concerned are united in the common aim of making a success of the performance. Each member of the orchestra is, for the time being, first a musician and only secondarily an individual.[117]

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[116] Henry Mintzberg, "Managerial Work: Analysis from Observation," *Management Science* 18, no. 2 (October 1971): B106, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 71, Article ID: OR-1970-045]
[117] L. F. Urwick, "Organization and Theories About the Nature of Man," *Academy of Management Journal* 10, no. 1 (March 1967): 9-10, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 58, Article ID: OR-1960-039]

In these metaphors, workers are "highly trained" technical specialists prone to being neurotic and irrational. They are emotionally susceptible and quarrelsome, always on the verge of running amok. The manager or leader, as the rational coordinator of efficiency, must constantly prevent the entire enterprise from unraveling. The main difference between these metaphors and those in the third spirit is that the artistic temperament manifests in the second spirit of capitalism as personal and interpersonal inefficiency, while in the third spirit it manifests as creative deviance. Either way, it is disruptive and portrayed as something to be reined in for the greater good.

Given the third spirit of capitalism's new priorities of autonomy and creativity, central leadership also had to be portrayed differently. The ideal leader of the third spirit needed to achieve innovation. Unlike the rational manager of the second spirit, who could achieve his goal of efficiency by running his organization like clockwork, the manager of the third spirit needed to generate willing followership in an environment of creative freedom. He needed to encourage conformity to certain goals while enabling his employees to feel that they had enough autonomy to engage in day-to-day creativity. As such, the ideal leader of the third spirit of capitalism had to be part muse, part nurturing artistic mentor, and part exemplary visionary artist himself. The following metaphors come from a 2006 article in *Brand Management* and a 2011 article in the *International Journal of Organizational Innovation*:

> …an orchestra…needs a talented and visionary manager who can both justify the strategic significance towards other stakeholders and customers, and get the best creative power out of the staff. The manager has to be an authoritarian leader, but also one who can act as a supporting person who takes care that everyone in the team possesses the sufficient knowledge and is aware of the brand's strategic identity.[118]

> I believe in a leader that helps co-leaders to rise, that asks team members to develop their autonomy, gives them a framework to develop their growth and learning, empower people, and let the people find what is meaningful and self-motivating for them. This

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[118] Catharina Gylling and Kirsti Lindberg-Repo, "Investigating the Links Between a Corporate Brand and a Customer Brand," *Journal of Brand Management* 13, no. 4/5 (April-June 2006): 261, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 558, Article ID: OR-2006-039]

leader acts as an orchestra conductor, he provides inspiration as the stakeholder of the belief: thus he doesn't hesitate to arbitrate and keep the focus.[119]

The new leader archetype of the third spirit was someone who would "empower," "support," and "let the people find what is meaningful and self-motivating for them." He was "authoritarian," but not by direct command. Rather, he would "keep the focus" by offering persuasive "frameworks" and "justifications." Importantly, he would help individuals see the relationship between their efforts at work and the common good: "he provides inspiration as the stakeholder of the belief."

To accomplish this, the ideal leader of the third spirit had to focus not on the management of individual people, but on creative synthesis. In the following metaphors, which come from 1990 and 1995 articles on leadership in *Organizational Dynamics* and *Nursing Management* respectively, creative synthesis is the coaxing of music from an orchestra:

> …the conductor of a symphony orchestra…need not worry about directing individual symphony members on instrumental techniques or musical structure. The musical score and the high level of training and commitment of professional musicians obviate the need for the conductor to spend time on these matters; instead, the conductor creates a unique expression of the music from an ensemble of competent individuals.[120]

> Drucker envisioned future organizations…with little middle management. He believed that like a large symphony orchestra with a few hundred musicians playing together with only one conductor, each knowledge specialist will be performing independently, yet in concert, with his colleagues.
> The information-driven organization will require new leadership concepts that do not focus on managing the knowledge specialist, but rather on engaging them and their creative energies in the management of the total organization.[121]

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[119] Nicolas Bry, "Social Innovation? Let's Start Living Innovation as a Collective Adventure," *International Journal of Organizational Innovation* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2011): section titled "5. Leadership," EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 116, Article ID: OR-2011-095]

[120] Jon P. Howell, David E. Bowen, Peter W. Dorfman, Steven Kerr, and Philip M. Podsakoff, "Substitutes for Leadership: Effective Alternatives to Ineffective Leadership," *Organizational* Dynamics 19, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 37, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 264, Article ID: OR-1990-019]

[121] Joan Trofino, "Transformational Leadership in Health Care," *Nursing Management* 26, no. 8 (August 1995): 45, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 340, Article ID: OR-1995-040]

Creative synthesis is "the management of the total organization," which, in turn, is the creation

of "a unique expression of the music." As a metaphor in a 1993 article in *Human Resource*

Management puts it, "[t]he output may be a beautiful rendition of a great work, but it results

from a composer's score, many individual artists, and the personal interpretation all pulled

together by the conductor."[122]

The centrality of this quality to the ideal leader in the third spirit of capitalism is not to be

underestimated. The article just cited argues that the ability to perform such synthesis is what

makes a leader a "Complete Executive." Leadership greatness is highlighted by others, such as

the following metaphor from a 2002 article in *Leadership in Action*, which derives its insight

from the movie *Apollo 13*:

> Kranz, played by Ed Harris, has oversight of the entire mission. He directs four teams
> of flight controllers, who work in shifts. Kranz's task is to get this collection of
> individuals—scientists, engineers, and defense experts—to work together as a finely
> tuned team, much as a conductor leads an orchestra. When an explosion aboard Apollo
> 13 damages the spacecraft's life support and operational systems, the mission plan is
> scrubbed, and Kranz must act quickly and decisively. The astronauts' lives depend on the
> effectiveness of his problem-solving strategy.[123]

The heroic feat that Kranz is able to perform as "orchestra conductor" depends on his ability to

"act quickly and decisively" while leading "a finely tuned team."

In the third spirit of capitalism, the creative omnipotence of executive leaders is so

pronounced that it exceeds the bounds of what leadership greatness constituted in the second

spirit. This can be seen in a new pattern in orchestra metaphors at the turn of the millennium: the

addition of the role of the composer. In "The Coming of the New Organization," Drucker

introduced the idea that organizations did not merely follow business plans but also had to create

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[122] John H. Zimmerman, "The Demand of the Future: 'The Complete Executive,'" *Human Resource Management*
32, no. 2/3 (Summer-Fall 1993): 393, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 296, Article ID: OR-1993-031]
[123] Craig Chappelow, "Leadership Gold from the Silver Screen," *Leadership in Action* 22, no. 1 (March 2002): 22,
EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 466, Article ID: OR-2002-038]

them, and moreover, had to create them continuously on the fly ("…a business has no 'score' to play by except the score it writes as it plays"). He explicitly invoked the orchestral score as something "the composer wrote."[124] Subsequently, business scholars seemed to think that the "complete executive" was more adequately represented as *both* a composer and a conductor, simultaneously:

> People who thrive in managerial jobs tend to have a preference for *non-routine* tasks. … They are parallel processors, who relish playing numerous roles (as leader, team player, arbitrator, expert, evaluator, initiator, etc.). Drucker (1954) viewed the manager as someone who creates order out of chaos. In the metaphor of a symphony or orchestra, he or she is both composer and conductor.[125]

> In business, the leader-manager also has a score to conduct and, in a sense, must compose and conduct simultaneously, yet maintain flexibility to cope with the unexpected and the capacity to deal with such surprises.[126]

> …reflective design management orchestrates various design skills to create a lively harmony; like an orchestra conductor whose highest value is in his comprehensive understanding about music and elaborated artistry to compose different features and instruments.[127]

The need for leaders to both improvise and herd subordinates towards a preconceived plan is satisfied in the figure of the composer-conductor. As the next section of this chapter will show, the jazz metaphor competes briefly with the orchestra metaphor in the mid-1990s as a better expression of the need for improvisation in corporate organization. The orchestra metaphor, however, offers an element that the jazz metaphor does not: a justification of omniscient, omnipotent leadership. As composer-conductor, the leader in the third spirit of capitalism is

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[124] The full quotation reads: "…a business has no "score" to play by except the score it writes as it plays. And whereas neither a first-rate performance of a symphony nor a miserable one will change what the composer wrote, the performance of a business continually creates new and different scores against which its performance is assessed." Drucker, "Coming," 49.

[125] Paul J. H. Schoemaker, "Strategic Decisions in Organizations: Rational and Behavioural Views," *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 1 (January 1993): 114, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 294, Article ID: OR-1993-026]

[126] Norman R. Horton, "Making Leaders Out of Managers," *Management Review* 72, no. 3 (March 1983): 3, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 7, Article ID: OR-1980-034]

[127] Rizal Sebastian, "Critical Appraisal of Design Management in Architecture," *Journal of Construction Research* 5, no. 2 (September 2004): 262, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 502, Article ID: OR-2004-018]

responsible for the creation of orchestral music from start to finish, from what is played to how it is played. He is both "participatory" in the creating of music, like a composer, when he is in the "generative mode" of leadership; and "inspiring," like a conductor, when he is in the "focusing mode" of leadership.[128] He fulfills the second spirit of capitalism's need for rational, central command, but in the environment of creative freedom that the third spirit of capitalism requires.

By remaking the orchestra as a symbol of heroic leadership and organizational integration, business scholars maintained the orchestra as a stable image for work and organization in the transition from the second to the third spirit of capitalism. To call this ideological shift a "transition," however, should not obscure the fact that the values of the second spirit remained powerful in the decades before and after the turn of the millennium. Although the third spirit of capitalism did prevail to a degree in business scholarship, the second spirit did not lag far behind. Orchestra metaphors from 1991 to 2015 show that one of their chief functions was to reconcile tensions between the values of the second and third spirits of capitalism. By constructing the image of the temperamental artist to portray the rank-and-file worker and the heroic Artist to portray the creative leader, the metaphor of the symphony orchestra at the turn of the millennium has been able to reconcile the conflicting tendencies of autonomy, creativity, and command in corporate organization. Rich "social" and "human" domains like classical music therefore serve cultural discourse symbolically in times of ideological transition by offering discursive stability and ideological reconciliation. A "rich" domain in this context is one that offers many easily accessible images and stereotypes of work and organization that can be reinterpreted and recombined at will. Moreover, such domains continue to perform their

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[128] Sebastian, "Critical Appraisal," 262. [Case ID: 502, Article ID: OR-2004-018]

reconciliation function during times of relative ideological stability, maintaining the truce that was negotiated in the period of crisis and legitimation.

The Jazz Metaphor as Counterpoint in the Early 1990s

In 1994, there was a dramatic surge in the frequency with which orchestra and string quartet metaphors appeared in business journal scholarship (see Fig. 1.7). As previously mentioned, the rise of the third spirit of capitalism partly manifested as a growth of interest in the arts in general as a source of knowledge for business management and theory. It is most likely that the sudden surge in popularity of orchestra and string quartet metaphors was part of this growth. Around the same time, interestingly, metaphors from another domain of music experienced a sudden rise in popularity in business scholarship: jazz.

Although jazz metaphors were outside the scope of this content analysis, the data collected on *suture* as a framing strategy (where a frame is constructed with reference to two or more metaphorical images from different "social" or "human" domains) captured some trends in the metaphorical pairing of jazz with classical music in business scholarship. Metaphors comparing orchestras or string quartets to jazz bands first appeared in the data corpus in the early 1980s. They began appearing with some consistency in the early 1990s, surged in the late 1990s and early 2000s, then tapered off again in the late 2000s. In doing additional exploratory research on this trend, I also discovered that the Academy of Management held a symposium at its 1995 National Conference in Vancouver called "Jazz as a Metaphor for Organizing in the 21st Century," specifically to discuss the merits of jazz as a metaphor for work and organization. The event led to the publication of a special issue of *Organization Science* in 1998 on the theme of "Jazz Improvisation and Organizing," which contained transcripts of the symposium proceedings and behind-the-scenes documentation of its organization along with additional articles and

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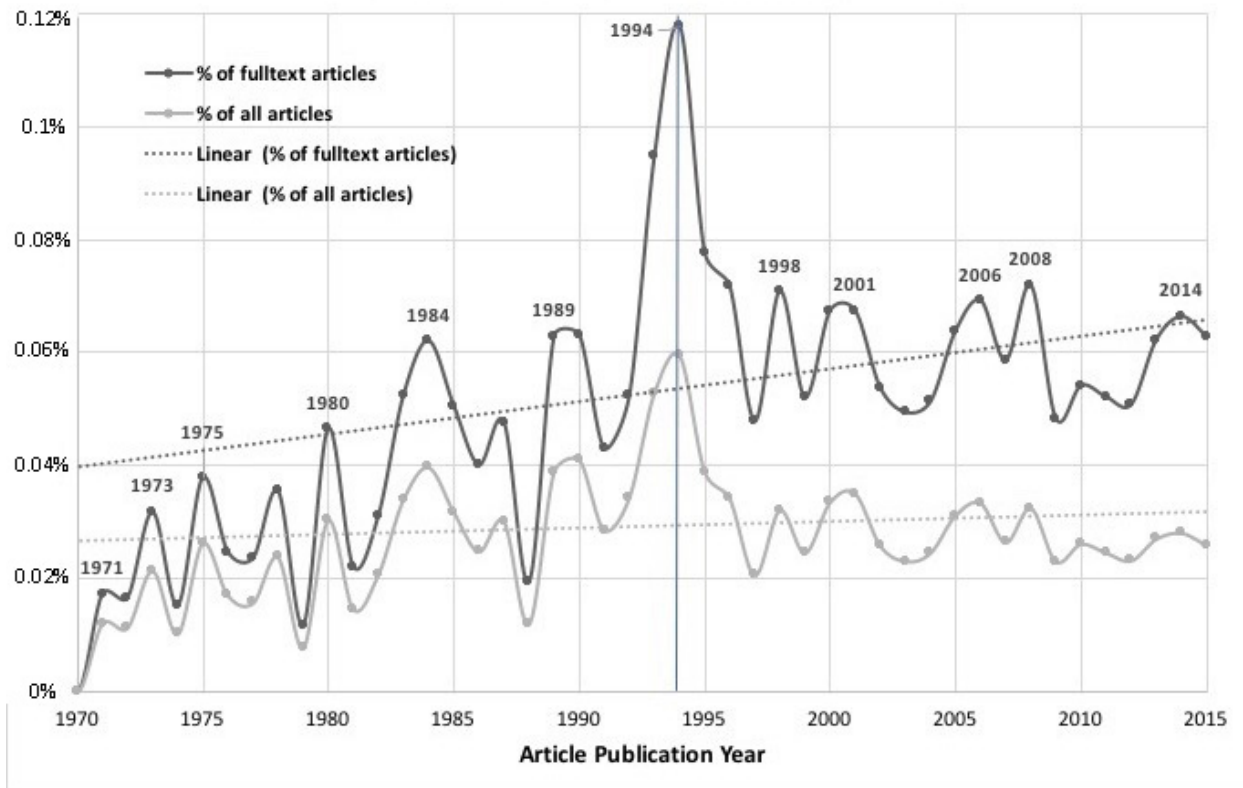
Figure 1.7: Percentage of English-language academic articles in *Business Source Complete* containing orchestra or string quartet metaphors—detail of 1994 spike

This detail of the 1994 spike is illustrated as a percentage of articles with full text available within *BSC* as well as a percentage of all articles in *BSC* regardless of whether full text was available in the database (see Appendix A2 for reason). Greater weight should be given to the line representing the percentage of full-text articles, using the percentage of all articles as supporting proof of trend significance.

comments. My commentary here on the jazz metaphor is based upon this issue of *Organization Science* and the metaphors in the data corpus that sutured jazz to orchestras or string quartets. They shed light on why some business scholars found the symphony orchestra unsatisfactory as a metaphor for organization in the late twentieth century. At the same time, given that the organizers of the symposium subsequently found it difficult to spread enthusiasm for the metaphor beyond their group of early adopters, they also illuminate possible reasons for the continued popularity of classical music metaphors in business management language.

The rise of the jazz metaphor in business scholarship began in the 1990s, first becoming prominent at the Academy of Management's jazz symposium in 1995. The symposium largely

focused on the improvisatory practices of jazz, using them as models for how corporations at the turn of the millennium should optimize their own organizational practices for innovation and change. Many of the speakers saw jazz as the obvious successor to symphony orchestra as a metaphor for organization. Frank J. Barrett makes the argument most clearly, tracing his lineage of musical metaphors back to Drucker. "Drucker has suggested that the twenty-first century leader will be like an orchestra conductor," Barrett writes. "However, an orchestral metaphor—connoting pre-scripted musical scores, single conductor as leader—is limited, given the ambiguity and high turbulence that many managers experience." As the solution to the limitations of the orchestra metaphor, Barrett argues that the jazz band should be seen as a "prototype organization," and that jazz improvisation would help business scholars understand what "an organization designed for maximizing learning and innovation" would be like. Barrett describes jazz as follows:

> To help us understand the relationship between action and learning, we need a model of a group of diverse specialists living in a chaotic, turbulent environment; making fast, irreversible decisions; highly interdependent on one another to interpret equivocal information; dedicated to innovation and the creation of novelty. Jazz players do what managers find themselves doing: fabricating and inventing novel responses without a prescripted plan and without certainty of outcomes; discovering the future that their action creates as it unfolds.[129]

To Barret, jazz, like the business environment of the 1990s, was frenetic and constantly making things up on the fly. It was "diverse" and "interdependent." Likewise, for Mary Jo Hatch, the main organizer of the symposium, jazz bands were an obviously fruitful metaphor for the twenty-first-century organization because the two were connected by "concepts like flexible, adaptable, responsive to the environment, loose boundaries, minimal hierarchy."[130]

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[129] Frank J. Barrett, "Creativity and Improvisation in Jazz and Organizations: Implications for Organizational Learning," *Organization Science* 9, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 605, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 382, Article ID: OR-1998-022]
[130] Mary Jo Hatch, "Jazz as a Metaphor for Organizing in the 21st Century," *Organization Science* 9, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 557, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.

The idea that jazz musicians embodied an approach to work that was spontaneous and un-rule-bound was a challenge to the regimented, hierarchical order that the orchestra metaphor communicated for the second spirit of capitalism. It encapsulated the degree of anxiety with which business scholars and practitioners viewed the organizational changes that were already upon them. Wielding both metaphors, William A. Pasmore described the challenges of the transition. "Changing from an orchestra to a jazz ensemble takes both learning and agreement," he said.

> Organizations are highly interdependent collections of carefully coordinated tasks, like the score for a symphony. One person can't start playing jazz while everyone else is following the score; innovation without understanding and agreement is not tolerable.
> …
> Even well-practiced musicians need time to learn how to play jazz if they have never done so before. Simply taking away the score from the orchestra and telling everyone to play whatever comes to mind will not produce jazz. It will produce noise. …[131]

In business scholars' musically inflected discourse of work and organization, the corporation at the turn of the millennium was a practiced symphony orchestra that now had to learn to play jazz.

The jazz symposium was extremely well attended and "generated a prolonged intellectual discussion" that led to the publication of the special issue of *Organization Science*.[132] Nevertheless, it was not easy for advocates of the jazz metaphor to persuade the rest of the business community of its propriety. After the 1995 symposium, its chief organizer, Mary Jo Hatch gave a number of academic lectures on the jazz metaphor to business schools and departments in Europe and New Zealand. She summarized the reactions she received in an email to the other organizers of the symposium, which was published in the special issue of

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[131] William A. Pasmore, "Organizing for Jazz," *Organization Science* 9, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 562, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.

[132] Alan Meyer, Peter J. Frost, and Karl E. Weick, "The *Organization Science* Jazz Festival: Improvisation as a Metaphor for Organizing," *Organization Science* 9, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 540, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.

Organization Science. According to Hatch, she "experienced considerable resistance to the use of the jazz metaphor."[133] Primarily, business scholars objected to jazz's aesthetic elitism and male-dominated performance culture. Many also complained that they simply did not like jazz.[134]

The reference to jazz's elitism may be surprising, and Hatch offers some useful insight into this complaint. Business scholars who attended her lectures felt that jazz musicians seemed to "perform for themselves." They were troubled by the fact that jazz performers tended to "develop their music onstage through a set of musical interactions targeted toward one another rather than toward the audience."[135] In addition, they bristled at jazz musicians' elitist attitudes in the more traditional sense: they felt that jazz musicians expressed "disdain" for audiences who "show undiscriminating appreciation of both good and bad performance."[136] Thus, for many business scholars, the jazz metaphor communicated "insularity, exclusion or egotism."[137]

This set of responses to the jazz metaphor casts the continued popularity of the orchestra metaphor in an interesting light. It shows that although business scholars acknowledged the usefulness of jazz as a metaphor for conveying the improvisatory nature of work and workplace responsibilities in the twenty-first century, they needed artistic metaphors to convey more than mere coordination. Crucially, they needed artistic metaphors that supported the view of art as something to be shared by all. They needed metaphorical images that would visibly and productively reflect the corporate organization as working in synchronicity with the rest of society—"the audience." The symphony orchestra, which obviously oriented its "flawless"

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[133] Mary Jo Hatch and Karl E. Weick, "Critical Resistance to the Jazz Metaphor," *Organization Science* 9, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 600, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*.
[134] Hatch and Weick, "Critical Resistance," 601-603. Hatch mentions in passing that the issue of racial appropriation was only raised by jazz musicians. The context in which she spoke to them was unclear from her email.
[135] Hatch and Weick, "Critical Resistance," 601.
[136] Hatch and Weick, "Critical Resistance," 601-602.
[137] Hatch and Weick, "Critical Resistance," 602.

performances towards an audience, provided a sense of "harmony" that encapsulated the organization and beyond.

Nonetheless, the jazz metaphor had its benefits, and so, in the 1990s and 2000s, business scholars used the more established image of the orchestra metaphor to lend legitimacy to the jazz metaphor. In doing so, they were able to maintain the effectiveness of the orchestra metaphor while adding a new set of metaphorical images to their discursive repertoire. The following examples come from Drucker's *The Post-Capitalist Society* (1993), which made extensive use of the jazz metaphor as a supplement to the orchestra metaphor; a 2001 article on innovation in *Research Technology Management*; and a 2008 article on "alternative work arrangements" in the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. In these metaphors, orchestras and jazz bands are made to seem alike:

> The right model for the information-based organization is not the military, even in its modified form. It is the symphony orchestra, in which each player plays directly and without intermediary to the "chief executive," the conductor, and can do so because everybody has the same "score," that is, the same information. Or it is the jazz combo in which each player takes responsibility for the "score."[138]

> Organizations have adopted business process models to describe their systems. The new process of capability and architecture is managed and applied by the T-shaped leaders who use the new process to change the system. T-shaped means being horizontal across the processes in the system and vertical into the depth of their functional specialty.
> As an analogy, consider assembling a "team" of expert musicians into an orchestra. Without composers and conductors acting as the "T-shaped" leaders, the orchestra has difficulty playing. Good candidates for a conductor and/or a composer include those who have played in an orchestra. Jazz is played without a dedicated conductor, but the musicians act in turn as a combined conductor and composer and are all T-shaped.[139]

> The cases of Orchestrated Cooperation required constant efforts and attention on the part of the individuals working reduced load: balancing exploration and exploitation is a fragile equilibrium, which is stressful to manage. Even the greatest jazzmen cannot

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[138] Peter F. Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1993), 97. See also pages 79 and 84 for additional uses of the jazz metaphor.

[139] William L. Miller, "Innovation for Business Growth," *Research Technology Management* 44, no. 5 (September-October 2001): section titled "9. New Types of 'T-shaped' Innovation Leaders Have Greater Breadth and Depth," EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 439, Article ID: OR-2001-030]

improvise all the time, and they have to alternate bars of improvisation with bars of melody.[140]

In these metaphors, jazz practices are interpreted through orchestral ideas and orchestral images are expressed in jazz terms. The orchestral score becomes an aid to improvisation, while the jazz musician becomes a conductor, composer, and performer all in one. Through such complex manipulation of suture as a framing strategy, the orchestra's connotations of a conformist orientation towards a common good are blended productively with the improvisatory abilities of jazz musicians to produce an image of the complete organization.

Jazz was also absorbed into business scholars' discourses of work and organization for some of the same reasons that the string quartet gained popularity as a metaphor. Both were considered better models for the "flexibilized" work structures of the third spirit of capitalism. Unlike the orchestra, which seemed like a permanent and enduring institution housed in grand concert halls, string quartets and jazz ensembles had a more ad hoc-seeming nature that aligned well with the short-term, contract- and project-based organizational landscape of the gig economy. The following metaphors come respectively from an article in the jazz symposium issue of *Organization Science* and a 2001 article on "classical music and business" in *Reflections*, the journal of the Society for Organizational Learning:

> Another aspect of 21st century organization that resonates with the jazz metaphor is the idea of loose boundaries. Many jazz bands are formed for the sake of performing a single job (called a gig). After their gig, the band disbands as musicians recombine into other bands for other gigs.[141]

> There are many similarities between the string quartet that is not full-time and work or project teams. Quartets may assemble for a particular performance, just as a team may assemble for a specific project. For the quartet member, playing is one of many tasks that

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[140] Jean-Baptiste Litrico and Mary Dean Lee, "Balancing Exploration and Exploitation in Alternative Work Arrangements: A Multiple Case Study in the Professional and Management Services Industry," *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 29, no. 8 (November 2008): 1016, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 616, Article ID: OR-2008-008]
[141] William A. Pasmore, "Organizing for Jazz," 567. [Case ID: 388, Article ID: OR-1998-047]

compete for time and attention, just as the project or team member is only rarely dedicated to that task.[142]

In these metaphors, the unstable, underemployed gigging lifestyle of musicians, euphemized as "loose boundaries" and "project teams," is turned into an aspirational model for the contingent and temporary work structures that increasingly form the basis of employment in the twenty-first century.

Ultimately, it became routine to present orchestras, string quartets, and jazz ensembles as interchangeable ideas. Within the burgeoning artistic discourse of work and organization, it was easy for all three musical formations to be classed as entities of the same type, each reinforcing the other as yet more evidence that corporate work really is like making music or art:

> Reinterpreted within a pragmatist framework, it becomes possible to see traces of intention and purposeful action in the creative and interpretive actions of persons. Some larger, though loose, sense of purpose shapes organizing activity, whether it is the orchestra (e.g. the score), the jazz quartet (e.g., chords, the score, one's style), or a production facility (e.g., a strategy or routine). … People can have some larger strategy, mission statement, or purposefully derived shared notions that reduce equivocality, yet still retain minimalist structures that leave room for creativity, interpretation, and dynamic action.[143]

> A string quartet can play together for decades, and they can play the same piece for decades. As they do, they get deeper and deeper into the nuances of what the artist is trying to say. It creates a type of teamwork that allows them to complete each other's sentences, so to speak, teamwork that is beyond the notes of the score. It's about the feelings and the music underneath the score; that's what has to come out. I think that if you look at the development of the Apple iPhone, you'll find that it's really that kind of art; it's really like jazz music.[144]

[142] Alf Westelius, "On Classical Music and Business—Listening, Leading, Learning," *Reflections* 2, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 51, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 443, Article ID: OR-2001-043]

[143] Andrew C. Wicks and R. Edward Freeman, "Organization Studies and the New Pragmatism: Positivism, Anti-Positivism, and the Search for Ethics," *Organization Science* 9, no. 2 (March-April 1998): 133, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 387, Article ID: OR-1998-046]

[144] Jim Euchner, "The Future of Engineering Education," *Research Technology Management* 57, no. 1 (January-February 2014): 17, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 692, Article ID: SQ-025]

Grouped under the fuzzy conceptual umbrellas of "art," "teamwork," and "organizing activity," orchestras, string quartets, and jazz ensembles elide into one another as proof of how the work of corporate business simulates the making of art.

Connective Threads and the Web of Culture

In the end, 30% of the metaphors in the data corpus went beyond orchestra and string quartet images in their efforts to illustrate work and organization. They used what I have called *suture* as a frame construction strategy to join additional metaphorical images of non-classical music and non-music entities with the images of orchestras or string quartets. On top of jazz ensembles, additional images tended to come from the "social" and "human" domains of sports, the military, and medical surgery. Sixteen percent of the metaphors in the data corpus (54% of sutured metaphors) sutured the orchestra or string quartet to one or more of these four domains. Sixty-five percent of sutured metaphors (19% of metaphors in the overall data corpus) also used additional images from other domains besides these four. Many came from a variety of artistic and performing arts fields (24% of sutured metaphors, or 7% of total metaphors). Sixteen of these metaphors, or 7.6% of sutured metaphors, featured images from the domain of theater.

Many of the metaphors that used suture as a framing strategy employed multiple additional metaphorical images. The following examples illustrate how such complicated metaphors can be surprisingly effective (boldface emphases mine):

> **Obviously, field generals direct the movements of troops in battle, baseball managers direct the positioning and play of players, and maestros direct the play of orchestra members,** and yet, when even these obvious cases are examined in detail, there is no basis for saying that choices cause organization. Indeed, all that can be observed are actions taken by the general, coach, or maestro which lead (or do not lead) to a complex and ramifying chain of actions and reactions among organization members.[145]

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[145] Lloyd Sandelands and Robert Drazin, "On the Language of Organization Theory," *Organization Studies* 10, no. 4 (1989): 468, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 31, Article ID: OR-1985-048]

Cs [consiglieri-type leaders] can enjoy much of the A's [ultimately accountable leader's] pleasure, often without some of the pain, but to opt for a life as a C to avoid pain or accountability alone **would be like becoming a theatre director because you don't like wearing greasepaint, or an orchestra conductor because you don't fancy schlepping your cello on the bus.**[146]

Whether it is the rhythmic, syncopated exchange of notes among a jazz quartet or the virtuoso backdoor pass in basketball, the perfectly synchronized movements characteristic of effective teams can be a delight to behold. Similarly, misaligned teams lacking in harmony or beset by turnovers can lead observers to cover their ears and eyes in discomfort. As Hackman points out, **the same qualities that distinguish renowned orchestras and victorious basketball teams ultimately characterize effective decision-making groups.** A team that can work the ball through a tenacious full-court press is not unlike a group that can coordinate the unique insights and contributions of each group member to arrive at a quality decision.[147]

Of particular relevance for our research is the minimum-maximum compilation model…. … **An example of a minimum model would be a string quartet, where one player missing notes or playing off rhythm will impact the assessment of the quality of the group as a whole.** Similar situations emerge in a diversity of contexts where each member's contribution is noticeable, **including for sports teams and project presentation teams.**[148]

...[the appropriate measure] will be a finely tuned measure to encourage the optimal extra amount of just the public-good or external aspect that has been under-supplied (or would be under laissez-faire). **This fine-tuning of policy instruments by a government is analogous to the fine-tuning of musical instruments by an orchestra or the sharpening of surgical instruments by a doctor: the more precisely it is done, the better will be the final outcome.**[149]

In these metaphors, each metaphorical image is connotatively enriched by the other images it is

sutured to. Orchestras become associated with the rigor of the military, the vigor of athletics, the

science and humanitarian urgency of surgery, the masculinity of the military and sports, and the

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[146] Richard Hytner, "Change," *Business Strategy Review* 25, no. 3 (Autumn 2014): 20, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 643, Article ID: OR-2014-024]

[147] Katie A. Liljenquist, Adam D. Galinsky, and Laura J. Kray, "Exploring the Rabbit Hole of Possibilities by Myself or With My Group: The Benefits and Liabilities of Activating Counterfactual Mind-Sets for Information Sharing and Group Coordination," *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* 17, no. 4 (October 2004): 277-278, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 506, Article ID: OR-2004-032]

[148] Jana L. Raver, Mark G. Ehrhart, and Ingrid C. Chadwick, "The Emergence of Team Helping Norms: Foundations Within Members' Attributes and Behavior," *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 33, no. 5 (July 2012): 620, EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 698, Article ID: SQ-024]

[149] Kym Anderson, "Agriculture's 'Multifunctionality' and the WTO," *Australian Journal of Agricultural & Resource Economics* 44, no. 3 (September 2000): section titled "Some general points on agriculture's multifunctionality," EBSCOhost *Business Source Complete*. [Case ID: 414, Article ID: OR-2000-004]

spontaneity of jazz. By the same token, the other images become associated with the symphony orchestra's refined harmony.

Frames are "embedded in a web of culture." According to Reese, they form "an image that naturally draws attention to surrounding cultural context and the threads that connect them."[150] In the case of orchestra and string quartet metaphors, the surrounding cultural context is made clearer by suture as a framing strategy. The desire to communicate the idea that corporate work is about more than making profit, that it is about a larger societal good, is writ large through the web of "social" and "human" domains in which classical music metaphors are entangled. The thing that orchestras, string quartets, jazz ensembles, theater, armies, sports teams, and surgical teams have in common is their depiction of organized, social human activity as oriented toward a social or cultural rather than economic goal. They are "social" or "human" domains, as Cornelissen puts it,[151] in the sense that they are not directly capitalistic in nature. At least on the surface, their goals benefit society, not capital.

Suture is a significant strategy of metaphorical frame construction in scholarly business discourses of work because it corrals a variety of metaphorical images in service of one overarching frame. It suggests that the behaviors of large, diverse swathes of society empirically support the author's argument or belief about the nature of work and organization. In this cultural web of frames, any boost in popularity of one image as a metaphor for work may be used to boost other images' effectiveness as work metaphors. Thus, through suture, the idea that corporate work is about a larger societal good can be reinforced by the use of any images to which it is discursively connected.

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[150] Reese, "Finding Frames," 18.
[151] Cornelissen, "Metaphor in Organization Theory," 486.

A Couple Final Observations

Overall, trendlines of framing strategies in the data corpus show that the use of orchestra and string quartet metaphors for work and organization is a living practice (see Fig. 1.8). This chart illustrates several things about the artistic discourse of work and organization in business scholarship as observed through its use of orchestra and string quartet metaphors. First, reification is overall the most frequently used framing strategy. This is the strategy where the metaphor is offered as a self-evident, spontaneous truth, without any citation to previous users of the metaphor except occasionally to say that it is popular or commonly used. In contrast, the least frequently used framing strategy is naturalization, where the metaphor is implied by the connotations of word choice such as "orchestrates" to mean the act of organizing or
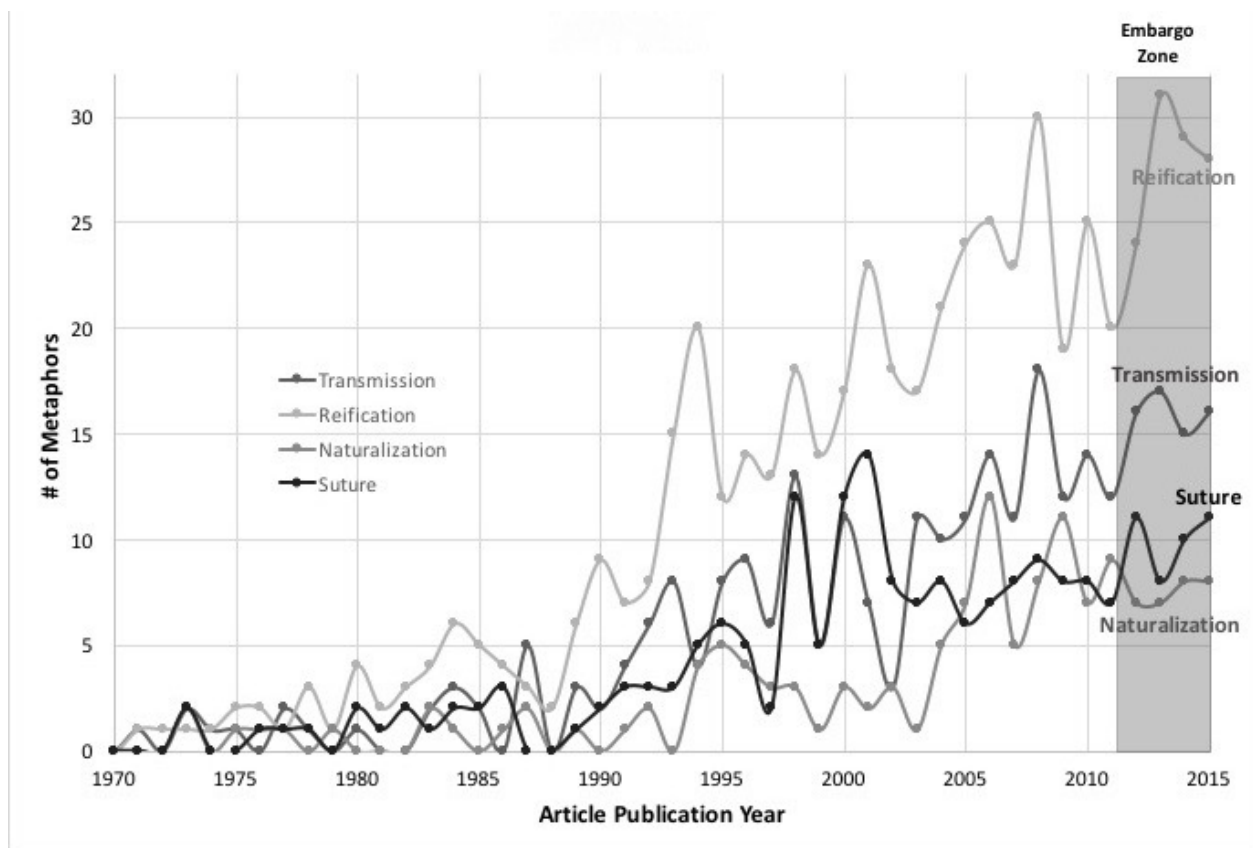
Figure 1.8: Frame construction strategies, 1970-2015
The embargo zone demarcates the years where frequencies may be slightly depressed due to impact of publisher embargoes upon full-text availability of articles in *BSC*.

coordinating, or the naming of a piece of software or organizational concept "orchestra" or "symphony," and other such seeping of classical music metaphors into the general word stock of business management language. This strongly suggests that classical music metaphors for work and organization are, for the most part, consciously used. This is further supported by the continued usage of transmission as a framing strategy, where an author incorporates a metaphor into their text by explicitly citing another's use of it. Of the four framing strategies, this is the most obviously intentional usage of orchestra or string quartet metaphors. It shows that these metaphors not only occur to individual authors, but that they circulate. It demonstrates business scholars' active trading on each other's use of the metaphor to build its discursive value. Finally, suture, which is a type of reification, takes such value-building to another level by trading on a wide variety of other metaphors circulating in business language. In doing so, it strengthens not only the communicative value of classical music metaphors, but that of the other metaphors as well.

The second and final observation is that, of the 2701 articles that were initially retrieved via automated keyword searching in *BSC*, 693 referred to orchestras or string quartets in a metaphorical context. In other words, a full quarter—or approximately 26%—of scholarly business engagement with the idea of orchestras or string quartets was for the purpose of exploiting them symbolically to talk about corporate work. The articles that were discarded as irrelevant to the content analysis dealt with orchestras or string quartets as real entities in their own right. For example, they might have been articles on labor law that cited case law precedents involving an orchestral musician's union; biographies or obituaries mentioning the subject's participation in an orchestra or string quartet; articles mentioning economic or organizational issues specific to orchestras; short news updates on musicians' union activities; or mention of an

orchestra or string quartet's performance at a business-related event; among other things. Aside from the occasional article on such issues as non-profit performing arts organizational management or occupational injuries among orchestral musicians, these appearances of real orchestras and string quartets in business scholarship were insubstantial—mostly in footnotes and passing references. Such were the articles that acknowledged orchestras and string quartets as real entities in the world. These constituted about three quarters of the articles retrieved by the keyword search. The other quarter of the time that the words *orchestra(s)* or *string quartet(s)* appeared in a scholarly business article, they were part of the construction of a metaphor for work or organization.

Conclusion

The persistent use of orchestra and string quartet metaphors in business scholarship demonstrates how cultural perceptions of music and art as social goods have been manipulated to create a strong association between corporate work processes and the idea of social, cultural, and humanitarian service. By portraying capitalist work as the making of music or art, these metaphors construct a discourse of work and organization that affirms capitalism and profit accumulation as activities in service of a common good. This study also shows that, much as classical music is often perceived to be a "dying" cultural pursuit, it is very much alive as a signifier of cultural and economic meanings.

This chapter has focused empirically on classical music metaphors in business journal scholarship, with an emphasis on the literature of business management. As such, it has investigated how the spirit of capitalism has shaped views of corporate work. The next chapter, "Avatars of the Work Ethic," provides broader historical and cultural context for the rise of the figure of the artist as a model citizen-worker in the late twentieth century. In doing so, it looks

forward to Chapter Three, which complements the present chapter by looking at how the spirit of

capitalism is extended via the figure of the classical musician to a different segment of American

society: college and university students, or individuals who are preparing to enter the workforce.

- CHAPTER 2 -

Avatars of the Work Ethic:

The Figure of the Artist from Bohemian to Entrepreneur

> Creativity is not unlike what "soul" used to be, a mark of the inner, meaningful self.
>
> —Angela McRobbie, "From Holloway to Hollywood"

The previous chapter showed that the figure of the classical musician appears routinely as a metaphorical image in business management writings about work and organization. In this chapter, I trace a larger phenomenon in American society where artists, broadly conceived in the Bohemian tradition to include musicians, writers, and a variety of visual and performing artists, have come to function in the late twentieth century as avatars—ideal types—for the capitalist work ethic. As previously established, the figure of the classical musician was already present in American discourses of work and workplace coordination at least as early as the 1940s. As a symbol invested with meanings about work, the figure of the classical musician therefore predated the more general rise of artistic figures as such symbols. However, the dramatic rise in the popularity of classical music metaphors in early 1990s business scholarship suggests that the symbolic function of the classical musician was not unaffected by this larger phenomenon, and may actually have become part of its general manifestation. This chapter therefore pulls back to

observe the broader social and cultural developments that informed the symbolic meanings of the classical musician as artist in the years surrounding the turn of the twenty-first century.

Boltanski and Chiapello broadly outline the cultural and ideological developments that I wish to examine here more closely.[1] Between the mid-1960s and late 1980s, Western capitalist societies underwent a period of ideological crisis-and-legitimation. It was a transition from what Boltanski and Chiapello called the second spirit of capitalism, which championed rationality and efficiency, to the third spirit of capitalism, which celebrated creativity and innovation. This corresponded to structural transitions in production, which went from the large, bureaucratic corporate organizations and regimented work formations of the mid-twentieth century, to the flat-hierarchy, network-model organizations and project-based, short-term employment of the 1990s. The consolidation of an ideology to support the latter set of structures involved the capture of what Boltanski and Chiapello called the "artistic critique." These were popular protests against the loss of freedom and authentic self-expression, prominent since the beginnings of Bohemianism in the early 1800s, that helped to overturn the bureaucratic work structures of the mid-twentieth century. As the new ideology—the third spirit of capitalism— began to form in the 1970s and 1980s, it assimilated those Bohemian criticisms as its new justifications for engaging in capitalism. It celebrated the mobility of project- and job-hopping as freedom, and the creativity needed to maintain a network rich with employment opportunities as authentic self-expression.

What is interesting about the ideological transition that Boltanski and Chiapello outline is the change in symbolic figures that accompanies it. Boltanski and Chiapello argue that the early to mid-twentieth-century era of big enterprise and Fordist production subscribed to "an ideal of

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[1] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*.

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industrial order embodied by engineers—belief in progress, hope invested in science and technology, productivity and efficiency."[2] The "heroic figure" of this period of capitalism, the scientifically rational manager, was modeled after this image of the efficient engineer.[3] In the third spirit of capitalism, they argue, ideological values have become embodied by the artist, who is "highly specialized, creative and personalized."[4] Artists are models for the innovative project manager—the superlative entrepreneurial worker—because they are "a creative figure, a person of intuition, invention, contacts, chance encounters, someone who is always on the move, passing from one project to the next, one world to another."[5]

In this chapter, I use Foucault's method of genealogy to trace the intertwining of the figure of the artist and the work ethic in discourses of work.[6] I take, as a point of departure, Boltanski and Chiapello's assertion of Bohemianism as the root of the artistic critique, delving more deeply into the social and cultural history of American Bohemianism and the links it has forged with mainstream working life. In particular, I show how American Bohemianism constructed the figure of the artist, vis-à-vis the work ethic, as an emblem of ideals about work and leisure. I also show how it later came to connect this figure directly in the 1960s to 1980s—during the years of capitalism's ideological transition—with the high technology industries and the culture of entrepreneurship that resulted. Finally, I show how the figure of the Bohemian artist has been mass-reproduced in economic discourses of "creativity" as avatars of the ideal subjectivity of twenty-first century capitalism: the worker-entrepreneur.

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[2] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 18.
[3] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 18.
[4] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 116.
[5] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 311-312.
[6] Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures."

Avatars and the Work Ethic

The word "avatar" has had many meanings and uses. In recent years, it has come to be used by some social scientists to refer to people who seem to be viewed as model working subjects in Western capitalist societies. British sociologist Richard Sennett argued in 2005 that the work cultures of "high technology, global finance and new service firms" were influential because their workers were "avatars of a particular kind of capitalism." These creative and information industry workers' particular orientation towards "work, talent, consumption" convinced the popular imagination that "their way is the way of the future."[7] Following in Sennett's footsteps, Matt Stahl argued in 2013 that popular music artists served the American imagination as "avatars of the future" who "prefigur[ed]…a blurring of the boundaries between the worlds of art and work." Although these avatars were perceived as atavistic (backward-looking) in their identities as authentic, independent craftspeople, they were also heralded as "the impending future of work organization."[8]

In everyday usage, an avatar is an "incarnation, embodiment, or manifestation of a person or idea." It is a meaning that derives closely from the word's religious roots, where an avatar is a "manifestation of a deity or released soul in bodily form on earth; an incarnate divine teacher."[9] While Stahl and Sennett configure this element of divinity as the distant realm of the future, I recuperate its original meaning as an otherworldliness from which the ideals of work are said to hail. In Weber's words, the Protestant ethic offers instructions for "life in the world," even though, importantly, it is "neither of nor for this world."[10] The Bohemian philosophy, according to César Graña, operates upon the same religious cloistering of the sacred from the secular: it

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[7] Richard Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 12.
[8] Stahl, *Unfree Masters*, 12.
[9] *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (2010), s.v. "avatar."
[10] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 101.

pursues "the religion of beauty, *l'art pour l'art*, a kingdom…free from the secular world."[11] If

the work ethic depends, at its core, upon the importation of otherworldly values into worldly

affairs, then its avatars, I claim, help to make this inter-world communication possible.

In this chapter, I offer a genealogically grounded framework for understanding the

process by which capitalism appropriates its subjectivities, or ideal types. The Protestant ethic

"gave the way of life of the new entrepreneur its ethical foundation and justification."[12] Today,

the Bohemian ethos—in the guise of the Entrepreneurial ethic—fills this role, using the artist as

the symbolic carrier of its state of grace. In this chapter, I show how the figure of the artist came

to be an avatar—teaching model—for the work ethic.

The Bohemian Ethos

According to Boltanski and Chiapello, the particular artistic spirit that became imbricated

with capitalism in the late twentieth century was "rooted in the invention of a Bohemian

lifestyle." In this section, I trace the historical development of American Bohemianism,

beginning with its initial transplantation to New York City from Paris in the late 1850s, through

its commercialization and entry into mainstream bourgeois culture in the 1870s, to its

countercultural politicization and secularization in the 1910s and 1960s. For this analysis, I rely

upon Joanna Levin's *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920*, Herbert Marcuse's *Essay on Liberation*,

and Fred Turner's *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth

Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*, with supplementary insights from essays by César

Graña and Ephraim Mizruchi.[13] Bohemian ideals, as captured by Boltanski and Chiapello's

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[11] César Graña, "The Ideological Significance of Bohemian Life," in *On Bohemia: The Code of the Self-Exiled*, edited by César Graña and Marigay Graña, 3-12 (London: Routledge, 2017), 8.
[12] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 36.
[13] Joanna Levin, *Bohemia in America, 1850-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart*

formulation of them as an "artistic critique," indeed presented an ongoing challenge to bourgeois mores. However, Bohemianism was also intimately *about* the meaning of being bourgeois. It was an escape from bourgeois life, a self-conscious, alternative styling of bourgeois identity that exalted art and artists, chafed at the bourgeois work ethic, and sought to maintain the space of Bohemia as a respite sacred from the demands of bourgeois materialism. In the following genealogy, I trace the various themes that Bohemianism has sustained, including its utopian visions of liberty and classlessness, its cultivation of Bohemia as a realm distant from and loftier than the bourgeois mainstream, and, most importantly, its cultivation of a leisure ethic as an alternative ethic of productivity.

From the 1850s to 1870s, Bohemianism in America expressed itself in the vein of its Parisian progenitor, but already some differences could be seen in its transplantation to American soil. The Bohemian stance, known for its romantic, anti-materialistic philosophy of "art for art's sake," was codified and popularized by Parisian novelist and playwright, Henri Murger, in the late 1840s. Murger's depictions of Bohemian life—primarily in a series of semi-autobiographical vignettes published between 1845 and 1849 in the Parisian literary magazine, *Le Corsaire*,[14] and in the popular 1849 musical play, *La Vie de Bohème*—featured Bohemians as starving artists, "[d]efying convention and poverty, dedicating themselves to love and creativity, transforming necessity into art and carefree abandon, and outwitting *les bourgeois* (in the form of soulless landlords and creditors)."[15] Murger's confabulations of fact and fiction, reality and desire, became the foundation of the Bohemian spirit.

Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Graña, "Ideological Significance"; and Mizruchi, "Bohemia."

[14] These were later collected and published as *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* in 1851.

[15] Levin, *Bohemia*, 1.

In the late 1850s, this spirit was transported to the United States, where it took root in New York City and San Francisco. In New York City, the Bohemian scene from 1858 until the beginning of the Civil War centered upon Pfaff's beer cellar, where the charismatic Henry Clapp Jr., who would subsequently be known as the editor of the Bohemian literary journal *The Saturday Press* and as Walt Whitman's early supporter, held regular social gatherings. In San Francisco, it was given a presence in the local newspaper, the *Golden Era*, through the early columns of Bret Harte, who signed himself the "Bohemian."[16] These early American Bohemians fashioned themselves, much like Murger's Bohemians did, as cultural outsiders, opposed to bourgeois materialism and its narrow sense of morality. Clapp's circle at Pfaff's consisted of struggling writers, painters, and performing artists as well as members of the bourgeoisie who shared their penchant for unbridled conviviality. Clapp, who "set the tone for the group and created a self-conscious Bohemian spirit," was embraced by his fellow Bohemians as "the apostle of the freedom of thought," who "possessed both the faculty of taste and the instinctive love of beauty."[17] Meanwhile, on the opposite coast, Bret Harte's column in the San Francisco *Golden Era* styled the Bohemian as a democratic urban spectator. "[E]mphasiz[ing] amusement over and against didacticism," Harte's Bohemianism took in the sights and sounds of the city with a cosmopolitan appreciation of the "'benign benevolence of commercial activity' and its aesthetic satisfactions."[18] Styling himself as a "loafer" and "leisure-hunter," Harte's Bohemian emphasized consumption over work, flaunting his privilege of simply enjoying the variety and interest that the bourgeois world afforded.

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[16] Levin, *Bohemia*, chaps. 1 and 2.
[17] Levin, *Bohemia*, 21.
[18] Levin, *Bohemia*, 77.

Resistance towards the bourgeois work ethic was common to the expressions of

Bohemianism in both these locales, and it took the form of more than mere leisure and

conviviality. In the pages of Clapp's highly popular literary journal, the *Saturday Press*, the

predilections of the Pfaffians towards intellectual liberty presented itself as a "scathing critique"

of bourgeois "humbuggery" (social conservatism),[19] arguing especially against conventional

sexual mores and attitudes towards money and debt. At a time when the financial Panic of 1857

had redoubled bourgeois commitment to the "ideology of work" and intensified "suspicion of

overextended credit and unsound speculation," the Bohemians at Pfaff's were notorious for

spending beyond their means in search of pleasure and camaraderie, while the *Saturday Press*

championed the "fruitfulness of idleness."[20] Their opposition to the ideology of work was

explicit, and tested the boundaries of bourgeois acceptability. Similarly, as Harte "survey[ed]

such common subjects of spectatorial interest as trade shows, fairs, restaurants, and disparate

neighborhoods" in his newspaper column,[21] he fashioned himself as an amused but detached

observer, standing apart from the attitudes and conventions that these sights embodied. He

resisted, for instance, the allure of commodity objects, preferring instead to offer up for readers'

consumption his own experience of their strangeness. Spying a sewing machine at the 1960 San

Francisco Mechanics' Fair, he ridiculed its "stridulous mechanical voice" and "glittering,

incisive ophidian tongue," noting with sarcasm that the machine "turns out her work

splendidly."[22]

Yet, even as Harte and the *Saturday Press* opposed the bourgeois world of work and its

material satisfactions, they also put forth their own ideals of productivity. In defending the

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[19] Levin, *Bohemia*, 21.
[20] Levin, *Bohemia*, 31.
[21] Levin, *Bohemia*, 81.
[22] Levin, *Bohemia*, 83.

"fruitfulness of idleness," the *Saturday Press* sought a "golden mean between the idolatry of labor and the idolatry of sloth."[23] It was not that the Bohemian desired not to work, they argued. Rather, the fact that the "Bohemian worker" tended to work not when they should, but at "rather odd hours" meant that they saw labor as "not an end but a means."[24] Harte, even while poking fun at the sewing machine's mechanization of work, paused to admire a moment of intimacy between a "local artisan" and a "trifling article" of his own production, which, Harte observes, he "handle[s]…almost caressingly."[25] As Levin argues, "[f]or Harte, it is the unalienated labor of the exhibitor—combined with his apparent marginality—that resonates with the Bohemian sensibility and receives his approbation."[26]

For both Harte's "Bohemian" and Clapp's milieu, the resistance of bourgeois ideologies about work was elided with a desire for a more inclusive society. Levin notes that "Harte's Bohemian columns were written at a time when delineations between public and private spaces were becoming increasingly formalized."[27] Harte used the opportunity of his spectatorship to explore the possibility of greater exchange between these spaces through which the meanings of class are constituted. He marveled at how, on city streets, one might share "our lives" with the "humblest coal-passer or itinerant vendor of oranges," suggesting the public thoroughfare as a space where private lives may intermingle.[28] Clapp's *Saturday Press* identified itself with immigrants and the urban poor. The former, who were largely German in contrast to the Anglo-American bourgeois, appealed to the Bohemians because of their penchant for "festivity and recreation" and antipathy towards "the excessive practicality and materialism of American

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[23] Levin, *Bohemia*, 31.
[24] Levin, *Bohemia*, 31.
[25] Levin, *Bohemia*, 84.
[26] Levin, *Bohemia*, 84.
[27] Levin, *Bohemia*, 91.
[28] Levin, *Bohemia*, 92.

society."[29] In the case of the urban poor, the Bohemians saw in their vagrancy and "persons of no reputable employment" a genuine embodiment of Bohemian resistance.[30] In both cases, the Bohemians saw themselves linked with these groups by an outsider status and a refusal of bourgeois productivity.

Early American Bohemians' aspirations to "demystify class divisions, to expose and create common feeling"[31] set a trend in American Bohemianism that would resonate through the present day. According to Levin, it suggests a persistent "political unconscious" in the sense that Frederick Jameson proposed—an "Imaginary" that "symbolically figures 'the ultimate concrete collective life of an achieved Utopian or classless society.'"[32] Inadvertently, however, American Bohemians' articulation of their utopian desires problematized existing class structures in contradictory ways. Levin argues convincingly that Bohemianism in the United States must be seen in the context of the particular American conception of the bourgeois:

> On the one hand, the influential tradition known as the "consensus" model argues that the term "bourgeois" functions as a synonym for American culture at large; in Louis Hartz's words, "Americans, a kind of national embodiment of the concept of the bourgeoisie, have…rarely used that concept in their social thought," because a "triumphant middle class…can take itself for granted." For the consensus scholar, then, the phrase "American bourgeois" is simply redundant. … On the other hand, …opposing consensus historiography, [Stuart] Blumin argues that "Americans diverged widely in their economic circumstances, and…they translated their economic differences into significant differences in life-style, outlook, and aspiration." For Blumin, then, "the [supposedly] all-encompassing American bourgeoisie…may well have been a class after all—the power of its values serving to reinforce rather than to destroy social class boundaries."[33]

Early American Bohemians styled themselves in relation to the bourgeois in both senses of the word. To summarize, in an American context, being "bourgeois" could mean simply being

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[29] Levin, *Bohemia*, 40.
[30] Levin, *Bohemia*, 40-41.
[31] Levin, *Bohemia*, 92.
[32] Levin, *Bohemia*, 232-234.
[33] Levin, *Bohemia*, 14-15.

American in the sense of a nationally-shared aspiration towards being middle class, or it could

mean being "haute bourgeoisie"[34]—ideologically reproductive of ruling class interests in

maintaining the existing social hierarchy. Even as American Bohemians opposed haute

bourgeois values, they also identified with being bourgeois in its more utopian sense of

classlessness. Furthermore, even though the Bohemians saw themselves at times as

cosmopolitans—outside the nation altogether—which they did in order to oppose the haute

bourgeoisie who seemed to hold all of America in their grip, they did so "proposing themselves

as the more appropriate heirs to the revolutionary tradition," locating themselves *as* the nation

from above and without.

By the 1880s, Bohemianism had become fashionable and mainstream in American

bourgeois culture:

> In 1885, John Boyle O'Reilly declared, "I'd rather live in Bohemia than in any other
> land, / For only there are the values true." Others pledged allegiance: the poem became a
> favorite recitation piece in club and drawing rooms across the nation, and the refrain "I'd
> rather live in Bohemia" appeared on the mastheads of numerous self-titled "Bohemian"
> periodicals from Buffalo to Cincinnati, New York City to Fort Worth.[35]

The fame of the *Saturday Press* and Walt Whitman, whom the journal had helped establish, had

been instrumental in spreading the Bohemian ethos to urban locales throughout the nation. In

San Francisco, the legacy of Bret Harte's column was secured by the flowering of a Bohemian

literary style in the Bay Area in the 1960s. The most famous of the West Coast Bohemian writers

was Mark Twain. First published by none other than the *Saturday Press*, Twain was known from

1963 onwards, due to his regular contributions to the *Golden Era*, as the "Sage-Brush

Bohemian."

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[34] Levin, *Bohemia*, 15.
[35] Levin, *Bohemia*, 125.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, "la vie Bohème" was one of the most popular themes of stories, novels, plays, essays, and memoirs in the United States. In these depictions, Bohemia was no longer just "the land of the artistic wastrel who resided on the fringes of respectable society," but also a place where ordinary men, and even women, could go to "live with the utmost intensity and spirit." The artist's studio, with its exotic bric-a-brac and air of permissibility, became seen as emblematic of urban Bohemia, a "middle ground somewhere 'between,' yet in a transcendent relation to, the opposing forces of civilization and nature.'"[36] These spaces of bourgeois escape were crucial. America at the end of the nineteenth century was experiencing enormous social, cultural, and economic changes. In terms that resonate uncannily with the turn of the twenty-first century, Levin summarizes these transformations:

> Rapid industrial growth and urbanization, monopoly capitalism and the threat of oligarchy, new networks of transportation and communication, the closing of the frontier and ongoing sectional tensions, alternating boom and bust cycles, widening class divisions, the rise of the new immigration and the intransigence of the color line, the challenges of secularization and "the woman question": all produced the sense of dislocation and turmoil that the ideality of "artlife" helped to manage.[37]

The artist's studio, which seemed to embody "the best of both worlds—the sophisticated order of art and the simple spontaneity of nature,"[38] provided a respite from the increasing complexities and speed of bourgeois life. Bourgeois families, encouraged by interior designers and magazines like the *Ladies Home Journal*, even incorporated a version of the artist studio into their homes as a "cozy corner," which, "in its basic form, …consisted of a low divan set diagonally across one corner of the living room; …draped with an Oriental rug, and heaped with pillows." This was then given privacy by partial enclosure in "Baghdad curtains" that "could be looped back on either side."[39] The intention of these Bohemian insertions into bourgeois homes was to provide

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[36] Levin, *Bohemia*, 129.
[37] Levin, *Bohemia*, 128.
[38] Levin, *Bohemia*, 127.
[39] Levin, *Bohemia*, 150.

an environment of relaxed ease that could foster a "sense of companionship and facility of communication," even within the discipline and regulation of bourgeois domesticity.

Notably, in this mainstreaming of the Bohemian experience, a different Bohemian figure began to emerge. Whereas the Bohemian of the 1850s and 1860s had been a figure of disrepute, given to drinking, indolence, promiscuity, and debt, there came to be, in the 1880s, a sense of a "good Bohemian." While the bad Bohemian was "vagrant, lawless, idle, and often dishonest," the good Bohemian was a much more bourgeois-like figure. They were, on the artistic side, "independent, brave, adroit, with a wild poetry and elasticity in his personal habits"; yet, they remembered to "pay their debts, wear clean linen, use good grammar, keep a penny for a rainy day, and altogether behave like the respectable citizens they are."[40] Importantly, they continued to perpetuate the image of the Bohemian as challengers of "petty bourgeois restrictions" and "narrow-mindededness," albeit in the guise of much more benign and civilized contrarians.[41]

Not least among the traits of the good Bohemian was their embodiment of a productive leisure ethic. Fictional and autobiographical accounts of *la vie Bohème* propagated the idea that "aesthetic labor was also a form of play," while the figure of the artist gave credence to the obverse idea of leisure as work.[42] Crucially, the luxury of travel was seen as part of the artist's job of collecting ideas and scenes for inspiration. This view of the artist's life was cheerfully supported by artists themselves. A 1877 publication by the Tile Club, a New York artists' group consisting mostly of artists and illustrators, attests to the artist's busy life: "The vacations of other people being his working time, he steps hither and thither with a busy eye, making the world his workroom."[43] Art and Bohemia were therefore constructed as a "happy middle world"

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[40] Levin, *Bohemia*, 127.
[41] Levin, *Bohemia*, 127.
[42] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.
[43] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.

that "reconciled the personal and the professional."[44] When the illustrator and painter Albert Sterner was asked, in an interview for *The Bohemian*, what he did with his time "when you are not the artist", he replied: "The man and the artist are never separated. I neither play billiards nor golf; I love my work and it follows me wherever I go."[45] For Sterner, work was play, and he needed no other form of relaxation.

Whereas the Bohemian ethos had previously "threatened the integrity of work," "by the end of the century," Levin writes, "Bohemians enshrined the ideal of rewarding unalienated labor."[46] In San Francisco, the Bohemian leisure ethic was further explored by the San Francisco Bohemian Club, an exclusive men's club established in 1872 that is still in operation today, intended for literary and artistic men as well as members of the bourgeoisie who "may by reason of knowledge and appreciation of polite literature and the fine arts be deemed worthy of membership."[47] The haute bourgeoisie membership of this famous club at the turn of the twentieth century has been well documented. Among them were "[p]rominent lawyers, judges, doctors, bankers, merchants, tradesmen, naval officers and government officials, even senators and congressmen," while on the side of the artists and writers were such individuals as Ambrose Bierce, Joaquin Miller, Charles Warren Stoddard, Jack London, and John Muir.[48] Like Henry Clapp's gatherings at Pfaff's, the purpose of membership for the creative artists was partly pragmatic. Connections with well-to-do and influential members of the bourgeoisie could launch a career, and, as César Graña notes and Levin agrees, artists continued to find "the mystical glamour of aristocracy…the source of a special cultural legitimacy."[49]

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[44] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.
[45] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.
[46] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.
[47] Levin, *Bohemia*, 198.
[48] Levin, *Bohemia*, 197.
[49] Levin, *Bohemia*, 33.

What the members of the Bohemian Club had in common, however, was the desire for a refuge for "rest and rejuvenation."[50] Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, a discourse had been mounting against overwork (or "overeducation," in the case of women) as a cause of "nervous depletion."[51] These symptoms of "headaches, exhaustion, melancholy, dyspepsia, and insomnia" came to be grouped under the term "neurasthenia," popularized by neurologist George M. Beard in 1881. In 1877, as a counter to the neurasthenic tendencies of bourgeois life, the Bohemian Club inaugurated a midsummer retreat that took place annually in a patch of forest under Club ownership called the Bohemian Grove. Presented as the equivalent to a "rest cure," the retreats promised to "ease psychic distress" and "answer longings for a world elsewhere."[52] In large part, this was accomplished by a belief in the connection between art and nature as respites from modern life. In the 1880s, the "epidemic" of nervous exhaustion had led to the creation of the National Parks, which were meant to "employ" and "exercise" the mind "without fatigue,"[53] and art was viewed along the same lines as "freedom, equilibrium, rhythm" and "wholesome life and growth toward all that is really the good, the true, and the beautiful."[54] In the Bohemian context of the Club's retreats, the curative powers of nature were strengthened by the rejuvenating effects of artistic pursuits and the similar benefits of being in the vicinity of those occupied with such pursuits. As the Club's *Annals* wrote of one summer in the Bohemian Grove, "the artists sketched, the poets dreamed, philosophers meditated" and "smokers smoked and were actors, artists, philosophers and poets in turn."[55]

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[50] Levin, *Bohemia*, 203.
[51] Levin, *Bohemia*, 204.
[52] Levin, *Bohemia*, 204.
[53] Levin, *Bohemia*, 221.
[54] Levin, *Bohemia*, 219.
[55] Levin, *Bohemia*, 218.

The Bohemian Club's summer retreats reinforced the view of aesthetic labor as a form of leisure, along with the impression that leisure, contradictorily, was the precondition to artistic pursuits.[56] They also, at the same time, cultivated Bohemia and the world of art as a sacred space that stood apart from everyday bourgeois life. This was enacted in the most distinctive feature of the summer retreats: an opening rite, presided over by a "High Priest of Bohemia," that led the attendees in a symbolic cremation of "Care" and the "rebirth of Joy."[57] Levin describes this ritual, which continues to be performed at the Bohemian Grove today:

> While gathered in the grove, the audience would first hear a distant martial strain heralding an approaching band of musicians. Next, the High Priest of Bohemia emerged in his robes of office, accompanied by a group of men similarly dressed in long red gowns, their faces concealed by hoods. Each carried a torch illuminating an otherwise darkened forest. Following these men, another company appeared, bearing a large coffin containing the body of "that enemy of mankind, the sworn foe of Bohemia, Dull Care".… … Finally the Bohemians reached a clearing, in the center of which was a funeral pyre, and the High Priest announced that he had come to cremate Care.
> …[T]he imps lowered the coffin into the pyre and ignited the blaze. The Bohemians joined hands, danced around the flames, and chanted: "Up through the night's soft haze / Let the pyre's joyous blaze, / Tell to Bohemia that Care's life has sped. / Long live this grand design, / Quaff deep this bubbling wine, / Bohemia triumphs, for grim Care is dead!"

Upon the conclusion of the ceremony, firecrackers are lit, and the Bohemians are able to pass from the world of Care into the verdant groves of relaxation and festivity. "The aim of these little festivals was to make one forget the cares of everyday life and reanimate the soul while the body relaxes," wrote the Club historian.[58] A celebration of death and rebirth, the ritual cremation of the Bohemian Grove inducted Club members into a paradisiacal afterlife where their souls could be rejuvenated by art and nature.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the key components of American Bohemianism had been established. The figure of the Bohemian, whether "good" or "bad," was associated with an

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[56] Levin, *Bohemia*, 218.
[57] Levin, *Bohemia*, 207.
[58] Levin, *Bohemia*, 206.

ethic of leisure. The Pfaffians' alternative mode of productivity—their leisure-inclined "golden mean"—came to fruition in the idea of the "good Bohemian" and was turned into a transcendent curative by the members of the San Francisco Bohemian Club. Nonetheless, while seeming to challenge the bourgeois work ethic, the leisure ethic also cast the Bohemian in the bourgeois mold of the "selfmade man."[59] As Levin argues, "[t]he Bohemian balance of work and play might not result in wealth, but (in romanticized versions) it always provided for basic needs. Whether ancient or modern, the ideal pastoral 'middle ground' promised 'economic sufficiency': 'nature supplies most of the herdsman's needs and, even better, nature does virtually all of the work.' So too in idealized depictions of Bohemian life: Art (equated with natural reserves of inspiration) feeds the artist, financing a hand-to-mouth existence…."[60] This self-sufficient view of the artist's livelihood linked the artist with bourgeois "middleclass aspiration and mobility"; yet, at the same time, in the completeness with which it appeared to achieve this ideal, "put the artist quite literally in a class by himself."[61]

By this point, "Art" had become "exalt[ed]…as a humanistic critique of mechanized, bureaucratic, commercialized work." Mapped onto Bohemia as Bohemia had been mapped onto it, "Art" became a sacred space for expressing the values that bourgeois society suppressed. This was to change, however, as the twentieth century wore on. In the two famous upsurges of Bohemianism in the United States—Greenwich Village of the 1910s and the hippie movement of the 1960s—Bohemianism became increasingly politicized even as it also became more commercialized. This shaped Bohemianism's relationship to art and artists in ways that were

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[59] Levin, *Bohemia*, 32.
[60] Levin, *Bohemia*, 132.
[61] Levin, *Bohemia*, 32.

unexpected and consequential for the symbolic meaning of the artist at the turn of the millennium.

The Bohemia of New York City's Greenwich Village of the 1910s has been regarded by many as the height of American Bohemianism. Levin quotes Alfred Kazin, writer and literary critic, reminiscing in 1942:

> Who does not know the now routine legend in which the world of 1910-1917 is Washington Square turned Arcadia, in which the barriers are always down, the magazines always promising, the workers always marching, geniuses sprouting in every Village bedroom, Isadora Duncan always dancing. … No other generation in America ever seems to have so radiant a youth, or has remembered it in so many winsome autobiographies written at forty.[62]

Known at the time as the "New Bohemians," these Greenwich Villagers clustered themselves into four distinct areas within the neighborhood. The characters of two of these areas are familiar from earlier forms of American Bohemianism. On the east side was "Old World Bohemia," marked by the "foreign restaurants on the Lower East Side of New York,"[63] and to the south was the "zone of 'the Artistic Temperament.'" New to the Bohemian landscape, however, were the areas of political activity on the north and west ends of the Village, centered respectively around the feminist movement and the socialist causes of the International Workers of the World (IWW).[64]

The artistic quarters of the Village had much in common with the parts of earlier Bohemias dedicated to artistic life. Poverty was a unifying factor. Low rents were the main attraction for artists who took up residence on the south end of the Village.[65] The penchant for literary and dramatic representation of *la vie Bohème* continued in the form of plays and semi-

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[62] Levin, *Bohemia*, 341.
[63] Levin, *Bohemia*, 339.
[64] Levin, *Bohemia*, 339-340.
[65] Levin, *Bohemia*, 344.

autobiographical novels and stories.[66] Subtle changes in attitudes towards the Bohemian life and the meaning of art, however, began to emerge. The literary and dramatic representations of Bohemianism, while continuing to champion the philosophy of "art-life," tended towards gentle satire and comedy. Journalist John Reed's poem, "The Day in Bohemia, or Life Among the Artists" (1912), for instance, affectionately mocks the trials of Bohemian life, while amateur theater productions "made fun of our own earnest 'modernity.'"[67] These representations, as Levin argues, continued to "endow the lives of…aspiring writers and artists with heightened importance"; at the same time, however, they encouraged the Villagers to laugh at themselves."[68] Art, formerly one of Bohemia's most sacred conduits to the transcendence of bourgeois life, had begun to take on an everyday commonality—one that could be poked fun at without loss of significance.

As Levin points out, American Bohemianism has always been interested in "[b]lurring the boundary between art and life."[69] At the same time that representations of Bohemian life became more comedic and self-referential, Village artists also began to integrate art with the mundane in a different way: contrary to the archetypal Bohemian motto of "art for art's sake," they began to feel that "art was for the sake of life, not strictly for the sake of art."[70] This ethos was especially espoused by photographer Alfred Stieglitz, whose gallery just north of the Village gave him significant influence over the Village artists. A passionate advocate for the legitimacy of photography as an art form, Stieglitz not only believed in the classic Bohemian art-life tenet that "art and life are synonymous," but went a crucial step further, reversing the magnetic

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[66] Levin, *Bohemia*, 342-349.
[67] For example, highlighting the tensions between the bourgeois world of waged work and the productive image of the good Bohemian, Reed's poem laments the fact that "Art is long and money very short," yet slyly adds: "And I, myself, when no one wants my rhymes, / Yes, even I relax a bit at times" (Levin, *Bohemia*, 343).
[68] Levin, *Bohemia*, 343, 347.
[69] Levin, *Bohemia*, 347.
[70] Levin, *Bohemia*, 346.

polarities of art and life on the axis of progress. "Art—not for art's sake, but for life's sake," he was reputed to have often said.[71] Although outside observers continued to level at Village artists the same charge of "second and thirdrate" hack work that had been used to criticize Bohemian artists as far back as the Pfaffians, this was of little consequence to the Villagers. For them, the "artistic process was more important than the final product." "Instead of creating reified art objects," Levin argues, "the New Bohemians hoped to integrate artistic expression into their daily lives."[72]

The New Bohemian artists' tenet of "art for life's sake" was taken seriously on the west end of the Village, by the IWW socialists. Levin summarizes the nature of the IWW:

> Formed in 1905, the IWW sought..."to confederate the workers of this country into a working-class movement in possession of the economic powers, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution without regard to capitalist masters." The IWW offered itself as a revolutionary alternative to what it called "the American Separation of Labor," otherwise known as the American Federation of Labor, and its more conservative emphasis on craft unionism."[73]

The Village IWW socialists' interests in art were foreshadowed by the early Bohemian linking of art to revolutionary ideals. Even during the era of Henry Clapp's Pfaffians, American Bohemianism's investment in the ideals of equality and social justice had imbued art, by association, with a utopian charge. Ada Clare, one of the few female Pfaffians in Henry Clapp's circle, had viewed "the 'greater eminence' of art as an active counter to larger social prejudices."[74] The Village IWW socialists intensified this connection, using the New Bohemian motto of "art for life's sake" to focus on art as the medium through which they enacted political struggle.

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[71] Levin, *Bohemia*, 349.
[72] Levin, *Bohemia*, 346.
[73] Levin, *Bohemia*, 358.
[74] Levin, *Bohemia*, 44.

In a much talked-about event in the Village, IWW organizer Bill Haywood stood up one

evening at wealthy arts patron Mabel Dodge's weekly free-speech salon to deliver a political arts

manifesto. In the course of this speech, Haywood charged art and artists with two different

missions. One of them was to universalize the Bohemian art-life. According to Dodge's

recollection, "the artists were there listening to 'Big Bill' Haywood tell them that he thought

artists thought themselves too special and separate, and that some day there would be a

Proletarian Art, and the State would see to it that everybody was an artist and that everybody

would have time to be an artist."[75] The other was to make art support the communal spirit of

workers. According to a semi-autobiographical novel by Max Eastman, Bill Haywood's speech

included the following passage:

> There will be a social spirit in [art]. Not so much boasting about personality. … The
> highest ideal of an artist will be to write a song which the workers sing, to compose a
> drama which great throngs of the workers can perform out of doors. When we stop
> fighting each other—for wages of existence on one side, and for unnecessary luxury on
> the other—then perhaps we shall all become human beings and surprise ourselves with
> the beautiful things we do and make on earth.[76]

The two missions that Haywood gave the Village artists were contradictory—one proposing to

elevate the masses to the bourgeois-Bohemian position of the artist, the other insisting that art

embrace the proletarian subjectivity of the worker. One message, however, was clear: that artists

needed to stop acting as if art were "special and separate" from everyday life.

The Village artists and socialists took the manifesto seriously. When Haywood

complained about the difficulties of galvanizing New York City workers' support of the silk

workers' strike in Paterson, New Jersey due to under-reporting of the event in newspapers,

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[75] Levin, *Bohemia*, 357.
[76] Levin, *Bohemia*, 357.

Dodge suggested that a theatrical pageant be put on in New York to convey the scene of the

strike in dramatic form. Levin describes the event that resulted:

> On June 7, more than a thousand workers took the ferry from Hoboken to the
> Lackawanna pier in the Village. They marched up Fifth Avenue to the old Madison
> Square Garden on East Twenty-Sixty Street. It was there that they reenacted a series of
> scenes from the strike in front of 15,000 spectators. … According to one reporter, the
> "scenes unrolled with a poignant realism that no man who saw them will ever forget. …
> That the Paterson Pageant was a tremendous dramatic success no one can doubt."
> Hutchins Hapgood enthused in his *Globe* column: "This kind of thing makes us hope for
> a real democracy, where self-expression in industry and art among the masses may
> become a rich reality, spreading a human glow over the whole of humanity."[77]

Although the pageant did not produce the win for the silk workers that Haywood and Dodge had

hoped for, it was the beginning of an active alliance between the Village artists and the IWW,

who went on to collaborate on other issues.[78]

The politicization of the New Bohemians of Greenwich Village revised the relationship

between art and politics in Bohemian ideology. Art had previously been a sacred space set apart

from everyday bourgeois life, a space where utopian ideas could be freely expressed away from

the constraints of reality. In the New Bohemian ethos of "art for life's sake," art was still the

conduit for Bohemian articulations of utopia, but the mere symbolic expression of political desire

was no longer enough. Levin writes: "For these Bohemians, 'art was for Life," and "life was for

the sake of Causes."[79] Thus, for art and politics to meet, it was no longer politics that was drawn

into the realm of art for the opportunity of being enhanced by symbolic exploration, but art that

was required to leave behind its world of symbolic expression and enter into the secular realm of

Life and political activism.

As art was becoming secularized as a political medium in the 1910s, Bohemianism as a

whole was becoming absorbed into the bourgeois world of commerce. Bohemianism had always

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[77] Levin, *Bohemia*, 359.
[78] Levin, *Bohemia*, 359-360.
[79] Levin, *Bohemia*, 350.

been in some ways a cultural commodity. For the artists in Clapp's circle and the San Francisco

Bohemian Club, the "spirit of Bohemia," which was valuable to the bourgeoisie for a variety of

reasons (a respite from work and material cares, authentication of their elite status[80]), helped

them secure patronage for their work and boost its visibility. For Harte, the Bohemian persona

helped him gain a popular readership. With the upsurge of Bohemianism in the 1910s, however,

the experience and signifiers of Bohemian life became mass-marketable on a much bigger scale.

Greenwich Village became a tourist destination. From 1914 to 1916, passengers alighting the

Fifth Avenue Coach line in the Village were dropped in front of "Bruno's Garret," which

published materials and put on events claiming to offer the highlights of the Bohemian spirit.[81]

By 1918, the Fifth Avenue Coach line was publishing its own column of "Bohemian Excursions"

in their corporate magazine, distributed freely to "over one million riders a year."[82] The retailing

of artistic and aesthetic goods in small storefronts also became a common fixture of the

Bohemian character of the Village. More generally, the Bohemian spirit became commodified:

"In 1927, *Vogue* advocated the (once antifashionable) 'Soulful Artist's Look' of Bohemian

smocks, shawls, and peasant costumes."[83]

As Bohemianism became characterized by its commercialization, artists began to leave

the locales that had been most linked to the Bohemian spirit. Partly priced out by rent increases

and partly disgruntled by the changes in the environs, they sought out other places to live.[84]

Levin notes that even "[a]s early as 1915, the *New York Tribune* confirmed that writers and

artists had oriented themselves away from the restaurants that had defined Bohemian sociability

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[80] Levin, *Bohemia*, 217.
[81] Levin, *Bohemia*, 376-377.
[82] Levin, *Bohemia*, 376.
[83] Levin, *Bohemia*, 384.
[84] Levin, *Bohemia*, 386-391.

just a few years earlier."[85] By 1923, the *New York Times* would write: "No longer is the typical Village café kept by a girl who came from Iowa to sing in the Metropolitan Opera, or paint pictures for the Metropolitan Museum, and who found that, whatever the flop she might be as an artist, she was still a good enough cook to attract customers." Rather, they would complain, "the typical café keeper is [now] a person from uptown, probably an exwaiter who found himself far down the waiting list for a place in the prohibition enforcement service…. Patrons and customers, too, are mostly from outside; and people come down to do the Village as they used to do Chinatown."[86] The commercialization of the Village went on to be exacerbated by Prohibition, which capitalized upon "the promise of Bohemian revelry" to turn the neighborhood into a "party zone."[87] Thus, as art was leaving behind the symbolic sacred space of Bohemia to engage actively with political causes, artists, too, left the real geographical spaces of Bohemia to find their fortunes elsewhere. The exodus of artists was further intensified from 1935 to 1939, when many artists found reliable employment through the Works Progress Administration, which allocated thirty-five million dollars to the funding of public art projects.[88] Thus, in the early twentieth century, American Bohemia became generally devoid of working artists. According to Ephraim Mizruchi, "the creative artists…only came by to make an appearance among those who, more than others, idolized them."[89]

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[85] Levin, *Bohemia*, 382.
[86] Levin, *Bohemia*, 382.
[87] Levin, *Bohemia*, 383.
[88] The largest of the Works Progress Administration's arts projects was the Federal Writers Project, but it also funded separate projects for visual artists, musicians, and theater. William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration* (Ohio State University Press, 1969).
[89] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 23. For a fuller account, see Levin, *Bohemia*, 375-385.

By the 1940s and 1950s, the bourgeois commercialization of Bohemianism was well-established.[90] Although the Beat Generation seemed to renew Bohemianism's association with artistic creativity, their experimentalism bred insularity,[91] and it was not until the 1960s that Bohemianism exploded again into the mainstream with the hippie movement and countercultural politics. Beneath the explosive political façade wrought by the simultaneous rise of the civil rights movement and disillusionment with the Vietnam War, one concrete reason for the rise of Bohemianism was much the same as usual: the lack of jobs to support the claims of the work ethic. Like the postbellum economy that brought the figure of the good Bohemian into the mainstream,[92] and the post-French Revolution restructuring that gave rise to *la vie Bohème* in the first place,[93] the American employment landscape in the 1960s was experiencing massive changes that the ideologies of work had yet to catch up with. In this case, they were the beginnings of the shift towards an "information society." The rise of information technology in the capitalist production process had obviated much manual labor, transforming previously white-collar work into rote, working-class jobs. This displaced large numbers of youth down the class ladder.[94] Black youths' working-class hopes gave way to joblessness, while white youths, due to the trivialization of skilled, educated labor, saw their prospects of professionalism dwindle to working-class drudgery.[95]

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[90] According to Mizruchi, if not for the Great Depression of the 1930s, bohemianism's "poverty aspect" would have been eradicated. "Bohemia," 23.

[91] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 29-31.

[92] Levin, *Bohemia*, 131.

[93] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 14-15, 17.

[94] Boltanski and Chiapello describe capitalism of the 1960s as dominated by large, bureaucratic corporations. Management was treated as a science and the proliferation of management hierarchies turned most white-collar jobs—even those of a managerial rank—into monotonous paper-pushing duties exhaustively controlled by management or higher management. *New Spirit*, 62-70, 85, 170.

[95] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 55-59. It is important to note that the downward social mobility of white youth in the 1960s was related more to a depreciation of professional status rather than income. Marcuse calls them the "new working class," "not only not expendable, but vital for the growth of the existing society" (59).

In some ways, the Bohemianism that arose in the 1960s to express these discontents of civil life continued to be connected to art as a realm of political expression. This was especially notable in the case of a flourishing Black Arts movement.[96] The white middle-class phenomena of the hippie movement and student protests, however, began to diverge significantly from this archetypal connection between art, politics, and the Bohemian dream. Although in their demands for love and peace they voiced the classic Bohemian desires for inclusivity and pleasure, they no longer appealed to art as a privileged realm or medium through which such ideals could be achieved. In fact, they tended to see Art in terms of a high culture compromised by its elite bourgeois associations, and rejected it along with other signs of bourgeois materialism.[97] This disavowal of Art was mirrored in the discourses of avant-garde artists, who, in pursuing alternately abstract and realist aesthetics that they hoped would break away from the "established ideas of possession" of bourgeois representational forms and traditions, conceived of their products as "anti-art."[98]

Despite the expelling of art from Bohemia, however, art did not completely vacate the premises. Rather, Marcuse argues that the spirit of the 1960s counterculture was marked by the sublimation of artistic concerns into an aesthetic sensibility that gave everyday form to the counterculture's political protest—what he called the "ingression of the aesthetic into the political."[99] The counterculture's rebellious act of "giving flowers to the police, 'flower power,'" for example, was an attempt to vanquish aggression with beauty, an aestheticization of protest

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[96] James Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Harryette Mullen, "'Artistic Expression Was Flowing Everywhere': Alison Mills and Ntozake Shange, Black Bohemian Feminists in the 1970s," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 4, no. 2 (2004): 205-235.

[97] Mizruchi describes the hippies' aversion to the "squares" and the "square world" of the bourgeois establishment, which included intellectuals and artists. "Bohemia," 30.

[98] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 41-48.

[99] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 36.

that turned the *raison d'être* of Art—the transformation of perception—into the constant and symbolic work of politics.[100] The resignification of mundane words like "trip," "grass," "pot" and "acid" turned the everyday and benign into portals of revolutionary experience.[101] Marcuse called this "new sensibility" the *aesthetic ethos*, whose goal was to bring the foundational link between Art and Life—Beauty—to bear on the real environment. Thus, Marcuse argued, for the countercultural "rebels," who "want to see, hear, feel new things in a new way," "liberation" involved "the dissolution of ordinary and orderly perception," and "the revolution must be at the same time a revolution in perception which will accompany the material and intellectual reconstruction of society, creating the new aesthetic environment."[102]

Through the counterculture's aesthetic ethos, the sacred spaces of Bohemia, whose walls had already begun to disintegrate, flooded into the secular world. Unmoored from the figure of the artist and the world of art, which had always provided it with some grounding in real life, Bohemianism became diffuse, sublimated as an aesthetic inclination. Importantly, however, 1960s counterculture was not unified in its reaction to the politics of the time. While the New Left and the student movement were engaged in direct political activism, a substantial arm of the counterculture that Fred Turner calls the New Communalists—the "back-to-the-landers" who defected from the political scene between 1965 and 1972 to form "somewhere between several thousand and several tens of thousands of communes" in both rural and urban enclaves[103]— pursued their own vision of utopia via other means. Inspired by avant-garde artists of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the New Communalists believed that revolution would come not with activism, but with the cultivation of a mind-expanding consciousness that would "bring about a

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[100] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 36.
[101] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 35.
[102] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 36-37.
[103] Turner, *Counterculture*, 32.

new, less violent, and more psychologically authentic world."[104] Despite the mystical claims of this consciousness to biological oneness with nature and the universe, however, the utopian visions of the New Communalists were ultimately affiliated with technologically-based cybernetic theories of mind.

From the 1950s to the 1960s, important avant-garde artists working in New York City were intensely inspired by the systems theories of thinkers who had made their careers in the military-industrial complex.[105] Key among them were the composer John Cage, painter Robert Rauschenberg, and performance artist Allan Kaprow.[106] "[F]or them, the making of art had become the building of systems of pattern and randomness," Turner observes, an effort to relinquish artistic control in the act of making art that also manifested in their approaches to the social organization of art production. According to Turner, Cage and Rauschenberg "offered up a view of artistic practice as a leveled collaboration among artist, audience, and materials" that "echoed and ultimately celebrated a migration toward the decentralized, systems-oriented forms of thought then occurring at the center of the scientific establishment."[107] To Steward Brand, who would become known as the high technology entrepreneur behind such projects as the *Whole Earth Catalogue* and the 1980s Internet prototype, the Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link (WELL), the work of these avant-garde artists resembled a utopian manifestation of information.[108]

In the early 1960s, Stewart Brand, a fresh graduate of Stanford University, went to New York City looking, as many bourgeois youth had before him, for Bohemian escape and

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[104] Turner, *Counterculture*, 36.
[105] Turner, *Counterculture*, chap. 1.
[106] Turner, *Counterculture*, 46.
[107] Turner, *Counterculture*, 46.
[108] Turner, *Counterculture*, 47.

inspiration. He found the avant-garde art scene. Like other youth of the time, Brand's search for solutions to the political and social turmoil of the times was "intimately entwined with his individual adolescent struggle to become his own person."[109] It was in this vein that he sought out, as he wrote in his diary, "the bohemian style" and "Resolved" to "frequent the theaters, music halls, galleries, and homes not as an interloper taking all he can learn, but as a learning participant."[110] In Allan Kaprow's happenings, Brand believed he had found the ultimate embodiment of Bohemian art-life: "a picture of a world where hierarchies had dissolved, where each moment might be as wonderful as the last, and where every person could turn her or his life into art."[111]

Between 1963 and 1966, Brand worked intermittently with the influential countercultural art troupe USCO (The US Company) as a photographer and technician. USCO's aesthetic blend of technology and utopianism, which was influenced by avant-garde art circles, was expressive of the urban New Communalist philosophy. Turner describes it:

> Like Cage and Rauschenberg, the members of USCO created art intended to transform the audience's consciousness. They also drew on many diverse electronic technologies to achieve their effects. Strobe lights, light projectors, tape decks, stereo speakers, slide sorters—for USCO, the products of technocratic industry served as handy tools for transforming their viewers' collective mind-set.[112]

The members of USCO were steeped in the writings of some of the same cybernetic systems theorists whose ideas Cage and Rauschenberg had found so productive: Norbert Wiener, Marshall McLuhan, and Buckminster Fuller. It was through USCO that Brand came to be familiar with their ideas, ultimately translating them into his vision for the high technology industry. Wiener and McLuhan's ideas were similar in that they saw digital information and

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[109] Turner, *Counterculture*, 42.
[110] Turner, *Counterculture*, 46.
[111] Turner, *Counterculture*, 48.
[112] Turner, *Counterculture*, 49.

technology as conduits for a universal unity of consciousness. For them, the "worldwide web of electronic signals carried a mystical charge."[113] Buckminster Fuller, however, who ultimately made the deepest impression on Brand, had a more specific conception that would help put Bohemian art-life at the center of high technology.

Speaking to the utopian fervor of the counterculture, Fuller believed that "[w]hat humankind required…was an individual who could recognize the universal patterns inherent in nature, design new technologies in accord with both these patterns and the industrial resources already created by corporations and the military, and see that those new technologies were deployed in everyday life."[114] He called this individual the "Comprehensive Designer." Cage, Rauschenberg, and Kaprow had been trying to reject the bourgeois-tainted Romantic image of the artist as hero by embracing patterns and systems in their art-making. What they succeeded in doing, however, was to reinstall the artist as hero in a fresh guise. Turner summarizes Fuller's conception of this heroic stance:

> According to Fuller, the Comprehensive Designer would not be another specialist, but would instead stand outside the halls of industry and science, processing the information they produced, observing the technologies they developed, and translating both into tools for human happiness. … He would…act as a "harvester of the potentials of the realm," gathering up the products and techniques of industry and redistributing them in accord with the systemic patterns that only he and other comprehensivists could perceive. … He would need to become "an emerging synthesis of artist, inventor, mechanic, objective economist and evolutionary strategist."[115]

Standing outside the bourgeois establishments of "industry and science" while "harvesting" their "potentials" and "translating" them into "tools for human happiness," the Comprehensive Designer was Bret Harte's Bohemian spectator infused with the scientism of technology.

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[113] Turner, *Counterculture*, 54.
[114] Turner, *Counterculture*, 56.
[115] Turner, *Counterculture*, 56.

Fuller's figure of the Comprehensive Designer, part engineer/scientist and part artist, would prove to be the perfect conceptual bridge from the bureaucratic corporate structures of the mid-twentieth century to the emerging information network-driven organizations of the later decades. In the face of widespread discontent towards the mid-twentieth regime of the "organization man," this new vision of the worker as creative synthesizer presented hope of psychological rejuvenation while retaining the benefits of scientific progress. Turner writes: "In contrast to the bureaucrat, who, so many critics of technocracy had suggested, had been psychologically broken down by the demands of his work, the Comprehensive Designer would be intellectually and emotionally whole. Neither engineer nor artist, but always both simultaneously, he would achieve psychological integration even while working with the products of technocracy."[116] As Stewart Brand went on in the 1970s and 1980s to found the *Whole Earth Catalogue* and constitute the WELL, he brought together individuals from diverse groups, ranging from "the worlds of scientific research, hippie homesteading, ecology, and mainstream consumer culture" to "representatives of the Defense Department, the U.S. Congress, global corporations such as Shell Oil, and makers of all sorts of digital software and equipment."[117] In doing so, he made the collaborative production styles of avant-garde and countercultural artists the norm in the high technology world. Their derivation from the collaborative work styles of military-industrial researchers of the Cold War era remained unacknowledged.

At the same time, Brand also helped to popularize Fuller's concept of the Comprehensive Designer in the image of the heroic technology entrepreneur.[118] In 1996, when *Wired* magazine

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[116] Turner, *Counterculture*, 57.
[117] Turner, *Counterculture*, 5.
[118] Turner, *Counterculture*, 57.

profiled technology entrepreneurs George Gilder and Esther Dyson, they were styled as

countercultural revolutionaries and hippies. Gilder was depicted, according to Turner, as the

"highly evolved type of leader" needed for the computer age, whose lifestyle "appeared to be a

pattern of information, shuttling from node to node along a web of elite institutions"[119]; while

Dyson was described, in the words of the magazine profile, as the "ultimate hippie" whose

freelance career has "constructed a life that adheres to the '60s credo 'Follow your bliss and the

money will come.'"[120] The productive leisure ethic of early American Bohemians, whose artistic

nomadism made the "world [their] workroom," reappeared in these descriptions, but were

applied, without irony, to capitalists and technologists.

Although the New Communalist strand of the 1960s Bohemian uprising appears to have

maintained its connection with art, it ultimately merged back with the secularizing trend of the

politically activist side of the countercultural movement. Despite the fact that artists had initially

influenced the philosophies of the New Communalists, by the time the New Communalist ethos

broke into the public eye, it had also shed its connections with art. The Merry Pranksters, the San

Francisco group who would go on to define the New Communalist image in the countercultural

movement at large, took the ideal of a universal consciousness and divested it of its connections

to art. Similarly to USCO, the Pranksters used technology to achieve their goals: they

"appropriated technologies developed in industrial and sometimes military contexts (including

LSD) and put them to work as tools for the transformation of self and community."[121] Unlike

USCO, however, which oriented its efforts towards the making of art, the Pranksters were

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[119] Turner, *Counterculture*, 225.
[120] Turner, *Counterculture*, 227.
[121] Turner, *Counterculture*, 62.

interested primarily in the utopian objectives of the Bohemian art-life. As such, they "deployed technology expressly to create a new consciousness and a new form of social organization."[122]

The Bohemian upswell of 1960s counterculture therefore did two things simultaneously. On one hand, it released the ideals of productive pleasure and a classless society from their connection to art. On the other, it installed the figure of the Bohemian artist at the center of corporate industry. Thus, in the first case, it released the Bohemian spirit into the secular realm. In the second, it reconnected this secularized Bohemianism, its revolutionary spirit newly recharged, with the figure of the artist. This re-embodied figure did not linger, however, in this politicized secular realm. Installed as the ideal type of the new work ethic of the information age, it was re-sacralized. It came to dwell in capitalism's inner sanctum, where it represented its most productive workers.[123]

By the 1990s, when *Wired* magazine was born from the collaborative networks that Brand had assembled over the years, the linking of digital technology, biology, and mainstream economics to a "rhetoric of political liberation" was well-established.[124] The magazine, which was a "touchstone for CEOs, politicians, and…journalists" and maintained a wide readership among the "top ten percent of creators, managers, and professionals in the computer industries, business, design, entertainment, the media and education," helped to popularize this connection beyond the world of high technology.[125] "*Wired* aimed to herald the arrival not only of a new era in computing machinery, but a new era in social life," Turner writes.[126] This new social order

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[122] Turner, *Counterculture*, 63.
[123] Richard Florida writes: "Capitalism has expanded its reach to capture the talents of heretofore excluded groups of eccentrics and nonconformists. In doing so, it has pulled off yet another astonishing mutation: taking people who would once have been viewed as bizarre mavericks operating at the bohemian fringe and placing them at the very heart of the process of innovation and economic growth." *The Rise of the Creative Class, Revisited*, rev. 10th anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 7.
[124] Turner, *Counterculture*, 216.
[125] Turner, *Counterculture*, 207, 218.
[126] Turner, *Counterculture*, 207.

"gave rise to a free-wheeling, interdisciplinary, and highly entrepreneurial style of work."[127] In the remainder of this chapter, I examine how the figure of the Bohemian artist has helped since the 1980s to popularize this working style beyond the high technology sector.

Entrepreneurial Capitalism: The "Gig," the "Creative," and the Economy

In the twenty-first century, the equivalency between entrepreneurs and artists has become a popular media trope. Hawked in business magazines, seminars, and blogs by career gurus, successful businesspeople, aspiring entrepreneurs, and even artists themselves, achieving entrepreneurial success by emulating artists is the new common sense. For instance, a *Forbes* magazine article from 2011 titled "The Art of Being an Entrepreneur" declares: "Regardless of their motivation for starting their own businesses, the most successful entrepreneurs are really artists." The author is Louis Lautman, a self-identified "Life Style Designer and Transformational Artist" and a member of an exclusive, Boston-based organization called the Young Entrepreneur Council. His equation of entrepreneurs to artists is direct and evocative: "When an entrepreneur envisions their masterpiece, they are looking at nothing other than opportunity. That is the same opportunity that the master painter or sculptor sees. It takes a true artist to see something out of nothing and an even greater artist to begin the process to sculpt the situation to match that which they envision." These intrepid entrepreneurs "don't mind working long nights and weekends because they believe that those long hours will be worth it in the end." They "are willing to give up immediate gratification for long-term fulfillment." As long as they do so, Lautman argues, these "entrepreneur-artists" will be able to "face…fear, uncertainty and doubt" and "end up creating a masterpiece." "People become entrepreneurs for many different reasons, some to do what they love, others to help serve people, and others, just to pay their

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[127] Turner, *Counterculture*, 4.

bills," Lautman pipes, cheerily. But ultimately, the important thing, Lautman reminds his readers, is to enjoy this approach to life. "The true masterpieces," he rhapsodizes, "are lives that are built around your passion and values so that every day you can wake up doing what you love and generate a profit doing it."[128]

Where an approach to work and life is concerned, the entrepreneur and the artist have come to be synonymous. Fred Turner has shown how the figure of the artist as Comprehensive Designer came to be a powerful symbol in the high technology industry. The towering influence of the technology industries in the wider world of corporate culture, in turn, has been asserted by Gina Neff and Richard Sennett.[129] There has not, however, been a general view of how the link between artists, entrepreneurs, and workers has been maintained since the 1980s. The current section of the chapter is a detour to establish, first, the distinct formation of capitalism in which the entrepreneur and artist are intertwined. It has gone by many names. The "gig economy," "creative economy," "New Economy," "information economy," and "knowledge economy" are among the more prominent.[130] Focusing on the two most popular of these terms—the "gig economy" and "creative economy"—the purpose of the following account is to uncouple these celebratory ways of talking about capitalism from one another. It is to show that entrepreneurship originally had nothing to do with artists: that it set the stage for that association through a very particular definition of entrepreneurship as startup innovation that then came to be structurally linked, through economic institutions and policy discourse, with the "creative economy" and the "gig economy."

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[128] Louis Lautman, "The Art of Being an Entrepreneur," *Forbes*, December 7, 2011, https://www.forbes.com/sites/theyec/2011/12/07/the-art-of-being-an-entrepreneur.
[129] Sennett, *New Capitalism*, 12.
[130] For more on the intertwined labels of the "new economy," "information economy," and "knowledge economy," see John Amman, Tris Carpenter, and Gina Neff, *Surviving the New Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2016). See esp. the introduction, "Surviving in the New Economy: Sharecroppers in the Ownership Society," and Seán Ó Riain, chap. 4, "No Deal or New Deal?: Knowledge Workers in the Information Economy."

Contrary to the standard account of neoliberal capitalism, which focuses on the *laissez-faire* approach that governments took towards the economy at the end of the twentieth century, the following account emphasizes the government's active role in shaping the neoliberal economy.[131] It begins with the ramping up of large-scale American government support of startup business activity, whose original motivation was national defense, a rationale that allowed a new conception of entrepreneurship to be established with little controversy. Following the lead of economist William Baumol and political scientist Kim Ezra Shienbaum, I refer to this era of capitalism as *entrepreneurial capitalism*.[132] This is to be distinguished from the phrase as it is sometimes used to describe capitalism at its inception as the rise of the phenomenon of profit-seeking entrepreneurs in a market economy. Rather, as the following account will show, *entrepreneurial capitalism* of the turn of the twenty-first century is about the domination of entrepreneurialism as a mindset for all individuals, whether they are actually entrepreneurs or not.

In the late 1970s, Washington policy-makers perceived a looming threat to national security in what they saw as America's gradual economic decline on the world stage. Seeking a

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[131] The deregulatory phase of government in the late 1970s and early 1980s was a catalyst for new market structures that endorsed fierce and unfettered market competition as the key to economic growth. The standard critique of the neoliberal state acknowledges the entrepreneurial spirit in which the federal government enacted this widespread deregulation. However, it emphasizes the *laissez-faire* aspect of this turn of affairs. It highlights the state's intention to create maximally free-market and free-trade environments for private corporate development, reducing the federal government's economic role to the staunch but bare maintenance of private property rights. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2-3. According to Kim Ezra Shienbaum, the American state's economic influence in the late twentieth century consisted of much more than a withdrawal from the economic sphere. The federal government did not merely create the basic conditions for freer markets and trade, but in fact acted extensively to promote a specific kind of entrepreneurialism—that of risky startup ventures—as the core of its "free-market" economic agenda. That this sustained agenda escaped widespread notice was largely due to its sporadic, incremental implementation. As Shienbaum wrote in 2002, "[t]he legislative, administrative, and judicial rulings that changed the rules of the game were put in place in piecemeal fashion, at different times, under different administrations over a twenty-five year period." Shienbaum, *American Shockwave: Entrepreneurial Capitalism and Its Global Impact* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 7.

[132] William J. Baumol, Robert E. Litan, and Carl J. Schramm, *Good Capitalism, Bad Capitalism, and the Economics of Growth and Prosperity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), viii; William J. Baumol, Robert E. Litan, and Carl J. Schramm, "Sustaining Entrepreneurial Capitalism," *Capitalism and Society* 2, no. 2 (2007): Article 1, SSRN, https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2206520; and Schienbaum, *American Shockwave*.

way to bolster military defenses, the Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects

Agency (DARPA) decided to invest in technological research and development that could

enhance military power.[133] DARPA chose to implement this agenda chiefly by stimulating

private-sector R&D, and to do this via a very particular interpretation of what constituted

entrepreneurial activity. At the time, policy-makers were convinced, based upon recent studies,

that small technology startups were vastly more productive than large, established companies

when it came to generating truly innovative ideas. As such, DARPA focused its research and

development funds not on supporting established technology enterprises, but rather on enticing

new and aspiring technology entrepreneurs to join the playing field.[134] New state programs and

legislative acts supporting small businesses and technology transfer were subsequently created

and passed to facilitate this agenda.[135] Common to these state initiatives, which spanned the

Reagan and H.W. Bush administrations, was an emphasis on innovation as the defining quality

of entrepreneurialism. In this scheme, encouraging Americans' participation in startup ventures

was viewed as key to producing winning innovations, as it was believed to spur the type of

intense competition that would cause the best and most original technologies to rise to the top.

What is distinctive about entrepreneurial capitalism, then, which might otherwise seem like a

tautological phrase, is the particular definition of entrepreneurship it propagated as the only truly

productive form of entrepreneurship. This was the definition of entrepreneurship as startup

venturing.

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[133] Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 5-7.
[134] Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 9-10.
[135] In 1980, the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act and Bayh-Dole Patents and Trademarks Amendment Acts were enacted, followed by the Small Business Innovation Development Act in 1982. The 1982 legislation backed the launch of DARPA's Small Business Innovation Research Program, which was later joined by the Small Business Technology Transfer Program in 1992. Both federal initiatives were administered by the Small Business Administration, but financially underwritten by DARPA. Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 16, 19.

In the 1990s, policy-makers began to transform the federal government's defense-oriented innovation program into a broader national agenda for economic growth. This was aimed at stimulating the development of information and communication technologies suited for private-sector commercialization.[136] At the time, startup activity in the United States was largely concentrated in Silicon Valley and Route 128 outside of Boston, Massachusetts. In order to make it a nationwide phenomenon, the Clinton administration aggressively facilitated the creation of seed capital throughout the country. They offered loans at low interest rates to venture capital firms, using the Small Business Administration (SBA) to encourage the proliferation of seed investment companies outside of existing hotspots. They also created a digital communication network, the Angel Capital Electronic Network (ACE-Net), to connect individual "angel" investors with startups.[137] These efforts to generate entrepreneurial activity throughout the country were highly successful. According to Shienbaum, "[t]he licensing of SBICs [Small Business Investment Companies] by the SBA accelerated in the first two years of the Clinton Administration so that more SBICs were licensed than in the prior fifteen years." In the 1994-1995 fiscal year, SBICs "provided capital to 1,068 businesses totaling $1.1 billion." In the mid-1990s, "angel" investors also gave startup companies around $20 billion annually.[138] Dovetailing with state and municipal governments' desires to stimulate local economic growth, this infusion of federal funds was able to generate startup entrepreneurial activity throughout the country.[139] In

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[136] Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 58-68.

[137] This was a collaboration between the SBA's Office of Advocacy and the University of New Hampshire in 1996. Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 103-107.

[138] In 1996, for instance, $20 billion was "raised by some 250,000 'financial angels' for over 30,000 ventures." Shienbaum, *American Shockwave*, 104, 105.

[139] The beginnings of entrepreneurial economic development in state and municipal policy in the 1980s are documented by Peter Eisinger, *The Rise of the Entrepreneurial State: State and Local Economic Development Policy in the United States* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1988).

the process, entrepreneurial fervor expanded beyond military interests to civilian industry, but the narrow definition of entrepreneurship as innovation by startup remained.

This was the point at which entrepreneurial capitalism became better known as the "creative economy." The mid-1990s rise in entrepreneurial activity coincided with a growing attention among urban planners to "creative city" initiatives coming out of Europe. "Creative city" initiatives approached urban development with the belief that economic prosperity could be attained by rapid yet controlled growth of industries centered on "the generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation."[140] These industries would include not only those traditionally considered part of the cultural industries, such as media production and the arts, but also software programming and even stock trading.[141] "Creative clusters," adapted from the concept of "business clusters" by American economist Michael Porter, expanded the definition of creative industries to include much of the leisure and entertainment sector, such as the restaurant and bar and recreational health and fitness industries.[142] Due to the popularity of these urban development schemes, "creativity" quickly became the cornerstone of national economic policies in Australia and Britain.[143]

Around the turn of the millennium, "creativity" urban initiatives exploded into American public policy. Building on the momentum for entrepreneurial activity gained from federal initiatives in the mid-1990s, local and regional policy-makers began to channel entrepreneurship

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[140] Charles Landry and Franco Biancchini, *The Creative City* (London: Demos, 1995), 12, Demos, https://www.demos.co.uk/files/thecreativecity.pdf. For critical commentary on this development, see David Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," in *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, ed. Tony Bennett and John Frow (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 557-558, White Rose Research Online, http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/42752/.
[141] Landry and Biancchini, *Creative City*, 12.
[142] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 558.
[143] The Australian Labour government launched its "Creative Nation" initiative in 1994, while the British Labour government made its first significant policy reference to creativity in 1997. Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 559.

and innovation efforts into the creation of "creative cities" and "creative clusters." The New England Creative Economic Initiative and Michigan Cool Cities Initiative, launched in 1998 and 2003 respectively, were two early codifications of the creativity doctrine in American economic policy.[144] The notion of a "creative economy" also found an articulate champion in Richard Florida, whose nationally bestselling book of 2002, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, argued that all that remained to be done for the United States to secure its economic prosperity was to usher the entire American workforce into the creative industries.[145] Thus, by the mid-2000s, the creative industries were firmly established as a policy priority throughout the United States. While the federal government continued to refer to entrepreneurship initiatives as being about "innovation," "creativity" was the code for entrepreneurial activity at the much more pervasive levels of local and regional economic discourse.

With the support of creativity initiatives at the state, regional, and municipal levels of governance, the entrepreneurial form of capitalism began to significantly shape the job market. As indicated by Florida's hyperbolic claim, the sensationalization of the "creative economy" as a job creator was key to entrepreneurial capitalism's popular success as a regime of economic thought. In the 2000s, the "core" creative personnel that were supposed to be highly in demand on the job market were "scientists, engineers, architects, designers, educators, artists, musicians, and entertainers," while the secondary tier of this rising class of creative workers would be in

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[144] Simultaneously, research programs like the Americans for the Arts' Creative Industries project and the University of Minnesota's Project on Regional and Industrial Economics' Arts Economy Initiative were working to produce usable data for further policy-making on the creative economy. Ann Markusen et al., "Defining the Creative Economy: Industry and Occupational Approaches," *Economic Development Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 24-45, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242407311862; Laura A. Reese and Gary Sands, "Creative Class and Economic Prosperity: Old Nostrums, Better Packaging?," *Economic Development Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 3-7, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242407309297.
[145] Florida, *Creative Class*.

"the creative professions of business and finance, law, health care, and related fields."[146] College

students rallied to this vision of their future, choosing their majors accordingly. However, the

lack of permanent jobs in relevant fields left many bereft of the opportunities they had been led

to expect.[147] Although "creativity" urban initiatives sought to drastically increase labor

participation in the creative industries, they had neglected to stimulate real consumer demand for

creative goods and services, resulting in a creative industry job market that was highly

volatile.[148] Furthermore, following the economic deregulation of the 1980s, long-term, full-time

employment had largely been replaced in many industries by part-time positions and short-term

contract work that carried no healthcare or retirement benefits.[149] In fact, in the decade between

2005 and 2015, ninety-four percent of net employment growth in the American economy was

achieved through "alternative work arrangements," a category comprised of "temporary help

agency workers, on-call workers, contract company workers, and independent contractors or

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[146] Richard Florida, "America's Looming Creativity Crisis," *Harvard Business Review* (October 2004),
https://hbr.org/2004/10/americas-looming-creativity-crisis.
[147] The idea that America was in dire need of workers with creative skills was partly a legacy of the "information
and knowledge skills shortage crisis" of the 1990s. For commentary on how the "information society" thesis
affected pedagogical priorities of higher education as job training, see Nicholas Garnham, "Information Society as
Theory or Ideology," in *Digital Academe: The New Media and Institutions of Higher Education and Learning*,
edited by William H. Dutton and Brian D. Loader, 253-267 (London: Routledge, 2002; reprinted as an e-book,
Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005). For an influential articulation of the "creativity crisis" that the "information and
knowledge skills shortage crisis" turned into, see Florida, "America's Looming Creativity Crisis."
[148] Nicholas Garnham makes this critique of supply-side creative industry growth in the British case in "From
Cultural to Creative Industries: An Analysis of the 'Creative Industries' Approach to Arts and Media Policy Making
in the United Kingdom," *Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 26-28,
https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630500067606. In the United States, the same over-recruitment of potential workers
into the creative industries (resulting in "winner-take-all markets") is observed by Robert H. Frank and Philip J.
Cook, *The Winner-Take-All Society: How More and More Americans Compete for Ever Fewer and Bigger Prizes,
Encouraging Economic Waste, Income Inequality, and an Impoverished Cultural Life* (New York: Free Press,
1995), 7-11, 15-17. In the United States, state and municipal government entrepreneurial programs, which began in
the 1970s and converged with "creativity" initiatives in the 1990s, were also based on supply-side approaches to
creative industry growth. Eisinger, *Rise of the Entrepreneurial State*. Although Eisinger seems at first glance to
suggest that those programs transitioned from "supply-side" to "demand-side" policy approaches in the 1980s, a
careful reading of his definition of "demand-side" reveals that this largely meant a shift from supporting established
businesses to favoring small startups that "promise to serve or create expanding markets" (243). As Eisinger goes on
to argue, many of these programs deal in highly uncertain consumer markets that are unlikely to stimulate the job
market in the ways that policy-makers hope (288).
[149] Jacob S. Hacker, *The Great Risk Shift: The New Economic Insecurity and the Decline of the American Dream*,
revised and expanded ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 82.

freelancers."[150] Competition for full-time jobs was therefore stiff, not only in the creative industries but almost any field.

While highly desirable, entrepreneurship was impractical for the average American. Yet, in the aftermath of the 2007 recession, faith in the entrepreneurial approach to making a living redoubled under a new name: the gig economy. The Great Recession saw the most precipitous rise in joblessness in the United States since the 1940s. In less than two years, the national unemployment rate doubled from five to ten percent.[151] In the years following the recession, even as job markets were supposedly being replenished, most of the jobs that were added were part-time, temporary, on-call, or short-term contract-based.[152] Thus, in the late 2000s and early 2010s, what used to be called the "job market" came increasingly to be referred to in popular media as the "gig economy."[153] In the gig economy, hustling for temporary, short-term work— "gigs," which were widely acknowledged as a term that came from the work culture of musicians—constituted normative work life. Stability and benefits were a thing of the past, and one was supposed to celebrate this change as a liberation from the stultifying routine of permanent, full-time work.[154] In this employment climate, people are encouraged to view themselves as "entrepreneurs" selling their labor to "clients," thereby building a "portfolio" of

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[150] Lawrence F. Katz and Alan B. Krueger, "The Rise and Nature of Alternative Work Arrangements in the United States, 1995-2015" (Working Paper 22667, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 2016), 2, 7, http://www.nber.org/papers/w22667.

[151] Bureau of Labor Statistics, "BLS Spotlight on Statistics: The Recession of 2007-2009," February 2012, 2, 7, https://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2012/recession/pdf/recession_bls_spotlight.pdf.

[152] For corporations, the recession was therefore a clear-cutting of cost-intensive, benefits-heavy full-time positions that allowed more "flexible," disposable jobs to take their place.

[153] The original coinage is usually credited to Tina Brown, "The Gig Economy," *Daily Beast*, January 12, 2009, https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-gig-economy. It was hailed as the "word of the year" by the Financial Times in 2015 and by Geoff Nunberg on NPR's *Fresh Air* in 2016, and was shortlisted for that title by many other media outlets and online dictionaries around the same time. "Year in a Word: Gig Economy," Financial Times, accessed September 3, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/b5a2b122-a41b-11e5-8218-6b8ff73aae15; Geoff Nunberg, "Goodbye Jobs, Hello 'Gigs': How One Word Sums Up a New Economic Reality," *Fresh Air*, National Public Radio, January 11, 2016, https://www.npr.org/2016/01/11/460698077/goodbye-jobs-hello-gigs-nunbergs-word-of-the-year-sums-up-a-new-economic-reality.

[154] Sarah Kessler, *Gigged: The End of the Job and the Future of Work* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2018).

eclectic skills and experiences that they could use to find their next gig. This approach to making

a living has been legitimized in career planning and human resources fields since the 1990s as

the "portfolio career," a phrase that connoted the artistic portfolio.[155] Entrepreneurship has

therefore become the respectable, optimistic, income-earning alternative presented to young

adults shut out of a diminished market for full-time employment. Today, the "gig economy"

forms a substantial minority of income-earning work activity in the United States.[156]

    What is most telling about the gig economy, however, is not the amount of income it

generates for working Americans (which is far less than it is purported to), but rather how many

people participate in gig work and "entrepreneurship" in hopes of enhancing an increasingly

meager lot in life. Many young adults have turned, whether metaphorically or more literally, to

"entrepreneurship" as their calling in life. Saddled with student loan debt and floundering in job

markets filled with short-term, underpaid positions, often at menial levels for which their

education renders them "over-qualified," they cling to the hope that the bits and pieces of paying

work they can cobble together will one day blossom into "creative" results. The idea that an

entrepreneurial spirit is what will solve the problem of un(der)employment is further

encapsulated in the recent rebranding of the Department of Labor's worker reskilling and job

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[155] Thomas F. Cawsey, Gene Deszca, and Maurice Mazerolle, "The Portfolio Career as a Response to a Changing Job Market," *Journal of Career Planning & Employment* 56, no. 1 (November 1995): 41-46.

[156] According to the Federal Reserve's economic well-being survey of 2017, about a third of American adults engage in gig work, which is defined in the survey as short-term and non-full-time independent work. Millennials, i.e. those currently between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four, are especially likely to do gig work, with a full 43 percent of them participating in this fragmented sector of the economy. Contrary to the popular perception that gig work is largely hobbyistic, 55 percent of gig workers gig for money. Sixteen percent of gig workers gig as their primary source of income, while 39 percent use it to supplement income from their main job. Among gig workers with a Bachelor's degree or higher, at least 37 percent say that the income they receive from gig work is important. At least 6 percent of working adults are employed only part-time although they desire more work. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, "Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2017," May 2018, 18-20, https://www.federalreserve.gov/publications/files/2017-report-economic-well-being-us-households-201805.pdf. In addition to these gig workers, three percent of working adults in the United States are independent contractors, while 14 percent are full-time self-employed, enlarging the total "entrepreneurial" sector to nearly half of the American workforce. Federal Reserve, "Economic Well-Being 2017," 15, table 8.

search assistance programs, which are now administered under the newly renamed Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (2014).[157] The entrepreneurial "gig" mentality has become pervasive even among full-time corporate employees, since performance on individual tasks and projects is increasingly incentivized through performance-based pay and "worker-stockholder arrangements."[158] Thus, whether one has the financial endowment to actually launch a business enterprise, or one is merely trying to hang on to a full-time job in a competitive workplace prone to lay-offs, or piece together a living through part-time and contingent labor, so-called "entrepreneurship" is now the term that seems to capture the essence of what work life is about.

Ideologically, entrepreneurial capitalism calls upon workers and prospective workers to identify with the definition of entrepreneurship as innovation by startup. In doing so, it persuades workers and work-seekers to overlook the risks and insecurities that have proliferated in the world of work, and see them instead as a normal part of a livelihood depicted as a perennial startup venture. The subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur is therefore that of an itinerant worker who finds themselves hailed as a business capitalist. Embodied in the image of the hopeful, striving, and well-meaning everyman, (worker-)entrepreneurship is about the ability of any middle-class aspirant to make a living as independent peddlers of their labor, regardless of whether they do this by choice. In order to stay afloat in these conditions, one must be a perennially attractive candidate on the job market, with the connections and spontaneity to go wherever job opportunities are and create them when they are scarce. One must therefore also have the tenacity to spend one's leisure hours improving one's job prospects by searching for

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[157] The Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act is the successor to the Workforce Investment Act (1998), which itself was preceded by the Job Training and Partnership Act (1982).
[158] Louise Amoore, "Risk, Reward and Discipline at Work," *Economy and Society* 33, no. 2 (May 2004): 174-196. See especially pages 184-187 on the practice of Total Quality Management. In this distributed mode of managerial supervision, "[t]he implication is that workers 'multi-task' so that they are not only producers of a tangible product or service, but also responsible for conscious reflection on the quality and efficiency of their own and others' working practices, and for prudent risk-taking and innovation in these practices" (184).

opportunities in unexpected places and developing one's connections and skillset.[159] Such

tireless "creativity" is the approach that promises deliverance from the insecurities of life in the

era of entrepreneurial capitalism.[160] The creativity doctrine therefore remains central to the

popularity of the "entrepreneurial" lifestyle. If gig workers are entrepreneurs at all, they are

entrepreneurs (owners) of nothing but their own labor power, which makes them in reality no

different from workers of any other era of capitalism.[161] However, given that creativity is now

viewed in the popular business press as the prime trait of successful entrepreneurs, and it is

creativity that gig workers supposedly exercise all the time when contemplating where to look

for their next gig, the gig worker and the entrepreneur are made to seem no different from one

another.

Ultimately, in the era of entrepreneurial capitalism, everyone is an "entrepreneur"

because everyone is in the full-time business of finding a market for their labor. What

entrepreneurship means in this context is not its technical definition of operating a business

venture to make a profit, but rather more what Lautman described—a way to "do what [you]

love," "serve people," and "pay your bills."[162] It is a middle- and lower middle-class career

philosophy that has become the economic wisdom of the new millennium, especially among the

young adults of those socioeconomic classes. Those who embrace this lifestyle willingly are

often called "freelancers" or "independent contractors." However, for many, the appropriate

label may just as well be "unemployed," "underemployed," or "precariously employed."

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[159] Gina Neff, *Venture Labor: Work and the Burden of Risk in Innovative Industries* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012); Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "The Portfolio Career"; Mary Mallon, "The Portfolio Career: Pushed or Pulled to it?," *Personnel Review* 27, no. 5 (1998): 361-377, https://doi.org/10.1108/00483489810230316.
[160] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 16-19, 90-96, 128-129.
[161] Karl Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed., edited by Robert C. Tucker, 203-217 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978). "Labour power is…a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to capital" (204).
[162] Louis Lautman, "The Art of Being an Entrepreneur," *Forbes*, December 7, 2011, https://www.forbes.com/sites/theyec/2011/12/07/the-art-of-being-an-entrepreneur.

Ironically, as precarious work has become increasingly common, the marginal status of such work life vagrancy has become championed as a mainstream work ethic for all.

In summary, entrepreneurial capitalism is a formation of capitalism whose commodity and labor markets are dominated—in some ways concretely, but largely metaphorically—by startup business ventures. Originally promoted by federal, state, and local governments, it was conceived as a way to produce cutting-edge military technology. Later, in the guise of the "creative economy," it became favored as the way to stimulate local economic growth throughout the nation. Far from the engine of job security it is still purported to be, the most consistent and impactful trait of an entrepreneurial capitalist economy has been a diminished and volatile job market. Thus, above all else, entrepreneurial capitalism has been a way to secure individuals' participation in the labor market despite diminishing full-time opportunities. Through the celebratory discourses of the "gig economy," entrepreneurship has become a popular economic mindset and approach to life among private citizens. It produces the dominant capitalist subjectivity of the entrepreneurial era. This is not the entrepreneur(ial capitalist), but the *worker-entrepreneur*.

The Artist in the Creative Industries

Artists have long participated in capitalist systems of production as cultural and artistic workers in corporate industry, especially in the fields of media and entertainment. Bill Ryan has systematically described how the production processes of radio, television, news, and advertising corporations in the 1980s were shaped around the needs of its artistic "creatives."[163] More recently, Gina Neff showed that artists working as multimedia content creators in the 1990s

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[163] Bill Ryan, *Making Capital from Culture: The Corporate Form of Capitalist Cultural Production* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).

dotcom industry popularized a creativity discourse among tech workers that valorized risk-taking as the essence of innovation and career success.[164] Since the 1890s, the consistently high level of unionization in the performing arts and motion picture industries has also made artistic labor a bellwether for developments in labor union law and public opinion.[165] Artistic workers therefore have a legacy of impactfully shaping capitalist structures and subjectivities in spite of their relatively few numbers in the workforce.

When creativity-focused economic policy-making took off, however, artists became imbricated in the making of national economic structures and subjectivities on a whole different level. The "creative industries" category was created in the mid-1990s to stoke economic hope in what was by then a rapidly ascendant neoliberal order. As a label, the "creative industries" fold the software, law, and finance industries in with the arts and culture professions, lumping together far-flung fields of labor that, by statistical luck, happened to demonstrate an impressive aggregate annual revenue and growth rate.[166] Experts and policy-makers have claimed that these fields are united by the common quality of "creativity."[167] In doing so, they exploit the arts and culture industries' longstanding association with an artistic "creative" mystique to tout the creative industries as a new source of prosperity. Thus, although an Australian and British phenomenon at the outset, creativity-based economic policies are now a global phenomenon.[168]

Through the economic discourse of creativity, the figure of the artist, both consenting and unconsenting, has played a structural role in shaping the subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur since the 1990s. The following synthesis brings together research on various ways in which

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[164] Neff, *Venture Labor*.
[165] Michael H. Moskow, "Trade Unions in the Performing Arts," *Monthly Labor Review* 93, no. 3 (1970): 16-20.
[166] Andrew Ross, "Nice Work If You Can Get It: The Mercurial Career of Creative Industries Policy," *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2006-7): 17.
[167] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 559-561.
[168] Ross, "Nice Work," 13; David Wilson and Roger Keil, "The Real Creative Class," *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 8 (December 2008): 841.

artists have been symbolically and concretely assimilated into creativity-focused economic policy-making. Many commentators on the creative industries have observed how the structures of artistic work and subjective attitudes of artistic workers are widely replicated throughout present-day workforces in the West. Drawing upon their findings, I will show how artists have figured in the exportation of the conditions of artistic labor to the wider working world, both as real actors in the economy and as symbolic figures exploited in creativity discourse. Although the American case continues to be most salient for my argument, British and Australian research on how the arts have been implicated in creativity policy discourse is especially robust. Since developments across the three nations have been strikingly similar, I will draw upon scholarship pertaining to the British and Australian cases as necessary to fill in contextual gaps in the American scene. In this section, I will highlight three ways in which artists have been institutionally and symbolically involved in articulating the subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur. First, artists and arts administrators in Britain and the United States, driven by their own need for financial support under the new creativity regime, have been eager to demonstrate artistic labor's conformity to mainstream economic expectations. This has fashioned real working artists in society as model entrepreneurial citizens in the public eye. Second, the "portfolio career" approach to working life, which rose to prominence in the 1990s, has routinely drawn upon its discursive associations with the artist's portfolio to legitimate itself as a tried-and-true model of professional development. Third, entrepreneurial capitalism has exploited the mythos of artistic genius to justify the creative economy's expanding interests in intellectual property rights.

The reformulation of the artist as an ideal creative worker was carried out in part by artists and arts administrators. From arts policies to cultural policies and finally to creative

policies, financial need carved a key path by which artists came to be assimilated into the creative industries. Prior to the 1980s, among British and American policy-makers, "culture" was largely assumed to mean the "high" or fine arts. However, beginning in the late 1970s and through the 1980s, arts policies that had focused on subsidizing the classical arts were transformed into more general "cultural" policies that included popular art forms like traditional crafts, folk arts, and mass media and entertainment forms.[169] This expansion helped arts organizations to shed the charges of elitism that had come to be associated with the arts.[170] It also enabled them to take advantage of the growing funds available for the cultural industries through local and regional development programs for urban revitalization.[171]

By the time that urban development policies were transforming into "creativity" policies in the 1990s and 2000s, the arts were popularly viewed as part of the ongoing project of urban renewal. Their envelopment into the creativity economic regime accelerated the already thriving practice among arts administrators and arts advocates of couching the importance of artistic work in economic terms.[172] In Britain, a signal shift towards an economically-oriented creativity regime was the 1997 transformation of the Department of National Heritage into the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) by the incoming Blair administration.[173] Under the DCMS, "artists had to show a demonstrable return on investment." According to Ross, "DCMS policies asked artists to play directly functional roles in society: assisting in the improvement of public

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[169] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 554-555.

[170] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 554-555.

[171] Urban revitalization initiatives had begun to turn to supporting arts and culture as a way to attract well-heeled businesses and tourism. Elizabeth Strom, "Cultural Policy as Development Policy: Evidence from the United States," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9, no. 3 (2003): 247-263, https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663032000161687.

[172] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 554-556; Strom, "Cultural Policy," 247-263; and J. Allen Whitt and John C. Lammers, "The Art of Growth: Ties Between Development Organizations and the Performing Arts," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (March 1991): 376-393.

[173] Ross, "Nice Work," 13.

health, race relations, urban blight, special education, welfare to work programs, and of course, economic development."[174]

A similar turn from self-interest to the public good took place in arts communities' self-promotion strategies in the United States, but under much more sensationalistic circumstances. In the United States, cultural policy debates about artistic elitism came to a head in the late 1980s and early 1990s surrounding avant-garde art funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. Certain controversial art exhibits were perceived as obscene, and sensationalized by the media as a waste of public funds.[175] The ensuing public outcry severely damaged the NEA's standing in the congressional budget in subsequent years. In the attempt to recover from this scandal, artists and arts organizations began to shun their former emphasis on "the intrinsic value of the arts," developing "an intrinsic-plus-social-utility set of arguments" in its place. Among other social benefits, they emphasized the arts' ability to spur economic and employment growth, "reclaim at-risk youth," and "invigorate education and advance complex thinking."[176]

As demonstrated by the policy changes instigated by the DCMS and NEA, the new creativity regime demanded that artists prove the worth of their labor by positioning their art as valuable interventions into the social and economic spheres. This process "reconceived [the artist] as the model citizen-worker—a self-motivated entrepreneur who is able to work in a highly flexible manner with a wide range of clients, partners and sponsors."[177] Moreover, artists

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[174] Ross, "Nice Work," 18. In addition, "they had to prove that their work furthered public goods like diversity, access, relevance, civic pride, community innovation, and social inclusion" (18).
[175] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, "From Accord to Discord: Arts Policy During and After the Culture Wars," in *America's Commitment to Culture*, edited by Kevin V. Mulcahy and Margaret Jane Wyszomirski (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 2-19. Controversy boiled over in 1989 surrounding Andres Serrano's "Piss Christ" photo and Richard Mapplethorpe's exhibit of nude child portraits and homoerotic photos (2-5).
[176] Wyszomirski, "From Accord," 34-35. In 1997, the same year as the formation of the British DCMS, the NEA released a new policy that required funding applicants to "apply their work to socially useful ends, 'from youth programs and crime prevention to job training and race relations.'" Ross, "Nice Work," 20.
[177] Ross, "Nice Work," 20.

were no longer valued for their insular dedication to art; instead, they were expected to contribute to society in conventionally productive ways. Artists had to demonstrate that they were not simply self-interested, Bohemian accolytes of "art for art's sake," but rather honorable working individuals who could turn their efforts to improving the common good. The economic utilization of the arts at the policy level therefore translated the qualities and attitudes of artistic labor into the terms of mainstream individual economic practice. Artistic work, contrary to its former reputation for anti-materialistic, anti-bourgeois self-expression, was now posed as a calmly productive creativity, one that was tuned to the beneficial effects of social innovation.

The second way in which artists have been involved in articulating the subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur has been through the rise of the "portfolio" approach to career development. Angela McRobbie, Andrew Ross, and Desmond Hesmondhalgh have warned against the detrimental effects of "creativity"-driven economic policy-making: labor markets where the problematic structures of artistic work are widely replicated because they are championed as stimulants for creativity and innovation.[178] A few things should be said here about the social organization of artistic work. The overall structural qualities of artistic labor have been surprisingly consistent across Western nations. Studies from the 1980s onwards, with data coming especially from Australia, Canada, Germany, and the United States, have generally found that artists tend to hold multiple jobs, to be predominantly self-employed or freelancers, and to be younger than workers in other sectors. They often work both within and outside the arts sector in order to make ends meet. Within the arts sector, employment is usually irregular and short-term with few benefits or job protections. People are expected to approach their careers as

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[178] Angela McRobbie, "From Holloway to Hollywood: Happiness at Work in the New Cultural Economy?," chap. 5 in *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*, eds. Paul Du Gay and Michael Pryke, 97-114 (London: Sage, 2002); Ross, "Nice Work"; and Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 563.

a "labor of love." Compensation tends to be highly unequal, greatly overpaying a select few while underpaying the majority.[179] These are the employment conditions that have become pervasive in the gig economy. Although many of the qualities of artistic work may seem undesirable when put in such stark structural terms, the romantic sheen that they acquire when associated with the figure of the artist is often compelling. This Bohemian linkage is what the "portfolio career" discourse achieves.

The concept of the portfolio career arose in the mid-1990s among human resource and career counseling professionals as a way to organize an increasingly fragmented employment landscape intelligibly for their clients. Due to the normalization of layoffs as the solution to any profit threat, turbulence had become a permanent feature of the job market. As a result, Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle argue, "[c]oming on strong today is a new way of thinking about—and framing relationships among—work, organizations, payment, and value for an individual's effort."[180] This way of thinking—the "portfolio career"—"provides a new set of assumptions to help people cope with the uncertainty and chaos of the job market."[181] These assumptions include expecting that job insecurity will be a normal characteristic of employment; that one will hold many different jobs in one's lifetime and possibly even simultaneously; and that, in order to provide relief from this turbulence, the ideal job would offer "interesting and important work, plus the training to be employable here or elsewhere."[182] Through the portfolio career

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[179] Ruth Towse, "The Labour Market for Artists," *Ricerche Economiche* 46, no. 1-2 (1992): 57; Pierre-Michel Menger, *The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement Under Uncertainty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1-3; McRobbie, "From Holloway," 110. One might think there is a contradiction in the idea that the arts sector is both highly unionized (as previously mentioned) and characterized by unstable working conditions. In fact, it is precisely the fragmented nature of work in the arts that has spurred such consistently high levels of unionization in artistic fields. Given the prevalence of multiple job holding, many artists belong simultaneously to multiple unions. Moskow, "Trade Unions"; Baumol and Bowen, *Performing Arts*, 230-231.
[180] Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "Portfolio Career," 42.
[181] Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "Portfolio Career," 42.
[182] Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "Portfolio Career," 42-43.

framework, job-seekers and workers (and there is increasingly little distinction between the two categories) must see themselves as solo enterprises selling skills to employers. They must have "a portfolio of skills that he or she can offer to a portfolio of organizational clients in support of a work competence for hire."[183]

The curious thing about this corporate framework for understanding the working self is its squeamishness about addressing the individual as human. What does it mean for a job-seeker to sell "a portfolio of skills" to "a portfolio of organizational clients" if it is ultimately activity "in support of a work competence for hire"? What is the commodity that the job-seeker is actually selling? Is it their skills, or, as the final phrase implies, their laboring selves? Capitalism has a long history of disguising its imperative to wage labor as a contractual bargain made between equals in a free market. As Marx said, once buyer of labor and seller of labor leave the market exchange process behind and enter the "hidden abode" where work actually takes place, the seller of labor is revealed to be a worker, "someone who has brought his own hide to market and now has nothing else to expect but—a tanning."[184] The portfolio career's corporate framework for the working self is an updated version of this free-market illusion of employment. By couching the free-market claims of capitalist labor in the impersonal terms of enterprise, it tries to hide, yet again, the lack of distinction between bringing *a* hide and bringing one's own hide to market.

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[183] Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "Portfolio Career," 43. The individual worker is framed here as a wholesale corporation that produces skills as his commodities and sells them to other corporations who are his intermediary consumers. However, in the portfolio career schema, the capitalist marketplace for the commodity of skills is chaotic and unpredictable. Workers and job-seekers are therefore encouraged to "see themselves as holders and developers of skills," and as managers of "client risk." To do the latter, which is chiefly about mitigating the risk of potential layoffs, workers must have many employers; or, in the language of portfolio career development, "a variety of clients in one's portfolio." Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "Portfolio Career," 43-44.
[184] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 279-280.

What really sells this illusion of individual labor as free-market enterprise is the invocation of artists as the original worker-entrepreneurs. Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, whose article appears in a professional periodical on career planning, provide the following definition of a portfolio career: "*Webster's Dictionary* defines a portfolio variously as *4) all the securities held for investment*, and *5) a selection of representative works, as of an artist*. … In a portfolio career, an individual has a portfolio of skills that he/she sells to a portfolio of clients."[185] The two definitions of "portfolio" from *Webster's Dictionary* singled out by these authors implicitly equate the work of artists to the work of capitalist financiers. Borgen, Amundson, and Reuter's definition, also aimed at an audience of career counselors, offers another variation on this theme:

> *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines the word *portfolio* as 'a set of pieces of creative work intended to demonstrate a person's ability to a potential employer." Similar to an artist's portfolio, a career portfolio provides visual representation of a person's work. The career portfolio uses artifacts such as certificates, pictures, letters of appreciation, and samples of work as a visual representation of accomplishments.[186]

This example draws quite literally upon the centuries-old iconography of the roaming (and often starving) painter, toting his finished works about with him in hopes of selling one or securing a commission on their merits (see Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).[187]

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[185] Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle, "The Portfolio Career," 43. It is noteworthy that, out of five definitions or more provided by the dictionary, Cawsey, Deszca, and Mazerolle chose only the finance and artist-related definitions with which to make their point.

[186] William A. Borgen, Norman E. Amundson, and Jan Reuter, "Using Portfolios to Enhance Career Resilience," *Journal of Employment Counseling* 41 (June 2004): 50.

[187] The images reproduced here depict a popular trope within representations of the "starving artist": the impoverished painter whose very poverty makes his livelihood precarious. As Erika Schneider writes, the artist in these images is "caught in a circular trap; he cannot pay rent if he cannot work, and he cannot work if he has no studio. As a struggling artist, he cannot become established without financial support, and he cannot acquire financial support without an artistic market. … According to the title and signs on the wall, art is an outlaw" (140). For further history on the iconography of the starving artist, see Erika Schneider, *The Representation of the Struggling Artist in America, 1800-1865* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), esp. the commentary in chap. 5 and the paintings reproduced on pages 141, 150, and 155.

Figure 2.1: *Studio to Let* **(1864) by James Henry Beard**
Source painting in the public domain. Image owned by the Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.
Reprinted under Fair Use as per the recommendations of the Visual Resources Association's "Statement
on the Fair Use of Images for Teaching, Research, and Study."

Figure 2.2: *Art versus Law* **(1859-1860) by David Gilmour Blythe**
Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

These "portfolio career" analogies between the artist's portfolio and the gig worker's

resume transform the Bohemian leisure ethic into the Entrepreneurial ethic. As with the late

nineteenth-century figure of the Bohemian artist that legitimated the idea of the good Bohemian,

the "vacations of other people" are the portfolio careerist's "working time," and travel—or

itinerancy—becomes a productive activity. The phrase "gig economy" performs a similar

interpellation of the happily vagrant Bohemian artist, but invoking musicians instead.[188]

The "portfolio career" discourse also resurrects the Bohemian fulfillment of the

bourgeois ideal of the "selfmade man." As Ross notes,

> [w]ith budgets cut to the bone, and the citizenry increasingly cut off from institutional
> protections, American urban policy-makers have all but embraced the accepted neoliberal
> wisdom that self-sufficient entrepreneurial activity is the best, if not the most just,
> stimulant to growth. The individual career portfolio of the young, freelancing creative is a
> perfect candidate for this profile of self-reliant productivity."[189]

Envisioned in the virile body of a young, artist-like "creative," the instabilities of gig work come

to seem bracing and invigorating, the very model of "self-sufficient," "self-reliant,"

"freelancing," "entrepreneurial" individuality. It is a trope that helps the Entrepreneurial ethic

make the natural and positive connection between the gig economy and the creative economy

that is so crucial to the neoliberal order.

The third way in which entrepreneurial capitalism held up the creative artist as a model

worker was through the creative economy's emphasis on intellectual property rights. Here, the

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[188] The "gig," a term that originated among jazz musicians, has become associated with musicians more generally. This has become part of the etymological folklore of the gig economy, whose key feature—the one-off, short-term job—is often introduced in popular and scholarly texts by reference to this popular provenance of the term "gig." See, for example, George Howard, "Gigs Are No Longer Just for Musicians: How the Gig Economy Is Creating a Society of Starving Artists," *Forbes*, March 26, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/georgehoward/2018/03/26/gigs-are-no-longer-just-for-musicians-how-the-gig-economy-is-creating-a-society-of-starving-artists/; Arun Sundararajan, "The 'Gig Economy' Is Coming: What Will It Mean for Work?" *The Guardian*, July 25, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/26/will-we-get-by-gig-economy; and Gerald Friedman, "Workers Without Employers: Shadow Corporations and the Rise of the Gig Economy." *Review of Keynesian Economics* 2, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 172.
[189] Ross, "Nice Work," 23.

creativity of artists was used to glorify the profit-seeking behavior of the creative industries.

When the British government sought to justify their claim in the late 1990s that the creative

industries would create jobs and grow the economy, they did so by pointing to the intellectual

properties those industries generated and the profits they would reap. It was well-known among

policy-makers that the real intellectual property money-makers among the creative industries

were the fields of commercial research and development, computer engineering, and software

development.[190] However, expansions of such monopolistic commercial rights by industry could

easily come under criticism. As a result, Garnham observed, it helped to promote "the extension

of copyright as a defence of the interest of 'creators' with all the moral prestige associated with

the 'creative artist.'"[191]

One influential circulator of the artist's creative mystique in copyright discussions was

John Howkins, the British media and communications expert who first popularized the idea of

the creative economy. Howkins explicitly defined the creative industries as those that generated

intellectual properties. Notably, he drew a parallel between scientific research and artistic work

in order to legitimate the protection and expansion of intellectual property rights:

> The output of creative products has tended to happen most publicly and obviously in the arts, which has caused the arts to be seen as the core creative activity and for creativity and the arts to be treated as synonyms…. But artists have no monopoly on creativity, nor are they the only workers in the creative economy. …
> Creativity flourishes equally in the sciences, especially in research and development (R&D). There is little difference between the creativity of the scientist and of the artist. … Both use the same thinking and creating processes. The difference comes in why they choose to do so, how they present their imagining to the world, and how they protect its economic value.[192]

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[190] John Howkins, *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas* (London: Allen Lane, 2001; reprinted with updated material, London: Penguin, 2007), chap. 3, table 3, iBooks.
[191] Garnham, "From Cultural to Creative," 26.
[192] Howkins, introduction to *The Creative Economy*.

Buckminster Fuller's "Comprehensive Designer"—equal parts engineer and artist—rears its

head. The creative industries, Howkins goes on to argue, must aggressively seek out

opportunities to lay claim to intellectual property rights, and enforce and prolong their

monopolies wherever possible. To justify this stance, he once again uses examples from the arts,

citing extreme outlier approaches as models of success. These include the example of an

infamously ruthless American literary agent who wants literary works to have perpetual

copyrights akin to trademarks; Immanuel Kant's description of an artistic work as the physical

embodiment of the creative spirit (which Howkins construes as support for unalienable moral

copyrights); and the seventeenth-century belief in the "natural rights" of ownership to one's

creations that, Howkins contends, led to the establishment of copyright law in the first place.[193]

    This intellectual property-centric approach to creative industries policy-making suited

American government well. As Ross notes, the United States has been a world leader in the

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[193] Howkins, *The Creative Economy*. Howkins's arguments for these positions are as follows:
> New York-based Andrew Wylie has been described as 'the world's most famous literary agent' as well as the most vociferous and ferocious. It is a truism in the publishing industry that literary and commercial values are in conflict. Wylie believes the opposite: that the highest literary standards and the most aggressive business behavior are completely compatible. … Wylie says publishers believe 'the most fleeting is the most valuable'. He disagrees emphatically. He believes people should be able to own their copyrights as robustly as they can own their physical property. Owners of trademarks and brands own them totally and for ever. But owners of literary rights do not (chap. 2).
> Moral rights spring from the belief that the author has a personal claim on his work irrespective of what deals may be done. Immanuel Kant wrote in *The Critique of Judgement* in 1790, "Every artistic work consists of the creative spirit in a physical object. People can buy the physical object but the spirit, the soul, cannot be bought." He believed copying was acceptable only on condition it admits and does not disturb the writer's integrity (chap. 2).
> There is also a moral presumption that people have a *natural right* to own whatever they create. Natural rights are strongest in products of human expression and weakest in industrial property. The theories of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke about the rights of man in the seventeenth century gave an unassailable moral push to the introduction of copyright (chap. 2).

In most historical accounts of the origin of copyright law, the legal institution of copyright actually began with the 1709 Statute of Anne in England as a printer's right, giving rights to printers, not authors, over creative works. Lionel Bently, "Introduction to Part I: The History of Copyright," in *Global Copyright: Three Hundred Years Since the Statue of Anne, from 1709 to Cyberspace*, eds. Lionel Bently, Uma Suthersanen, and Paul Torremans, 7-13 (London: Edward Elgar, 2010). As Bently argues, the Statute of Anne "was not, primarily, a mechanism for recognising 'authorship'…. As has now been thoroughly exposed, the Act preceded the generation of ideas of authorial genius, the so- called 'romantic author', and to read back such later conceptualisations into the word 'author' (or the inclusion of a reversionary term) is to commit a historical sin" (10).

global enforcement of intellectual property rights since the 1960s.[194] Its enormous financial stake in the profitability of Hollywood's film and music exports and the products of its computer software and pharmaceutical drug industries, among other things, have made American foreign policy especially vigilant about the international viability of its copyrights and patents.[195] It was due chiefly to American pressure that TRIPS (Agreement on the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), the first international intellectual property trade treaty, was codified by the World Trade Organization in 1994.[196] Thus, according to Ross, the need that the British had for a rebranding of the software and commercial research and development industries under the label of the "creative industries" was almost redundant in the American policy world. Here, the "copyright industries" or "IP industries" were already seen as an economic force in their own right.[197] Nonetheless, the new artistic nomenclature helped. As Garnham argues, the term "creative" allowed policy-makers to group the copyright industries together with the cultural industries and the activities of non-industrial artists, creating "an alliance…around a strengthening of copyright protection."[198] More importantly, the affiliation of artistic labor with intellectual property rights, whose economic worth was already vindicated, was further proof of the value of artist-like labor.

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[194] Ross, "Nice Work," 20.

[195] Ross, "Nice Work," 20; Susan K. Sell, "Industry Strategies for Intellectual Property and Trade: The Quest for TRIPS, and Post-TRIPS Strategies," *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law* 10, no.1 (Spring 2002): 81.

[196] Sell, "Industry Strategies." As Sell argues, it was primarily the private corporate lobby, organized in 1984 as the International IP Alliance (IIPA), that influenced American foreign policy to enact TRIPS (85-87). This perspective is further substantiated by Duncan Matthews, *Globalising Intellectual Property Rights: The TRIPS Agreement* (New York: Routledge, 2002; reprinted as e-book, Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2003).

[197] Ross, "Nice Work," 20.

[198] Garnham, "From Cultural to Creative," 26.

According to Towse and McRobbie, artistic sector economies have historically used talent and creativity to justify its practice of giving outsize financial rewards to superstars.[199] Exported to the wider world of the creative industries, this winner-take-all system of compensation for creative labor became attached to the winning of intellectual property races. In this context, a certain kind of creativity became privileged: innovation. This was creativity whose products could claim originality in the legal framework of intellectual property and therefore profit by it. The parallels between this system of valuation and that of the art world are sobering. In the era of entrepreneurial capitalism, innovation is believed to come especially from outside the industrial establishment. It is why startup ventures are touted as the key to economic growth. Paralleling this, in the twentieth century, innovation has been epitomized in the art world by the brave new tradition of experimental, anti-establishment artists. Howard Becker's sociological analysis of art worlds calls them mavericks: artists who were trained in traditional techniques but subsequently renounce them in favor of unconventional methods and aesthetics. As Becker notes, this anti-establishment streak has been especially prominent in American high art. Famous examples include John Cage, Jackson Pollock, and Charles Ives.[200]

The creative economy's thirst for intellectual property therefore illuminates three important aspects of the Entrepreneurial ethic. First, even though the Entrepreneurial ethic claims to pursue creativity for its own sake, the even more coveted prize is innovation, or creativity that is profitable. Second, to manage this double-speak, the Entrepreneurial ethic relies upon the winner-take-all system of economic reward. Since intellectual property law is monopolistic, the winners are those who manage to secure profit by their creativity. The rest simply have to be

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[199] Ruth Towse, "Human Capital and Artists' Labor Markets," Chap. 24 in *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, vol. 1, ed. Victor A. Ginsburgh and David Throsby (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 2006), 876-877.
[200] Howard Becker, *Art Worlds*, 25th anniversary ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 243-246.

content with pursuing creativity for its own sake. Third, the Entrepreneurial ethic exploits the idea of a realm that is external to conventional constraints. As Howard Becker notes, most artists who flout artistic conventions do not go on to succeed in the professional world of art. Although maverick artists who become recognized as such by established art worlds gain recognition by using approaches and techniques that appear unschooled, in actuality, they draw substantially upon established conventions in order to make the more unorthodox elements of their art communicate meaningfully to other members of the art world.[201] Similarly, entrepreneurial capitalism privileges startup innovation, which comes nominally from outside established industry. Yet, it is only those innovations that manage to conform to conventional industry's requirements of mass production and mass marketability that ultimately succeed in the system.

The "outside" to the establishment, then, is in fact a functional and important part of the establishment. As Becker observes, "[t]he work of these innovators [maverick artists] is often incorporated into the historical corpus of the established art world, whose members find the innovations useful in producing the variation required to rescue art from ritual."[202] Similarly, Boltanski and Chiapello argue that "capitalism is obliged, if it is to succeed in engaging the people who are indispensable to the pursuit of accumulation, to incorporate a spirit that can provide attractive, exciting life prospects, while supplying guarantees of security of and moral reasons for people to do what they do."[203] For both art and capitalist regimes of labor, incorporating qualities of the "outside" offers seemingly fresh, authentic, and freeing ideas and experiences that rejuvenate membership and participation in conventional activities. The

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[201] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 243-246, 265.
[202] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 244.
[203] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 24.

subjectivities of the maverick and the worker-entrepreneur help bring the "outside" into the system while carefully managing and maintaining the boundaries between the two.

In summary, the creative economy—or the creativity regime of entrepreneurial capitalism—has reformulated the artist as the ideal worker-entrepreneur. Through the rise of the concept of creative industries, funding for artistic activity was brought under the umbrella of neoliberal economic rationality, disciplining artistic labor to demonstrate its worth in the form of direct social and economic contributions to society. This reconceptualized the value of art as that of innovative social intervention, and fashioned the artist as a model entrepreneurial citizen. Artists, seen through the romantic lens of youthful Bohemian vagrancy, were also routinely invoked by career planning professionals as proof of the portfolio career's success at navigating labor insecurity. Finally, creative economy advocates exploited romantic myths of artistic genius and creativity to portray artists as consummate intellectual property owners.

In addition, it is worth noting that these three institutional and discursive processes reinforce each other in producing the disciplinary subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur. The central contradiction of the Entrepreneurial ethic is its simultaneous injunction to both innovation (profitable creativity) and "creativity for creativity's sake." In order to motivate participation in the winner-take-all job economy, the intellectual property and arts funding dimensions of the creative economy attest to the rewards that may come with innovation. At the same time, the portfolio career dimension regulates those who have yet to (or may never) find profit or financial stability under such a regime. It exhorts individuals to pursue creativity not for profit, but for its own sake. In "idealized depictions of Bohemian life," Joanna Levin writes, "Art (equated with natural reserves of inspiration) feeds the artist, financing a hand-to-mouth existence…."[204] "The

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[204] Levin, *Bohemia*, 132.

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Bohemian balance of work and play might not result in wealth, but…it always provided for basic

needs."[205] In the Bohemian ethos, belief in Art and belief in its ability to sustain Life are

interchangeable. Whether creativity leads to profit, then, or whether it is pursued for its own

sake, the Bohemian spirit of the Entrepreneurial ethic reassures that each can transform into the

other as need calls.

The Entrepreneurial ethic

Wendy Brown argues that neoliberalism has made its deepest incursions into American

society through the ideological normalization of *homo oeconomicus*, a discursive and

institutional configuration of the human being as ideally—and nothing but—a rational market

actor.[206] In this conception of the neoliberal subject, economic concerns eclipse the political

heart—*homo oeconomicus* supplants *homo politicus*—leading to the individual's complete

submission to the interests of the economy and a vanquishing of personal political passion that

renders democracy fatally anemic.[207] In particular, Brown argues that the neoliberal subject, no

longer even self-interested, has become an acolyte of the "common interest" as represented by

the needs of the economy as a whole. She calls this the "logic of sacrifice," where citizens of

neoliberal states feel called upon to make sacrifices for "anything related to the requirements and

imperatives of the economy."[208]

In late twentieth-century economic discourses of creativity, the Bohemian artist was

symbolically reconfigured as *homo oeconomicus* with a beating heart: a paragon of neoliberal

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[205] Levin, *Bohemia*, 132.
[206] For such an individual, "all human…action [is produced] as rational entrepreneurial action, conducted according to a calculus of utility, benefit, or satisfaction against a micro-economic grid of scarcity, supply and demand, and moral value-neutrality." Wendy Brown, "Neo-Liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," *Theory and Event* 7, no. 1 (2003): §9.
[207] Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2016), 87, 59, 84, 111.
[208] Brown, *Undoing*, 215, 211.

subjectivity uniquely oriented to turn that most selfish of instincts—the artistic search for self-expression and beauty—towards the public good. What I have shown here, therefore, is that the "common interest" of entrepreneurial capitalism is conveyed to its subjects through the utopian desires of the Bohemian ethos. Inclusivity, freedom, pleasure, and authenticity are the "ghosts" of the "dead religious beliefs"[209] of Art and "art for art's sake." Thus, far from indicating political heartlessness, the neoliberal subject's belief in the common interest indicates a sublimation of political passion. It is the diversion of the energy of an impulse "from its immediate goal to one of a more acceptable social…use."[210] Moreover, *homo politicus* was not passively conquered by *homo oeconomicus*; rather, it took part in its own economic rearticulation. In the course of Bohemianism's ascendancy as a countercultural politics, it was the political heart that first wrested itself away from its human embodiment—the artist. Free-floating as an aesthetic stance, the Bohemian *homo politicus* became, in effect, *spiritus politicus*: a diffuse political spirit (see bottom row of Fig. 2.3). In this form, its ideals achieved a level of mass appeal that it could not when tethered to the figure of the artist. At the same time, as the human aspect of *homo politicus*—the artist—wandered on its own path into the secular realm, it re-encountered the Bohemian spirit, and the two became re-attached. The political aspect, however, became sublimated, and the Bohemian artist, when reconstituted, was no longer *homo politicus* but rather *homo spiritus*: an avatar of the Entrepreneurial ethic.

The work ethic as first outlined by Max Weber in his conception of the Protestant ethic had a few key components. Its main function was to provide a powerful motivation for individuals to work as much as the capitalist system needed them to—and in the ways it needed

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[209] Max Weber remarks that even though the Protestant ethic has been secularized as the capitalist work ethic, its "idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs." *Protestant Ethic*, 124.

[210] *Dictionary.com*, s.v. "sublimate," https://www.dictionary.com/browse/sublimate.

them to—in order to sustain the system's continuous drive for profit accumulation. In general, it reassured individuals that their efforts would be justly rewarded, that any hardships they endured would be temporary, and that their sacrifices would be worth it in the end. The *avatar of the work ethic* reads Weber's concept of the work ethic through the theoretical frameworks of Boltanski and Chiapello and Kathi Weeks, both of whom delineate the work ethic as a general psycho-social disciplinary framework rather than one specific to Protestantism. Combining their insights, my conception of the Entrepreneurial ethic is based upon the following framework for the work ethic:

1. The work ethic is constituted as a rationalizing discipline: it focuses individuals' activities around rational endgoals that are presented to the subject as being in both their own individual interests as well as the common interests of society.[211] These endgoals are to be pursued as the pragmatic substitutes for their real desires—various forms of material and psychic securities—which are held out of reach.[212]

2. As a rationalizing *discipline*, the work ethic also teaches a set of behaviors and attitudes that individuals should adopt in order to reach the aforementioned endgoals.[213] These behaviors will tend to support the structures of work that are currently dominant.

3. The work ethic inculcates a practice of *worldly asceticism*, which regulates an individual's productivity and consumption. Weber's notion of worldly asceticism is traditionally

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[211] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 8-11. Boltanski and Chiapello combine Weber's formulation of the work ethic, which "stressed capitalism's need to furnish individual reasons," with Alfred Hirschman's interpretation, which "emphasize[d] justifications in terms of the common good" (8).

[212] In the Protestant ethic, the desire for the security of knowing for certain whether one will be saved upon death is sublimated as the desire to attain a worldly state of grace, known as being one of the "elect." Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 65-69. This psychological displacement is carried over into the work ethic, where the desire for freedom—for certainty of material security—is expressed through an unceasing industriousness in the quest for such security. Boltanski and Chiapello extend this to argue that every instantiation of the work ethic is a combination of "autonomy, security and the common good" (17).

[213] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 69-74.

interpreted as guarding strongly against material consumption, exhorting individuals to save and be productive with their money instead of spending it. This is not, however, the entire story. As Weber writes, "[t]his worldly Protestant asceticism…acted powerfully against the spontaneous enjoyment of possessions; it restricted consumption, especially of luxuries. On the other hand, it had the psychological effect of freeing the acquisition of goods from the inhibitions of traditionalistic ethics. It broke the bonds of the impulse of acquisition in that it not only legalized it, but…looked upon it as directly willed by God."[214] Thus, while worldly asceticism guarded against material desires of one kind, it also liberated another in the interests of productivity, i.e. capital accumulation.[215] Worldly asceticism therefore regulates both productivity and consumption, albeit ultimately to the benefit of capital accumulation.

4. Finally, the work ethic is fueled overall by a powerful desire: the *calling*. Colloquially, the idea of a "calling" is the feeling of being "called" to a particular profession (or some worldly activity) as if by divine will. This is derived from Weber's conceptualization of Martin Luther's idea of the calling, which teaches that the most meaningful way to honor one's spiritual beliefs is to live according to them in the course of conducting one's worldly affairs. It poses the "fulfilment of [divine] duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume," the result of which is that "everyday-day worldly activity" takes on a "religious significance."[216]

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[214] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 115.

[215] Elaborating upon this, Kathi Weeks argues that the Protestant ethic "serves to restructure our needs and desires as employers and employees, but also as producers and consumers" (48). By her interpretation, "in addition to encouraging workers to accept the primacy of work over the times and spaces of nonwork, the doctrine also taught workers to respond to wage incentives, to recognize and accept a necessary connection between their contribution as social producers and their corresponding rights to individual consumption" (49). *The Problem With Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

[216] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 40.

I now summarize the Entrepreneurial ethic according to this schema (see Fig. 2.3). The Entrepreneurial ethic—the work ethic of the era of entrepreneurial capitalism—positions creativity and innovation as virtuous and fulfilling endgoals for one's life activity.[217] In order to demonstrate commitment to these goals, individuals learn to juggle many projects or jobs, cultivating the flexibility and mobility to move between them constantly and successfully.[218] These disciplinary traits of the Entrepreneurial ethic are about engaging in professional itinerancy, which is, in turn, about an expression of freedom. Since gig work releases one from the stultifying routine of the nine-to-five workday and the captivity of a lifetime of work carried out at the same job, the itinerancy of gig workers is construed as freedom from capitalist dominance and oppression. Ostensibly, one has the freedom at any time to do work that is personally meaningful and authentic to one's self.

Another set of the Entrepreneurial ethic's disciplinary traits are about reinforcing the value of diversity. While Bohemianism has been marked by the practices of communal living and conviviality,[219] the Entrepreneurial ethic enforces communal and collaborative working as its way of encouraging the diversity of ideas that it believes is key to creativity and innovation. The most obvious sign of this disciplinary requirement today is the hegemony of the open-office concept in the configuration of corporate work spaces.[220] It is based upon the belief that any of one's colleagues might at any time be a fruitful collaborator in the quest for profitable ideas. This aspect of the Entrepreneurial ethic also gives renewed importance to one's professional network. To succeed in the creative economy (or get by in the gig economy), one must be constantly

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[217] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 128.
[218] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 90-96, 122, 194-195, 361-364.
[219] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 24.
[220] Ethan S. Bernstein and Stephen Turban, "The Impact of the 'Open' Workspace on Human Collaboration," *Philosophical Transactions B* 373, no. 1753 (May 2018), http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2017.0239.

Time period of development:	c.1830s-present	c.1960s-present	c.1980s-present
	Bohemian ethos 1 (sacred)	Bohemian ethos 2 (secular)	Entrepreneurial ethic (re-sacralized)
Rationalization (the orientation of all actions towards the seemingly achievable endgoal of…; the "saving vision," creed):	Art for art's sake Live for beauty (art at its most sublime)	Freedom of body and mind Live for authenticity (the body and mind in their most free and natural state)	Creativity for creativity's sake Live for innovation (profitable creativity)
Ascetic practice:	Anti-materialism Self-expression	To express the self in an experience of the "cosmic" and universal	Worldly authenticity (productive leisure)
Traits that signify appropriate self-discipline:	Struggling to do artistic and creative work Admiration of art and artists Adherence to the values of liberty and equality Poverty Communal living Itinerancy Being young	Appreciating aesthetic qualities of life Adherence to the value of equality: welcoming of diverse people and viewpoints, communal living Using mind-altering drugs Itinerancy Living simply Being close to nature Being young	**Freedom of body and mind, construed as:** Professional itinerancy (which often includes geographical itinerancy): flexibility, mobility, having many diverse projects **Adherence to the value of diversity:** communal/collaborative working, recombinatory networking **Paucity of reward** **Being youthful at heart** (perpetual journeyman)
Calling (the divine duty that must be fulfilled in one's worldly affairs):	To be uninhibited in everyday life	To experience beauty in everyday life	To do what you love (experience freedom, pleasure, and devotion) in everyday life
Martyric suffering (source of indignation and group bonding):	Insufferability of bourgeois morality, having to put up with "philistine incomprehension"[221] (uncertainty of whether your art and philosophy of life will ever be appreciated)	Oppression and marginalization (uncertainty of whether you can ever be integrated into mainstream society)	Difficulty of the struggle to make money doing work that is authentic to yourself (uncertainty of whether you can ever be successful as a worker-entrepreneur)
Role of the artist:	Living idol	Post-mortem; sublimated as an aesthetic stance (*spiritus politicus*)	Resurrected as an otherworldly figure; avatar of creativity who embodies worldly authenticity (*homo spiritus*)

Figure 2.3: The assimilation of the Bohemian ethos into the Entrepreneurial ethic

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[221] Graña, "Ideological Significance," 8.

cultivating a wide network of contacts that one can combine and re-combine at will to produce exciting new projects and opportunities.[222] Given the superior value of diversity, the more far-flung one's network is, the better.[223]

There remains the need, however, for entrepreneurial capitalism to cover up the fact that gig work seldom results in the economic security that is also desired. To this end, the Entrepreneurial ethic combines Bohemian nomadism with its romantic ideal of anti-materialism to induce a feeling of youthful pleasure in the nominal freedoms of the gig economy. David Graeber points out that the rise of capitalism and the Protestant work ethic took place against an established medieval apprenticeship system of labor. This system espoused a "life-cycle" of service, where individuals passed early adolescence (their teenage years) as apprentices in a master's shop, late adolescence (their twenties) as journeymen sharpening their skills on the road, before finally achieving the adult status of master craftsman and establishing their own shop.[224] When the capitalist system of labor prevailed, however, it arrested most individuals in the adolescent state of wage labor.

The Entrepreneurial ethic's discipline of professional itinerancy appears on the surface to be modeled after the life-cycle stage of the medieval journeyman. Gig workers, like journeymen, move between different employers, selling their skills to different masters. In the gig economy, however, the journeyman experience is "late" adolescence only in the sense that most of the people who participate in this way of life are in their twenties and thirties. Since many gig workers' teenage years have been spent in secondary and tertiary education, they are still in the

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[222] Boltanski and Chiapello describe this as the connexionist bias of the current era of capitalism (355-360). Gina Neff observes this same networking frenzy among dotcom workers of New York's Silicon Alley in the 1990s. *Venture Labor*, chap. 4.
[223] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 357.
[224] David Graeber, *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 222-226.

first stage of their working lives. Many of the positions they pass through are not those of middle-ranking employees but rather the menial jobs of apprentices, which are poorly compensated.[225] As workers get older, some manage to attain the middle ranks and salaries of project leaders or managers, but the expectation of itinerancy continues.[226]

Bohemian ideals depict this combination of itinerancy and paucity of financial reward as the lifestyle of artists. Furthermore, like the life-cycle of service, Bohemianism characterizes these journeyman-like qualities as belonging to a period of youth. According to Mizruchi, Henry Murger, whose *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* established many of the characteristics of bohemian life, "recognized the bohemian life-style as transitory…a youthful interlude on the path to success as a genuine artist or even in the commercial world. "[227] Thus, in most Bohemian movements, there is a general sense that age thirty is the upper limit for participation in their sphere (interestingly, the same age at which one would typically leave the journeyman phase behind in the medieval "life-cycle" of service): "It is important to enjoy oneself in youth, for by age thirty the bohemian garment must be shed and the struggle with the real world, if it has not already been overcome, must commence."[228] Yet, in the Bohemian worldview, there is an allure

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[225] Kessler, *Gigged*.
[226] In the gig economy, the demands of the journeyman phase are therefore extended backwards over the "life-cycle" to apply to the apprenticeship stage as well. This illuminates Cawsey, Deszca and Mazerolle's canny observation that the gig economy will see a rise in fee work and learning work. Fee work, where "payment is for results," corresponds to the journeyman or master craftsman stage of work, but learning work is for "studying, learning new skills" ("Portfolio Career," 44). As Cawsey, Daszca and Mazerolle say, "[l]earning work creates the next generation of skills that provide wage or fee work. … While many individuals will strive for wage work, this is not the direction being taken by many of today's firms. Instead, as both employers and career portfolioers recognize the value of contract work, a combination of market forces and contract negotiations will assign a value to the task to be performed. Those who are skilled and in high demand will bargain for premium rates—including payment for uncertainty. Those who are low skilled or in the learning phase will suffer from market surpluses and pay the penalty in low wages and dull jobs" ("Portfolio Career," 44). Thus, still beleaguered by the "early adolescent" problems of the apprenticeship stage of their working lives (student loan debt, low income, lack of saleable experience), gig workers have to take on the additional difficulties of the journeyman stage (proving one's skill, getting paid only for results, life on the road).
[227] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 16.
[228] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 16.

to staying permanently youthful, for "[b]eing young provides the rationale for the direct and immediate gratification of impulses," and there is the general belief that "[i]t is important to enjoy oneself in youth."[229] Thus, for the Bohemian, remaining youthful is not necessarily unsatisfactory.

Pleasure is an important part of this permanent adolescence. Spontaneity, immediate gratification, and enjoyment are expected in exchange for the Entrepreneurial ethic's inducement to labor. This is the basis of Bohemianism's productive leisure ethic, which is constituted in the Entrepreneurial ethic as the practice of *worldly authenticity*. In the contradictory logic of this ascetic practice, enjoyment of the natural pleasures of leisure is required, but it is also expected to be productive. Some of these pleasures are offered in the nominal freedoms of the gig economy's itinerant lifestyle. But, more powerfully, pleasure is offered in the experience of pursuing one's passions and building an "authentic" life where one has the freedom to do what one loves. That is the basis of the Entrepreneurial ethic's *calling*, which hails the worker-entrepreneur from the sacred Bohemian realm of Art via the figure of the Bohemian artist.

The Political Geography of the Calling

Avatars of the work ethic maintain a powerful connection to a realm that is held sacred—"outside" of what the norms of capitalist society allow. Through this connection, they activate capitalist subjects' sense of feeling divinely "called" to fulfill the values of this realm through their work. This may shed some light on a particular quandary that Wendy Brown has raised about the neoliberal subjectivity.

Brown argues that neoliberal subjects have abandoned self-interest to become acolytes of the "common interest," in the service of which they feel called to make sacrifices for "anything

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[229] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 16.

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related to the requirements and imperatives of the economy."[230] For Brown, this "logic of

sacrifice" is constructed in terms of an "inside" and an "outside," where there are a "sacrificer"

and a "victim" at play. Quoting Girard, Brown elaborates: "the victim is a substitute for all the

members of the community, offered up by the members themselves. The sacrifice serves to

protect the entire community from its own violence; it prompts the entire community to choose

victims *outside itself* [emphasis mine]."[231] On the other hand, Brown wonders if neoliberalism

may express the logic of sacrifice by absorbing the outside into itself; that, "instead of preserving

the community through sacrifice of a victim outside of it, the whole community is called to

sacrifice in order to save particular elements within it."[232] Rather than understanding the

neoliberal "logic of sacrifice" as a choice between one configuration and the other, what can be

glimpsed in the figure of the avatar—if the avatar may be interpreted as playing the roles of both

the "sacrificial victim" and the element within that is saved—is the possibility that *both* are at

work (see Fig. 2.4).

Richard Florida, popularizer of the notion of the creative class, describes the migration of

the figure of the Bohemian artist from one role to the other:

> Capitalism has expanded its reach to capture the talents of heretofore excluded groups of
> eccentrics and nonconformists. In doing so, it has pulled off yet another astonishing
> mutation: taking people who would once have been viewed as bizarre mavericks
> operating at the bohemian fringe and placing them at the very heart of the process of
> innovation and economic growth.[233]

Continuing on, Florida explains that people have come to identify with that figure:

"These changes in the economy and in the workplace have in turn helped to propagate and

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[230] Brown, *Undoing the Demos*, 215, 211.
[231] Brown, *Undoing the Demos*, 217.
[232] Brown, *Undoing the Demos*, 217.
[233] Florida, *Creative Class*, 7.

**"Conventional Society,"
i.e. "bourgeois society"**

**The Traditional
"Outside" to
Conventional Society**

"bohemian fringe," where
artists and other
nonconformists to capitalist
values belong

The Inner Sanctum
"true artists," the
"1%," winners of the
winner-take-all
economy, the "very
heart of the process of
innovation and
economic growth"

**The "Inside" That Is
Really the Outside**
"starving artists,"
gig economy, the
"99%"

Figure 2.4: The "insides" and "outsides" of entrepreneurial capitalism

legitimize similar changes in society at large. The creative individual is no longer viewed as an iconoclast. He—or she—is the new mainstream."[234] As representatives of the "bohemian fringe," artists have been conscripted into representing the new sacred realm of "the very heart of the process of innovation and economic growth." In other words, the traditional outsiderness of artists has been exploited to create an outside (a sacred realm) *inside of* the capitalist work structure (see Fig. 2.4). It is a realm that is perceived as an "inside" by the vast majority of society. It is the "inside" of the "one percent," the "very heart" of entrepreneurial capitalism, the winners of the winner-take-all economy. It is outside because it remains inaccessible to most, but it is "inside" because people have been convinced that it is a divine inner sanctum that must be protected at all costs. It is "inside" because people believe that they, too, are "inside." Ironically,

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[234] Florida, *Rise of the Creative Class*, 7.

by posing its "heart" as a guarded inner sanctum, entrepreneurial capitalism creates an enormous outside that comprises the vast majority of society. It is the outside of the gig economy, of precarious work, and the "ninety-nine percent." It is an outside that is not much different, especially these days, from the outside that artists seemed to belong to.

Avatars of the Work Ethic

Scholars from Adam Smith to Leo Lowenthal have remarked upon societies' inclination to heroize certain groups within them.[235] Here are what I hypothesize to be the key features of the figures who serve as avatars of the work ethic: (1) even though they seem to constitute the heart of the capitalist economic process, they come from outsider groups to conventional society; and, (2) the outside group they come from must subscribe to a system of values that is conspicuously other than that of capitalism. Together, these two qualities enable the two core functions that avatars perform for the work ethic. First, as figures on the "inside" and the "outside" simultaneously, avatars arouse the hope of entering into the inner sanctum of economic success while offering an empathic reflection of the struggle of remaining on the outside of it. Second, from the "inside," avatars maintain a powerful connection to a realm that is held sacred—"outside" of what the norms of capitalist society allow. Through this connection, they activate capitalist subjects' sense of feeling divinely "called" to fulfill the values of this realm through their work.

The process of transforming a very real figure in society into an avatar involves mass cultural reproduction. These reproductive structures may be concrete or symbolic, but they are definitely discursive. What this means is that, regardless of whether the avatar is represented by

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[235] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, edited by Jonathan Bennett (Early Modern Texts, July 2008), 27-28, https://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/smith1759.pdf; Leo Lowenthal, "The Triumph of Mass Idols," in *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, 109-140 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1961).

an actual artist in the flesh or the symbolic invocation of one, it is the human embodiment

perceived as a sign, imbricated within the web of signs that point to the Entrepreneurial ethic,

that is the *avatar of the work ethic*.

As Levin argues, *la vie bohème*, from which the figure of the Bohemian artist originated,

"existed both within and without literary narrative." It was "[p]art literary trope, part cultural

nexus, and part socioeconomic landscape," "endless convolutions of art imitating life and life

imitating art."[236] In practice, then, there are three main ways in which the avatar appears in

society. One way—perhaps the most common way—is by symbolic invocation. These can be

illustrated with examples from Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class*, which

repeatedly hails artists as real-world models for creative people:

> …all members of the Creative Class, whether they are *artists* or engineers, *musicians* or computer scientists, *writers* or entrepreneurs—share a common ethos….[237]

> …the driving force of change is the Creative Class—*artists* and *cultural creatives*, students, professionals.[238]

> …studies find that truly creative individuals, from *artists* and *writers* to scientists and open-source software developers, are driven primarily by internal motivations….[239]

> …creative people don't wear uniforms. They dress to express themselves, as *artists* do; they dress simply and practically as professors and scientists do, so they can focus on the serious creative work at hand. They dress as they please.[240]

The notable thing about these symbolic invocations is that they often refer to the real figure of

the artist as an abstract individual or group. Verbal discourse aside, the category of symbolic

invocation may also include visual images or other static discursive signs.

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[236] Levin, *Bohemia*, 1-2.
[237] Florida, *Creative Class*, 8-9.
[238] Florida, *Creative Class*, xvi.
[239] Florida, *Creative Class*, 21.
[240] Florida, *Creative Class*, 102-103.

The second way in which avatars appear, also relatively common, is as fictional representations, such as characters in novels, film, or television. These manifestations are more than symbolic because they are attached to fully fleshed-out individual embodiments within their medium. In these complex forms, they have a capacity for nuance and complication that exceeds the communicative capacity of the static sign.

The third way: importantly, avatars may manifest as real people acting in the world. As with the British and American artists who presented themselves in grant funding applications as productive, innovative citizens, avatars may be actual people from the symbolically appropriated outsider group participating, for various reasons, in their own symbolic exploitation. In other cases, avatars may be people from the symbolically appropriated group participating in their own *structural* exploitation, such as fashion designers and television industry workers who happily work long hours for little pay as a "labor of love."[241] These cases are especially problematic because they legitimate the truth of their own avatarism by their own example in the world. Real avatars may also manifest as members of the symbolically appropriated group who are unwittingly or unwillingly imbricated into the work ethic's discursive web through aspects of social interactions that are outside of their control. These interactions are often mundane or routine, such as a casual conversation about working life between an artist and an acquaintance, or an interaction surrounding a business transaction between an artist and a client. However, they may also be more visible and public, such as how an artist is introduced at a talk or event where they are featured.

Of course, these three basic ways in which avatars manifest are often mixed together. The real activities of real artists may be made known to others by a newspaper report, for example,

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[241] McRobbie, "From Holloway," 110.

which would be a symbolic representation of real people acting in the world. Fictional

representations may blur the lines between fiction and reality. In films or television, this may

mean alluding to an artist in real life through the styling of a fictional character, or, in some

cases, even casting real and well-known artists to play themselves or a fictional artist character.

Symbolic invocations may appear fleetingly in fictional works, such as in a narrator's passing

observation or a character's dialogue with another. The possible combinations abound, and may

present intertwining realities of truth and fiction and symbolic exploitation and consent.

Angela McRobbie remarks of the neoliberal era that "[c]reativity is not unlike what 'soul'

used to be, a mark of the inner, meaningful self."[242] As Weber's thesis of the Protestant ethic

demonstrates, the control of laboring souls is what the work ethic is about.[243] The avatar, as an

"incarnate divine teacher"[244] from the otherworldly realm where souls really matter, is a key

mechanism for enacting such control.

Conclusion

As can be seen in the ways that the artist is invoked in the discourses of entrepreneurial

capitalism, the work ethic does still need its divine interventions. The Protestant ethic has not, as

Weber contended, been secularized. Rather, with every instantiation of the work ethic, a new

divinity is created. The point of this chapter has been to establish the avatar of the work ethic as a

key mechanism by which the capitalist work ethic is renewed, perpetuated, and invigorated. As a

theoretical intervention, it adds to Wendy Brown's *homo oeconomicus* the dimension of political

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[242] McRobbie, "From Holloway," 109.

[243] Marx argued that Protestantism and capitalism were sympathetic systems of thought because both enacted a fetishizing of the human in abstract form. Both subscribed, in his words, to the "*cultus* of abstract man." In capitalism, "individual private labour" is reduced to the "standard of homogeneous human labor." In Protestantism, individual human beings were reduced to the standard of homogeneous souls. *Capital*, vol. 1, 326-327.

[244] *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (2010), s.v. "avatar."

heart, sublimated, in this case, in the "political unconscious" of the Bohemian artist. As a critical analytic, the avatar of the work ethic is a discursive figure that is both embodied and symbolic. This means, as I have demonstrated through the figure of the artist, that the development and maintenance of an avatar depends equally upon the symbolic exploitation and real participation of the people whose image it appropriates.

- CHAPTER 3 -

"In Service of Art, Community, and Self":

Entrepreneurship Education, the Classical Music Artpreneur, and the

Ventriloquizing of Neoliberal Politics

In June 2013, flutist and 2012 MacArthur Fellowship winner Claire Chase, recognized

for her achievements as an "Arts Entrepreneur,"[1] addressed a packed auditorium of commencing

seniors at Northwestern University's prestigious Bienen School of Music:

> News flash: There is no such thing as a path in music in the year 2013. It is no secret, my
> friends, that you are graduating into a world with very few traditional job prospects. You
> could open the paper any day of the week and you'll read about the supposed death of
> classical music, about the dissolution of symphony orchestras, and the implosion and
> bankruptcy of opera companies, about the narrowing number of jobs available to an
> exponentially growing workforce, you in the room some of the brightest and most
> accomplished among them. You read about this and hear about it as if it were a tragedy,
> as if the difficulties concomitant with a career in music are insurmountable, and as if
> musicians have never been confronted with challenges like this before. We, all of us here
> today, are artists, and our sacred duty is to create, to show the way to others, to think
> more widely and creatively. And to be more daring than the rest.[2]

According to classical music critic Anthony Tommasini, the speech caused "a stir on the

internet."[3] In the video, Chase, poised behind the podium, prods her young audience: "Whether

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[1] Claire Chase's MacArthur Fellow profile describes her as "forging a new model for the commissioning, recording, and live performance of classical music and opening new avenues of artistic expression for the twenty-first-century musician." "Claire Chase," MacArthur Foundation, accessed November 29, 2018, https://www.macfound.org/fellows/860/.

[2] Claire Chase, "2013 Bienen School of Music Convocation Address," Pick-Staiger Concert Hall at the Bienen School of Music, June 22, 2013, accessed July 9, 2015, http://www.pickstaiger.org/video/2013-bienen-school-music-convocation-address-claire-chase.

[3] Anthony Tommasini, "Claire Chase Invites Young Musicians to Create New Paths," *New York Times*, December 26, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/29/arts/music/claire-chase-invites-young-musicians-to-create-new-paths.html.

you're a composer making a new work out of stardust, or a pianist breathing fresh life into a 350-year-old masterpiece, you are exercising entrepreneurial skills." For Chase, the "act of playing music, even very, very old music" cannot "really [be] separate[d]" from entrepreneurship, and the "natural entrepreneurship" of artists manifests in "the artist as a collaborator, the artist as a producer, the artist as an organizer, and the artist as an educator." In sum, Chase contends, "our calling is to be entrepreneurs." She declares: "Whether we like it or not, the calling of our generation is not to occupy positions created for us. Our calling is to create positions for ourselves, for one another, to improvise, to invent, and to blow the ceiling off of anything resembling a limitation." Six months after Chase's speech, Tommasini, covering the now internet-worthy event for the *New York Times* arts section, hails Chase as a "firebrand" whose stance made "the most positive case I have heard for the new entrepreneurship."[4]

Chase's heightened entrepreneurial rhetoric is matched by a seemingly innocuous report titled "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," published in 2008 by the Kauffman Foundation, a private think-tank for entrepreneurship education. Jointly authored by "a multidisciplinary panel of distinguished educators" at top-tier research universities, the report declared entrepreneurship "a dominant force in contemporary America" that "should be both a legitimate subject in American undergraduate education and a pervasive approach to learning and the management of universities."[5] Given the prominence of entrepreneurship education today, the existence of such a document would seem unsurprising if not for one confounding factor: its use of classical music to legitimate entrepreneurship's place in a university curriculum.

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[4] Anthony Tommasini, "Claire Chase Invites Young Musicians to Create New Paths," *New York Times*, December 26, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/29/arts/music/claire-chase-invites-young-musicians-to-create-new-paths.html.
[5] Kauffman Panel on Entrepreneurship Curriculum in Higher Education, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," Kauffman Foundation, July 15, 2008, 4, http://www.kauffman.org/what-we-do/research/2013/08/entrepreneurship-in-american-higher-education. Relevant sections of the report are excerpted in Appendix B1.

Rivaling Chase's speech for hyperbole, the report claimed: "Nearly everything that is true for music also is true for entrepreneurship."[6] Music, it said, is a "competitive field" and a "meritocracy" that is nonetheless "affected by the audience." It asserted: "Just as education can help students who are not musicians learn how to appreciate the skills, intelligence, and artistic values that go into the creation and performance of great music, so education can help students who are not entrepreneurs understand the skills, intelligence, and the political, cultural, and economic infrastructure that enable the generation of new enterprises." The importance of commercial viability in this analogy notwithstanding ("what counts as entrepreneurial merit is constrained by the market"), the report makes clear through references to "great music" and the "composer" and "virtuoso performer" and the skills of "conducting, mastering a specific instrument, theory, history, etc." that what they mean by "music" is Western classical music.[7]

In some way as yet little understood, the field of classical music has been functional to the institutionalization of entrepreneurship education in the United States. Entrepreneurial capitalism is a neoliberal formation of capitalism whose commodity and labor markets are dominated, whether concretely or metaphorically, by startup business ventures. It is a form of capitalism that cultivates its subjects as *worker-entrepreneurs*, workers who see themselves as entrepreneurs—capitalists—in the full-time business of finding a market for their labor. This chapter rests upon the premise that entrepreneurship education is an institution through which university and college students have been and continue to be interpellated as worker-

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[6] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 8.
[7] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 8. See Appendix B1 for relevant excerpts from the report.

entrepreneurs.[8] It operates upon the hypothesis that the arts, especially music, have been

instrumental in this interpellation.

Music, like other fields in the arts, humanities, and social sciences, has suffered at the

hands of the neoliberalization of public education.[9] So what makes it special in entrepreneurship

education discourse? What made Claire Chase credible when she asserted to the graduating class

of a prestigious music school that artists, especially musicians, were "natural entrepreneurs"?

Where the Kauffman report is concerned, what were the social conditions that made two

management school deans, an engineering school dean, a director of the MIT Computer Science

and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, a dean of the Columbia Business School, a provost with

an engineering degree, a dean with a chemistry degree, and a senior vice provost who taught

Religious Studies all agree upon *classical music education* as the analogue that would legitimate

entrepreneurship education in the eyes of their peers?

Using the methods of institutional analysis, I show how entrepreneurship education

became an organizing pedagogical priority in American higher education at the end of the

twentieth century. Within that account, I argue that the actions of music faculty and

administrators have helped to cast music, through music entrepreneurship programs, as an

exemplary entrepreneurial discipline. I rely upon qualitative textual analysis for my evidence,

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[8] To interpellate is to hail a subject to recognize themselves within a particular representation of their subjectivity. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 173-175.

[9] Music departments have not been exempt from the defunding of the liberal arts on college and university campuses. Christopher Newfield and Wendy Brown give overviews of this trend. Christopher Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 2008; and Brown, *Undoing*. In some instances, high-level training institutions for music and the performing arts have been especially targeted for budget savings. See, for instance, Max Borders, "The UNC School of the Arts: Should It Be Self-Supporting?" (Raleigh, NC: The John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, December 2009). This report for the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, a powerful conservative think-tank for higher education, concluded that the University of North Carolina School of the Arts, the nation's only public conservatory for the performing arts, was a drain on North Carolina taxpayers and should become entrepreneurially self-sustaining.

examining the ideological discourse of entrepreneurship in formal and informal publications by entrepreneurship educators—university faculty and administrators who teach and advocate the teaching of entrepreneurship as part of a university curriculum. I focus especially on the writings of individuals who appear to be thought leaders. These are individuals who, like Katz and Lazarsfeld's "opinion leaders,"[10] serve as intermediaries between an idea in circulation and its popularization among a wider audience. I also analyze reports by private foundations and news and popular magazine coverage of the entrepreneurship education trend in higher education, focusing on publications by influential organizations and sources.

New Institutionalism and the Affective Discourses of Avatars

The following analysis employs the sociological framework that Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell have charted as the "new institutionalism" in organizational analysis.[11] In contrast to the "old institutionalism," new institutionalism sees institutions not as "organic wholes" embodied in standalone organizations, but rather as "loosely coupled arrays of standardized elements" that are "interorganizational in locus." It is "organizational forms, structural components, and rules" rather than "specific organizations" that are institutionalized. From the neoinstitutionalist standpoint, institutionalization is therefore a process that occurs at the "sectoral or societal levels" rather than the level of individual organizations.[12]

Although entrepreneurship education has been promoted at all levels of schooling in the United States, I focus in this chapter on entrepreneurship education as it has developed in the higher education sector. As an institution, the chief structural component of entrepreneurship

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[10] Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1955).
[11] Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, introduction to *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, 1-40 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[12] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 14.

education is its pedagogical goal of teaching students to be entrepreneurial. Today, this entails engaging with professional life as a process of relentless networking, self-branding, and skill acquisition. It is an ethos of hard work defined as constant hustling and a willingness to be "flexible" and mobile. This resilience is necessary, in reality, to guard against the material insecurities of a turbulent employment market, decreasing wages, and weakening social safety nets. Thus, entrepreneurship is implicitly presented by entrepreneurship educators as the sole viable route towards professional success. However, more explicitly, entrepreneurship is justified and even celebrated as a democratic path of *choice*—an adventurous route towards financial stability that is achieved by complete self-sufficiency upon one's individual talents and creative potential. This contradictory set of attitudes and behaviors constitute the Entrepreneurial work ethic. It is the project of instilling it in every student that structures the institution of entrepreneurship education at its core.

In the higher education sector, the institution of entrepreneurship education merits an almost textbook application of the neoinstitutionalist approach. I say this because, importantly, for the present analysis, entrepreneurship education in American higher education is deeply interorganizational. No single campus or organization is centrally responsible for implementing it or producing knowledge about it. Rather, it is an organizing pedagogical priority formally pursued by faculty and administrators across hundreds of American university and college campuses. Its principles are often influenced by the publications of the Kauffman Foundation, which dubs itself the "Foundation of Entrepreneurship" and explicitly makes entrepreneurship education its funding priority. Yet, the Kauffman Foundation's reports are often collaborative efforts between its researchers and individuals at disparate higher education campuses. They draw upon knowledge produced at the different campus locations where entrepreneurship

education is practiced, and the principles they codify are broadly designed such that individual

campuses can act upon them in different ways (and they are encouraged to do so).[13] Thus, even

though certain individuals or campuses may at times take the lead in solidifying a certain

viewpoint or practice; and some organizations, like the Kauffman Foundation, may serve as

stable nodes of knowledge distribution; the practice of entrepreneurship education and the

production of knowledge about it are shared on an ongoing basis by all the individuals and

organizations involved.

In spite of this apparent synchrony with the neoinstitutionalist view, however, there are

ways in which entrepreneurship education presents an interesting blend of "old" and "new"

institutional characteristics. DiMaggio and Powell have noted that old institutionalism focused

on "values, norms, and attitudes" as the "bases of institutionalized behavior."[14] It viewed

institutions as "concrete organizations eliciting affective commitment" and favored the

"affectively 'hot' imagery of identification and internalization."[15] New institutionalism, on the

other hand, sees institutions as comprised of "taken-for-granted scripts, rules, and classifications"

and "rationalized and impersonal prescriptions." It prefers the "cooler implicit psychologies" of

"schemas and scripts."[16] What would seem unaccountable in the institution of entrepreneurship

education from a neoinstitutionalist perspective, then, is its passionate rhetoric, which is

anchored by its analogies to artists, especially musicians.

In my approach, I do not see the affective discourses of avatars as strictly "hot." Rather,

these artistic analogies strive to communicate the Entrepreneurial ethic, which is both rational

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[13] See Appendix B2 for section titled "Variation as Norm" in Kauffman: The Foundation of Entrepreneurship,
"Entrepreneurship Education Comes of Age on Campus," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, August 12, 2013, 2-
3, http://www.kauffman.org/newsroom/2013/08/entrepreneurship-education-comes-of-age-on-campus.
[14] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 14.
[15] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 14-15.
[16] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 15.

and affective. This applies both on the level of its abstract, internalized cognitive schema and its

rhetorical expression in discourse. As a cognitive schema, the Entrepreneurial ethic, while

ostensibly a rational discipline, is fueled by irrational desire. It depends upon individuals feeling

"called" to pursue their dreams, a goal that romanticizes the freedom to do what one loves as the

only true release from the uncertainties of professional life. When expressed in ideological

discourse, the Entrepreneurial ethic's disciplinary schemas and irrational desires are, among

other things, embodied in the charismatic figure of the musical artist. In this context, the figure

of the classical musician acts as an *avatar of the Entrepreneurial ethic*. Avatars are teaching

models for the work ethic. They are discursive signs—signs imbricated within the ideological

discourse of the work ethic—that appear, whether symbolically or concretely, as human

embodiments of the ideal capitalist subjectivity.[17] Like the cognitive schema of the

Entrepreneurial ethic, avatars of the Entrepreneurial ethic are both "hot" and "cool." They speak

the simultaneously impassioned and reasoned truths of entrepreneurial rationality.

As previously mentioned, the core structural component of the institution of

entrepreneurship education is its pedagogical implementation of the Entrepreneurial ethic. The

overall rationality of the institution of entrepreneurship education must therefore be seen in the

"both/and" mode of the Entrepreneurial ethic: as not merely goal-oriented reason, but rather a

directed striving achieved through constant navigation of a path between reason and passion.[18] In

this chapter, I focus on the avatar as a key discursive apparatus through which this navigation is

performed. Avatars help the discourses of entrepreneurship education harness the irrational drive

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[17] In the case of the Entrepreneurial ethic, this means that avatars may manifest as real artists in the flesh or the symbolic invocation of artists in verbal, visual, or other media.

[18] This view of rationality as a balancing of reason and passion is based on Alfred Hirschman's genealogy of the concept of self-interested rationality. Alfred O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism and Its Triumph*, 20th anniversary ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Unviersity Press, 1997).

of the Entrepreneurial ethic to its rational goals of creativity and innovation. The neoinstitutionalist framework, which emphasizes "irrationality in the formal structure [of the institution] itself," shows how such inherent contradiction may be a legitimate and routine part of an institution's self-reproduction.[19]

By introducing the avatar of the work ethic as an analytic, I offer a way to observe the routine irrationalities of entrepreneurship education's institutional discourse. Nonetheless, DiMaggio and Powell point out that, for all its ability to account for variance and subtle influence, new institutionalism tends to emphasize an institution's self-perpetuating "processes of legitimation and social reproduction" to the detriment of its attention to the less stable processes of power and change.[20] Although avatars of the Entrepreneurial ethic communicate ideas that are both reasoned and impassioned, as discursive phenomena—as mediums of expression—avatars of the Entrepreneurial ethic are affective at the core. Using themselves as role models, they incite affective identification with a subjectivity that practices entrepreneurial discipline and desires and stimulates individuals' internalization of entrepreneurial norms and values. By emphasizing the avatar's affective dimension, I suggest the possibility that moments of affective excess occur routinely in the rational ideological discourses of entrepreneurship, and that they may not always be productively contained. Thus, I use the analytic of the avatar to explore how an institution's routine irrationalities may not always feed back into an overall rationality. Rather, I wish to suggest these little excesses may open at times into territories as yet unmapped in the terrain of work politics.

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[19] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 13.
[20] DiMaggio and Powell, introduction, 27.

The Rise of Entrepreneurship Education as an Institution of American Higher Education

Since the 1970s, entrepreneurship education programs have become increasingly common on American university campuses as a way to prepare students for careers and professional success. Originally a business school specialty, entrepreneurship education exploded into the higher education mainstream in the 1990s, proliferating across the country's institutions of higher education by hundreds of distinct programs a year.[21] Replacing old "career services" offices as a more holistic outlook and pedagogical approach for bringing young adults into the workforce, entrepreneurship education programs claim to render a winning business formula teachable. They seek to turn successful start-up ventures' risk-taking, opportunistic, profit-driven behaviors into a teachable personal philosophy—one that enables individuals to survive in a hypercompetitive, destabilized labor market on their own ingenuity, strategy, and hard work.[22]

What does entrepreneurship education in colleges and universities look like today? As previously mentioned, the institution of entrepreneurship education manifests a "loose coupling" of organizational practices. The ways in which entrepreneurship is taught can therefore vary widely from campus to campus. Nonetheless, there are an "array of standardized elements" that render entrepreneurship education cohesive as an institution. Entrepreneurship programs are commonly adopted on college and university campuses as formal coursework: course credits that lead to entrepreneurship degrees, majors, minors, concentrations, and certificates. These curricular programs are often supported by endowed faculty chairs in entrepreneurship and the

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[21] Hans Landström, "Entrepreneurship Research and Its Historical Background," Chap. 2 in *The Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship*, ed. Ted Baker and Friederike Welter (New York: Routledge, 2015), 27; Patrick Clark, "Entrepreneurship Education Is Hot: Too Many Get It Wrong," *Bloomberg BusinessWeek*, August 8, 2013, accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-08-08/entrepreneurship-education-is-hot-dot-too-many-get-it-wrong.

[22] Donald F. Kuratko, "The Emergence of Entrepreneurship Education: Development, Trends, and Challenges," *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 29, no. 5 (September 2005): 577-598.

establishment of entrepreneurship institutes and centers,[23] and are further reinforced by co-curricular and extramural programming such as entrepreneurship grants, awards, and competitions. Curricular programs typically guide students in designing their own enterprises, while co-curricular and extramural opportunities offer competitive seed funds to winning technological innovations or enterprise ideas.

Broadly viewed, the meaning of entrepreneurship education is easily grasped. Indubitably, the rise of entrepreneurship education is part of the neoliberalization of higher education. In this broad transformation of the academy, a college education, which used to value "social equality," collective self-governance, and "worldly development of mind and character," has been recalibrated to "another set of metrics: income streams, profitability, technological innovation, and contribution to society construed narrowly as the development and promulgation of marketable goods or services."[24]

When examined more closely, however, entrepreneurship education reveals murkiness at the core of the neoliberal project. The actual content of entrepreneurship education, for instance, is fundamentally contested. Although entrepreneurship centers and programs have multiplied rapidly since the late 1990s, entrepreneurship educators still cannot agree on what it means to provide an education in entrepreneurship.[25] A longstanding controversy is over whether it should focus on teaching students concrete skills for business and financial management; or on cultivating a creative, opportunistic entrepreneurial attitude and giving students free rein to experiment. The former is criticized for being no different from traditional finance and

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[23] Jerome A. Katz, "The Chronology and Intellectual Trajectory of American Entrepreneurship Education, 1876-1999," *Journal of Business Venturing* 18 (2003): 291-292.

[24] Brown, *Undoing*, 190-191.

[25] Colette Henry, Frances Hill, and Claire Leitch, "Entrepreneurship Education and Training: Can Entrepreneurship Be Taught? Part I," *Education + Training* 47, no. 2 (2006): 98 – 111; Gary D. Beckman, "Disciplining Arts Entrepreneurship Education: A Call to Action," chap. 3 in *Disciplining the Arts: Teaching Entrepreneurship in Context*, ed. Gary D. Beckman, 25-34 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2011).

accounting fields, and for being too conventionally skill-based to fulfill entrepreneurship's chief purpose of helping students be flexible and adaptive in a dynamic economy.[26] The latter, conversely, is deemed too insubstantial and lacking in concrete guidance to be a satisfactory basis for an educational program.[27] Yet other pedagogies are too narrowly focused on just one approach to starting a company.[28]

While pedagogical difficulties of balancing theory and practice are common in many disciplines, what emerges especially as a problem in entrepreneurship education is the lack of any cohesive theory as to what entrepreneurship or being an entrepreneur even means, even though that is what the discipline chiefly purports to teach. Many critics fear that the field has been founded upon little more than a popular heroization of the entrepreneur. This undue attention to the role of the entrepreneur is reflected in American economic analysis even as far back as the mid-twentieth century. In 1957, well-known evolutionary economist David Hamilton, who was heavily critical of what he called the entrepreneurial "myth," accused economic theorists of being blind to their own sensationalization of the entrepreneurial role.[29] "Despite its formidable-looking mathematical notations and seemingly abstract matter-of-fact presentation," Hamilton wrote, "the part of economic theory concerning the entrepreneur appears to be a scholarly or sacred version of a popular folk myth."[30] Hamilton's criticism was warranted by Joseph Schumpeter's institutionalization of the mythology of the entrepreneur. From 1948 to

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[26] Douglas Dempster, "Some Immodest Proposals (and Hunches) for Conservatory Education," chap. 1 in Beckman, *Disciplining the Arts*, 9-10.
[27] Kuratko, "Emergence of Entrepreneurship Education"; Norman Kailer, "Evaluation of Entrepreneurship Education: Planning Problems, Concepts and Proposals for Evaluation Design," chap. 14 in *Handbook of Research in Entrepreneurship Education, Volume 2: Contextual Perspectives*, ed. Alain Fayolle (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2007).
[28] Clark, "Entrepreneurship Education."
[29] David Hamilton, "The Entrepreneur as Cultural Hero," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (December 1957): 249-250.
[30] Hamilton, "Entrepreneur," 255.

1958, Schumpeter's co-leadership with Alfred Chandler of the Harvard Center for Research on

Entrepreneurial History inflated the figure of the entrepreneur as a cultural-economic archetype

in both economic theory and mainstream media by associating him with the modern corporate

CEO. A 1952 collection of essays sponsored by the Harvard Center, titled *Men in Business:*

Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship, received the following synopsis in the *New York*

Times Book Review:

> What is the role of business entrepreneurs in economic and social organization? What types of people are they? What characteristics, if any, do they have in common? What are their social origins? Why do they become entrepreneurs, and why do some succeed while others fail? To what extent do they mold economic and social systems and to what extent are they molded by these systems?
> Though always of interest, questions of this sort are receiving greater attention as historians and economists address themselves increasingly to problems of economic change and growth. … This collection of essays should appeal to many groups interested in business leaders and the economic and social role of business leadership.[31]

Interest in the biographical and psychological traits of entrepreneurs was legitimated by their

importance to economic growth, and entrepreneurs were treated synonymously with business

leaders. During the years of its operation, the Harvard Center also published an influential

journal titled *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, which attempted to explain the nature of

the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship and their role in economic growth.

As more and more scholars in business and economics are drawn to entrepreneurship as a

field of research, they find that decades of entrepreneurship fervor have been based upon little

more than the same ideological valorization of the entrepreneur role already observed by

Hamilton. In the introductory chapter to the 2015 *Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship*,

Ted Baker and Friederike Welter write:

> The stylized narrative, which seems to shape many of the research questions that mainstream entrepreneurship research poses, goes something like this: 'Idiosyncratic and brilliant individual discovers or creates highly lucrative opportunity and through brains and guts keeps it going, attracts equity investments, revolutionizes industry, takes it

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[31] Lester V. Chandler, "Some Made It Pay," *The New York Times*, February 3, 1952, BR14.

public and delivers value, jobs, growth and capital accumulation.' While anyone doing empirical research—or even spending time casually with entrepreneurs—knows just how unusual this story line is, it remains the aspirational background context of much mainstream entrepreneurship research….[32]

The excessive focus on the entrepreneur as the sole content of entrepreneurship is also noted by others, who comment especially on the academic psychologizing of entrepreneurial personal traits in the 1960s and 1970s and the continued obsession into the 1990s over how the entrepreneur should be defined.[33]

In spite of—and, in many ways, *because of*—this skewed perception of the importance of the entrepreneur, by the mid-2000s, the practical wisdom of steeping university students in entrepreneurial habits seemed indisputable. I will begin by addressing the concrete structural forces behind this transformation. The mainstream acceptance of entrepreneurship education on college and university campuses depended, first and foremost, upon its ability to transcend the field of business. Although entrepreneurship courses began trickling into the curricular offerings of business departments in universities in the 1960s and 1970s, it was not until the early 1990s that they became commonplace in that discipline. Following that, in the late 1990s, pan-disciplinary entrepreneurship education programs suddenly mushroomed at institutions of higher education across the country. Whereas there were about 250 entrepreneurship courses offered in 1985, by the year 2000 there were approximately 2,200 courses offered at 1,600 institutions nationwide, and by 2008 the number of courses had more than doubled to about 5,000.[34]

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[32] Ted Baker and Friederike Welter, "Bridges to the Future: Challenging the Nature of Entrepreneurship Scholarship," chap. 1 in *The Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship*, ed. Ted Baker and Friederike Welter, 3-17 (New York: Routledge, 2015), 5.
[33] Landström, 24-25; Ivan Bull and Gary E. Willard, "Towards a Theory of Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Business Venturing* 8, no. 3 (May 1993): 183–95.
[34] Landström, 27; Clark, "Entrepreneurship Education."

Some entrepreneurship educators have attempted to use this precipitous growth of pan-disciplinary entrepreneurship programs as evidence of a grassroots "movement."[35] In reality, however, it was instigated by federal and state government initiatives and then greatly extended by the efforts of private foundations. In 1981, the Reagan administration's Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell, launched a two-year initiative to make entrepreneurship training part of vocational programs throughout the nation.[36] Upon the program's conclusion in 1982, ten state-level departments of education formed the Consortium of Entrepreneurship Education (based out of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education at Ohio State University) to continue promoting entrepreneurship education through career development and vocational teachers in Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, and Oklahoma. Today, in 2018, the Consortium has over one hundred member organizations. It maintains standards for the teaching of entrepreneurial competencies, holds an annual entrepreneurship education conference, and in 2006 successfully lobbied Congress to create National Entrepreneurship Week.[37]

Riding on the momentum and legitimacy provided by these government initiatives, entrepreneurship education has been increasingly financed by private foundations. The Coleman

[35] Jim Hart and Gary D. Beckman, "Arts Entrepreneurship: You Are Closer Than You Think," *TCG Circle: Artistic Innovation Blog Salon*, August 2013, http://www.tcgcircle.org/2013/08/arts-entrepreneurship-you-are-closer-than-you-think; and "DePauw University School of Music," *In View with Larry King*, April 28, 2014, https://vimeo.com/93169202.

[36] "About Entre-Ed," Entre-Ed, the National Consortium for Entrepreneurship Education, accessed March 14, 2016, http://www.entre-ed.org/about/. Bell had originally been charged with dissolving the Department of Education, but he ultimately convinced Reagan that it would be important for the federal government to continue its oversight of educational activities. His entrepreneurship education initiative appears to have been one of the very first large-scale undertakings of the newly envisioned Department of Education, which Congress had promoted to the level of the Cabinet just in 1980. Robert C. Johnston, "Terrel Bell, Known for Defending Federal Role in Education, Dies," *Education Week*, July 10, 1996, accessed March 13, 2016, http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1996/07/10/40bell.h15.html; and "The Federal Role in Education," U.S. Department of Education, accessed March 13, 2016, http://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/role.html.

[37] "About Entre-Ed," Entre-Ed, the National Consortium for Entrepreneurship Education, accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.entre-ed.org/about/.

Foundation and Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation have been the two private organizations

most deeply involved in entrepreneurship education on university campuses. Of the two, the

Kauffman Foundation is vastly more significant today. The Coleman Foundation offered grants

for entrepreneurship education programs and funded endowed chairs in entrepreneurship as early

as 1951. However, when the Kansas City, Missouri-based Kauffman Foundation joined the

entrepreneurship education cause in the early 1990s, it quickly overtook Coleman in scope and

funding.[38] Today, the Kauffman Foundation is a key player in the interorganizational

institutional complex responsible for entrepreneurship education's meteoric rise on college

campuses. The Foundation's influence upon entrepreneurship education has been not only

financial, but also ideological, and its impact is enhanced by its regular collaboration with

university researchers, faculty, and administrators.

The Kauffman Foundation's activities as a key institutional actor operate as a set of

interorganizational discursive processes that have been crucial to the shaping of higher education

programming and academic research around entrepreneurial values. The organizing force behind

them has been economic incentive: the Kauffman Foundation largely secures cooperation by

offering significant financial resources to campuses and affiliated individuals willing to develop

and implement entrepreneurial values in undergraduate and graduate teaching. In 2003, the

Kauffman Foundation launched its most significant program for the institutionalization of

entrepreneurship education, the Kauffman Campuses[SM] initiative, intended to fund the creation

of cross-disciplinary entrepreneurship programs in higher education. Its aim was to popularize

entrepreneurialism on college and university campuses beyond the fields of business and

economics. "The goal," an overview of the initiative asserted, "is to create a cultural

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[38] Katz, "Chronology," 286, 289.

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transformation on college campuses that results in graduates who are dynamic thinkers and risk-takers—no matter what major areas of study the students pursue."[39] The initiative gave $25 million to eight schools in 2003 and $23 million to eleven additional schools in 2006, with further funds provided through matched fundraising agreements.[40] These funds were used to create and support entrepreneurship centers, competitions, coursework, and co-curricular programs, and many schools were subsequently able to secure further funding from the Kauffman Foundation and other sources to sustain these efforts. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, for instance, used its funds to inject an entrepreneurial topic focus into several hundred first-year seminars across all disciplines. Freshmen therefore took classes like "Economic Saints and Villains: The Entrepreneurial Spirit in Early English Literature" that viewed historical and cultural documents through an entrepreneurial lens, and classes like "Biologists as Entrepreneurs" that framed grant-writing as entrepreneurial research activity. "How does entrepreneurship fit into the study of Biology? English? If you're thinking it doesn't, think again," the school's summary of this program teased.[41]

According to the funding reports submitted by the grantees of the Kauffman Campuses[SM] initiative, the strategy of recasting traditional academic activities in entrepreneurial terms was key to several institutions' success in shaping their campus culture around the ideology. The Kauffman Foundation's official report on the outcomes and transferable lessons of the Kauffman Campuses[SM] initiative particularly lauded Oberlin College's transformation:

> The Oberlin report…is candid about faculty and administrators' initial uncertainty about the school's "fit" with the program. However, when Oberlin administrators began to think about the initiative, they realized that the school had a long tradition of "creating change by positing solutions to challenges and needs." In fact, Oberlin was the first co-

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[39] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 23.
[40] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 23; "Kauffman Campuses Initiative" (webpage), Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.kauffman.org/what-we-do/programs/entrepreneurship/kauffman-campuses-initiative.
[41] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 20.

educational college in 1833, and it was the first college to educate African American and white students together in 1835. The Oberlin report explains: "We recognized creativity, innovation, action, and leadership as essential elements of entrepreneurial endeavor, and indeed these are the very qualities Oberlin seeks to develop in its students. Oberlin's popular admissions slogan 'Think one person can change the world?' captured what we came to recognize as an entrepreneurial mindset, and faculty and students immediately saw the connections between Oberlin's culture and the culture of entrepreneurship." Oberlin's [newly established] Creativity and Leadership Program "highlights and expands a culture that has long existed at Oberlin but had not been directly supported or actively encouraged. The program has provided a vital mechanism for integrating entrepreneurship into the educational fabric of the institution." Now, they write, from students to trustees, "creativity, leadership, innovation, and entrepreneurship are now cited proudly as hallmarks of an Oberlin education."[42]

The Kauffman Foundation's representation of Oberlin's report on funding outcomes was true to the original source, where concrete achievements were indeed framed within the overall success of translating longstanding academic and pedagogical activities into entrepreneurial terms.[43] That existing campus activities had merely been discursively re-framed in terms deemed more contemporary and relevant, so as to make the same activities seem deserving of support, was Oberlin's testament to their Kauffman Campus success. A similar eagerness to prove that the entrepreneurial "spirit" had been embraced at their institution dominates the funding reports submitted by the University of Rochester, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, College of Wooster, and Baldwin-Wallace College.[44] Repeatedly, they posit entrepreneurship as an

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[42] Wendy E.F. Torrance, "Entrepreneurial Campuses: Action, Impact, and Lessons Learned from the Kauffman Campus Initiative," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, August 2013, http://www.kauffman.org, 6-7.

[43] "In developing the proposal [for Kauffman Campuses[SM] funding]," Oberlin's president wrote in the report, "we came to recognize that much of the innovative work of Oberlin faculty was in fact entrepreneurial, from a political scientist offering international consulting services to a clarinetist providing mouthpieces to musicians in all of the country's major orchestras, and a Conservatory professor's founding of a non-profit music program that nurtures the musical development and spiritual growth of young musicians to a faculty member in environmental studies who—together with former research students—launched a company that designs and implements data acquisition and interactive display systems for the green-building industry. These and other faculty are leaders in their academic fields who have developed effective means of applying their research to develop creative solutions. It became clear that the Kauffman Campuses/NEOCEP initiative offered a powerful way not just to showcase their work but also to contextualize it for Oberlin undergraduates as models of entrepreneurship." Martin Krislov, "Opening Minds, Inciting Entrepreneurship: The KauffmanCampuses Initiative/Northeast Ohio Collegiate Entrepreneurship Program at Oberlin," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, 2012, http://www.kauffman.org.

[44] These represent all but one of the funding reports I was able to retrieve as of this writing. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, "Transforming a Larger, Complex Research University into a More Entrepreneurial Organization: The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in Collaboration with the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, 2012, http://www.kauffman.org; College of Wooster,

instant classic—something that had always been around in traditional academic disciplines and positively valued, but simply had never been recognized for what it was.

Crucially, schools that participated in the Kauffman Campuses[SM] initiative found that, in order to persuade faculty of the compatibility of entrepreneurial ideology with academic work, they needed to divorce entrepreneurship from its denotation of profit-seeking and focus exclusively on its associations with creativity, innovation, and real-world impact. Oberlin College, the College of Wooster, the University of Rochester, and Wake Forest University all reported emphasizing creativity and innovation rather than "entrepreneurship" as key terms. According to Wooster, "while many [faculty members] were not convinced that their efforts should be focused on profit-seeking, they were able and willing to embrace the concept that entrepreneurship is about innovation and creativity, approaches that have a clear home in our classrooms."[45] The University of Rochester similarly found that the substitution of "entrepreneurship" with "innovation" was necessary to win over its College of Arts, Sciences & Engineering and especially its Warner School of Education.[46] Oberlin and Wake Forest found it further persuasive to depict entrepreneurship as a mode of action, where ideas could be actualized to have real-world impact. Both liberal arts colleges connected this action-oriented interpretation of entrepreneurship with their school mottoes, which emphasized service for the betterment of human society. Oberlin's president Martin Krislov wrote: "We…focused our program on 'doing' entrepreneurship; …Creativity & Leadership took 'Think one person can change the world?' one step further by challenging students not just to think but to take action."[47]

"Entrepreneurship at the College of Wooster: The Impact of the Kauffman Campus Initiative," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, March 26, 2012, http://www.kauffman.org; Duncan T. Moore with Joel Seligman, "The Evolution of Entrepreneurship at the University of Rochester: The Nature and Scope of the KCI Impact," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, January 2012, http://www.kauffman.org; Krislov, "Opening Minds."
[45] College of Wooster, "Entrepreneurship," 1-2.
[46] Moore with Seligman, "Evolution of Entrepreneurship," 4-5.
[47] Krislov, "Opening Minds," 4.

Likewise, at Wake Forest University, "liberal arts faculty wanted their students to be able to put their knowledge and learning to productive use—…due to [Wake Forest's] long-standing motto of '*Pro Humanitate*' and the sort of students it attracts—to make a difference in the world."[48] The adoption of entrepreneurial discourse by higher education therefore cleansed it of its fundamental association with capitalist profiteering, recasting it instead as an ethic of using creativity and innovation to improve human society.

Nonetheless, the actual "action" emphasized in entrepreneurship education was the launching of business enterprises. At every single one of the Kauffman Campuses[SM], entrepreneurship education institutionalized the designing of business ventures—both for-profit and non-profit—as the default "hands-on" or practical component of entrepreneurship coursework.[49] Correspondingly, co-curricular entrepreneurship centers and programs focused on providing guidance and seed funds for student start-ups. Examples include University of Maryland's ACTiVATE, which supports female entrepreneurs in learning the ropes of technology transfer; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Launching the Venture, which provides students with access to the school's MBA student consultants; and their Carolina Challenge, a student-run competition that offers seed funds to winning entrepreneurial designs; University of Rochester's Kauffman Entrepreneurial Year Program, which gives students a full-year tuition scholarship to spend an extra year in college developing a new enterprise; Washington University in St. Louis' Student Owned Business Program, which leases prime retail storefronts to undergraduates out of which to run their own business; Stanford University's

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[48] Wake Forest University, "Changing a Campus Culture: The Role of the Kauffman Campus Initiative in Promoting Entrepreneurship at Wake Forest University," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, 2012, http://www.kauffman.org, 4.
[49] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 17-22.

Biodesign program, which educates students in the process of biomedical technology transfer;[50] and Oberlin College's LaunchU, an "intensive entrepreneurship accelerator that…bring[s] together alumni investors and mentors with student and alumni entrepreneurs."[51] As proof of the success of their entrepreneurship programming, schools frequently report the number of student businesses launched and highlight noteworthy ventures. Thus, although entrepreneurship education construes entrepreneurship as being about creativity, innovation, and societal improvement, it channels students' practice of these values almost exclusively through the capitalist market-based practices of for-profit and non-profit corporate management.

As an institution, entrepreneurship education gained general acceptance in American universities and colleges by channeling its distasteful values of profit-seeking through the values of creativity, innovation, humanitarian service, and real-world impact instead. Max Weber argued that, in the sixteenth century, the Protestant ethic eased the entry of capitalism's profit-seeking drive into a Western European culture governed by a morality that reviled greed and avarice.[52] It recast the acts of profit-seeking and wealth-hoarding as no more than the busy-ness of activity, good in their own right as counters to the sin of idleness.[53] Since the 1990s, according to Boltanski and Chiapello, the ideological "spirit of capitalism"—the seemingly authentic, spiritual nature of capitalist values—that the Protestant ethic helped to create has been given renewed power by a new set of values. In a co-optation of countercultural criticisms and Bohemian values from the 1960s and 1970s, the new spirit of capitalism espouses artistic values that are "rooted in the invention of a bohemian lifestyle."[54] They sanction profit-seeking by

[50] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 17-22.
[51] Krislov, "Opening Minds," 11.
[52] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*.
[53] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 104-105.
[54] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 38.

portraying it as the activity of creativity, which is borne out in everyday action as the pursuit of innovation, mobility, projects, and networking.[55] The Entrepreneurial ethic that entrepreneurship education inculcates is one disciplinary apparatus through which the new spirit of capitalism "secure[s] for itself the actors required for profit creation."[56]

The broad view of entrepreneurship education's institutionalization I have provided so far would seem to suggest that its pedagogical ideologies were adopted at a consistent rate by the various academic disciplines of higher education. However, their distribution over the academy was actually quite uneven. Especially at the outset, it was the fields of engineering, the sciences, and, curiously, the arts that took to the new ideological regime most readily.[57] The eagerness with which STEM fields have adopted entrepreneurship pedagogy follows in the well-documented history of the American academy's involvement with technology transfer and the military-industrial complex.[58] It is also not difficult to see how the visual arts might have been drawn into collaborative entrepreneurial programs with STEM fields. As the rising popularity of STEAM initiatives indicates, visualization and design elements are crucial to the technology transfer process.[59] What is a lot less obvious is why a field like music, which, in the context of

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[55] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*.

[56] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 11.

[57] Kuratko, "Emergence," 584.

[58] Since the end of World War II, universities have been central to the American political economy as a source of research and development for the military-industrial complex; correspondingly, the military-industrial complex has also become one of the most influential patrons of higher education. Commentators as early as 1963 described this shift as "entrepreneurial." Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 241 n. 5. Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie, who examine American university faculty's involvement in technology transfer and courting of external research funds from 1970 to 1995, also dubbed the profit-oriented research university the "entrepreneurial university." *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

[59] The Rhode Island School of Design launched the "STEM to STEAM" initiative in 2011, where the added "A" refers to both art and design, and the trend is quickly catching on at universities across the nation (STEM to STEAM website, accessed March 19, 2016, http://stemtosteam.org/). STEAM efforts have been widely publicized in mainstream news sources (see the STEM to STEAM website press page), and the University of California, San Diego has been one of its earliest advocates. UCSD Extension hosts a STEAM television channel and offers STEAM courses, and hosted its first STEAM Connect conference in 2014. Conference attendees included "pre-K-16 educators, administrators, arts and STEM nonprofit leaders, scientific research centers, business leaders and regional

higher education, emphasizes the Western classical tradition of musical study and performance, should be singled out in entrepreneurship discourse from among the arts as a superlative example of entrepreneurial discipline.

Classical Music Entrepreneurship Education

At the general level of entrepreneurship education's institutionalization in American higher education, the Kauffman Foundation and the executive university administrators it works with are key institutional actors. However, at the more specific level of entrepreneurship education's institutionalization in individual disciplines, a different set of key actors emerge who nonetheless intersect with the general actors in consequential ways. What follows here is an account of who those actors have been in the field of music and arts entrepreneurship and how they have brought classical music to the more general attention of entrepreneurship education as an institution.

Arts entrepreneurship programs began to proliferate at the end of the 1990s. Among them, music entrepreneurship programs have been the most numerous and strongly established. This transpired because music faculty and administrators were some of the earliest and most eager adopters of entrepreneurship education in higher education. The Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester was the first renowned institution of higher education in music to explicitly turn the field of music education towards entrepreneurship. The University of Rochester had been among the first wave of schools funded by the Kauffman Campuses[SM] initiative in 2003, and the Eastman School had received the majority of the funds, which it used

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policymakers" ("STEAM Connect Holds First-Annual Conference in San Diego," San Diego Workforce Partnership, April 2, 2014, http://workforce.org/news/steamconnect-holds-first-annual-conference-san-diego).

to convert its Institute for Music Leadership to a focus on entrepreneurship.[60] It was not the only

institution of music or arts higher education to embrace entrepreneurship at the time: the

University of Colorado-Boulder's Entrepreneurship Center for Music had already been founded

in 1998 with funds from the Louis & Harold Price Foundation.[61] Nonetheless, it was the Eastman

School's example and evangelizing that quickly turned many more music conservatories,

schools, and departments in the same direction. Oberlin College, whose internationally renowned

Conservatory of Music was the 2009 recipient of the National Medal of Arts, was among the

Kauffman Campuses[SM] 2006 grantees. With their Kauffman funds, they created LaunchU, a

competitive co-curricular entrepreneurship program that frequently supports music-related

ventures.[62] Baldwin-Wallace College, another Kauffman grantee and liberal arts college with a

music conservatory attached, instituted a mandatory music entrepreneurship course in its music

curriculum with its Kauffman funds.[63] More broadly in the arts, Arizona State University, also

awarded by Kauffman Campuses[SM] in 2006, used a large portion of its funds to establish the

Performing Arts Venture Experience (p.a.v.e.) program in its School of Theatre and Film.[64]

Thus, by the time the Eastman School held its 2009 conference called "Preparing the

Generation 'E' Musician: Entrepreneurship's Place in the Music School Curriculum," there were

already numerous music entrepreneurship programs and centers in development at other

campuses. With the leadership of an early adopter like the Eastman School, entrepreneurship

education gained traction easily. By 2010, the Manhattan School of Music had opened the doors

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[60] "Center for Music Innovation and Engagement" (webpage), Institute for Music Leadership at the Eastman School of Music, accessed March 15, 2016, https://www.esm.rochester.edu/iml/entrepreneurship/index.php.
[61] "Teaching Musicians to Be Entrepreneurs," *Bloomberg BusinessWeek*, March 28, 2007, http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2007-03-28/teaching-musicians-to-be-entrepreneursbusinessweek-business-news-stock-market-and-financial-advice.
[62] "Ventures" (webpage), Oberlin College LaunchU, accessed March 18, 2016, http://oclaunchu.com/ventures/.
[63] Peter Rea, "Impact of the Kauffman Campus Initiative on Baldwin-Wallace College," Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, 2012, http://www.kauffman.org, 5.
[64] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 17.

to its Center for Music Entrepreneurship;[65] Indiana University's Jacobs School of Music had

launched Project Jumpstart, a music venture competition;[66] the New England Conservatory had

established an Entrepreneurial Musicianship department;[67] and music entrepreneurship

programs, institutions, coursework, and degrees were in place and proliferating at schools

ranging from the Ivy Leagues and public universities to small liberal arts colleges of varying

tiers.

     A few years later, music entrepreneurship education also became advanced by the

activities of an arts-specific entrepreneurship organization, the Society for Arts Entrepreneurship

Education (SAEE). DiMaggio and Powell have observed that the process of institutionalization

is often furthered by the "construction of fieldwide organizations, with professionals playing

leading roles, that exert[] an autonomous impact on ideology and behavior." This was very much

the case in arts entrepreneurship education. The major co-founder of the SAEE was an individual

named Gary D. Beckman, in whose rise to leadership in the arts entrepreneurship education the

Kauffman Foundation also played a critical role. Today, Beckman holds the position of Director

of Entrepreneurial Studies in the Arts at North Carolina State University.[68] In the mid-2000s,

however, Beckman, as a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at the University of Texas-Austin, was

the principle investigator on a Kauffman-funded nationwide study of arts entrepreneurship

programs—the first of its kind.[69] With that professional start, Beckman went on to organize what

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[65] "About Us: History" (webpage), Manhattan School of Music, accessed March 18, 2016, http://www.msmnyc.edu/About-MSM/History.

[66] "About Project Jumpstart" (webpage), Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University, accessed March 18, 2016, http://music.indiana.edu/departments/offices/entrepreneurship-careers/jumpstart/about.shtml.

[67] "Entrepreneurial Musicianship" (webpage), New England Conservatory, accessed June 30, 2015, http://necmusic.edu/#em.

[68] "Dr. Gary Beckman" (webpage), North Carolina State University, accessed March 18, 2016, https://music.dasa.ncsu.edu/facultystaff/dr-gary-beckman/.

[69] "Dr. Gary Beckman" (webpage), North Carolina State University, accessed March 18, 2016, https://music.dasa.ncsu.edu/facultystaff/dr-gary-beckman/.

would become the nation's first arts entrepreneurship education conference. The conference was

funded by the Kauffman Foundation and held at the Brevard Music Center in North Carolina.

Billed as a conference on music entrepreneurship education, it featured an illustrious list of

speakers that included music entrepreneurship faculty and administrators from the New England

Conservatory, New York University, University of Colorado Boulder, and University of South

Carolina.[70] It took place in 2007, two years before the Eastman School's "Generation 'E'

Musician" conference.

The founding of the SAEE was therefore rooted in music as a specialization, and, in spite

of the broad designation of the arts in the organization's name, the SAEE's stakeholders remain

predominantly in the field of music. Of the fifty-three arts entrepreneurship programs the SAEE

has indexed that are housed in arts departments or conservatories (rather than in business, arts

administration, or cross-disciplinary programs), thirty-four are housed by music departments,

thirteen by visual arts, four by theater, and two by dance.[71] Music entrepreneurship programs are

therefore an institutional base for arts entrepreneurship education.[72] As seen earlier, they have

also been a leading edge for early program adoption in entrepreneurship education more

generally.

Why were music faculty so keen to embrace entrepreneurship education when so many

faculty across other disciplines were wary of the idea? Chiefly, they saw entrepreneurialism as a

panacea on two fronts. First, it was the immediate solution to the shrinking job prospects of their

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[70] "Brevard Conference on Music Entrepreneurship: July 27-29, 2007" (website), accessed April 26, 2015, http://www.bcome.org.
[71] "Arts Entrepreneurship Program Inventory," Society for Arts Entrepreneurship Education, accessed March 31, 2015, http://www.societyaee.org/. According to the SAEE's inventory, the total number of schools offering formal credentials or training in arts entrepreneurship stand in 2018 at ninety-four.
[72] The SAEE's inventory likely underestimates the number of music entrepreneurship programs in existence. Andrea Moore describes the phenomenon among music schools as a "gospel of entrepreneurship," and describes entrepreneurship curricula as being "in place at almost every music school in the country." "Neoliberalism and the Musical Entrepreneur," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 10, no. 1 (February 2016): 33-53.

graduates. Second, over the long term, not only would it be the ideal way to lead an artistic life, but it would be the ark that would float over the apocalyptic "death of classical music" that had long been foretold.[73] I previously said that the Entrepreneurial ethic is a disciplinary apparatus for what Boltanski and Chiapello call the third spirit of capitalism. Every spirit of capitalism, Boltanski and Chiapello point out, provides "individual justifications" ("wherein a person finds grounds for engaging in capitalist enterprise") and "general justifications" ("whereby engagement in capitalist enterprise serves the common good").[74] The third spirit's expression through music entrepreneurship discourse furnishes both.

In their entrepreneurship education advocacy, music entrepreneurship faculty and administrators offer two types of individual justifications for engaging with entrepreneurship. First, they argue, it is the ideal mode of work and life for pursuing free, creative, and artistic expression. At the same time, they insist that it is the only path towards career success. In a 2014 episode of *In View with Larry King*, Mark McCoy, dean of the DePauw University School of Music, describes the remedy that their entrepreneurship program proposes in light of the decline of classical music:

> The 21st Century Musician Initiative is rethinking the modern music school. This is a complete re-imagining of what a music school in America today has to do to create the musician of the *future* instead of the musician of the past. These are flexible, entrepreneurial musicians. It used to be we train musicians to land an orchestral gig and play with a single ensemble, one style of music their entire career, and they were very successful at that. Not so much any more. Now we're training musicians who have to be flexible and entrepreneurial. They might create their own jobs. Tonight it might be a chamber music group that they're performing with, tomorrow an orchestra, the next day an opera company, the next day doing something at a school. So we're trying to create the musician of the twenty-first century, someone who's thinking ahead about what their daily life will be like, still sharing the immense power of music, but doing it in an entrepreneurial and perhaps more of a grassroots way.[75]

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[73] Moore comes to the same conclusion in "Neoliberalism and the Musical Entrepreneur."
[74] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 10.
[75] "DePauw University School of Music," *In View with Larry King*, April 28, 2014, https://vimeo.com/93169202.

Entrepreneurship, associated here with "flexibility," offers an optimistic lens through which young musicians can see greater meaning and direction in the piecemeal, gigging lifestyle that most of them can expect to have. They would be empowered to "create their own jobs," and they could reframe the fragmented, temporary, under- or unpaid nature of their work in the hopeful terms of "grassroots" activism.

More than just getting on a popular entrepreneurship bandwagon, pronouncements such as these speak with the authority of a discourse that works to link artistic activity directly to entrepreneurial activity. Mark Rabideau, director of DePauw University's 21st Century Musician (21CM) Initiative and author of *Creating the Revolutionary Artist: Entrepreneurship for the 21st-Century Musician*, writes for the 21CM monthly online magazine:

> While at first glance, the artist and the entrepreneur may seem worlds apart, in fact they are remarkably similar. Artists, by definition, exude curiosity about the world we live in and help us see opportunities and ideas from a rare vantage point. Through creativity, they find new ways to usher beauty into the world and challenge popular assumptions. And who is more collaborative than members of a string quartet or a jazz trio or more tenacious than a musician who has faced difficulty or failure in the practice room or concert stage but pushed through anyway, striving for the unattainable?
> …
> What artists and entrepreneurs share is the ability to address complexity and thrive while playing in the messy, fertile space of uncertainty, ambiguity and promise.[76]

Douglas Dempster, former associate director of the Eastman School of Music, says in his keynote address to the College Music Society 2010 Summit on Music Entrepreneurship Education:

> "Entrepreneurship," I imagine, can refer to a pretty well-defined set of vocational skills and methods…. … However, "entrepreneurship" can also refer in common parlance to a disposition that is adventuresome, risk taking, self-motivated, un-rule-bound, visionary, and opportunistic—all attributes that we might hope to inculcate in any musician or artist, especially those who hope to survive gigging and freelancing.[77]

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[76] Mark Rabideau, "Entrepreneurship and the Artist-Revolutionary," *Sounding Board* (online Magazine), 21st Century Musician Initiative, DePauw University School of Music, November 2012, http://21cm.org/magazine/sounding-board/2015/11/01/entrepreneurship-and-the-artist-revolutionary/.
[77] Dempster, "Some Immodest Proposals," 25.

Entrepreneurs, according to music entrepreneurship educators, are what artists already are, or, at the very least, should be.

Even more than these individual justifications for engaging in entrepreneurship, music entrepreneurship educators offer a passionate general justification for it: the great need for a solution to classical music's perennial problem—its decline. The reasoning goes that if entrepreneurial musicians create their own jobs, it means that they will be creating new audiences. As a result, the market for classical music would grow and thrive. This linking of entrepreneurial job creation to the salvation of classical music is echoed by many music entrepreneurship educators. Greg Sandow, Juilliard professor and regular columnist for the popular internet arts and culture magazine *ArtsJournal*, describes a music entrepreneurship course he is teaching at Juilliard:

> In my course, I suggest that our culture changed, in dramatic ways, and that classical music didn't keep up. Which then left most younger people no way to connect with it.
>   To bring them to us, we need new ideas, and that's where entrepreneurship comes in. Classical musicians, especially young ones, can find their own new ideas, and then go out as musical entrepreneurs, and find their own audiences.[78]

The difficulty of this task, music entrepreneurship educators agree, is what necessitates entrepreneurship education. In *The Crisis of Classical Music in America* (2014), Robert Freeman, the dean who oversaw the institutionalization of entrepreneurship education at the Eastman School of Music in the mid-2000s, assails the college-bound musician directly:

> Begin early to think about your future audiences. Whose responsibility is the development of that audience? Your understanding that many Americans see classical music as European, elitist, boring, nonparticipatory, long, and incomprehensible is important. … [T]here is so much competition for leisure time in America these days that it will be your responsibility to develop your own audiences, a subject that is almost never addressed among collegiate music schools but ought to be.[79]

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[78] Greg Sandow, "A Powerful Word in Classical Music," *The Juilliard Journal*, March 2012, http://www.juilliard.edu/journal/power-word-classical-music.

[79] Robert Freeman, *The Crisis of Classical Music in America: Lessons from a Life in the Education of Musicians* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 71, 77.

The scarcity of jobs is attributed here, in martyric Bohemian fashion, to a "philistine

incomprehension."[80] Americans must be *made* to see the benefits of having classical music in

their lives. Others, however, pose the problem of scarcity as flowing in the opposite direction. C.

Tayloe Harding, the dean of the University of South Carolina School of Music, subscribes to a

supply-and-demand logic that is nonetheless romantic in its view of art:

> Americans need more music: more music to listen to and more opportunities to make
> music themselves. Further, this nation needs more musicians to deliver more music and
> music-making opportunities. … Professional musicians…who want to make music and
> share their life's work are now increasingly having to think like, act like, and become
> entrepreneurs in order to discover a path to this life; in doing so, they meet society's need
> for more music.[81]

One way or another, music entrepreneurship educators impress upon young classical musicians

that they must see to their own survival as artists by becoming entrepreneurs because it is the

only thing that will serve Americans' need for more music. This discourse takes Reagan-era

responsibilization to a whole different level. Young classical musicians are not just being made

responsible for their individual well-being. Ultimately, they are being held responsible for the

cultivation of new audiences, who will grow the market for classical music.

In classical music entrepreneurship, serving the common good is therefore inseparable

from serving one's individual interests. This fusion of the two justifications is expressed not

only, as seen so far, through the strident rhetoric of hyper-responsibilization, but also the

inspirational rhetoric of humanitarian service. In the latter, the saving of art and classical music

becomes a galvanizing ethical commitment. Beckman, co-founder of the SAEE, writes: "The

role of the arts entrepreneurship educator is to intellectually engage with the potential that the

word 'entrepreneurship' portends not just for our students but for art itself. We must envision an

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[80] Graña, "Ideological Significance," 8.
[81] C. Tayloe Harding, "Why Music Entrepreneurship and Why in College Music Training?," chap. 2 in Beckman, *Disciplining the Arts*, 17, 19.

'artist-citizen' who holistically leverages knowledge and creativity in service of art, community, and self."[82] Freeman, too, expounds upon the responsibilities of the artist-citizen, telling young classical musicians that they must "think, read, write, and speak on behalf of music in ways that other people understand and are moved by." He adds, with moral derision disguised as pragmatism: "If you don't know why the Mahler Fifth excites you—apart from the fact that the principal trumpet part can be dangerous for the player—you cannot expect taxpaying nonmusicians to care enough about music to support it." Fusing self and society in a rhetoric of political action and passion, music entrepreneurship educators transform the economic logic of entrepreneurship into a moral code.

The impetus behind the broader use of classical music education as a paragon of entrepreneurship education becomes clear. Not only does classical music education furnish to entrepreneurship education discourse—with its easily graspable structures of performer, practice, and audience—an accessible musical analogy for the structures of an entrepreneurial economy and its work ethic; but it also, as a form of art, offers entrepreneurship education an authentic, inspirational core, a rhetoric of service to "art, community, and self" that is interchangeable with the language of entrepreneurship, the market, and the producer and consumer. Thus, with complete earnestness, the Kauffman reports claim that, "[l]ike a music program, a successful entrepreneurship program cultivates the virtuoso practitioner, often elaborately and at significant expense, while simultaneously enriching the lives and deepening the skills of millions of others who have more affinity than talent."[83] "It teaches the virtuoso how to improve and the amateur how to appreciate," they say.[84] In this way, they explain, entrepreneurship education is no

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[82] Beckman, "Disciplining Arts," 29-30.
[83] Kauffman Foundation, "Entrepreneurship Education Comes of Age," 5.
[84] Kauffman Panel, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education," 8.

different from "the familiar structure of musical education, which begins with music appreciation classes for practically everyone and extends through conservatory training for the especially talented few."[85] For the Kauffman authors, it is by such analogy to music that entrepreneurship education fulfills its moral obligations to both those who succeed as entrepreneurs and those "millions of others" who cannot. "While these [latter] students will not pursue entrepreneurship after graduation," the 2013 report observes, "they will, as consumers and voters, have a deep understanding of the enormous effort and talent necessary for successful entrepreneurship and a profound appreciation for the importance of entrepreneurship to our economy and society"[86] (see Appendix B for the full text of the relevant sections of the Kauffman reports).

The implications of such music-infused entrepreneurship discourse are discomforting. They undermine the dominant account of where the liberal arts stand in relation to neoliberal politics. According to Wendy Brown, the neoliberalization of the academy robbed the liberal arts of their political voice. Even through the Cold War, she argues, colleges espoused "a liberalism of profound egalitarian commitments, rich humanism, and a strong ethos of the public good."[87] Now, however, "the university no longer speaks this way about itself":

> Even when the humanities and interpretive social sciences are accounted as building the analytical thinkers needed by the professions or as building the mind and hence securing a more gratifying life for the individual, they align with the neoliberal notion of building human capital. In neither defense are the liberal arts depicted as representing, theorizing, interpreting, creating, or protecting the world. They are not conceived as binding, developing, or renewing us as a people, alerting us to dangers, or providing frames, figures, theories, and allegories for altering our practices or collective trajectories. Above all, they are not conceived as providing the various capacities required for democratic citizenship.[88]

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[85] Kauffman Foundation, "Entrepreneurship Education Comes of Age," 5.
[86] Kauffman Foundation, "Entrepreneurship Education Comes of Age," 5.
[87] Brown, *Undoing*, 187.
[88] Brown, *Undoing*, 187-188.

Although Brown is correct that the liberal arts' attempts to communicate their importance are routinely assimilated into the dominant discourses of neoliberalism, the case of music entrepreneurship education shows that the suppression of liberal arts values is not as straightforward as she suggests. Rather, the liberal arts *have* been conceived in entrepreneurship education as representing, theorizing, interpreting, creating, and protecting the world. Through its invocations of artist-citizens and the common good, music entrepreneurship education discourse shows that it is, in fact, by being conceived as "providing frames, figures, theories, and allegories for altering our practices or collective trajectories" and "providing the various capacities required for democratic citizenship" that the field of music has enabled the rise of neoliberal discourses of entrepreneurship, and therefore the institutionalization of entrepreneurship education, on college and university campuses.

Today, the idea that entrepreneurship is not only deeply compatible with being an artist, but especially being a trained musician, has been conveyed outwards to a wider audience. The narrative of the musician who discovers his inner entrepreneur has been a powerful one. One instance of such a narrative was offered by Panos Panay, managing director of the Berklee College of Music's Institute of Creative Entrepreneurship, who authored an article for the popular internet business magazine *Fast Company* titled "Why Music Majors Make Some of the Best Entrepreneurs." Panay describes his autobiographically-inspired epiphany:

> I spent a good part of my early entrepreneurial life running away from the fact that I had a music degree and not a business degree. …
> It was not until I sold my company 18 months ago and took on the position of founding managing director of the new Institute for Creative Entrepreneurship at Berklee College of Music that I came to realize that I succeeded as an entrepreneur not despite the fact that I had a music degree, but precisely because of it.
> Learning how to play a musical instrument and becoming a musician is an exercise in developing good listening skills, experimenting, overcoming repeated failure, self-discipline, and successful collaboration. …

> Turns out that these are not just the skills for developing great musicians but also the attributes and behaviors found in successful entrepreneurs.[89]

Panay's story is earnest and personal, turning on the repurposing of his musical skills. It is one of many like it that had already been popularized by his colleague at the Berklee College of Music, Peter Spellman, in his 2009 book, *Indie Business Power*.[90]

Building upon Spellman's insights and the examples of tech industry celebrities like Steve Wozniak and Paul Allen, the idea of "artpreneurs" has become ascendant in mainstream business circles. According to John Hall, who writes for *Forbes* magazine, artpreneurs are "a blend of artists and entrepreneurs" because they have the "ability to master both the artistic and professional realms and use them to fuel one another." They are, on the one hand, "business leaders who use the power of music to help them succeed," and, on the other, "artists-turned-business-leaders who leveraged their musical abilities to achieve success in the business world." Excitedly, Hall looked forward to the first conference for artpreneurs, the Music Entrepreneurship Conference (MEcon), that would be held in April 2018 on the Harvard University campus as a collaboration between eclectic Los Angeles-based entertainment company and boutique record label World Artists United (WAU) and the Harvard Graduate Council. The event is intended to bring about greater exchange between the two types of artpreneurs.[91] As is implied by the label of the "artpreneur," they hope to make the artist and the entrepreneur truly one.

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[89] Panos Panay, "Why Music Majors Make Some of the Best Entrepreneurs," *Fast Company*, November 4, 2014, http://www.fastcompany.com/3037958/why-music-majors-make-some-of-the-best-entrepreneurs.

[90] A *Forbes* magazine article on the artpreneur credits Spellman for alerting the public to this phenomenon. John Hall, "Transforming Artists and Entrepreneurs Into Artpreneurs," *Forbes*, March 18, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/johnhall/2018/03/18/transforming-artists-and-entrepreneurs-into-artpreneurs/#85ee14d4d9f6.

[91] Hall, "Transforming Artists."

Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and the Problem of the "Traditional Intellectual"

The affective quality that the figure of the classical musician brings to entrepreneurship discourse is affective because it is political. It is political because it expresses indignation at the "climate of arts austerity" (to borrow a phrase from musicologist Will Robin[92])—a lack of resources that is imposed by economic and political elites. This indignation is shared more broadly today by the American millennial generation, many of whom find themselves unable to achieve the standards of living they had grown up accustomed to due to a retraction of the resources their own parents had enjoyed.[93] The problem is that the political tenor of the artist's indignation has been diverted to more productive desires for capitalism. In the process, the services of the artist's voice, divested of its political content, have been retained by entrepreneurial discourses as a mouthpiece for the values of creativity, freedom, and the common good.

Through the trials of work, the problems of art become the problems of society. In a society that refuses to see its value, how does art voice its needs without ventriloquizing the less desirable aspects of the language it needs to speak in order to be heard? How can artists challenge the dominance of capitalist work—the very institution whose values are what sideline art in the first place—when they themselves are in need of work (specifically something that counts as work according to capitalist norms)? How does any citizen fight the dominant capitalist structures of work—the very ones that sideline their aspirations to humanitarian service and creative freedom—when they themselves are in need of work?

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[92] William Robin, "A Scene Without a Name: Indie Classical and American New Music in the Twenty-First Century," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2016), 253.
[93] Betty Kaklamadinou and Margaret Tally, "Introduction: The Twenty-First Century Generation and the ABC Family Brand," in *The Millennials on Film and Television: Essays on the Politics of Popular Culture*, ed. Betty Kaklamadinou and Margaret Tally, 1-14 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 3-5.

Just as much as the case of classical music entrepreneurship has illuminated this conundrum of political resistance, it may also provide a starting point from which to unravel it. Music entrepreneurship educators have championed the figure of the classical music entrepreneur beyond arts departments and even beyond the university, but with complicated consequences. On one hand, to everyone's surprise, it is the avant-garde or "contemporary" faction of the classical music field that has done especially well under the new regime of entrepreneurial work. This subfield of classical music, typically referred to by its practitioners as "new music," is viewed as avant-garde not only because of its performance of new works in the classical tradition by living composers, but also increasingly its theatrical and multimedia approaches to musical performance, its eclectic programming of music from popular genres, and its repurposing of industrial and other unconventional spaces as venues for musical performance.[94] In promotional materials, these qualities are highlighted as the disruption of conventional boundaries and construed in the entrepreneurial terms of creative innovation and risk. In addition to Claire Chase, who was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship in 2012 for her "arts entrepreneurship" in founding the critically acclaimed International Contemporary Ensemble (ICE), the contemporary classical ensembles eighth blackbird and Bang on a Can have also risen to international prominence using similar entrepreneurial strategies and self-branding rhetoric.[95]

In spite of this classical music revival led by a young avant-garde, however, many Americans continue to associate classical music with the tastes of an oppressive economic elite

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[94] Moore, "Neoliberalism"; John Pippen, "Toward a Postmodern Avant-Garde: Labour, Virtuosity, and Aesthetics in an American New Music Ensemble" (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2014); Marianna Ritchey, "Amazing Together: Mason Bates, Classical Music, and Neoliberal Values," *Music & Politics* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2017); and Robin, "Scene Without a Name."

[95] Moore, "Neoliberalism"; Pippen, "Postmodern Avant-Garde"; and Robin, "Scene." More generally, a burgeoning music scene that calls itself "Indie Classical" trades on the startup venturing and networking ethos that pervades the entrepreneurial work culture of the high technology industry. Robin, "Scene."

and classical musicians with an upper-class identity.[96] Thus, even as popular business magazines like *Forbes* and *Fast Company* follow the development of music entrepreneurship with celebratory interest, other mainstream media outlets hold up the new breed of "classical music entrepreneur" in a cynical light. "Can Classical Music Be Cool?" asked the headline of a 2016 arts and culture column in *The Economist*. The article spent most of its word count on the decline of classical music before skeptically summarizing the entrepreneurial efforts of classical musicians to find new audiences.[97] In *USA Today*, an archly class-conscious headline— "Classical Musicians Sing Employment Blues"—led a 2015 report on the trend of entrepreneurship education at music schools.[98] The worker-entrepreneur identity has become strongly associated with conventional middle-class aspirations, and the public doubts classical musicians' ability to pull it off.

The class sensitivity betrayed by these differing mainstream reactions to the phenomenon of the classical music entrepreneur is noteworthy. Neoliberalism's ultimate goal, as David Harvey points out, is to restore power to an economic elite. Their continued success in this project is dependent upon their ability to keep their real intentions hidden.[99] Insofar as tastes in cultural consumption are one of the more overt signifiers of class, the complex class connotations of classical music become problematic for elites because they find it difficult to separate those connotations from the other aspects of classical music that they find useful for the

[96] Mark Vanhoenacker, "Requiem: Classical Music in America Is Dead," *CultureBox: Arts, Entertainment, and More* (blog), *Slate*, January 21, 2014, http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/culturebox/2014/01/classical_music_sales_decline_is_classical_on_death_s_door. html; and "Sunday Dialogue: Is Classical Music Dying?" *The New York Times*, November 24, 2012, http://nyti.ms/Tch)t8.

[97] J.A.R.B., "Can Classical Music Be Cool?" *Prospero: Books, Arts and Culture* (blog), *The Economist*, January 15, 2016, http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2016/01/music.

[98] Matthew Daneman, "Classical Musicians Sing Employment Blues," *USA Today*, June 30, 2015, http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2015/06/30/classical-musicians-employment-woes/29218003/.

[99] Harvey, *Neoliberalism*, 83-84.

symbolic representation of their interests. In recent years, one solution to this problem has been widely adopted: cultural omnivorousness. Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern have remarked upon the transformation of elite tastes from those of the upper-class snob to those of the cultural omnivore. In this new mode of consumption, connoisseurship is more relevant than ever, and is applied to an eclectic range of cultural goods. The more plebeian the object of discernment, the better it is for signifying one's status, which is gauged upon one's openness to and respect for cultures and aesthetics of all kinds.[100]

This transformation of elite tastes helps to conceal the deepening income inequality that results from an entrepreneurialized labor market (the "gig economy"). Through their cultural omnivorousness, neoliberal elites hide in plain sight, disguising their elitism through conspicuous consumption as a discerning but democratic eclecticism. Their elite status is implicit; on the surface, their tastes speak the values of equality. Avant-garde classical music entrepreneurs lend veracity to the elite's democraticization. By showing that even classical music can thrive under the precarious conditions of entrepreneurial labor, they signal that society's elites are able and willing to participate in the democratic vision they espouse. By claiming to revolutionize classical music with democratic values, they suggest that classical music and elites are not simply dead (a lie that has never worked very well), but rather reformed. The ability of classical music entrepreneurs to speak in this way, of course, depends on the mainstream belief that classical music indeed represents the interests and values of the elite class.

This problematic position that classical music entrepreneurs find themselves in is, in some ways, described by Antonio Gramsci's concept of the traditional intellectual. In Gramsci's

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[100] Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore," *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (1996): 900–907, https://doi.org/10.2307/2096460; Richard A. Peterson, "Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore," *Poetics* 21, no. 4 (August 1, 1992): 243–58, https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X(92)90008-Q.

terminology, the "intellectual" is not a professional intellectual, as such, but rather one whose function in society is intellectual in the sense that they play influential roles in meaning-making. This could include professional intellectuals, whom Gramsci labels the "traditional intellectual": the "vulgarized type" of intellectual "given by the man of letters, the philosopher, the artist," who "regard themselves as the 'true' intellectuals."[101] However, there are also "organic intellectuals," who come to play their role as influential meaning-makers by other means, and may be found in any social group or profession. Both types of intellectuals "perform[] an essential mediating function in the struggle of class forces,"[102] and, it is implied, do so to rather opposite political consequences.

As seen in the case of the classical music entrepreneur, traditional intellectuals occupy a fraught position in traditional class hierarchies. By Gramsci's own observation, traditional intellectuals tend to come from the middle strata of society.[103] This is generally evident among those who become classical musicians and music faculty, whose origins are often middle-class. There is a contradiction, however, between their class as defined by the material circumstances of their origins and their class perceived as a quality of their chosen profession. Defined as a category of cultural and symbolic consumption, the field of classical music retains strong upper-class inflections because it is associated with the class that funds its activities and uses it as a symbol of their integration into society. In other words, as a field, classical music is marked as upper-class, while classical musicians themselves tend to be middle-class. According to Hoare and Smith, Gramscian traditional intellectuals therefore occupy a "position in the interstices of

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[101] Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 141.
[102] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Selections*, 132.
[103] "Strata have grown up which traditionally 'produce' intellectuals and these strata coincide with those which have specialized in 'saving', i.e. the petty and middle landed bourgeoisie and certain strata of the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie." Gramsci, *Selections*, 144.

society" that "has a certain inter-class aura about it."[104] This inter-class position is compromised in its capacity for political revolution because its consciousness and real social relations are too much determined by pre-existing class formations. It is a position that "derives ultimately from past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to various historical class formations."[105] In the case of classical music entrepreneurship, traditional intellectuals may perhaps be too attached to conventional aspirations of social mobility to recognize the ways in which they reproduce the class inequalities they hope themselves to overcome.

The classic Gramscian assessment of the traditional intellectual therefore explains the tendency of classical music entrepreneurs and music entrepreneurship educators to speak the dominant ideology of entrepreneurship. It does not account, however, for the genuine interest that classical music entrepreneurs and music entrepreneurship educators have in bettering the lot of their social group as a whole. It does not explain the orientation towards a common good that seems to genuinely motivate their speech and actions. This function—the "grassroots" attempt to speak for the needs of one's social group—is reserved in the Gramscian schema for the organic intellectuals, who, unlike traditional intellectuals, actually challenge the existing hegemony, and whose struggle for dominance, Gramsci believes, could actually bring about real political change.

There is also the issue of classical music entrepreneurs and music entrepreneurship educators' perceptions of themselves in their intellectual function. It is clear from both Claire Chase and music entrepreneurship educators' desires to lead a rising generation of musicians into professional solvency that they see themselves as organic intellectuals of a sort. The hegemonic structures and ideologies they are trying to challenge are those of the "climate of arts

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[104] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Selections*, 131.
[105] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Selections*, 131.

austerity."[106] The success they have in doing this by connecting to ideologies of entrepreneurship is made more complex by the fact that some have more success doing so than others. Avant-garde musicians like Claire Chase are especially successful at navigating this integration of organic ideology and hegemonic ideology because they trade on their avant-garde status within the classical field in order to do so.

So are classical music entrepreneurs and music entrepreneurship educators organic intellectuals or traditional intellectuals? In the classic Gramscian formulation, the question becomes, problematically, one of political outcome, of whether their efforts to improve the lot of classical musicians outweigh the extent to which they reinforce the hegemony of entrepreneurship. Besides the unanswerability of such a question, the posing of politics as a choice between categories of being confuses the real issue, which is how social groups may assess the intellectual function of their intellectuals vis-à-vis their political goals. Gramsci's terms are therefore not useful as prescriptives. As analytics, however, they illuminate two interesting things about the ideological relationship between art and capital.

First, the relationship between the traditional and avant-garde arms of artistic fields is a politically powerful one, and especially so in the current era of capitalism where ideologies of entrepreneurship rely so much upon popular perceptions of art to boost its attachments to creativity and innovation. The important question is whether the two arms form one social group with a unified set of interests, or whether they are really two different social groups with overlapping interests. What can be seen in the case of classical music is that the traditional and avant-garde arms consider themselves fairly separate, even opposed, in their group formation. There is strong animosity between them, founded largely on aesthetic grounds and in some ways

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[106] Robin, "Scene," 253.

on the grounds of production, key among the latter being whether one interacts with living composers in one's production practices.[107] The problem with this divide is illuminated by the following description that Gramsci gives of the power dynamic between traditional and organic intellectuals. "One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals," he writes.[108] In an artistic field like classical music, however, this dynamic does not produce the ideological challenge that Gramsci anticipates. In an artistic field, everyone is a traditional intellectual in the Gramscian sense of the term, but organic intellectuals are routinely produced as the avant-garde. The ideological conquest of traditional intellectuals by the organic intellectuals therefore merely succeeds in supplanting the traditional intellectuals with new ones. As seen in the ways that avant-garde classical music entrepreneurs legitimate elite pretenses to democracy and verify their claims to reform, it is this very outspoken renewal of the artistic and supplanting of the traditional, so characteristic of the artistic avant-garde, that becomes productive for hegemony.

The second thing that Gramsci's categories illuminate about classical music entrepreneurship is that the forces that render traditional intellectuals a compromised group, ideologically speaking, are complex and not entirely of their choosing. As seen with classical music entrepreneurs and music entrepreneurship educators, who contend with severely limited resources for their professions, the desire to improve the lot of their social group may indeed lead them, and not unreasonably, to embrace the hegemonic tools of entrepreneurship that are easily available. My preference for analyzing the figure of the classical musician in entrepreneurship

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[107] Pippen, "Postmodern Avant-Garde," 1-19.
[108] Gramsci, *Selections*, 142.

discourses as *avatars of the work ethic* tries to acknowledge this dimension of domination. It acknowledges that, when embodied concretely in the actions and speech of real people, avatarism—the deployment of signifiers that point to the disciplinary discourse of the work ethic—can be fundamentally conflicted. The people may truly believe they speak for the desires and indignations of their social group, but they may also find themselves constrained to speak the language of dominant ideologies in order to be heard.

The avatarism of classical music is, moreover, especially interesting because it was set in motion from the very beginning of the formation of classical music as a cultural field in America. When the Boston Brahmin elite created the Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO) in the late 1800s—the first institution of high culture in the United States—they gave classical music an impossible task. They wanted the BSO to present classical music as a recognizably elite art form, so that the public would appreciate the elite class by appreciating and aspiring to their taste in art. Furthermore, they believed that the real indicator of the BSO's success in meeting this goal would be if the public came to embrace classical music as their own art form. The Boston elites were so intent upon this agenda that they inscribed it into the defining economic structure of the institution of high art: the private non-profit. Their intention was that the Boston Symphony would be supported upon upper-class charity until they achieved the goal of genuine mass support, at which time the Symphony would become self-sustaining on ticket sales.[109]

The contradictory needs that the Boston Brahmin tried to fulfill through classical music are still manifest today through the ways in which the economic elite—those at the center or

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[109] Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," in *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, ed. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, 374-397 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston, Part II: The Classification and Framing of American Art," *Media, Culture and Society* 4, no. 4 (October 1982): 303-322, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/016344378200400402.

close to the center of the capital accumulation process—try to make classical musicians function as avatars of the work ethic. On one hand, they insist that classical music be no exception from any other field of work. As seen in the ways that classical music has been touted as an exemplary entrepreneurial discipline, it appears to be the wish of entrepreneurship education advocates that classical musicians, especially, earn their keep by being entrepreneurial. On the other hand, the traditional forms of elite institutional support of classical music continue in the support of innovative, avant-garde music. Sufficiently divorced from the tastes of the old elite to avoid incurring suspicion, new music that incorporates multimedia and the soundworlds of popular music—limited to instances that are nonetheless recognizably a continuation of classical traditions and generally palatable to conventional tastes, of course—is eagerly supported by a rising young elite class that hails largely from the high technology sector.[110] The pattern of intellectual mediation and representation that high art performs for society's economic elites therefore seems set to continue largely unchanged.

What is different about the present political moment, however, is that the two contradictory impulses of the economic elite are polarized into two competing political factions. As David Harvey has argued, neoliberalism and neoconservatism share the agenda of reconsolidating power in an economic elite. However, where neoliberalism's success depends upon its ability to keep this agenda masked, neoconservatism is more concerned about shoring up "legitimacy for that power, as well as social control through construction of a climate of consent around a coherent set of moral values."[111] Thus, the neoliberal project is threatened when the neoconservative emphasis on moral and cultural legitimation for an elite class becomes too

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[110] Ritchey, "Amazing Together." Ritchey examines this phenomenon in the case of the composer Mason Bates, whose corporate patrons include Google and Cisco Systems.

[111] Harvey, *Neoliberalism*, 83-84.

pronounced. By the same token, neoconservatives find their need for legitimacy threatened when the neoliberal emphasis on an appearance of equality becomes too earnest. Classical musicians' voluntary self-identification as entrepreneurs therefore poses a perplexing conundrum for the neoconservative camp.

The following illustrations of neoconservative anxiety are anecdotally rather than systematically drawn, but they hint at a political fissure that could be productive for liberal politics. In 2014, an article in the popular right-wing internet magazine *The American Conservative* covered the trend of music entrepreneurship education. In doing so, it worked hard to reconcile neoconservative and neoliberal priorities:

> Some classical music purists are likely to be shocked and alarmed by such [entrepreneurial] developments. They represent an upheaval—a break from the conventions of the past. Some might even say they smack of progressivism.
> But more traditional forms of classical music aren't going anywhere. The New York Philharmonic will continue to hire the nation's top musicians and perform to sold-out crowds. Classical music aficionados will continue to throng to hear Itzhak Perlman's violin or to hear Handel's "Messiah" performed at Christmastime.
> Nevertheless, classical music is an art, and art must be "made new" with time, coupling the beauty of the old with the freshness of the new. Art cannot be reduced to mere technicality and rote skills. And classical music has always been a realm of creativity and innovation.
> …
> Will this sort of entrepreneurship "save" classical music? There's debate about whether the classical world needs saving at all: though the culture is small, it is vibrant. But enabling musicians to innovate both inside and outside the concert hall promises to make this culture better for musicians themselves, opening opportunities for them to express their art, build larger audiences, and—let's hope—discover new career possibilities.[112]

Classical music, this writer assures her readers, will continue to be the bastion of elite values. However, this privilege must come at the price of allowing classical musicians to dabble in the

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[112] Gracy Olmstead, "Making Classical New: Young Musicians Take an Entrepreneurial Approach to the Canon," *The American Conservative* (online magazine), American Ideas Institute, August 29, 2014, http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/making-classical-new/.

popular spirit of enterprise and mass entertainment, lest they starve or, worse, become so diminished as to no longer be visible as an emblem of elite taste.

Less tolerant of the neoliberal objective is Andrew Balio, principal trumpet for the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and founder of a classical music think-tank, the Future Symphony Institute ("Orchestrate a Renaissance"). In a three-part essay for the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy (a powerful conservative think-tank based in North Carolina), Balio denounces music entrepreneurship education as a trend motivated by liberal welfarism. He condemns music entrepreneurship educators' assumption that "society owes us a living for being brave enough to 'follow our dreams,'" arguing that music entrepreneurship education was foolishly conceived to democratize a profession and art form that had never been elitist to begin with. "One *isn't* born into an orchestra or a canon," he writes. "None of the world's great musicians or history's great composers were destined to be so by birth. Membership in either is a long-term project and must be earned at every step of the way." For Balio, being one of society's elites is a meritocratic venture. Not everyone is entitled to it. Rather than try to ensure a livelihood to all classical musicians, he champions a return in classical music to the values of truth and beauty instead.[113]

The case of the classical music entrepreneur shows that the discursive management of avatars, whether symbolic or concrete, is effortful for elites. Unlike Gramsci's traditional

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[113] Andrew Balio, "The Existential Crisis of the American Music School," October 14, 2015, http://www.popecenter.org/commentaries/article.html?id=3270; "Political Activism Comes to the American Conservatory," October 15, 2015, http://www.popecenter.org/commentaries/article.html?id=3271; and "Mastery, Not 'Creativity,' Should Come First in Arts Education," October 16, 2015, http://www.popecenter.org/commentaries/article.html?id=3272. Balio, who appears to be well-connected to conservative politicians in the Washington, D.C. area (see the "About the Author" panel in "Concerning Conservatories I: The Appeal of Entrepreneurship" (webpage), Future Symphony Institute, http://www.futuresymphony.org/concerning-conservatories-i/), subsequently re-posted this essay under different titles to the websites of The Imaginative Conservative and his new D.C.-based classical music think-tank, the Future Symphony Institute.

intellectuals, avatars are not merely "the dominant group's 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government."[114] They do not merely speak on behalf of those in power. Rather, avatars of the work ethic are a two-directional communicative medium. Through the figure of the classical music entrepreneur, the American public speaks to the American elite their feelings about democracy and justice in the realm of work. Through the same figure, the American elite speaks back. Moreover, a great deal of communication through the avatar is conducted not at centers of power but rather at the peripheries, for the peripheries. Elites step in to speak through the avatar when they perceive that the messaging at the peripheries has gone astray. At these moments, however, if the elite message is itself not internally aligned, the message, as seen in the neoliberal-neoconservative conflict, becomes garbled.

Conclusion

The establishment of entrepreneurship education as an organizing ideology in American higher education pedagogy has relied upon analogies to the production structures of live classical music performance and the learning structures of classical music study as the equivalents of entrepreneurship and an education in entrepreneurship. These analogies are routine features of the institutional discourses of entrepreneurship education. They speak with a heightened passion of the ideals of democracy, yet without the political danger out of which the passion arises. Rather, in entrepreneurship education discourse, art has come to represent creativity, freedom, and the common good in the context of work. By using the figure of the classical musician as an avatar, entrepreneurship education discourse has managed to pose precarious work itself as an expression of democratic values. The availability of classical music for such symbolic

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[114] Gramsci, *Selections*, 145.

exploitation is enhanced by the historical animosity between the avant-garde and traditional factions of the field.

Nonetheless, despite its reinforcement of neoliberal reason, music entrepreneurship education discourse also shows that neoliberalism is not a monolithic ideology. Rather, it reveals that a central problem for neoliberalism is its uneasy partnership with neoconservatism. Neoliberal elites prefer to enjoy their privileges in private anonymity, while neoconservative elites desire the security of mass approval of their social standing. As the case of classical music shows, this problem is not new. It is, however, expressed in the present political moment as a deeper ideological fissure among the elites of American capitalism that could be leveraged for Left-leaning political gain.

- CHAPTER 4 -

Blue-Collar Tuxedo:

The Entrepreneurial Work Society in *Mozart in the Jungle*

"How does an oboist make one million dollars?"
"Uh—start with two million dollars?"

—*Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 2, Episode 3

In 2016, the newly released Amazon Original television series, *Mozart in the Jungle* (2014-2018), and its young Mexican leading man, Gael García Bernal, won the Golden Globe titles of Best Comedy and Best Comedy Actor in what critics described as a "shock," a "huge Golden Globes upset," and "the biggest surprise of the night."[1] The series, a very loose fictional dramatization of classical oboist Blair Tindall's tell-all memoirs by the same title,[2] featured a zany romance between a struggling underemployed oboist and a successful young conductor set against the workaday antics of the New York Symphony, a fictitious flagship orchestra of New York City. Few watching the Golden Globes had heard of the show, which had only aired one season at the time of the awards. As its trophies propelled it into the limelight, *Mozart in the*

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[1] Elizabeth Wagmeister, "'Mozart in the Jungle': Amazon's Low-Profile Series Shocks with High-Profile Wins at Golden Globes," *Variety*, January 10, 2016, http://variety.com/2016/tv/news/mozart-in-the-jungle-golden-globe-wins-gael-garcia-bernal-1201676479/; Tierney Bricker, "*Mozart in the Jungle* Pulls Off Golden Globes Upset, Winning Best Comedy Series," *E! News*, January 10, 2016, http://www.eonline.com/news/729708/mozart-in-the-jungle-pulls-off-huge-golden-globes-upset-winning-best-comedy-series; and E. Oliver Whitney, "What Is 'Mozart in the Jungle' and Why Do the Golden Globes Love Freshman TV Series?," *ScreenCrush*, January 11, 2016, http://screencrush.com/mozart-in-the-jungle-golden-globes/.
[2] Blair Tindall, *Mozart in the Jungle: Sex, Drugs, and Classical Music* (New York: Grove Press, 2005).

Jungle spurred furious media debate around the enigma of a show about classical music winning

such high-profile popular culture accolades. While some critics trotted out the old industry saw

about the Golden Globes being unpredictable in its tastes,[3] others sidestepped the issue,

suggesting that the Golden Globes might have a penchant for "freshman shows" or shows with

"international appeal."[4] Plenty of critics felt it necessary, however, on account of the issue of

"relatability," to address the classical music problem head-on, particularly the question of

whether the show succeeded at making classical music appealing to popular audiences. Their

assessments were mixed. Some concluded that it "attempts, and fails, to make classical music hip

and sexy," while others found themselves drawn in by its "quirky charm" and "relatability."[5]

As Amazon Original's first award-winning production, *Mozart in the Jungle* became

known as the series that ushered the internet retail giant's fledgling film and television

production arm into the entertainment industry big leagues.[6] By late 2018, when *Mozart in the*

Jungle had aired its fourth and final season, RottenTomatoes.com reported the series as 95%

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[3] Gazelle Emami, Margaret Lyons, and Matt Zoller Seitz, "How Did *Mozart in the Jungle* Take Home the Golden Globe for Best TV Comedy?," January 12, 2016, in *The Vulture TV Podcast*, podcast, streaming audio, 1:44-7:33, http://www.vulture.com/2016/01/mozart-in-the-jungle-win-best-tv-comedy.html; Whitney, "What Is 'Mozart in the Jungle.'"

[4] Emami, Lyons, and Seitz, "How Did *Mozart*"; Whitney, "What Is 'Mozart in the Jungle'"; and J. Bryan Lowder, "The Golden Globes Are Right: You Should Really Watch *Mozart in the* Jungle," *Browbeat: Slate's Culture Blog*, January 10, 2016, http://www.slate.com/blogs/browbeat/2016/01/10/mozart_in_the_jungle_deserved_the_golden_globe.html.

[5] Whitney, "What Is 'Mozart in the Jungle'"; Lowder, "Golden Globes Are Right"; Sara Boboltz, "'Mozart in the Jungle' Asks an Age-Old Question: Is Classical Dead?," *Huffington Post*, December 16, 2015, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/mozart-in-the-jungle-classical-music-dead_us_566afe92e4b0f290e522eb58; Kate Storey, "Five Reasons Why You Should No Longer Sleep on *Mozart in the Jungle*," *Esquire*, January 11, 2016, https://www.esquire.com/entertainment/news/a41123/five-reasons-to-watch-mozart-in-the-jungle/; Teal Christensen, "On Loving Mozart in the Jungle and Finding Relatable Characters," *GeekGirlCon Blog*, February 13, 2018, https://geekgirlcon.com/on-loving-mozart-in-the-jungle-and-finding-relatable-characters/; and Will Roper, "Prime Pick: 'Mozart in the Jungle' Meaningful, Relatable," *The Daily Nebraskan*, April 6, 2017, http://www.dailynebraskan.com/culture/prime-pick-mozart-in-the-jungle-meaningful-relatable/article_cfe0458c-1a7f-11e7-8c06-334b5bcf4021.html.

[6] Cynthia Littleton, "'Mozart in the Jungle' Canceled After Four Seasons at Amazon," *Variety*, April 6, 2018, https://variety.com/2018/tv/news/mozart-in-the-jungle-cancel-four-seasons-amazon-1202746600/.

"fresh" according to critics.[7] The show had also gained a more mainstream following, featuring regularly in popular entertainment magazines and blogs' lists of "best" television shows and shows to watch out for.[8] In short, *Mozart in the Jungle* was the show that most critics believed would never find popular favor due to its being "confined to the isolated world of classical music,"[9] and yet it did.

Although favorable critics often struggled to articulate why they found the show alluring, the observations they made in the process bore noticeable patterns. In a list of "7 reasons to binge-watch" *Mozart in the Jungle*, Jeremy Fuster, writing for *TheWrap.com*, declared as his final reason:

> It's a tale of artists. The best thing about "Mozart in the Jungle" is how it takes a culture regarded as "elite" and "high-brow" and makes it relatable. At its heart, this is a series about the struggle between following your passion and paying the bills. It's easy to complain about artists "selling out" when the pressure of financial demands isn't on you.[10]

Similarly, Kate Dries, in a conversational commentary for *Jezebel*, meandered over to the topic of work and livelihood when she tried to put her finger on what makes *Mozart in the Jungle* irresistible:

> Maybe the issue is that my brain can't place what the show is trying to explore exactly, because it's really all over the place in its tone. … Sometimes it seems like it's poking fun at itself, other times it seems like it's trying to present the artistic world as full of kooky weirdos by beating you over the head with their kooky weirdness.
> But then other times I appreciate the fact that the percussionist in the orchestra is an aging stoner dealing drugs to all his colleagues, or the fact that most of the orchestra

[7] "Mozart in the Jungle," *RottenTomatoes*, accessed August 9, 2018, https://www.rottentomatoes.com/tv/mozart_in_the_jungle/.

[8] See, for example, "10 TV Shows You Should Binge-Watch This December," *RottenTomatoes*, December 1, 2015, https://editorial.rottentomatoes.com/article/10-tv-shows-you-should-binge-watch-this-december/; Dustin Rowles, "The Best TV Shows on Amazon Right Now, Ranked," February 8, 2019, https://uproxx.com/tv/best-shows-on-amazon-prime-right-now-ranked/11/; Danette Chavez, "In Its 4th Season, *Mozart in the Jungle* Remains One of TV's Most Bingeable Shows," *AVClub*, February 16, 2018, https://www.avclub.com/in-its-4th-season-mozart-in-the-jungle-remains-one-of-1823035674; and Yohana Desta, "Why Aren't You Watching Mozart in the Jungle?," *Vanity Fair*, February 16, 2018, https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2018/02/mozart-in-the-jungle-season-4.

[9] This is quoted from the RottenTomatoes summary of the "Critics Consensus" on the first season of the show. "Mozart in the Jungle: Season 1," *RottenTomatoes*, https://www.rottentomatoes.com/tv/mozart_in_the_jungle/s01.

[10] Jeremy Fuster, "7 Reasons to Binge-Watch Golden Globes Favorite 'Mozart in the Jungle,'" *The Wrap*, December 12, 2016, https://www.thewrap.com/7-reasons-binge-watch-mozart-in-jungle-gael-garcia-bernal/10/.

doesn't make much money, so a few of them supplement their income by playing in the orchestra of Rock of Ages, which is (according to the show) a decidedly unglamorous and relatively easy gig. I just don't know! (But I clearly know enough to keep watching....)[11]

These observations were echoed by other critics.[12] As the two quotations suggest, the links between the fictional classical music world of *Mozart in the Jungle* and the mainstream world of work are, to some extent, plain to see. Yet, as Dries points out, something about *Mozart in the Jungle*—perhaps its "kooky" sense of humor, or its "tone" that is "really all over the place"—keeps her in a space of uncertainty. When it comes to grasping what the show is saying about the world of work, she finds herself in a productive limbo: an ambiguous place between "I don't know" and "clearly know enough" that, nonetheless, makes her "keep watching."

My goal in this chapter is to unpack *Mozart in the Jungle*'s productive ambiguity on the topic of work, using its approach to humor as a guide. As a framework for understanding how the show links representationally to the institution of work in real life, I rely upon Kathi Weeks's concept of the *work society*. A term that critiques the centrality of waged work to societies today, the work society describes a world where work functions "not just as an economic practice," but as a "social convention and disciplinary apparatus."[13] As a challenge to the hegemonic institution of waged work, it envisions not a better world of work, but rather the possibility of a *postwork society*—a society organized around values other than those of the work ethic—and searches for

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[11] Madeleine Davies and Kate Dries, "What the Hell Is *Mozart in the Jungle?* Two Confused Fans Work It Out," *Jezebel: The Muse*, January 11, 2016, https://themuse.jezebel.com/what-the-hell-is-mozart-in-the-jungle-two-confused-fan-1752303426.

[12] See, for example, Christensen, "On Loving *Mozart in the Jungle*"; Eduardo Carnalla, "'Mozart in the Jungle' Is More Than Meets the Eye," *The Telescope: Palomar College's Independent Newspaper*, February 10, 2017, https://www2.palomar.edu/telescope/2017/02/10/mozart-in-the-jungle-is-more-than-meets-the-eye/; Boboltz, "'Mozart in the Jungle'"; and Adrienne Mcilvane, "'Mozart in the Jungle' Has Three of the Raddest Feminist Female Characters on TV," *Hello Giggles*, March 31, 2016, https://hellogiggles.com/reviews-coverage/why-mozart-in-the-jungle-rocks/.

[13] Weeks, *Problem*, 7-8.

ways to articulate different desires for such a future. In *Mozart in the Jungle*, such desires are creatively explored through humor.

One favorable reviewer of the show opined that *Mozart in the Jungle* likely struck many mainstream audiences as "a totally bizarre comedy about classical music."[14] Using Wes Gehring's criteria for differentiating between romantic and screwball comedy narrative conventions, I explain *Mozart in the Jungle*'s confusing mix of humorous techniques as a hybrid of the two comedic genres.[15] In general, I subscribe to Freud's theory of humor as a socially acceptable mode of expressing thoughts and feelings that society otherwise tends to suppress.[16] Although *Mozart in the Jungle* tends to orient its humor towards romantic involvements between its characters, I argue that, in the show, romance substitutes for its real subjects: the work ethic and the institution of work. Thus, it is because of, and not in spite of, its effusive humor that the show manages to say something compelling about the world of work.

Although a popular cultural text, *Mozart in the Jungle* uses representations of high culture—the world of classical music—to articulate twenty-first-century American anxieties about class and labor. The real-world standing of classical musicians as an economic class therefore becomes salient. As the title of this chapter, "Blue-Collar Tuxedo," suggests, classical musicians present a confusing image where social class and status are concerned. On one hand, their presumed personal investment in the art form of classical music, which remains associated with a cultural and economic elite, gives the impression that they, too, belong to an elite class. On the other hand, as classically trained buskers continue to work city streets, and stories of

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[14] Lowder, "Golden Globes Are Right."

[15] Wes D. Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball Comedy: Charting the Difference*, Studies in Film Genres (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

[16] Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, translated and edited by James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963); Sigmund Freud, "Humour," in *Art and Literature*, Penguin Freud Library 14, ed. Albert Dickson, 426-433 (Middlesex: Penguin, 1990); Gerard Matte, "A Psychoanalytical Perspective of Humor," *Humor* 14, no. 3 (2002): 223-241.

starving musicians continue to circulate in American culture, classical musicians, like other artists, are also viewed as an indigent class scraping the bottom of the employment barrel. The reality is that incomes of classically trained professional musicians in the United States vary widely depending on a variety of factors such as instrument and musical specialty and versatility, geographical location, and skill level.[17] Classical music, like many fields of art and entertainment, is a highly competitive field that does, indeed, tend to produce a small group of highly paid superstars while attracting a vast pool of candidates who struggle to find work.[18] What tends to be overlooked, however, is that it also has a middle strata that, while small compared to the unemployed and severely underemployed contingent, constitutes the majority of employed professional musicians. These individuals, who range from fully employed to reasonably partially employed, mostly work as private or institutionally affiliated music teachers, orchestral musicians, and church or synagogue musicians, collecting salaries that range from the lower to the upper end of the middle-class stratum.[19]

The salaries of orchestral musicians have been especially in the public eye of late, given the spate of orchestra musician strikes that began in the late 2000s and continue to the present day. Mainstream news media coverage of orchestra strikes tends to highlight the salaries of musicians at top-tier orchestras like the Detroit Symphony Orchestra and Philadelphia Orchestra.

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[17] The highly segmented field of music and high levels of freelance employment have made it difficult to produce accurate data about the classical music job market and employment conditions. However, the Career Development Center of the Berklee College of Music periodically releases a nationwide survey of typical salaries for professional musicians in a wide variety of capacities and industries. The most recent version is *Music Careers in Dollars and Cents: 2016 Edition*, Berklee College of Music, https://www.berklee.edu/sites/default/files/Music%20Careers%20in%20Dollars%20and%20Cents%202016-rh.pdf.
[18] The "winner-take-all" job market structure typical of arts and entertainment fields is described by Frank and Cook, *Winner-Take-All Society*, 7-11, 15-17.
[19] According to the Berklee College of Music's 2016 report, a private music teacher may charge between $30 and upwards of $110 an hour for lessons, while a church musician (here meaning an organist, pianist, choral director, or music director) may earn anywhere from $20,000 to $110,000 annually for a full-time position (*Music Careers*, 2-3). It should be noted, however, that most church musician jobs are part-time, in the 25% to 50%-time range, and, as the Berklee report notes, salaries can vary widely depending on geographical location, professional credentials, and size of congregation.

At institutions of this caliber, where annual base pay for a rank-and-file member can begin as high as $143,000,[20] orchestral musicians can indeed be made to look, on the whole, like members of the economic elite.[21] The reality, however, is that there are over 1200 orchestras in operation in the United States today, and only two percent operate, as the Detroit and Philadelphia orchestras do, on a budget exceeding $20 million.[22] Rather, according to a 2016 study commissioned by the League of American Orchestras, approximately two-thirds of orchestras operate on an annual budget of less than $300,000,[23] leaving around thirty percent of orchestras in the hugely varying middle range of budgets between $300,000 and $20 million a year. Salaries of rank-and-file musicians at these institutions begin at around $28,000 for a full-time orchestra with a forty-week season, dipping lower for orchestras with shorter seasons or that hire only on a per-service basis. For instance, the Alabama Symphony Orchestra, a full-time professional orchestra with a 2018 operating budget of $6 million, had a starting base pay in 2016 of $36,594.[24]

As an economic class, classical musicians therefore run the gamut from unemployed or working-class to the top ten percent of earners in the United States. Most of those who are gainfully employed, however, fall somewhere in lower- to upper-middle class range. The

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[20] Career Development Center, *Music Careers*, 2.

[21] Median household income in 2017, where the household is calculated at the American average of 2.5 persons, was $61,372. The fortieth percentile limit, often taken as the threshold between working class and middle class, was $47,110, while the eightieth percentile, often considered the dividing line between middle class and upper class, was $126,855. U.S. Census Bureau, *Income and Poverty in the United States: 2017*, United States Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2018/demo/p60-263.pdf, 35.

[22] League of American Orchestras, *Orchestra Facts: 2006-2014: A Study of Orchestra Finances and Operations, Commissioned by the League of American Orchestras*, League of American Orchestras, November 2016, https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/Research-Art-Works-League.pdf, 6.

[23] League of American Orchestras, *Orchestra Facts*, 6. These likely consist of mostly community and amateur orchestras where the only paid professionals are the conductor, section principals, and soloists and additional musicians hired for special appearances.

[24] Career Development Center, *Music Careers in Dollars*, 2; and Ben Berntson, "Alabama Symphony Orchestra (ASO)," *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, last updated October 16, 2018, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2154.

characters of *Mozart in the Jungle* represent the full spectrum of these class locations, with the middle strata depicted by the musicians on the regular payroll of the fictitious New York Symphony. The conflicts that arise between the characters in the show on account of class and work ethic are explored through humor, revealing anxieties about as well as proposing solutions to the contradictions of work today. In the brief theoretical overview that follows, I lay out the concepts that inform my analysis of *Mozart in the Jungle* as a creative exploration of the political horizons of the twenty-first-century American work society.

The Figure of the Bohemian Artist and the Entrepreneurial Work Society

In *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920*, Joanna Levin depicts the Bohemian artist as a class-conflicted figure, playing the roles of "loafer," "worker," and "aristocrat" at will to provoke bourgeois consternation.[25] Their "artistic critique" was contradictory, at times rejecting bourgeois conventions while at others embracing bourgeois ideals in order to position themselves as their more faithful champions.[26] In their persistent opposition to the bourgeois work ethic, they rejected the bourgeois tendency to view work as a good in its own right, but embraced the work ethic's impetus to productivity, ultimately cultivating an enduring "leisure ethic" that they saw as productivity in a superior form.[27]

Levin's Bohemian provides an interesting counterpoint to Antonio Gramsci's concept of the traditional intellectual. In Gramsci's framework, traditional intellectuals, who are "the man of letters, the philosopher, the artist," occupy a "position in the interstices of society" that "conceals an attachment to various historical class formations."[28] They occupy a fraught position in

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[25] Levin, *Bohemia*, 33.
[26] Levin, *Bohemia*, 15.
[27] Levin, *Bohemia*, 30-32.
[28] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 131.

traditional class hierarchies, yet "perform[] an essential mediating function in the struggle of class forces."[29] For Gramsci, this "inter-class" position fundamentally compromises the traditional intellectual's capacity for political revolution. They become merely "the dominant group's 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government."[30]

For Levin, the utopianism of the Bohemian leisure ethic, which manifested as its desire for a society unbound by work, simultaneously "reinforce[d] a bourgeois class consciousness" while "provid[ing] an allegory of a future, classless form of collectivity."[31] She saw this class ambiguity, however, not as a sign of political impotence, but as evidence of a "political unconscious," whose capacity for real political change, while uncertain, also could not simply be dismissed.[32] In this chapter, I extend Gramsci's category of the traditional intellectual by reading it through Levin's historical figure of the Bohemian artist.

The context in which I am reading the figure of the Bohemian artist is fictional. Levin has argued that *la vie bohème*, from which the figure of the Bohemian artist originated, was "[p]art literary trope, part cultural nexus, and part socioeconomic landscape," "endless convolutions of art imitating life and life imitating art."[33] It is in this vein that I read the characters and world of *Mozart in the Jungle* as avatars of the Entrepreneurial work ethic: symbolic representations of classical musicians as ideal types of workers in the entrepreneurial work society. As previously mentioned, Kathi Weeks's concept of the work society critiques the centrality of waged work to societies today and searches for ways to articulate different desires for a postwork society. In

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[29] Hoare and Smith, "The Intellectuals: Introduction," in Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 132.
[30] Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 145.
[31] Levin, *Bohemia*, 231.
[32] Levin, *Bohemia*, 231.
[33] Levin, *Bohemia*, 1-2.

Mozart in the Jungle, the particular version of the work society being critiqued is the entrepreneurial work society, which disciplines its subjects according to the Entrepreneurial ethic to be worker-entrepreneurs.

Avatars of the Entrepreneurial ethic, as exemplars of worker-entrepreneur behavior and attitudes, must therefore exhibit the following values: First, the orientation of all their activities towards creativity and innovation, which the characters of *Mozart in the Jungle* do by being devoted to the art of classical music. Second, the activities they engage in to demonstrate their creativity ideally include forms of professional nomadism, such as being flexible and mobile, juggling many different projects at once, and traveling frequently from project to project; commitment to the values of diversity and inclusivity by defaulting to working collaboratively and connecting people and resources from different walks of life; enduring low rewards; and remaining youthful at heart. Third, the ideal worker-entrepreneur must demonstrate worldly authenticity: the ability to tap productively into the natural spontaneity and pleasures of leisure. Finally, avatars of the Entrepreneurial ethic must demonstrate, above all else, that they are able to answer their calling—that they are actually able to spend their time doing what they love, and survive by it. In *Mozart in the Jungle*, characters indicate in various ways that they aim to fulfill these expectations; however, they are constantly frustrated in their intentions and poked fun at in the process.

Synopsis of *Mozart in the Jungle*

When Richard Florida published *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002, he swiftly popularized the idea that all of America's workforce should aspire to the working conditions of

creative artists.[34] *Mozart in the Jungle* engages critically and entertainingly with Florida's

assertion. By featuring classical musicians as workers, managers, leaders, and hustlers, the series

takes Florida's vision of a universal creative class at face value and subjects it to the scrutiny of

sustained narrative. As previously mentioned, the show is a hybrid of the screwball and romantic

comedy genres. The romantic leads of *Mozart in the Jungle*, Hailey Rutledge (Lola Kirke) and

Rodrigo De Souza (Gael García Bernal), are a screwball comedy couple in star-crossed career

paths. Hailey is an eager oboist in her twenties whose dream job is to play in the New York

Symphony (henceforth NYS). Rodrigo, who is only slightly older, is the NYS's newly hired,

earnest, and easily excitable young Mexican conductor, and a rising star in the conducting world.

As far as genre archetypes go, Rodrigo, a nebbish anti-hero, is the classic embodiment of the

screwball comedy male protagonist.[35] His charming depiction of a creative entrepreneur as a

zany, eccentric orchestra conductor is preceded by Rex Harrison's role in the Preston Sturges

film, *Unfaithfully Yours* (1948), as well as more generally by the screwball genre penchant for

casting artists as comic leading men.[36] Hailey, on the other hand, is a more level-headed example

of the screwball female lead.[37] Portraying the underemployed gig worker of the entrepreneurial

work society, she is the "relatable" character of the lead couple.[38]

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[34] Florida writes: "I strongly believe that the key to improving the lot of underpaid, underemployed, and disadvantaged people lies not in social welfare programs or low-end make-work jobs, nor in somehow bringing back the factory jobs of the past, but rather in tapping their innate creativity, paying them appropriately for it, and integrating them fully into the Creative Economy. … Since we cannot truly prosper with a system that harnesses the creativity of only one-third of its workforce, the key task of the future must be to fully engage the creative talents of the other two-thirds." *Creative Class*, 10, 49.

[35] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 29-54.

[36] For instance, Steve Martin is "a jazz musician at heart" in *All of Me*, and Melvyn Douglas plays a painter in *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936). Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 30. *Unfaithfully Yours* (1948) was successful enough that the film was remade in 1984 starring Dudley Moore in the role of the screwball orchestra conductor (148).

[37] In the late twentieth century, screwball comedies tended to incorporate more elements of romantic comedy. This was seen especially in a shift in lead female characters, who tended to exhibit more of the realistic, serious bent of romantic comedy protagonists. Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 161.

[38] On Hailey's "relatability," see, for example, Teal Christensen, "On Loving *Mozart in the Jungle* and Finding Relatable Characters," *GeekGirlCon Blog*, February 13, 2018, https://geekgirlcon.com/on-loving-mozart-in-the-jungle-and-finding-relatable-characters/; and Adrienne Mcilvane, "'Mozart in the Jungle' Has Three of the Raddest

Importantly, *Mozart in the Jungle* features four middle- to late middle-aged supporting characters playing various archetypes of organizational workplace employees. "A realistic characteristic of most romantic comedy characters (whether major or minor figures) is that they are usually gainfully employed," Gehring argues. "This believability factor, with relationship to romantic comedy employment, allows the genre to occasionally flirt with fairy-tale developments, confident that a working-class foundation will still make the movie realistically palatable to the typical viewer."[39] Taking the lead in this ensemble supporting cast is the symphony's assistant principal cellist, Cynthia Taylor (Saffron Burrows), an earnest but savvy colleague to Hailey who is nonetheless entangled in an illicit affair with the former conductor of the NYS and burdened by an occupational injury. Three other orchestra musicians join Cynthia to form a group of unlikely friends. They are straight-laced-working-man flutist, "Union" Bob (Mark Blum); stoner percussionist D.D. (John Miller); and nervous concertmaster Warren Boyd (Joel Bernstein). Together, the four characters comprise most of the NYS's Orchestra Committee, the formal bargaining unit for the orchestra's unionized musician workforce.

According to Gehring, the realism of romantic comedy characters' employment circumstances "contrasts markedly from the high-living, nebulous employment background of screwball comedy players, such as the ever-present idle rich or the genre's generous sprinkling of absent-minded professors."[40] In *Mozart in the Jungle*, the romantic comedy ensemble of Cynthia, Bob, D.D., and Warren, which sometimes includes Hailey and Betty Cragdale (Debra Monk), the veteran principal oboist of the NYS, provides a foil to the high-jinks of the screwball characters of the series. Besides Rodrigo, the "high-living," nebulously employed, screwball

Feminist Female Characters on TV," *Hello Giggles*, March 31, 2016, https://hellogiggles.com/reviews-coverage/why-mozart-in-the-jungle-rocks/.

[39] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 86.

[40] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 86.

characters are Thomas Pembridge (Malcolm MacDowell), the former conductor of the NYS who now holds the title of Music Director Emeritus, and Gloria Windsor, the capable but beleaguered president of the NYS board.

The plot of *Mozart in the Jungle* unfolds over four seasons of ten half-hour episodes each. In the body of this chapter, references to specific episodes will be made parenthetically in shorthand: for example, "S2E5" for Season Two, Episode Five. In Season One, the show's comedic protagonists, Hailey Rutledge and Rodrigo De Souza, meet when Hailey auditions for a spot in the oboe section of the NYS. Rodrigo falls in love with her playing. When Hailey fails to live up to expectations on the job, she is let go, but is immediately re-hired by Rodrigo as his personal assistant. Over the course of the first season, Hailey becomes Rodrigo's protégé. At the same time, Rodrigo establishes a rapport with the musicians of the NYS and finds a mentor in Thomas Pembridge, the former conductor of the NYS.

In Season Two, the brewing tensions between the NYS management and musicians' union escalate into a full-scale, adversarial labor dispute. While the musicians lawyer up, Hailey, who now substitutes as an oboist in the orchestra, makes modest progress towards her career dream of being a tenured musician in the NYS. Her relationship with Rodrigo moves tentatively towards romance. At the end of the season, labor contract negotiations culminate in a lockout, and the orchestra musicians go on a protest march.

In Season Three, the musicians of the NYS are set adrift in unemployment while Rodrigo takes on a job in Venice conducting the comeback concert of a former operatic star. While the NYS musicians struggle to make ends meet with odd jobs like driving for Uber and putting on music enrichment workshops in public schools, Hailey continues to chase her dreams of being a professional musician by joining a touring classical music ensemble led by a successful but

narcissistic cellist. By the end of the season, the NYS musicians are back at work, and Hailey has decided to pursue a career as a conductor instead. She and Rodrigo finally admit their feelings for each other and begin a romantic relationship.

In Season Four, Hailey finds herself seeing the spirits of dead composers like Rodrigo always has. While Rodrigo's primary muse is Mozart, Hailey's is Nannerl, Mozart's sister. Hailey's pursuit of a conducting career takes her to Tokyo for the Fukusoft Conducting Competition, where Rodrigo has been invited to feature as guest conductor. Although Rodrigo tries to be supportive of Hailey's career as a conductor, his over-enthusiasm proves stifling, and their relationship comes to an end. In the series finale, by a strange Faustian intervention, Hailey comes to conduct the NYS in a performance that secures her rising status in the conducting world, while Rodrigo is fired from the orchestra.

Using Gehring's analytical framework, I examine *Mozart in the Jungle*'s plotlines and character portrayals as social commentary on the entrepreneurial work society. How does one make sense of the show's insistent references to work, money, class, and making a living? How do cultural representations of classical musicians function in the telling of popular stories about working life? And finally, what possible challenges to the entrepreneurial work society does the show illuminate?

"I Wouldn't Trade It for Anything": The Romance of the Work Ethic

Even though *Mozart in the Jungle* exposes anxieties about class and work, it does so against the ideologically normative backdrop of the work society. This aspect of the show manifests as a romantic view of the work ethic, and plays as a romantic comedy about professional life sustained largely by the show's supporting characters and female co-star. The

object of romance, pursued individually and collectively by the musicians, is a feeling of utmost fulfillment through their work.

In *Mozart in the Jungle*, an exhausting work ethic is universal, and is established and reinforced throughout the series by the portrayal of its interference with characters' personal, romantic, and family lives. In the realistic vein of romantic comedy humor, the conflicts produced by the musicians' all-consuming dedication to their jobs are depicted as funny and sad by turns. Cynthia's dedication to the cello leaves her perennially single, a stark contrast to her rock musician ex-boyfriend, who manages to juggle family and a successful touring schedule (S3E4, "Avventura Romantica"). Warren, the concertmaster, persists as a violinist even though he is divorced and his daughter thinks of him as a "loser" (S3E4, 3:06). He struggles on his salary to pay his mortgage and his children's college and private school tuitions (S2E5, "Regresso del Rey," 26:00). Health falls by the wayside. Cynthia suffers excruciating pain from occupational injuries—tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome—but persists in playing the cello (S1E9, "Now, Fortissimo!"; S3E4). Dying on the job is a running gag. In Season One, Lazlo, an elderly trombonist, falls off his chair from a heart attack in the middle of a strenuous rehearsal (S1E3, "Silent Symphony," 12:43-12:48). In Season Two, a would-be guest conductor of the NYS has to be replaced at the last minute when he keels over dead in the midst of score preparation. The manner of his death is emblematic of the workaday rat race: he suffers a heart attack while conducting and running on a treadmill at the same time, an orchestral score perched on a music stand above the treadmill's console (S2E3, "It All Depends on You," 17:31-17:50).

Although romantic comedies are light-hearted and humorous, they are "dead serious about the importance of love,"[41] and the characters of *Mozart in the Jungle* are eager to divulge

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[41] Gehring, *Romantic v. Screwball*, 67.

the lengths to which they have gone to make their professional success their sole objective in life. Early in Season One, Hailey, the show's heroine, sets the tone:

> Do you know how many hours I've spent practicing the oboe? I'm twenty-six. I've practiced five hours a day, seven days a week since I can remember. … Making reeds, having no social life. I didn't know how to swim or ride a bike until well into middle school. (S1E3, 20:21-21:27)

The single-mindedness of Hailey's dedication to her work is echoed by Betty, the principal oboist, in Season Three, as she bares her soul in the middle of a highly charged union contract negotiation session:

> You know why I broke up those [wedding] engagements? Because for thirty-five years, this orchestra has been my husband, my kids. I missed vacations, holidays, weddings, funerals. I never traveled anyplace that my oboe didn't take me. I love this fucked-up orchestra. I'd take a bullet for it. (S3E6, "Symphony of Red Tape," 19:24-19:47)

In the end, the dedication of the characters to their work is summed up best by an early scene in the show. In the scene, which takes place midway through Season One, Betty and Cynthia are sharing a joint in Betty's apartment. The living room where they are lounging is warmly lit. Even though they have been colleagues for years, this is the first time they are spending real time together socially. As they relax, they venture into more personal topics about each other's lives. Betty reveals the breaking up of an old relationship as her "one regret," while Cynthia admits that her secret affair with the NYS's former conductor is at a dead end. Betty consoles them: "You know, growing old is horseshit. But growing old alone, it's the best." The two women share a belly laugh. As Cynthia reflects, in spite of the heartaches, that Betty's "forty years with the New York Symphony" do not seem to have "turned out so bad," Betty responds proudly: "I wouldn't trade it for anything" (S1E5, "I'm with the Maestro," 13:08-14:42). Depicted as realistic characters with the kinds of personal failures that professional women can relate to, Betty and Cynthia find comfort and solidarity at the end of the day in their belief that their careers have been worth the sacrifice. Their work as musicians is the love of their life.

Gehring argues that romantic comedies often gravitate towards "serious and/or melodramatic overtones—as if creating some supreme test by which love must prove itself."[42] At least once in each season of *Mozart in the Jungle*, the characters in the show are called to demonstrate their devotion to their jobs in a context that pushes the limits of what their work means to them. When the NYS musicians' labor dispute with the orchestra's management ends in a lockout at the end of Season Two, the musicians rally in a city park for an impromptu free public performance of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloe* (S2E10, "Home"). In Season Three, the musicians return from the lockout to find that they must perform an esoteric avant-garde symphony, with no advance rehearsal, for the inmates of Rikers Island. In Season One, Episode Six, which I analyze in greater detail here, the musicians of the NYS must cope with an unconventional rehearsal held in an abandoned inner city lot ("The Rehearsal").

The NYS musicians' experience in "The Rehearsal" is intended to be transformative and sublime, not just for *MITJ*'s television audience, but also for the characters in the show. The premise of the episode is that Rodrigo tries to revitalize his musicians' performance on the job by holding a rehearsal in a surprise location. Although the musicians are initially irritated by the disruption to their work routine, they are soon won over to the novelty of the experience. The abandoned lot has been transformed with rows of chairs into a makeshift rehearsal space, and the musicians climb into it through a hole in the chain-link fence. As they begin to perform Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* from memory, the camera pans over the orchestra, showing the musicians' annoyance gradually give way to rapturous engagement in their task (10:44-12:28). Smiles creep into formerly dour faces. Scattered head-nods of approval ripple through the ranks of musicians as they settle into a groove. Close-up shots convey the enchantment of the moment:

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[42] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 75.

Hailey savoring the music with her eyes closed, Rodrigo's increasing delight at the orchestra's

sound. Curious passersby stop to peer in through the chain-link fence.

As the NYS musicians play, poised at their instruments and moving in synchrony,

musical performance comes across simultaneously as disciplined work and the height of pleasure

and enjoyment. The quality of their work, moreover, is improved by the pleasure they take in it,

as implied by the crowds gathering outside the fence. By the time the orchestra reaches the

triumphant crashing finale of the *1812 Overture*, Rodrigo is grinning from ear to ear, and

neighborhood children are streaming towards the unexpected concert, shrieking with delight

(13:36-14:50). For the musicians, the experience of making music in a place far away from the

trappings of their usual workplace, and for an enthralled and appreciative audience, helps them

Figure 4.1: Rodrigo conducts the New York Symphony in a rehearsal at an abandoned inner city lot in New York City. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 1, Episode 6. Screenshot by author.

rediscover a childlike joy in their work. After the performance, the usually curmudgeonly Betty happily offers up her oboe to a curious neighborhood girl for exploration (14:57). Even "Union" Bob pipes up, to his own surprise: "That was fun!" (14:45).

In Weber's classic formulation, the work ethic inculcates a Puritan "worldly asceticism" that guards against leisure, pleasure, and idleness.[43] It is a discipline for which "[t]he worldliness of…unruly bodies, seductive pleasures, and spontaneous enjoyment poses a constant challenge to the mandate for…focused attention to and diligent effort in properly productive pursuits."[44] For the NYS musicians, however, who use their bodies for the leisure-like work of making music, pleasure and enjoyment, far from being at odds with productivity, are its essential ingredients. Their labor is presented as a sublime experience that, true to the ideals of the entrepreneurial work ethic, aligns pleasure and enjoyment perfectly with the endgoal of productivity.

In *Mozart in the Jungle*, the representation of work as classical music-making resolves one of the Protestant work ethic's fundamental tensions. It attests to pleasure's productivity by situating it in the laboring bodies of musicians, and, in doing so, gives credence to the entrepreneurial work ethic's merging of work and leisure. Climactic episodes of *Mozart in the Jungle* such as "The Rehearsal" assert the romantic fulfillment that can be found in this approach to working life. The romantic comedy narratives of *Mozart in the Jungle* therefore provide the show with a comforting foundation in the values of the entrepreneurial work society. Yet, familiar as they are, they comprise only part of the show's engagement with the topic of work. As observed by critics who called the show "totally bizarre" and "all over the place," more

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[43] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 104, 107-108, 112-116.
[44] Weeks, *Problem*, 48.

striking to the viewers are the screwball satires that the show launches at the entrepreneurial work ethic and the work society at large.

The Avatar Manages Up

The romantic view of work as a calling is seemingly shared by all in *Mozart in the Jungle*'s classical music world. Yet, situations regularly arise that force its characters to defend their love for their work against aspects of class domination and exploitation that seek to undermine or abuse it. In the entrepreneurial work society, being an entrepreneur is supposed to be desirable because it means being able to do the work that one loves and having full ownership over one's working life and the fruits of one's labor. As the conductors of the NYS, Rodrigo and Thomas are lauded as the creative entrepreneurs of *Mozart in the Jungle*. They are the "Super-Creative Core" who are the highest-ranking tier of Richard Florida's creative class.[45] Nonetheless, they must constantly "manage up" against the wealthy capitalist class that sits on the NYS's board and controls the orchestra's finances. The basic dynamic of this relationship shows that, contrary to the myth of the creative economy, the creative class is not universal. It, too, must answer to the capitalist class, which stands outside of it. In *Mozart in the Jungle*, two scenes stand out as satirical critiques of attempts to gloss over this fact.

The first scene takes place early in the series. Gloria, Thomas, and Rodrigo are at the NYS's Capital Campaign, an annual fundraising luncheon that Gloria organizes (S1E4, "You Have Insulted Tchaikovsky"). Most of the guests—the potential donors—are middle-aged and elderly society wives of rich men, and are also longstanding patrons of the orchestra. The atmosphere at the fundraiser, which is held auction-style, is gossipy and titillating. It is an event at which to see and be seen, and the guests are aware that they have much to gain, reputationally,

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[45] Florida, *Creative Class*, 38-39.

by bidding larger contributions. At the same time, the fact that their donations are crucial to the

NYS's survival puts Gloria, Thomas, and Rodrigo at their mercy. As Gloria and Thomas make

their social rounds, addressing the guests by first name, the basic antagonism between the

wealthy donors' self-interest and Gloria and Thomas's genuine concern for the NYS is barely

concealed behind fake smiles and social niceties. Boltanski and Chiapello define capitalism as

"an imperative to unlimited accumulation of capital by formally peaceful means."[46] Taunting the

formality of this peace, the fundraiser highlights the menacing quality of the NYS's donors'

stake in their financial and social wealth, suggesting it as a barely contained state of violence.

When Gloria realizes that Rodrigo is insultingly late to the event, she signals Thomas for help

with an arch reference to the guests as indigenous savages.[47] "The natives are getting restless,"

she says, smiling between clenched teeth (18:22). The land that these "natives" are indigenous

to, of course, is capitalism.

Yet, even as Gloria and Thomas hustle to contain the donors' animosity, they take

opportunities to intimidate them with savagery of their own. The sadistic pleasure with which

viewers of *Mozart in the Jungle* are meant to view the fundraising proceedings is prepared by

Thomas's verbal roasting of the event. Welcoming the guests to the NYS's "2015 Capital

Campaign," Thomas adds, with a sly twinkle in his eye: "or, as we like to call it, *capital*

punishment" (16:51). Hysterical laughter erupts around the room in response to the double

entendre. The class anxieties that emerge in the joke are expertly balanced by the clinical quality

of the modern-day euphemism for death by execution. On one hand, its veneer of civility

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[46] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 4.
[47] The joke invokes the problematic yet persistent cultural trope that derogates native or indigenous peoples as "savages." Although it turns the trope on its head, pointing to the colonial exploiters rather than the exploited class as the savages, it remains to be judged whether such inversions of problematic tropes ultimately do the political work that the humor intends, or whether they undermine their own intentions by their reproduction of the problematic ideology.

Figure 4.2: The potential "capitals" in the fundraiser's "capital punishment." *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 1, Episode 4. Screenshot by author.

suggests that the event proceedings will merely consist of the conventional social rituals put in place to siphon appropriate funds from the capitalist class to others deserving of the wealth. More distantly, however, the joke alludes to the violent decapitation of the ruling class, made notorious by the execution of monarchs Marie Antoinette and Louis the Sixteenth after the French Revolution. Thus, the phrase "capital punishment" is also, on the other hand, a devious nod to capitalism's social control by "formally peaceful means." Turning the wealthy donors' menace on themselves, Thomas gives the capitalist class a taste of their own domination.

Unfair apportioning of wealth aside, the capitalist class is also depicted in *Mozart in the Jungle* as having a monstrous appetite for exploiting others. This is routinely satirized in the character of Edward Biben, a ruthless financier and outspoken member of the NYS board. In the scene I analyze here, Biben's exploitative streak is especially on display. At the end of Season Two, as the NYS labor negotiations near a strike, Rodrigo takes it upon himself to save the

institution he has come to love (S2E10, "Home"). Since Biben has established himself as the staunch anti-worker member of the board, Rodrigo makes a private meeting with him to offer a compromise. As per Biben's habit, the meeting is held at an indoor wall-climbing facility, where his subordinates are forced to join him on the climbing wall in order to talk to him. Rodrigo arrives to find Biben more than halfway up the wall, muscles visibly bulging in physique-flattering athletic gear. Rodrigo, in full nebbish mode as screwball comedy male protagonist, tackles the climbing wall in his button-down shirt and cardigan with child-like nimbleness and naïveté. When he arrives alongside Biben, he finds Biben energized by the physical exertion of the climb, ready to eviscerate him.

Figure 4.3: Biben negotiates with Rodrigo on the climbing wall. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 2, Episode 10. Screenshot by author.

When Rodrigo pleads his love for the NYS, Biben mocks him:

Biben: "You know, you got a funny way of showing that. You spit in the face of the people who pay for it."
Rodrigo: "The people—I never treated bad the people."

Biben: "Oh, right, right. 'Corporations aren't people.' You know what? People aren't people." (3:30-3:54)[48]

Biben's retort to the popular Left-wing criticism of the Supreme Court decision known as *Citizens United* is perplexing in its absurdity. Biben goes on to show, however, that he stands by his belief in the principle of inhumanity. When Rodrigo offers to resign in exchange for the board's approval of the musicians' five-year contract, Biben makes a ruthless counter-offer that Rodrigo struggles to negotiate:

> Biben: Wow, okay. Uh, would you be willing to sign a three-year non-compete clause? 'Cause I don't want you signing up with another orchestra and making me look bad.
> [long pause as Rodrigo considers the prospect]
> Rodrigo: Okay. What about two years and nine months?
> Biben [astonished, but not missing a beat]: Fine.
> Rodrigo: Good. (3:54-4:48)

Biben's drive for financial victory is hot-blooded, yet cold and insatiable. In contrast, Rodrigo is so un-savvy to the ways of capitalism that he becomes more than ineffectual as a negotiator: he becomes child-like and strange.

Levin has shown that the metaphor of artist as child holds powerful significance for American bourgeois identity. "[T]he figure of the artist (whether a writer, poet, painter, actor, or musician) mediated between the adult male 'Bohemian' and a childlike, feminized self," she argued.[49] In *Mozart in the Jungle*, Rodrigo plays the childlike, feminized side of the Bohemian artist. His contrast to Biben's hyper-masculinity, while ultimately no threat to Biben's profiteering goals, is not entirely benign. Consumed by his love for his orchestra and the "domestic 'economy of the beautiful,'"[50] Rodrigo demonstrates a complete lack of bourgeois

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[48] The ruling that corporations were people appeared in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 558 U.S. 310 (2010). Nina Totenberg, "When Did Companies Become People? Excavating the Legal Evolution," *NPR Morning Edition*, July 28, 2014, https://www.npr.org/2014/07/28/335288388/when-did-companies-become-people-excavating-the-legal-evolution.

[49] Levin, *Bohemia*, 216.

[50] Levin, *Bohemia*, 216.

propriety in his failure to exercise self-interest on a basic level. His offer of "two years and nine months" as a counter-bargain demonstrates only formal understanding of the meaning of negotiation, and not its real significance as an economic transaction. His complete naïveté makes even Biben feel a moment of consternation.

The Avatar Becomes Indignant

In the second season finale, the battle between the NYS musicians' union and administrators plays out in the musicians' worst nightmare: a lockout. The whole orchestra is gathered in the shabby backstage lot of the concert hall, having shown up for a performance only to find the doors locked. As the musicians, dressed in their tuxedoes and concert blacks and holding their instrument cases, begin to panic, Cynthia takes leadership. Climbing laboriously with her cello case to a perch of command on a metal staircase landing overhanging the backstage lot, she silences her squabbling colleagues, then unites them with a clarion call. "We are world-class musicians," Cynthia declares. "We have chosen this to be our lives. We have chosen a profession which is hard on relationships, which is hard on our bodies, which requires constant practice and dedication, which practically no one else can understand." The musicians are subdued by the truth of these statements, and the thrum of empathetic solidarity is thick in the air. Emboldened, Cynthia makes her pitch: "This is a difficult vocation, but I ask you now: how many of you would choose a different one?" As the musicians begin to murmur and nod, Cynthia launches her battle cry:

> You know, we're tougher than they think we are. In there, they think we're a bunch of kooky, eccentric, weak-kneed musicians, but we are goddamn warriors. And we're gonna win this fight by showing them just how tough we really are! Follow me! (S2E10, 15:30-16:30)

As Cynthia strides off her podium, the foreboding martial chorus of the Dies irae *Confutatis* from Mozart's Requiem begins playing over the soundtrack, and the musicians scurry to fall in line.

Some anxious, some peevish, some cheering, they troop behind Cynthia, instrument cases a-clunking, as she leads them in an impromptu protest march down the streets of New York City.

In *Mozart in the Jungle*, the NYS musicians are the "technicians" of Richard Florida's creative class. They "apply complex bodies of knowledge to their work with physical materials," and for this reason, are seen as "taking on increased responsibility to interpret their work and make decisions."[51] Unlike Rodrigo and Thomas, however, they do not enjoy heroic status in the entrepreneurial work society. In contrast to the creative entrepreneurs, technicians are deemed just "sufficiently engaged in creative problem solving" to earn membership in the creative economy.[52] The fact that their work consists largely of creative application rather than innovation puts them at the bottom of the creative hierarchy. In the memoir that inspired *Mozart in the Jungle*, oboist Blair Tindall describes "rushing between Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center in beautiful evening gowns that were as much our work uniform as other young women's blazers and skirts."[53] She also observes, however, quoting a friend, that "[m]usicians are more like blue-collar workers than PhDs," for whom "[m]usic performance was a specific craft that was perfected more by practice than analysis."[54] Despite orchestra musicians' high levels of education, the significant manual component of their labor gives their profession much in common with what is traditionally considered blue-collar work. The confusion that this class ambiguity causes in real life is illustrated by the opening paragraphs of an Associated Press report on the Detroit Symphony Orchestra strike of 2011:

> In a town where hard hats—not concert tuxedoes—have been the marks of union street credibility, striking Detroit Symphony Orchestra musicians protested Mayor Dave Bing's decision to deliver his State of the City address inside an orchestra hall that hasn't heard a note from them in months.

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[51] Florida, *Creative Class*, 39.
[52] Florida, *Creative Class*, 39.
[53] Tindall, *Mozart*, 88.
[54] Tindall, *Mozart*, 226.

> The picket—one of the biggest public displays for the musicians since they walked off the job Oct. 4 in black concert dress—illustrated the rising stakes for the workers and the symphony, which suspended its full season Saturday after the musicians rejected what management had said was its final offer.[55]

By framing the musicians' strike as an issue of "hard hats" versus "concert tuxedoes," the article focuses not on the orchestra's demands, but rather on the legitimacy of their claim to the experience of labor. Their work attire calls into question their "union street credibility."

Captured by Tindall's image of the blue-collar tuxedo, the "inter-class aura" of the figure of the classical musician lends complexity to the labor union plotline that occupies the first three seasons of *Mozart in the Jungle*. This is established early in the series when Lasko, the elderly trombonist of the NYS, contemplates his retirement as he convalesces in a hospital after a heart attack. "I'm tired of wearing this frayed old tuxedo," he says to Cynthia and Thomas, wearily. He asks Cynthia to take his place as chair of the orchestra bargaining committee. When she tries to turn him down, he presses her with the dire reality of the musicians' employment benefits. "My dear, are you aware that this raspberry Jell-O is not even on our current health plan?" Lasko says, holding up the jelly cup on his hospital-issue tray. "I'm serious. Meals are excluded" (S1E3, "Silent Symphony," 13:50-14:50). Although the NYS musicians dress up for work as if they were members of the bourgeois elite, their material concerns are commensurate with those shared by the middle and working classes.

For orchestra musicians fictional and real, membership in the creative economy does not improve their chances in the world of work. Rather, it hampers their ability to represent themselves convincingly as laborers in a capitalist work society. In the NYS musicians' second protest rally after the lockout, the musicians gather on the street outside the concert hall chanting

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[55] Jeff Karoub, "Striking Musician Protest Detroit Mayor's Speech," *The Associated Press News Service*, February 23, 2011, NewsBank.

familiar worker's protest chants. Standing behind them is their labor mascot, the MozRat: an enormous, grotesque balloon rat wearing a classical-era aristocratic wig of the kind sported by Mozart in well-known portraits of the eighteenth-century composer. A common workers' picket line mascot in real life, the inflatable union rat, sometimes called "Scabby the Rat," was originally used to protest corporations' use of non-union workers or "scabs." With its growth in popularity, it has become a more general symbol of unfair labor practices.[56] As "Union" Bob earnestly explains, the MozRat is a "symbol of our solidarity" (S3E2, "The Modern Piece," 2:30). In the case of the NYS musicians' use of the mascot, however, the solidarity that Scabby the Rat represents is jarring and disjointed. The aristocratic wig sitting atop the garish balloon rat appears more a lampoon of archaic elitism and a ruling class than the expression of the

Figure 4.4: The musicians of the New York Symphony protest their lock-out with their mascot, the MozRat. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 3, Episode 2. Screenshot by author.

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[56] "Scabby the Rat" has been a workers' picket line mascot for over twenty years. See Tzvi Mackson-Landsberg, "Is a Giant Inflatable Rat an Unlawful Secondary Picket under Section 8(b)(4)(ii)(B) of the National Labor Relations Act Note," *Cardozo Law Review* 28, no. 3 (2006): 1519–62 and Chuck Salter, "The Inflatable Union Rat," *Fast Company*, December 1, 2003, https://www.fastcompany.com/47805/inflatable-union-rat.

musicians' working conditions it was intended to be. Even when mobilized by indignation to seek justice for their labor, the NYS musicians find themselves at a loss for signifiers with which to convey their identity as a class of workers.

The incoherence of the musicians as a political class is further highlighted by Pavel's about-face. Pavel, the facilities manager, is neither musician nor executive management. Rather, as auxiliary staff in charge of the physical operations of a workplace, he represents a traditional middle- to lower middle-class worker. As the adversarial relationship between the musicians and executive management heats up, Pavel's loyalties become fundamentally confused. He had previously done the executive management's bidding by shutting the musicians out of the concert hall on the day of the lockout. In a change of heart, however, he then joined up with the musicians' protest march. Now, he shows up at the musicians' rally only to melodramatically deflate the MozRat with a knife. To "Union" Bob's cry of consternation ("I thought you were with us!), Pavel replies passionately, "Yes, but not with these things you do!" (S3E2, 1:39-2:57). The rally subsequently devolves into slapstick violence and mayhem.

In both real life and in fiction, the signifier of the tuxedo as work uniform perplexes traditional class categories. Richard Florida notes that the technicians of the creative class "blur[] the old distinction between white-collar work (done by decision makers) and blue-collar work (done by those who follow orders)."[57] At the same time, he argues that they are a class of workers who are "growing [in] importance and influence" in the creative economy.[58] It is never quite clear in *Mozart in the Jungle* whether the NYS musicians represent the working class of the entrepreneurial work society, or whether they represent a middle class to a working class that

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[57] Florida, *Creative Class*, 39.
[58] Florida, *Creative Class*, 39.

falls outside the world of the show. With the signifiers of upper-class culture thrown into the mix, it is implied that they are simultaneously both and neither.

The Avatar Perturbed

It is the seventh episode of Season Three, and the NYS musicians return to work for the first time after the resolution of the lockout, only to be whisked away by Rodrigo to play for the inmates of the Rikers Island jail complex. As previously mentioned, this is one of the climactic episodes that tend to happen once a season, in which the characters in the show have to demonstrate their devotion to their jobs by performing in a heightened, melodramatic context. Although the episode delivers on the feeling of romance and dedication to the work ethic, it ultimately diverges from romantic comedy narrative expectations in ways that render it unsettling.

In this highly unconventional episode of television, the approximation of realism in romantic comedy is taken to new heights. "Not Yet Titled"—the title of the episode—refers to its formal premise: a mockumentary of the NYS musicians' day on Rikers Island, filmed and directed by Bradford Sharpe. Brad, a recurring character in *Mozart in the Jungle* played by Jason Schwartzman, is a young classical music podcast host and "classical music gadfly"[59] eager to make his name with his first film. At the beginning of the film, the musicians have been out of work for eighty-seven days. It is their first day back on the job. As the bus ferries the NYS musicians to Rikers Island, Brad interviews them about their feelings towards their jobs. Between awkward silences, their answers reveal their confusion. To the question of what she loves about the oboe, Hailey answers that the oboe "symbolizes the sound of love" (2:27). She

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[59] Todd VanDerWerff, "Amazon's Mozart in the Jungle Season 3 Offers 2 Standout Episodes Amid a Bunch of Fluff," *Vox*, December 11, 2016, https://www.vox.com/culture/2016/12/11/13897160/mozart-in-the-jungle-review-season-3-amazon.

adds: "I don't really know what I love about the oboe anymore, except that I know that I do love it" (2:19-2:27). When asked what it "take[s] to be a good percussionist," D.D. responds, distantly: "You really have to love what time can do" (3:34-3:40). The musicians offer up their professions of love as if by rote, without conviction. They also find it difficult to hide their irritation at being filmed on their first day back after three months of unemployment. When Brad inquires into their feelings about playing together again, cash-strapped concertmaster Warren replies with a mixture of indignation and relief: "Well, I can't wait. I've been dying for the last four months, or however long it's been" (3:01-3:06). Hailey, who is still only employed by the orchestra on a contingent basis as a substitute musician, replies evasively: "I'm happy that I get to, um—to sub, and right now that feels good" (3:06-3:14). Disoriented, the musicians veer haltingly between resentment and professions of love.

The numb, disconnected atmosphere of the bus ride extends to the rest of the mockumentary. The episode is weighted by the conspicuously slow pacing of indie documentary-style cinematography. Using a muted color palette, it depicts the day's events in disjointed, dream-like sequences. Immediately following the film's title screen, viewers are presented with a lengthy montage depicting mundane details of the orchestra musicians' and stage crew's labor in extreme close-up: screws being inserted, trailer hooks unlatched, moving straps loosened and tightened as the stage crew sets up the performance platform, a piano being moved, its lid lifted, its strings tuned and tested, a sound engineer scrutinizing his mixing board and handwriting switch labels (0:32-1:17). Documentarily authenticated by shaky handheld camerawork and an unstable camera focus, the veritable profusion of minute skills and tasks in the montage affirms the seriousness of the orchestra's work. At the same time, the montage, like much of the mockumentary, uses a documentary editing technique that layers music or interview

commentary as voiceovers on top of muted footage of action and background scenery. In this case, it is a poignantly dissonant clarinet solo from avant-garde French composer Olivier Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time*.[60]

The nearly constant presence of such disembodied music and narrative over silent moving images creates a withdrawn, contemplative air that surrounds the orchestra musicians and permeates the day's events. As the musicians get their first glimpses of the outdoor compound where they will be performing, they are struck by the barbed wire fencing and the sight of skyscrapers and an American flag flapping in the wind beyond it. Haltingly, Cynthia remarks: "We walked up and there's— You know, there's Manhattan, the skyline, and—and then there's the fencing. It was kind of a— It had a weird beauty to it" (6:32-6:41). Although one reviewer criticized this moment as a politically tone-deaf romanticization of incarceration,[61] Cynthia is obviously perturbed by her own nuanced reaction to the notoriously abusive jail facility. Echoing this "weird beauty" throughout the episode are recurrent shots of a seagull soaring above the barbed wire fence. Somewhat heavy-handedly, it symbolizes the hope of freedom that is possible even in incarceration. This association is made especially clear by the motif's re-appearance at the end of the orchestra's performance for the Rikers Island inmates (17:07-17:19).

Standing before the gathered inmates to introduce the final piece on the concert program, Messiaen's *Turangalîla-Symphonie*, Rodrigo fervently declares: "Messiaen was very sure that, at the end, love conquered all, and that hope was there" (S3E7 15:00). Messiaen, Rodrigo tells the inmates, had been a prisoner of war in World War II, indicating that the hope he refers to is for

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[60] The excerpt is from the opening of the third movement, "Abyss of the Birds."
[61] Esther Zuckerman, "*Mozart in the Jungle* Takes a Trip to Rikers in an Admirable, Messy Episode," *The A.V. Club*, December 15, 2016, https://tv.avclub.com/mozart-in-the-jungle-takes-a-trip-to-rikers-in-an-admir-1798189902.

the inmates' freedom. At the same time, however, as his reference to "love" suggests, Rodrigo's hope is also for the orchestra's musicians to embrace their work fully again. Rodrigo had conceived the performance engagement on Rikers Island as a way for the NYS musicians to reaffirm their dedication to their work. "We're looking for reasons why to continue playing as an orchestra," he tells Brad in an interview (7:30-8:03). As Brad conducts his post-concert interviews with the inmates, it seems as if Rodrigo and the musicians find reasons in abundance. One after another, the men confess to being deeply moved and transported by the music. Many of them had never heard an orchestra perform before.[62] An especially poignant response comes from a bespectacled young black man: "You know, I had my mind in a lot of different places. Some— Like, sometimes, I went dark, sometimes I went happy. Life, death. Freedom. The feelings that got dark was positive, you know? Nothing was negative about that experience" (20:00-20:14). His invocation of freedom and the feeling of being transported is echoed by the other inmates. "It took me away from where I'm at, definitely did," one man corroborates (20:40-21:13). Another reminisces: "I just closed my eyes and I was letting the instruments just come to me, and I just felt free like that, you know? Like, I was here physically, but emotionally and spiritually, like, I was, you know, gone" (9:09-9:28).

The romantic tribute to the transformative experience of music in "Not Yet Titled" was unmistakable. One critic described the episode as "a moving half-hour of television that extends beyond the boundaries of fiction and serves as a reminder of art's power to transcend even the most miserable circumstances."[63] Another asserted:

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[62] The post-concert remarks featured in "Not Yet Titled" come from real interviews that were held with actual Rikers Island inmates, who were reflecting upon a concert that had been presented to them as part of *Mozart in the Jungle*'s filming session. Lara Zarum, "How 'Mozart in the Jungle' Brought an Obscure, Avant-Garde Piece of Classical Music to Rikers Island," *Flavorwire*, December 13, 2016, http://flavorwire.com/595680/how-mozart-in-the-jungle-brought-an-obscure-avant-garde-piece-of-classical-music-to-rikers-island.

[63] Zarum, "How 'Mozart in the Jungle.'"

> …[I]t's a swooning attempt to make an argument not just for this fictional orchestra, or this TV show, or even classical music, but for the necessity of art in general. It feels like a one-episode rebuke of anybody who would shrug their shoulders at the show and wonder what's so important about this particular milieu. "Maybe you don't care about classical music," the episode says, pushing its glasses up on its nose, "but surely you care about *art*!"[64]

Yet, as the NYS's performance comes to a close, the paean to art and freedom becomes fraught. By turns sweeping and chaotic, loopy and lush, exuberant and lost in reverie, the final movement of the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* is not just a celebration of life and freedom. It is a celebration of their insanity (15:20-18:54). The carnivalesque quality of the music is mirrored in the visual editing of the scene. Like the episode's introductory montage of the stage crew's setup work, most of the footage in this sequence emphasizes the physicality of the musicians' labor with extreme close-ups of their playing: cymbals being crashed, woodblocks being thwocked, French horn players' fingers depressing valves, strings being bowed, xylophone mallets hitting keys. However, unlike the quiet, contemplative air of the setup montage, here the editing is so frenzied as to resemble the parodic depictions of industrial factory production one might find in a Charlie Chaplin film (see Figs. 4.5 and 4.6). Multiple shots are tiled at once on the screen against a black background. The individual panels of footage cut in and out frenetically, at times creating a confusing plethora of images, at other times leaving substantial amounts of empty black space. The musicians and onlooking inmates are framed in odd aspect ratios that sometimes slice across key facial features, producing an almost cubist effect. Hyper-charged with irrational energy, the scene depicts the labor of musical performance as an effort that threatens to fly off its rails entirely.

Yet, in the middle of this lengthy sequence, a brief respite from the mania reminds the viewer of the film's romantic commitments. As the music turns lush and expansive, the visual

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[64] VanDerWerff, "Amazon's *Mozart*."

Figure 4.5: The musicians and onlooking inmates framed with a cubist effect. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 3, Episode 7. Screenshot by author.
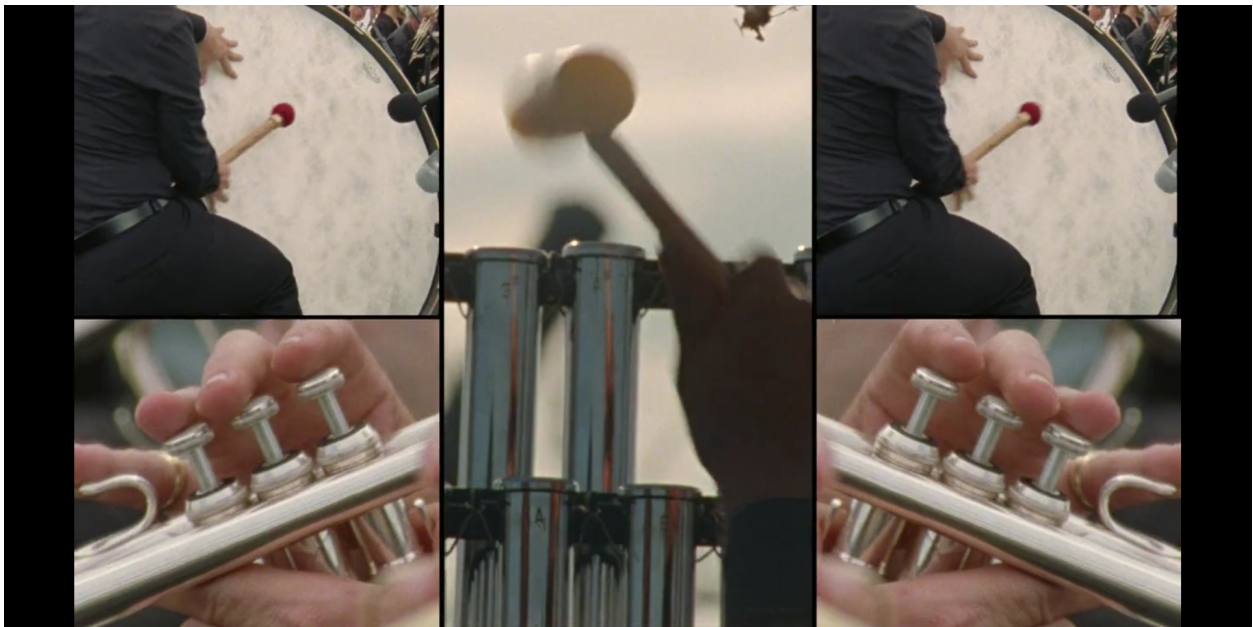

Figure 4.6: The frenzied editing of the visuals of the musicians at work, playing the final movement of the *Turangalîla-Symphonie*. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 3, Episode 7. Screenshot by author.

motif of the seagull returns. As the Rikers Island inmates contemplate the effortlessness of the

seagull's flight over the barbed wire fencing, the strings swoon to the psychedelic aria of the

ondes martenot, an electronic instrument whose loopy sound is familiar from the soundtracks of

classic science-fiction films.[65] Its otherworldly effect on the moment turns the symbolism of the

seagull and barbed wire fence into one of a fantastical, surreal romance.

Through the NYS's performance, the inmates' strange experience of freedom in

imprisonment becomes fused with the orchestra musicians' experience of their relationship to

their employment. After having been locked out for three months, the musicians were finally

released from unemployment into the "freedom" of work. Due to Rodrigo's latest harebrained

scheme, however, they were forced to resume their freedom in a context that incarcerated them

again. As the bus carrying the unwitting orchestra pulled up outside Rikers Island, the dramatic

irony of this symbolism was wryly summarized as D.D., the aging hippie percussionist,

deadpanned: "Yo, we're going to jail" (4:00).

At the end, as the bus pulls away from Rikers Island, it is clear that the excursion has

brought emotional resolution to the tumultuous labor dispute. Buoyed by the inmates' heartfelt

testimonies to the power of their performance, the musicians take away from the day's events the

idea that work is worthwhile as long as it can produce the transcendence of art. "We're whole,

and we have a future," Gloria says, gazing out the window contemplatively (22:04-22:15).

Nonetheless, the disquietude that has haunted the film lingers. Although the musicians are

willing to continue in their employment for the hope of freedom that it affords, they remain

subdued by the recognition that even work itself is incarceration of a sort.

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[65] David McNamee, "Hey, What's That Sound: Ondes Martenot," *The Guardian*, October 12, 2009, accessed August 9, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2009/oct/12/ondes-martenot.

The Avatar as Worker-Entrepreneur

In the first season finale, Hailey, a struggling gig musician and screwball comedy heroine of *Mozart in the Jungle*, gets her big break. It is the NYS's debut concert under Rodrigo's baton, and, at the last minute, an extra oboist is needed to fill in as second chair. Rodrigo asks Hailey to play. As Hailey starts to protest, citing her fears of inadequacy to the task, Rodrigo's expression turns serious. The camera framing of the scene tightens to an intimate close-up of their faces. Time slows in the romantic earnestness of the moment.[66] Gazing meaningfully at Hailey, Rodrigo intones: "This is not about you. It's not even about me. This is about needing an oboe player" (S1E10, "Opening Night," 15:12-16:23).

In *Mozart in the Jungle*, the romantic union that screwball protagonists Rodrigo and Hailey seek is not between themselves as private individuals but rather as creative workers. Hailey is a precariously underemployed millennial who is scrabbling her way towards her career dreams. Rodrigo is a wildly successful, prodigal, visionary innovator in a mid-career crisis. Their figurative coupling raises the hope that, as a romantic unit, they might solve each other's work life problems by merging together into the ideal "worker-entrepreneur." However, as the narrative conventions of screwball comedy intervene time and again to disrupt their union, this romantic vision begins to unravel, and the two protagonists' trajectories, in so many ways seemingly compatible, ultimately diverge.

Hailey and Rodrigo's respective work society roles as precarious worker and successful entrepreneur are established early in Season One. From the first episode, it is clear that Hailey holds multiple jobs, none of which offer any security or adequate compensation. The off-off-

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[66] In romantic comedies, time appears to slow at the resolution of the plot to emphasize the gravity, complexity, and realism of the moment when love is requited. Gehring, *Romantic v. Screwball*, 91-94. Here, this cinematic trope is used in a screwball context to mock the earnestness of the characters.

Broadway show in which she works as a pit orchestra musician closes when the star of the show attacks an audience member in a moment of deranged egomania (S1E1, "Pilot"; S1E3, "Silent Symphony"). Her dream employment with the NYS comes to a swift and abrupt end due to a moment's mistake on her part (S1E2, "Fifth Chair"). When she tries to earn money by teaching private lessons, not only does she have to put up with lewd behavior from her sole student, a lackadaisical twelve-year-old boy from a rich family, but she also has to hound him for payment (S1E1, "Pilot"; S1S6, "The Rehearsal").[67] Upon the termination of her orchestral gigs, Hailey joins her dancer boyfriend, Alex, for an afternoon of money-making in the time-honored tradition of unemployed musicians: busking (S1E3, "Silent Symphony"). Although career-building and making money for survival are the objects of Hailey's constant hustling, she is perennially unlucky.

Rodrigo, on the other hand, has enjoyed a meteoric rise as a conductor of leading orchestras around the world. Unlike Hailey, who bounces from job to job by falling out the bottom of the employment hierarchy, Rodrigo, formerly a child prodigy, has a highly mobile career as the innovative leader of a string of successful projects.[68] He "conducted at La Scala" at the age of twenty-three and "lifted the Oslo Symphony out of bankruptcy and placed them amongst the finest on the world stage" at the age of twenty-five. In the hiring process that ultimately led him to accept the position of Music Director at the NYS, he was "courted by Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Munich." His first-name-only publicity moniker—simply "Rodrigo"—conveys his rock-star status in the classical music world. Nonetheless, Rodrigo's

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[67] True to the farcical style of the show, the boy tries in one instance to pay for his lesson with a valuable vintage stamp (S1E6, "The Rehearsal," 6:10-6:37).

[68] For the entrepreneurial hero of the creative economy, "[l]ife is conceived as a succession of projects. … What matters is to develop activity—that is to say, never to be short of a project, …always to have something…in the pipeline…." Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 110.

entrepreneurial verve gives him problems of his own. He is dogged by the anxiety that he has "sold out," and that his success has made him lose sight of what making music is really about.

That Hailey and Rodrigo's compatibility as a couple is based on their work ethic is demonstrated from the beginning by their all-consuming approach to their work. Even though everyone in the NYS is dedicated to their work, Hailey and Rodrigo take that dedication to the point of what Gehring calls "comic rigidity." The classic screwball example of comic rigidity is the absent-minded professor archetype: one whose focus is so single-mindedly trained upon his subject of study that he becomes socially "rigid," unable to behave in socially expected ways.[69] Rodrigo is the absent-minded conductor *par excellence*.[70] When he becomes caught up in a spontaneous idea, as he often does, he pursues it relentlessly. He cancels rehearsals at the last minute, antagonizes wealthy NYS donors, and changes concert repertoire on a whim. Hailey demonstrates a similar obliviousness to social propriety when practicing the oboe. She practices a single musical phrase for her first NYS rehearsal stubbornly, over and over again, to the point of earning the nickname "Rain Man" from her roommate Lizzie (S1E2, "Fifth Chair," 6:30-7:00). When the beleaguered Lizzie exiles her from their apartment, she practices while sitting outside their building until neighbors yell at her to stop (S1E2, "Fifth Chair," 7:00-7:08). It is this shared rigidity that brings Hailey and Rodrigo together as a couple. In the first episode of the series, they meet when Rodrigo is so entranced by the sound of Hailey's oboe playing that he abandons his sexual tryst with his assistant midway to investigate its source (S1E1, "Pilot," 26:48-27:46).

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[69] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 32.
[70] The orchestral conductor as screwball comic anti-hero was first seen in *Unfaithfully Yours* (1948), a Preston Sturges film starring Rex Harrison. It was successful enough that it was remade under the same title in 1984, directed by Howard Zieff and starring Dudley Moore. Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 23, 148.

While romantic comedies are earnest about love, screwball comedies "spoof[] the romantic process."[71] When Hailey is let go from the NYS at the beginning of Season One from her short-lived position as fifth oboist, Rodrigo hires her as his assistant so he can continue to mold her in his image. Hailey welcomes his efforts, and, for this, she is constantly taunted. A running gag in the series is everyone's assumption at the NYS that Hailey is sleeping with Rodrigo, which Hailey has to deny repeatedly to no avail.[72] The absurdity of this gag is sharpened by the fact that Rodrigo and Hailey prefer to relate to each other through romantic engagement in their work rather than with each other. This is made evident in an early scene of a spontaneous teaching moment between mentor and protégé. Rodrigo, Hailey, and Hailey's roommate Lizzie are stuck in traffic while escorting Rodrigo to the NYS "Capital Campaign" fundraiser (S1E4, "You Have Insulted Tchaikovsky," 11:22-12:41). As the limousine crawls over a bridge, Rodrigo becomes excited by the sounds he hears, and takes the opportunity to draw Hailey into his world of musical perception. He instructs Hailey to close her eyes so they can hear the music of their environment together. As they listen, the diegetic soundtrack becomes enhanced by non-diegetic orchestral instruments to depict what Rodrigo and Hailey hear in their heads. The bridge they are crossing over begins to rattle like jittering snare drums, and the car horns and sounds of heavy traffic swell like orchestral string sections. For a few moments, Rodrigo and Hailey are lost together in musical reverie.

Entrepreneurs are valorized in the creative economy as innovators who produce profit out of nothing but the application of creativity and inspiration to what is freely and naturally

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[71] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 2.
[72] Automatism, or the comedic technique of creating humor through the absurdity of certain things that are "done automatically," is another typical component of screwball comedies. Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 34.

available around them.[73] In a *Forbes* magazine article from 2011, entrepreneurs are equated to artists along those lines: "It takes a true artist to see something out of nothing and an even greater artist to begin the process to sculpt the situation to match that which they envision."[74] The scene of Rodrigo and Hailey's teaching moment suggests that Rodrigo is showing Hailey, successfully, how to do that with music. The artistic consummation of their romance, however, is not allowed to enjoy its full flowering. As Gehring notes, romantic earnestness in screwball comedies is always "immediately subject to satirical rebuke."[75] Just as the transcendent moment begins to linger a little too long, Lizzie receives a cellphone call from her mother. The swooning

Figure 4.7: Rodrigo teaches Hailey how to hear the music around them. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 1, Episode 4. Screenshot by author.

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[73] According to Boltanski and Chiapello's interpretation of the entrepreneurial myth, the entrepreneur uses his "intuition" and "talent (in the sense in which we speak of an artist's talent)" to "'scan[] the world around him in search of novel signs'…, and knows how to anticipate, sense, sniff out the links worth pursuing." *New Spirit*, 113.
[74] Louis Lautman, "The Art of Being an Entrepreneur," *Forbes*, December 7, 2011, https://www.forbes.com/sites/theyec/2011/12/07/the-art-of-being-an-entrepreneur.
[75] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 68.

soundtrack cuts out, and Lizzie quips, deadpan, that she is "in a cab with a couple of stoners" (S1E4, 12:17, screenshot from 12:26). Rodrigo and Hailey are left looking foolish as Lizzie's reproof disperses their shared illusion. The main supporting characters of *Mozart in the Jungle* belong to the show's romantic comedy narrative threads. This early scene therefore establishes the separate tracks that *Mozart in the Jungle*'s romantic and screwball comedy narratives will take. Where the screwball protagonists are eccentric, supporting characters like Lizzie are realistic, and for them, the entrepreneurial dream is nothing but pot smoke and mirrors.

My analysis of Hailey and Rodrigo's screwball romance concentrates henceforth on its final chapter, which takes place over the climactic episodes of Season Four. This is the stage where their romance unravels. In Episodes Six to Eight, Rodrigo and Hailey travel to take part in the Fukusoft Conducting Competition in Tokyo. Hailey is one of a select group of young contestants hoping to launch their conducting careers by securing a medal, while Rodrigo has been invited to be the featured guest conductor of the competition's closing ceremony. There, they face the ultimate tests of their worthiness as creative entrepreneurs. Hailey and Rodrigo's tests reflect two aspects of the Entrepreneurial work ethic. Rodrigo, who has been asked to conduct a new completion of Mozart's famously unfinished Requiem by an artificial intelligence, must face his creeping sense of artistic spiritual emptiness head-on in a robot doppelgänger. His is the test of authenticity.[76] Hailey, on the other hand, must prove to herself

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[76] In the entrepreneurial work society, the myth of the artist's "authenticity" has been "exten[ded] to an ever greater number of wage-earners." The myth that Rodrigo must now live up to as the sign of his artistic authenticity is "the lack of any distinction between time at work and time outside work, between personal friendships and professional relationships, between work and the person of those who perform it." It is the final of these three challenges that Rodrigo must now prove his commitment to, as he faces the complete erasure of his actual person by a robotic clone of himself in his professional capacity. Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 422.

that, for once, she can rise to the occasion when expected to see her goals through to the end. Hers is the test of her faithfulness to her calling.[77]

During their time in Tokyo, Hailey is assailed by not only the stresses of the competition, but also the misogyny of the conducting world; the strident feminist demands of her latest muse (like Rodrigo, Hailey has begun receiving inspiration from spirits of dead composers); the intimidating shadow of Rodrigo's superior expertise; as well as the taint of unfair advantage—in her competitors' eyes—from her romantic association with a superstar. The pressure that Hailey is under to succeed is intensified by the failure of her only female colleague in the competition. Yuki, who is cut when Hailey advances to the final round, is a repeat competitor who has now missed her last chance. "Well, that's it for me," Yuki says to Hailey, her voice tremoring. "I'm officially too old for these competitions" (S4E7, "We're Not Robots," 15:03-15:41). Sociologist Ephraim Mizruchi writes: "The bohemian life-style [is] transitory,"

> …a youthful interlude on the path to success as a genuine artist or even in the commercial world. … [B]y age thirty the bohemian garment must be shed and the struggle with the real world, if it has not already been overcome, must commence. Bohemia is a way station on the road to success as an artist. He who remains "too long in Bohemia is doomed…."[78]

In the highly competitive young artist contests ubiquitous in classical music world, the emphasis on revealing one's talent in one's youth, which is mirrored in the increasingly popular trend of young entrepreneur contests in the business world, illustrates the Bohemian underpinnings of the entrepreneurial work society. Young artistic and entrepreneurial hopefuls, driven by the specters

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[77] "The perseverance of the individual in the place and within the limits which God had assigned to him was a religious duty," Weber writes of Luther's conception of the calling. *Protestant Ethic*, 106. Louis Lautman echoes this in his comparison of entrepreneurs to artists in "The Art of Being an Entrepreneur": "They are willing to give up immediate gratification for long-term fulfillment. They don't mind working long nights and weekends because they believe that those long hours will be worth it in the end. It is that belief that drives them to do what they do in the face of fear, uncertainty and doubt. Therefore, when they persist on, they do end up creating a masterpiece." *Forbes*, December 7, 2011, https://www.forbes.com/sites/theyec/2011/12/07/the-art-of-being-an-entrepreneur.
[78] Mizruchi, "Bohemia," 16.

of unemployment and professional failure, must climb over one another to demonstrate their promise as creative geniuses if they hope to exit capitalism's "reserve army" of the unemployed.[79] Luck is as much a factor as merit, if not more so. Hailey, who only recently began conducting after her career as an oboist reached a dead-end, wrestles with the injustice of her success where Yuki had failed.

While Hailey confronts the reality of her own inexperience, Rodrigo struggles with the question of where his inspiration as a conductor comes from, and what, exactly, his creativity is worth. WAM, short for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, is a robot conductor who has been programmed with the complete works of Mozart and all their recorded performances. He is Japanese capitalist-entrepreneur Fukumoto's brainchild, a novel technological stride whose conducting and compositional skills will be unveiled at the closing ceremony of the Fukusoft Conducting Competition, which Fukumoto's company sponsors. Even though Rodrigo, known for being "the world's foremost interpreter of Mozart," will be the featured conductor at the ceremony, he will be conducting WAM's completion of Mozart's Requiem—a completion that Fukumoto deems "perfect" (S4E6, "Domo Arigato"). To Rodrigo, it is an abomination.

Rodrigo's struggles with his artistry are established early in the series. In Season One, viewers of *Mozart in the Jungle* meet Rodrigo's ex-wife, Ana Maria, a militant anarchist and performance artist whose extreme artistic persona makes Rodrigo seem tame in comparison. She taunts him: "Does it bring your ego pleasure, making dead music in your sterilized world? Remarkable only for its lifeless artifice?" (S1E5, "I'm with the Maestro," 17:37-22:08). Pained by Ana Maria's scathing remarks, Rodrigo is also worried that she may be right. As the series wears on, Rodrigo is frustrated at every turn by what he calls the NYS's bureaucratic "red tape."

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[79] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 781-794.

The orchestra's prolonged labor dispute especially drains him of his creative spirit. When he collaborates with world-renowned Italian operatic diva "La Fiamma" during the NYS's lockout, he is taken aback when she shares her most vulnerable experiences as an artist and invites him to reciprocate, to "[t]ell me something about you that no one knows." "But I'm nothing," Rodrigo replies, looking perturbed. "I'm just some notes that people like to play with" (S3E1, "La Fiamma," 23:30-24:02).

By the time Rodrigo meets WAM, then, he already suspects that he is, as Ana Maria said, "dead," "sterilized," and "lifeless." He is therefore aghast when Fukumoto asks him to participate in a brainwave transfer session with WAM so that the robot can absorb Rodrigo's mind as "data" to improve its conducting abilities (S4E6, "Domo Arigato"). A stable trait of Rodrigo's character from the beginning of *Mozart in the Jungle* has been his catchphrase extolling the importance of passion in music-making: "play with the blood." Besides compensating for his anxieties about his authenticity as an artist, it is his signature line as an artistic celebrity. As WAM now innocently informs Rodrigo, the thing he most desires to learn about from him is "the blood" (S4E6, 9:54, 12:35).

As a bloodless robot tries to capitalize on his artistic soul, Rodrigo's final chapter as a heroic entrepreneur turns into high farce. He learns that WAM is Fukumoto's nascent attempt to replace conductors with robots and resurrect dead composers through artificial intelligence. He also discovers, to his shock, that he has been made complicit in this process against his will. When Fukumoto asks Rodrigo to give an introductory speech at the ceremony, WAM helpfully plays back a video—on the screen that serves as the robot's face—of a highly realistic, animated talking head of Rodrigo extolling the wondrousness of WAM. The robotic usurpation of Rodrigo's artistic spirit is further emphasized by the fact that Rodrigo is hounded through the

Figure 4.8: "Rodrigo" extolling the virtues of WAM. *Mozart in the Jungle*, Season 4, Episode 6. Screenshot by author.

cities of Sapporo and Tokyo by a violent, wild-eyed group of men who believe that he is a "death demon" who has killed and is impersonating the real Rodrigo (S4E6, "Domo Arigato"; S4E7, "We're Not Robots"). They believe that, more than just artistically dead himself, Rodrigo is an artistic "death demon" that brings death to others.

In the final round of the Fukusoft Conducting Competition, Hailey succumbs to her habitual "success fright," losing her concentration and faith in herself at the most vital moment. During the deciding performance, her spirit is depicted literally walking away from her body, dejected and lost. Both Thomas, who has been her formal conducting teacher, and Rodrigo, watching together from the audience, recognize that her uninspiring performance is due to Rodrigo's over-influence in the final hours of the competition (S4E7, "We're Not Robots," 24:09-26:47). As Daisuke remarks sadly to Hailey afterwards: "You were a different conductor"

(27:05-27:22). Rodrigo's inadvertent suppression of Hailey's style brings about her artistic death.

Hailey and Rodrigo return home to New York City romantically and professionally broken. Hailey has ended her romantic relationship with Rodrigo, and Rodrigo's career is in a precarious state after his public defiance of Fukumoto's grand designs. While Hailey returns to a gigging life even more debasing than before (her latest gig is as private musician for a rich woman's cat), Rodrigo's identity unravels completely from a Faustian bargain with a choreographer named Egon. In the final episode of *Mozart in the Jungle*, the NYS sits assembled on stage, ready to perform the much-anticipated premiere of a new work. At the last minute, however, Egon informs Rodrigo that he must be present at Central Park instead to perform in the premiere of his autobiographical dance piece. Rodrigo cedes his baton to Hailey, who emerges, miraculously, in the moment of crisis, as a competent conductor fully fledged (S4E10, "Dance").

When Rodrigo arrives at Central Park, he finds that Egon has decided that the dance will be a solo with no music or audience. Rodrigo will dance all by himself, for himself. As Rodrigo begins to protest, saying that he is "nothing" without an orchestra and an audience, Egon blithely replies: "Then be nothing." As Rodrigo dances whimsically and desperately by himself in the park, his symbolic self-destruction is intercut with shots of Hailey's rapturous experience conducting the NYS (16:44-19:45). By the end of the afternoon, Gloria has fired Rodrigo, and Hailey has made a name for herself as a conductor. By reducing himself to nothing, Rodrigo has enabled art to live again, but through Hailey. As Hailey watches an audience member's cellphone video of Rodrigo manically cheering her on in the concert hall upon the conclusion of her triumphant performance, she bursts into tears of sadness for Rodrigo and relief for herself.

By the end of *Mozart in the Jungle*, Hailey has become the entrepreneur of her and Rodrigo's worker-entrepreneur romance. Rodrigo, having exorcised his "death demon" by literally passing the baton, is now a clean slate. Relieved, he sets about filling the role of the aimless gig worker that Hailey has vacated. As he sits in the park, mulling over the path he should take, he enjoys once again the companionship of his long-time muse, Mozart, who had arrived at the eleventh hour to be the sole witness of his nihilistic dance performance. The composer, satisfied that Rodrigo has learned the lesson of true artistry, reveals to him the real story of why he had not completed his Requiem. He had not, he says, been "overwhelmed by the enormity of mortality," as Rodrigo had thought (22:20). There was nothing sublime about the unfinished state of his final composition. Rather, his work had merely been delayed when his son spilled ink on his score. With this revelation, Mozart leaves Rodrigo with one imperative: "Get to work" (22:35).

Being a great artist, Rodrigo learns, is about the daily grind of work. He, too, like Hailey, must figure out his artistic path from scratch. As he begins to contemplate this future, however, he realizes that he does not know what to do. He gazes out thoughtfully over the park. "Yes. Get to work. But doing what?" he asks, turning back to Mozart. His muse, however, has vanished. Flustered, Rodrigo repeats his question into the emptiness, his stammers forming the last lines of the show: "No, seriously. D-Doing what?" (22:35-23:07).

After a fraught, disorderly romance, the worker and the entrepreneur pass each other like ships in the night. They never achieve real fusion. Rather, in the effort to blend their traits together for a better lot in life, they merely manage to swap roles. The attendant problems of the roles remain the same as ever. In the end, there is no rest for the weary in the entrepreneurial work society. Rather, through Hailey and Rodrigo's screwball romance, the idealized

subjectivity of the worker-entrepreneur is revealed to be a farce—a never-ending series of absurdities and pratfalls that leads nowhere, merely keeping one busy (or entertained) while it lasts.

The Classical Musician as Avatar of the Work Ethic

Gehring has called screwball comedy "America's distinctive take on farce."[80] Parody and satire run through the genre, "accenting broad physical comedy and ludicrous events."[81] In *Mozart in the Jungle*, the parodying—or "affectionate kidding of a well-known commodity"—of the world of classical music serves to offset the show's biting satires of the entrepreneurial work society.

Through *Mozart in the Jungle*'s screwball humor, the "political unconscious" of the Bohemian comes to life in the bodies of classical musicians. Acting through the characters of Gloria, Thomas, and Rodrigo, it is by turns wicked and strange as it "manages up" against the capitalist class. With wicked delight, it portrays capitalism's inner sanctum as a land of savages and threatens to decapitate the ruling class. On the other hand, when it engages in money negotiations, it becomes limply compliant to the point where it makes a mockery of the process.

Topsy-turvydom, or inversion, typically manifesting as role reversal, is a key mechanism through which the satire operates.[82] In screwball comedy genre conventions, the heroine should ultimately function as a "corrective" to the immature anti-hero.[83] In *Mozart in the Jungle*, however, it is Rodrigo who infects Hailey with his philosophy of life, so much that she ultimately turns into Rodrigo, taking his place as conductor and entrepreneur of the

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[80] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 1.
[81] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 1.
[82] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 33.
[83] Gehring, *Romantic vs. Screwball*, 33.

entrepreneurial work society. In the bodies of Hailey and Rodrigo, the Bohemian artist's political unconscious turns even topsy-turvydom itself on its head. If Hailey is a "corrective" to Rodrigo at all, it is to show that there is no way to genuinely embody the traits of a common gig worker once one has become a winner—entrepreneur—in the system. Rather, one can be only either worker or entrepreneur, and not both at once.

Besides mocking the class relations of the entrepreneurial work society, the Bohemian artist's political unconscious also manifests as a more nuanced confusion about what it means to be "middle" or "working" class in American society. In the episode on Rikers Island, it begins to become hazily aware of the constraints that the institution of work places upon its person and experiential horizons; while in the union lockout plotline, it comes to realize its limited ability to represent itself as a working person in capitalist society. Weeks's concept of the work society approaches the politics of work from the category of work rather than class because she finds it "more capacious" as well as "more finely tuned."[84] "[W]ork, including its absence, is both important to and differently experienced within and across lines of class, gender, race, and nation," she writes.[85] Thus, her vision of a radical exit from work societies of all kinds—the possibility of a postwork society—is dependent upon the ability to conceive of any and all working people as part of the effort to change the present state of affairs. With its trope of the "blue-collar tuxedo," *Mozart in the Jungle* suggests an opening for this conceptual change.

Conclusion

In depicting the farcical antics of a symphony orchestra's personnel, *Mozart in the Jungle* highlights creative individuals' day-to-day confusions over society's values surrounding material

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[84] Weeks, *Problem*, 17.
[85] Weeks, *Problem*, 17.

and professional security in the entrepreneurial work society and, more generally, the capitalist work society. While it continues to romanticize the more traditional parts of the capitalist work ethic, it satirizes their more recent manifestation in the Entrepreneurial ethic as a confused and maniacal passion. The show's genre hybridity helps to manage this duplicity. The romantic comedy element upholds the status quo of the work ethic, reinforcing the familiar and comforting virtue of complete dedication to one's career; while the screwball comedy element, with its satirical and farcical bents, questions the logic of the work ethic and the normative social hierarchies of capitalist society. In the end, what these mixed messages achieve is a comic absurdity that reveals the middle-class, bourgeois worldview to be fundamentally confused on the topic of work.

Conclusion

Boltanski and Chiapello's "artistic critique" of capitalism reveals itself, in the last, to be a Bohemian critique. Reviving it may, as Boltanski and Chiapello believe, be a way out of the entrepreneurial iteration of the work society.[1] It is not clear, however, that the "artistic critique" could be counted upon for lasting change. It is furthermore unclear whether the Bohemian critique would continue to work through the ideas of Art and Artist as its conduit.

Bohemianism has long been a way for the bourgeois imagination to indulge its political desires while desisting from real political action. Although it has been a fruitful site for exploring alternatives to existing political structures and ideologies, it has not, in the end, been able to transcend the class divisions that it so hopefully blurs in the figure of the Bohemian. Insofar as Boltanski and Chiapello are largely interested in incremental, reformist improvements to capitalist society,[2] a goal of reviving the Bohemian critique is sound enough. But if there is a desire to work towards a radical exit from the work society—towards a *postwork society*—then reviving the Bohemian critique will not suffice, and may even, in some ways, be detrimental.

Given its tenacity over the last two hundred years, Bohemianism's revitalization as a capitalist critique may be more inevitable than something that needs active rebuilding. What may need more active attention is the search for ways out of this critique, and a move towards articulating political desires surrounding freedom and authenticity that do not fall under the Bohemian rubric of expression. The following suggestions explore possible paths of action:

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[1] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, chap. 7 and conclusion.
[2] Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit*, 35.

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1. What to do about avatarism in discourses of work: The tendency in popular discourse to rely upon avatars to communicate about work is problematic for any politics of work, because it relies upon ideas about real groups of people to explore possibilities of radical exit from capitalist society. Any real group, however resistant to the norms of the working world, must still, in the end, find ways to survive in a predominantly capitalist society. These livelihood-sustaining activities will therefore always be a route through which political desire can circle back around to re-rationalize the structures and ideologies of capitalism, making avatars "compromised" symbols of protest.

Insofar as avatars are a type of metaphor, and metaphors are a basic way of communicating knowledge, they cannot be entirely avoided. What may be possible solutions, however, are, first, to avoid using them out of sheer convenience (a motive that is seldom as innocent as it initially seems); and, second, and perhaps more importantly, to make avatars a point of focused debate. What kinds of desires does the particular avatar help to articulate? In what ways does it liberate these desires, and in what ways does it constrain them? What kinds of desires does it ignore, or even denigrate? It would also be important, in such inquiries, to acknowledge that the societal group that the avatar claims to represent are *already* working people in society today, and make an effort to understand how they go about procuring a livelihood in reality. This would go some way towards de-sacralizing the dominant work ethic and expanding the group of societal actors who could be involved in a struggle against the work society.

2. Arts Communication as an interdisciplinary focus: More research needs to be done on how people in the United States, both within and without the art world, communicate about art and through art as a cultural idea. Some of this work is already in progress, especially in the fields of

art studies, like art history, musicology, literature, film studies, etc.; interdisciplinary fields like arts administration, cultural studies, cultural economics, communication, and history; and, much more recently, the highly specialized field of the political economy of art. However, there has yet to be a concerted effort to understand how popular beliefs about art and the function of art in society become conduits for the reproduction of ideas that impact much more than just artistic world.

Given that art and artists have for so long been linked to Bohemian ideals, and Bohemianism has been so influential in the shaping of middle- and upper-class political desires, a number of questions present themselves as potential beginnings. What desires are there for art and the making of art? Which of these conform to the Bohemian mold, and which suggest something not quite the same? The key here is not to formulate questions—or even answers—in *opposition* to the Bohemian stance, but rather, perhaps, to see it as one possibility among many, and furthermore to see its boundaries as permeable—as allowing for the possibility of *this-and*. Moreover, given that the meaning of art and being an artist has for so long been constructed by Bohemianism as mythical or even monolithic, it may be crucial to desist from the temptation of trying to constitute such meaning anew. There is the possibility that a question that should be asked is: should the meaning of art and being an artist even be constituted as such?

3. The political horizons of avant-garde art: I have shown that there are ways in which the ideological discourses of the artistic avant-garde are especially productive for capitalism. In their current manifestation in contemporary classical music, their penchant for the "new" and the "disruptive" legitimates the Entrepreneurial work ethic's claims to having achieved the Bohemian ideal of art-life. Quoting Walter Benjamin, Peter Osborne argues that the avant-garde

is the moment that helps us "discover the new anew."[3] Capitalist modernity, with its ever-present

fear of decline, is always in need of an avant-garde.[4] This means that the musical avant-garde—

in fact, *any* avant-garde—is always in danger of becoming one and the same with the capitalist

avant-garde. Specifically, with the insistence that every work of art do something completely

original (therefore "disruptive"), the present manifestation of the musical avant-garde supports

the routinization of entrepreneurial "creative destruction."[5] One might say that this merely

reflects the speeding up of modern life, and that avant-garde art may therefore be offering an

opportunity to meditate upon the freneticism of everyday experience. There are perspectives,

however, that suggest otherwise. John Tomlinson argues that there have historically been two

dominant cultural narratives of speed in the West: speed as the key to rational, efficient progress

and order, and speed as associated with rebellion and aggression.[6] In the twenty-first century,

however, he sees the dominant narrative of speed as something different. He calls it the "culture

of immediacy": a capitalism-driven "shift in association from effortful speed to an effortless

mediated delivery," where it is no longer speed but rather immediacy that is demanded.[7]

Ultimately, Tomlinson argues, it is not the culture of *speed* that is the root of social and

psychological problems in capitalist modernity, but rather the culture where speed is held

hostage by the condition of immediacy.

In the artistic avant-garde's imperative to constant innovation, there can be seen a parallel

to the desire for "effortless mediated delivery": in this case, the instantaneous delivery of a vision

of radical political transformation. As Marcuse argues, it is precisely this aesthetic immediacy

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[3] Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and the Avant-Garde* (London: Verso, 1995), 149.
[4] I extrapolated here from an argument about capitalism's relationship to newness that is developed throughout Osborne, *Politics of Time*. See especially pages 164-165 and 182.
[5] Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2003), chap. 7.
[6] John Tomlinson, *The Culture of Speed: The Coming of Immediacy* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2007).
[7] Tomlinson, *Culture*, 81.

that renders avant-garde art politically anemic. "It is still the simple, elementary negation, the antithesis: position of the immediate denial," he writes.

> This desublimation leaves the traditional culture, the illusionist art behind unmastered: their truth and their claims remain valid—next to and together with the rebellion, within the same given society. The rebellious music, literature, art are thus easily absorbed and shaped by the market—rendered harmless. In order to come into their own, they would have to abandon the direct appeal, the raw immediacy of their presentation, which invokes, in the protest, the familiar universe of politics and business, and with it the helpless familiarity of frustration and temporary release from frustration.[8]

In light of this quandary, Marcuse recommends, intriguingly, a re-encountering of "beauty"—not beauty in the stylistically conservative sense of what is pleasing to the senses, but rather beauty as the acceptance that the political horizons of art are bounded by its nature as a "form-giving power." This applies, Marcuse argues, "even to the most radical manifestations of non-illusory art and anti-art. They are still oeuvres: paintings, sculptures, compositions, poems, and as such they have their own form and with it their own order: their own frame (though it may be invisible), their own space, their own beginning, and their own end."[9] What Marcuse suggests is that the avant-garde's current propensity for momentary, instantaneous "disruption" is not "anti-art" at all,[10] but rather narrative forms of their own kind that, in their miniaturization of the narrative demand, become especially susceptible to ideological exploitation. Beauty, then, becomes not about harmony or pleasure or the sublime, but rather the elaboration of narrative through and with form rather than against it.

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[8] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 47.
[9] Marcuse, *Liberation*, 43-44.
[1010] He elaborates on this more: "the eruption of anti-art in art has manifested itself in many familiar forms: destruction of syntax, fragmentation of words and sentences, explosive use of ordinary language, compositions without score, sonatas for anything. And yet, this entire de-formation is Form: anti-art has remained art, supplied, purchased, and contemplated as art" (*Liberation*, 41-42).

Appendix A1:

Breakdown of Data Corpus by Scholarly Discipline

The following chart shows the raw number of articles in the data corpus belonging to each discipline (Fig. A1.1). Since articles were sometimes interdisciplinary, an article could be counted twice under different disciplines. The chart reflects the number of articles that emphasized each discipline, whether as a primary or secondary topic.
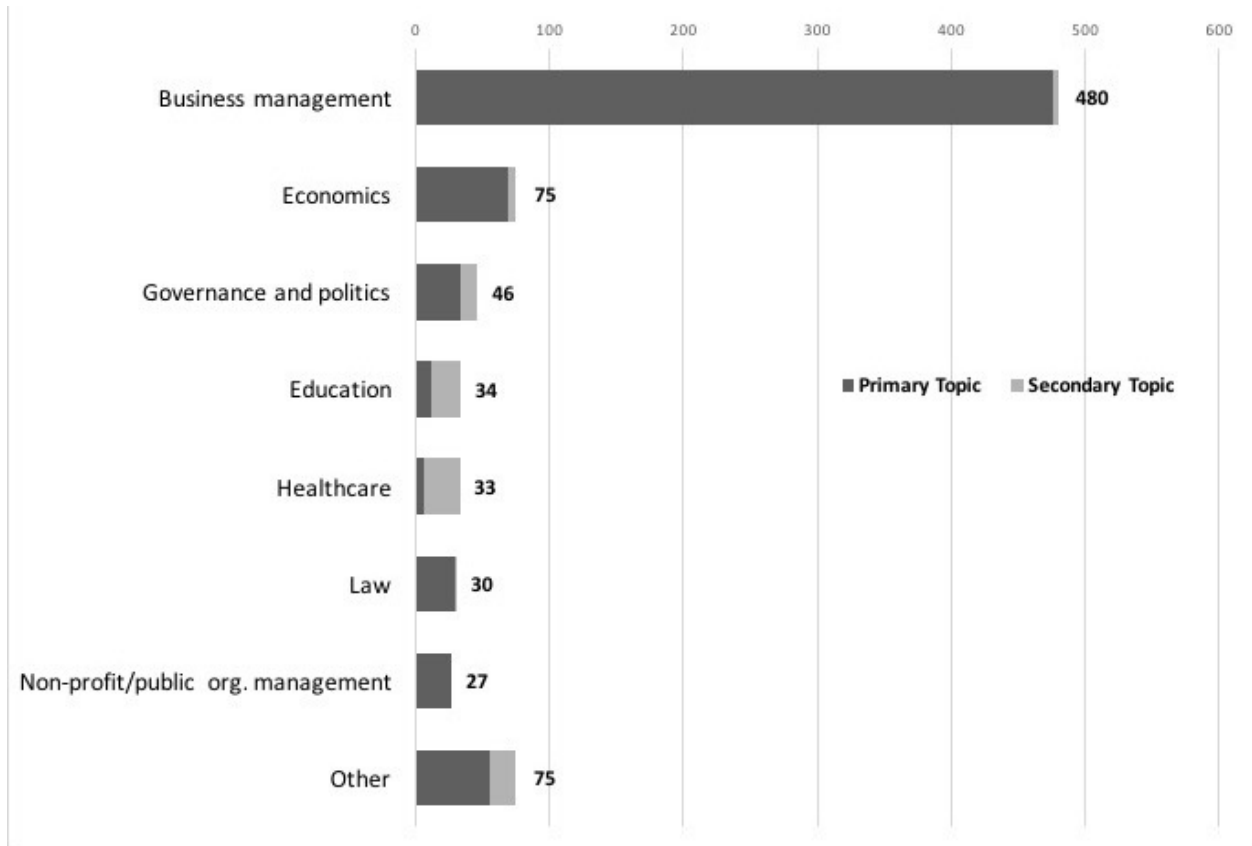

Figure A1.1: Articles in data corpus by topic

1. **Business management:** I classed in the category of business management any articles primarily about the internal corporate management of people, resources, institutions, and business processes, as well as articles on outward-facing issues of marketing, consumer research, advertising, and public relations. Examples of articles I classed here include articles about teams, workflow, organizational theory, data management, technology integration, finance, accounting, and organizational psychology, among many other possible topics. The articles I included here concerned for-profit business contexts. Unless an article explicitly stated a non-profit or public context, it was classed here under business management.

2. **Economics:** The category of economics includes articles on international, national, regional, and local economics, as well as economic studies of the labor market and employment.

3. **Governance and politics:** This category covers articles on international, national, regional, and local governance and politics. It also includes articles on urban planning.

4. **Education:** Most of the articles in this category had a primary topic focus on business management with a secondary focus on business education.

5. **Healthcare:** Most of the articles in this category were related to the management and leadership of healthcare organizations and departments such as hospitals and surgical units. They often had a primary topic focus on business management with a secondary focus on its application in the healthcare sector.

6. **Law:** Nearly half the articles here concerned trade and business law, labor law, and intellectual property issues. The remainder came from a variety of legal specialties as well as general discussions of legal issues.

7. **Non-profit and public organization management:** Articles that state an explicit focus on non-profit or public organization management are classed here.

8. **Other:** Nearly half the articles classed here are on sociology and psychology. Only psychology articles without an explicitly stated business application are classed here; otherwise, they are included in the category of business management under the subfields of organizational or consumer psychology. Articles with a secondary focus on the arts (there were none with a primary focus on the arts) are also included here.

Appendix A2:

Data Collection

The data sources for this content analysis were collected using the standard business secondary literature research database *Business Source Complete* (henceforth *BSC*). *BSC* indexes academic, trade, and popular periodicals, and provides full text of the articles in many of the most commonly used publications. For the initial retrieval of articles, I conducted two separate Boolean keyword searches, one using the search string *orchestra OR orchestras* and the other using *"string quartet" OR "string quartets."* I directed both searches to look for the keywords in "All Text," which instructed the database to search not only title and abstract information, but also the full text of the articles when available. I also limited both searches by the following three parameters: to retrieve only articles in English, where "academic journal" was the publication type, that were published between January 1, 1930 and December 31, 2015.[1] In addition, I did a separate search by the same parameters (omitting the "academic journal" publication type

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[1] I began the search in the year 1930 because, in preliminary searches to assess *BSC* as a source of data, it was the first year that returned more than one article in response to the search parameters. It was also the beginning of more consistent search returns from year to year. Before 1930, only a handful articles were returned by the keyword search, and they were spread over many decades. I ended the data collection in 2015 because there is often a delay between article publication and indexing in a commercial database, observable in the dramatic drop in the overall number of articles in *BSC*'s index for the most recent year of publication, that would have skewed the data's representation of the field of academic business journal article publishing. For example, the table below shows the total number of English-language, academic journal articles indexed in *BSC* as of January 2019 (Fig. A2.1).

Article Publication Year	# of Articles
2014	128917
2015	132435
2016	138400
2017	141236
2018	132393

Figure A2.1: Number of English-language, academic articles indexed in *BSC* as of January 2019

The figure for the year 2018 is clearly much lower than would be expected, given the otherwise consistent and substantial increase in articles from year to year. Since I collected the data for this content analysis in early 2017, I decided to omit the year 2016.

limitation) limited to only the contents of the *Harvard Business Review*. The *Harvard Business Review* is classified in *BSC* as a non-scholarly "periodical" rather than "academic journal. I decided to include its contents in this content analysis, however, because it is such a highly regarded publication among business scholars that its contents are often cited as if they had scholarly authority.

This initial automated search retrieved 2701 articles. I then qualitatively assessed each article to weed out irrelevant returns. Only articles that used the words *orchestra(s)* or *string quartet(s)* in metaphorical contexts were included in the content analysis. This included both figurative uses of metaphor—the majority of the cases—and empirical uses, which treated the equivalency between orchestras and string quartets and corporate work and organization as a real phenomenon available for study. After the weeding process, 693 relevant articles remained, containing 707 unique individual instantiations of orchestra and string quartet metaphors. The earliest metaphor came from an article published in 1946.

It should be noted that a minor oddity of the *BSC* search algorithm was its occasional inconsistency where full-text searching was concerned. In most of the cases, the articles that were retrieved had full text available in the database, and the search keywords usually appeared within the full text—as would be expected, given that I was looking for data that was more likely to present within the body of a text rather than in a title or abstract. In 51 of 693 relevant articles, however, full text was not available, and, furthermore, in some cases, the search keywords were not found in the indexing metadata. It is not clear how the database managed to retrieve these latter articles using the keywords I assigned. Nonetheless, I was able to retrieve the full text of the 51 articles via other databases and UCSD's interlibrary loan article delivery service and perform the content analysis that way. Since ultimately only 7.3% of the data corpus came from

articles that were not accompanied by full text in *BSC*, I consider the data corpus to be more

reflective of *BSC*'s full-text content than its total content. Nonetheless, in charts where I illustrate

quantitative significance as a percentage of total articles in *BSC* (such as the chart of the 1994

spike in frequency of orchestra and string quartet metaphors), I include the percentages of both

full-text and total content as a matter of prudence. In these cases, readers should weight their

consideration towards the significance illustrated by the full-text percentage, and use the total

content percentage as supporting evidence.

In order to code the frames used by each metaphor, I established two basic parameters for

delineating the text within each article that constituted the unique individual instantiation of an

orchestra and string quartet metaphor. First, the text that I considered to be part of the metaphor

encompassed more than just the phrase or sentence that contained the words *orchestra(s)* or

string quartet(s). This was because the phrase or sentence alone usually did not allow the

metaphor to make sense. More surrounding text was needed to allow the reader to understand

what the metaphor was referring to and why it was being used. So the first parameter I

established was that the text I considered to be part of the metaphor would include all sentences

surrounding the keywords that were necessary to make the metaphor make sense. I also decided

to make the sentence rather than the phrase or word the basic unit of such delineation because it

was the most consistent unit by which meaning was made. Different authors write in different

styles, but the sentence, as the expression of a complete thought—however long, short, florid, or

terse the individual writer's style may be—remained reasonably consistent as a unit of

meaningful substance.

The second parameter I established had to do with the appearance of multiple metaphor

instantiations within an article. Instantiations that were clearly linked to previous instantiations

within the same article (e.g. the same metaphorical images were used to explain the same things, or the author explicitly calls back to a previous instantiation) were considered part of one unique instantiation of a metaphor and constituted one data point in the data corpus. Instantiations that were obviously different, however (e.g. different metaphorical images were used, or were used to explain different things), were considered separate unique instantiations of a metaphor and were coded as separate data points in the data corpus.

Other details about the data collection process can be found as coding instructions and notes in the Codebook (see Appendix A3).

Appendix A3: Codebook

Part I. General Information About the Article

Article ID [ArtID]: Write down the article's identification number.

Publication Year [ArtYr]: Write down the year of publication in YYYY format.

Article Length [ArtLnth]: Write down the number of pages the article spans, including footnotes and endnotes. Count the final page as a full page, regardless of how much of it is filled in. Count articles that are shorter than 1 page as 1 page.

Article Type [ArtType]:

1= Scholarly research, including researched commentaries, opinions, notes
2= Ephemera, e.g. news reports, summaries/lists of recent news or publications
3= Book/article review
4= Interview
9= Other

Article Topic [ArtTop]:

1= Management of people, content, institutions, and processes, e.g. teams, workflow, organizational theory, data, technology integration, finance, accounting, organizational psychology, etc.

2= Marketing and consumer research, including advertising, public relations, etc.

3= Non-profit organization management and market/consumer research
Assign this code only when the article explicitly says that it is about non-profits.

4= Public or state organization management

5= Economics of any level, e.g. international, national, regional, local, including economic studies of labor market and employment

6= Governance and politics of any level, e.g. international, national, regional, local, incl. urban planning

7= Labor relations, including labor law

8= Sociology

9= Other

11= Law, general

12= Intellectual property law + intellectual property issues

13= Tax law

14= Trade and business law

15= Accounting

21= Psychology (non-business-related)

22= Education, or has education focus

23= Arts, or has arts focus

24= Library and Information Management

25= Healthcare, or has healthcare focus

Part II: Metaphor Characteristics

What counts as a "metaphor" is any direct invocation of "orchestra(s)," "conductor(s)," or "string quartet(s)" to serve as an analogy or illustrative example/model for explaining or describing corporate work or management, a corporate process or structure, or an economic process or structure. An "invocation" of a metaphor contains both the direct *statement* of the metaphor and any adjacent *reference to or clear extension* of the metaphor.

Code this part only if **Article Relevance** was coded **1** or **9** in previous part.

Number of Metaphors [MetNum]:

1= Article contains only 1 music-related metaphor. This metaphor may be repeatedly invoked in the article, possibly with slight variations.

2, 3, 4, …etc.= Article contains 2 or more different music-related metaphors. Write down how many appear. What counts as "different" is when the metaphors appear as separate invocations and have different figures and/or grounds, or the connection between the same figure and ground is substantially different (i.e. would be coded under different frames).

99= Innumerable

FOR EACH *DIFFERENT* METAPHOR IN AN ARTICLE, CODE THE FOLLOWING:

Metaphor Length [MetLnth]: Code as many categories as apply across all repetitions of the same metaphor.

1= Very brief

The metaphor is invoked in just 1 brief sentence, or in just a brief phrase or a few words within 1 sentence. Invocations like this may seem like they are made just "in passing," with little substance to them.

2= Brief
The metaphor is invoked in 1 substantial sentence to 2 sentences. This range may spill across two paragraphs.

3= Substantial
The metaphor is invoked in 3 to 5 adjacent sentences. This range may include sentences that do not invoke the metaphor, but that become effectively "rolled into" the invocation by being sandwiched between sentences that do invoke the metaphor. This range may spill across 2 or more paragraphs.

4= Long
The metaphor is invoked in 6 or more adjacent sentences. This range may include sentences that do not invoke the metaphor, but that become effectively "rolled into" the invocation by being sandwiched between sentences that do invoke the metaphor. This range may spill across 2 or more paragraphs.

9= Other
Use this category for any unusual presentation of a metaphor that does not fall into any of the other categories here. Describe.

Metaphor Prominence (MetProm):

1= Metaphor appears in normal body paragraph

2= Invocation appears in article title

3= Metaphor appears in section heading

4= Metaphor used in introductory or concluding paragraph of the article

5= Metaphor appears in footnote

6= Metaphor highlighted in call-out box

7= Metaphor appears in diagram, chart, table, etc.

8= Metaphor frames the whole article

9= Other. *Invocation is marked for prominence or visibility in another way.*

Metaphor Repetition [MetRep]:

1= The metaphor is invoked only once in the article.

2= The same metaphor (allow for slight variation) is invoked in the article 2 or more times. Invocations of the same metaphor must be separated by a number of clearly non-metaphor-related sentences across at least 1 paragraph break to count as separate iterations. Invocations of the same metaphor within the same paragraph should be coded **1** for **Metaphor Repetition** and coded under the appropriate category in **Metaphor Length** instead.

3= Metaphor is used throughout article

9= Other
Use this category for any unusual repetition of a metaphor that does not fall into any of the categories above.

Metaphor Function [MetFunc]: How the metaphor functions to serve a frame, discourse, or ideology. Code all that apply.

1= Transmission—presents the metaphor as an unfamiliar borrowed idea, usually by quoting or paraphrasing a cited source in a way that is distinctly set off from the author's own thinking

2= Reification—presents the metaphor as a routine, normal way of thinking, including extensive elaborations, paraphrased material that is deeply integrated into the author's own thinking, and borrowed (possibly quoted) terminology used in a routine way; different from naturalization in that it still appears as a heightened, figurative use of language and analogy

3= Naturalization—metaphor appears as subtly and deeply informing the structure of thought, such as when keywords (e.g. "orchestra" or "symphony" or "music") are used almost in passing as part of disciplinary jargon or embedded in names of businesses, software, etc.; different from reification in that these "metaphors" do not appear as heightened language or analogy, and may not appear on the surface to be metaphors at all

4= Suture—metaphor stitches together concepts from different ways of thinking, e.g. orchestra and string quartet, or string quartet and jazz ensemble, usually by juxtaposition (compare/contrast) or elision

9= Other—*describe*

Metaphor Citation(s) [MetCit]: Code as many as appear in the metaphor.

0= No citation

1= Baumol's cost disease
Count as **1** even if the invocation does not include a proper citation. Baumol's cost disease is such a popular concept among economists and business scholars that it is sometimes considered common knowledge, and may be invoked without a citation.
Baumol's original metaphor: "The immediate result of this technological difference between live performance and the typical manufacturing industry is that while productivity is very much subject to change in the latter, it is relatively immutable in the former. … Human ingenuity has devised ways to

reduce the labor necessary to produce an automobile, but no one has yet succeeded in decreasing the human effort expended at a live performance of a 45 minute Schubert quartet much below a total of three man-hours. … This is not meant to imply that increased efficiency or innovation is totally impossible for the arts or that increases in productivity per man-hour are completely precluded. … Yet the arts cannot hope to match the remarkable record of productivity growth achieved by the economy as a whole. Moreover, the performing arts find themselves in this position largely as a result of their inherent technology—something which is out of the hands of their managements and beyond the reach of the efficiency expert." (*Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma*, pp. 164-165)

2= Murnighan & Conlon

9= Other
Note the last name(s) of the author(s) in the space provided.

11= Marx, *Capital*

12= Keynes, "conductor of the international orchestra"

13= Peter Drucker

14= Sugiyama & Sinton, "orchestra of treaties"

18= Mintzberg

19= Weick (including collaborative publications)

20= references to or quotes from real conductors

21= Benjamin Zander

22= Conductorless orchestra—Orpheus

29= In order to make its point, refers (anecdotally, informally) to a real string quartet, orchestra, or other classical music entity/ies. *Describe*.

30= Quotes or refers to business industry people

31= Quotes or refers to other people

32= Quotes or refers to cultural texts, e.g. books, movies, songs, etc.

38= Refers to results or design of experimental materials

39= Quotes experimental or study participants.

Music Frames [MusFrm]: Code as many as appear in the metaphor. Further, for each frame, (1) for overt disapproval, (2) for implied disapproval, (3) for neutral, (4) for implied approval, (5) for overt approval, or (9) for ambiguity--explain.

0= No discernible frame

ORCHESTRA
1= Orchestra as model of coordination
2= Orchestra as top-down organization
3= Orchestra as self-organizing
4= Orchestra as collaborative team of peers
5= Orchestra musicians as experts/specialists
6= Orchestra as multilevel hierarchy
7= Orchestra as democratic body of voices
8= Orchestra as model of face-to-face leadership, management, coordination, etc.
9= Other orchestra frame—*describe*

10= Orchestra as collective or indivisible team, holistic entity, sum larger than parts
11= Orchestra as model of diversity/complexity
12= Orchestra as model of harmony or desirable results
13= Orchestra as body of competing voices or individualistic individuals
14= Coordination is difficult between different orchestras
15= Orchestra as large bureaucracy
16= Orchestra as project-based, network-model organization
17= Orchestra as model of more personal, intimate, direct, small-scale management/leadership
18= Orchestra as flatter hierarchy
19= Orchestra musicians as independent workers

20= Ridiculous orchestra/conductor

CONDUCTOR
21= Conductor as central director
22= Conductor as leader by strongest influence
23= Conductor as most important element in the orchestra
24= Conductor as synthesizer of disparate elements or resources
25= Conductor as inspirational or visionary
26= Conductor as director towards common goal
27= Conductor as generalist/jack-of-all-trades
28= Conductor as enabler, as leader who empowers others
29= Other conductor frame—*describe*

STRING QUARTET
31= String quartet as model of coordination
32= String quartet as top-down organization
33= String quartet as self-organizing
34= String quartet as collaborative team of peers
35= String quartet as model of communication
36= String quartet as improvisatory/spontaneous group

37= String quartet as democratic body of voices
38= String quartet as creative/innovative
39= Other string quartet frame—*describe*

40= String quartet as holistic entity/team
41= String quartets experience internal conflict
42= String quartet members have unique parts to play
43= String quartet as body of competing voices or individualistic individuals
45= String quartet as small ensemble
46= String quartet as project-based, network-model organization
47= String quartet as model of more personal, intimate, direct, small-scale management/leadership
48= String quartet as flatter hierarchy

51= Orchestra as executor of score
52= Orchestra as a group that practices
53= Orchestra is goal-oriented, has common goal
54= Conductor as communicator
55= Conductor as distant, aloof, not playing the instruments himself
56= Conductor is participative
57= Conductor is creative/innovative
58 = Orchestra as model of communication
59= Orchestra as model of creativity
60= Orchestra as model of efficiency

62= String quartet as a group that practices

70= Score is guidelines towards common goal
71= Orchestra as seating tier

81= Ist violinist of string quartet as central director
82= 1st violinist of string quartet as leader by strongest influence

99= Other classical musician-related frame

999= Other frame. *Describe.*

Work Frames [WorkFrm]: Code as many as appear in the metaphor. Further, for each frame, code (1) for overt disapproval, (2) for implied disapproval, (3) for neutral, (4) for implied approval, (5) for overt approval, or (9) for ambiguity--explain.

0= No discernible frame

1= Managers/Leaders are conductors
2= Entrepreneur is a conductor
3= Employees/workers/specialists/subordinates as orchestra musicians
4= _____ as special role in orchestra, e.g. concertmaster, second fiddle, etc. *Describe.*
5= Business/team/organization is an orchestra

6= Business plan/goal is a music score
7= Work or labor process or resources are an orchestra
8= Marketer/consumers are conductor/orchestra
9= Managers/Leaders are orchestra musicians
10= Managers/Leaders are composers

11= Brain/cognitive function as orchestra
12= Financial/economic system as orchestra
13= Teacher/student as conductor/orchestra
14= Counselor/psychiatrist/mediator as conductor
15= Physician/healthcare institution as conductor/orchestra
16= State/citizens-society-subjects-social institutions as conductor/orchestra
17= Political system as orchestra
18= Environmental politics as orchestra
19= Other orchestra analogy. *Describe.*
20= Other conductor/conducting analogy. *Describe.*

21= Managers/Leaders are 1st violinists in string quartet
25= Business/team/organization is a string quartet

33= Students as string quartet
39= Other string quartet analogy. *Describe.*

41= Judge/courtroom as conductor/orchestra
42= Elite/preferred category as orchestra seating
43= Scholars/scholarly disciplines/research resources are an orchestra
44= Score analogy
45= Audience analogy
46= Narrative of a classical musical work analogy

99= Other classical musician-related analogy. *Describe.*

999= Other frame. *Describe.*

Suturing Frames [SutFrm]:

0= No discernible frame

SIMILAR
1= Orchestra/conductor grouped with sports team/coach
2= Orchestra/conductor grouped with military forces/military leader
3= Orchestra/conductor grouped with jazz
4= Orchestra/conductor grouped with string quartet
5= String quartet grouped with sports
7= String quartet grouped with jazz
8= Orchestra/conductor grouped with something else. *Describe.*
9= String quartet grouped with something else. *Describe.*

DIFFERENT EMPHASES/TRAITS
11= Orchestra/conductor somewhat different traits from sports team/coach
12= Orchestra/conductor somewhat different traits from military forces/military leader
13= Orchestra/conductor somewhat different traits from jazz
14= Orchestra/conductor somewhat different traits from string quartet
15= String quartet somewhat different traits from…
18= Orchestra/conductor somewhat different traits from something else. *Describe.*
19= String quartet somewhat different traits from something else. *Describe.*

STRONG CONTRAST
21= Orchestra/conductor strongly contrasted with sports team/coach
22= Orchestra/conductor strongly contrasted with military forces/military leader
23= Orchestra/conductor strongly contrasted with jazz
24= Orchestra/conductor strongly contrasted with string quartet
25= String quartet strongly contrasted with sports
28= Orchestra/conductor strongly contrasted with something else. *Describe.*
29= String quartet strongly contrasted with something else. *Describe.*

Naturalization Devices [NatDev]:

0= No discernible devices

1= Orchestration/Orchestrator (web, information, logistics, supply chain, workflow, operations)
2= Uses the word "orchestrate" or "orchestration" in layman sense
3= Orchestra (name of software, process, program, product or organization)
4= Symphony (name of software, process, program, product or organization)
5= Uses "perform/ance" as crossover word
6= Uses "conduct" as crossover word
7 = Uses "leader" as crossover word
8= Uses "instruments" as crossover word
9= Uses other music-related term as crossover word or name of program, software, conceptual model, company, etc. *Describe.*

10= Orchestra/string quartet used directly as empirical subject in formal study

Inaccuracies in Use(s) of Musical Terminology [MetInc]:

0= No inaccurate uses of musical terminology

1= Inaccurate uses of musical terminology present. *Describe the inaccuracy and the likely meaning actually intended.*

Appendix A4:

Music Frames Counted Towards Second versus Third Spirits of Capitalism

Second Spirit of Capitalism

2= Orchestra as top-down organization
6= Orchestra as multilevel hierarchy
15= Orchestra as large bureaucracy
21= Conductor as central director
24= Conductor as synthesizer of disparate elements or resources
27= Conductor as generalist/jack-of-all-trades
32= String quartet as top-down organization
51= Orchestra as executor of score
55= Conductor as distant, aloof, not playing the instruments himself
60= Orchestra as model of efficiency
70= Score is guidelines towards common goal

Third Spirit of Capitalism

3= Orchestra as self-organizing
4= Orchestra as collaborative team of peers
7= Orchestra as democratic body of voices
8= Orchestra as model of face-to-face leadership, management, coordination, etc.
11= Orchestra as model of diversity/complexity
13= Orchestra as body of competing voices or individualistic individuals
14= Coordination is difficult between different orchestras
16= Orchestra as project-based, network-model organization
17= Orchestra as model of more personal, intimate, direct, small-scale management/leadership
18= Orchestra as flatter hierarchy
19= Orchestra musicians as independent workers
22= Conductor as leader by strongest influence
23= Conductor as most important element in the orchestra
25= Conductor as inspirational or visionary
28= Conductor as enabler, as leader who empowers others
33= String quartet as self-organizing
34= String quartet as collaborative team of peers
35= String quartet as model of communication
36= String quartet as improvisatory/spontaneous group
37= String quartet as democratic body of voices
38= String quartet as creative/innovative
41= String quartets experience internal conflict
42= String quartet members have unique parts to play
43= String quartet as body of competing voices or individualistic individuals
45= String quartet as small ensemble
46= String quartet as project-based, network-model organization
47= String quartet as model of more personal, intimate, direct, small-scale management/leadership

48= String quartet as flatter hierarchy

52= Orchestra as a group that practices

53= Orchestra is goal-oriented, has common goal

54= Conductor as communicator

56= Conductor is participative

57= Conductor is creative/innovative

58 = Orchestra as model of communication

59= Orchestra as model of creativity

62= String quartet as a group that practices

82= 1st violinist of string quartet as leader by strongest influence

Appendix B1:

Excerpts from the 2008 Kauffman Panel report, "Entrepreneurship in American Higher Education"

pp. 7 to 8:

If entrepreneurship belongs in college learning, how should we teach it and learn it? Does it need to become a distinct field of learning, a discipline, in order to find a durable place in the overall curriculum?

Like philosophy or music, entrepreneurship is a field of study that generates—rather than discovers or encounters—its subject matter. Unlike history, sociology, or anthropology, for instance, entrepreneurship creates what it studies. Because of its practical focus, entrepreneurship's greatest exponents are its innovators and practitioners—the creators of new enterprises, firms, products, and services—rather than its students. Like music, but unlike philosophy, entrepreneurship requires more than other professionals to be consequential. Philosophers may write primarily for other philosophers, but entrepreneurs and musicians (both composers and performers) require a population of amateurs in order to be complete. For music, that population is the audience. For entrepreneurs, it is the market. To see how entrepreneurship can find its place in a college curriculum, a comparison of entrepreneurship to music is instructive.

Education in entrepreneurship, as in music, operates along a continuum of learning that extends from the professional to the amateur. In music, at one end of the continuum is the composer or the virtuoso performer. At the other end is the audience, which values what the composer and performer do. Along the way are multiple, discrete aspects of music—conducting, mastering a specific instrument, theory, history, etc.—that contribute to the overall intelligibility of the subject and improve performance. Comprehensive and substantive education in music embraces this continuum and neglects none of it. It teaches the virtuoso how to improve and the amateur how to appreciate. It shows how music works, charts its changes, and analyzes its elements. Increasingly, it examines the conditions of music's creation and persistence.

In the final analysis, music is not and cannot be solely self-referential. It reaches outwards to non-specialists to bring benefit and enrichment to their lives. Music also is a competitive field and therefore a meritocracy. But its notion of merit is neither pristine nor absolute. It is affected by the audience, which helps to shape the subject and determine the kind and quality of music that will matter. The higher the audience's taste and level of expectation, the better the music becomes and must become. Because of its focus on the audience, music has a capacity to affect a vast population.

Nearly everything that is true for music is also true for entrepreneurship. At one level, education in entrepreneurship must be about the entrepreneur, the practitioner. Entrepreneurship education must give students the practical, how-to technical skills to create, manage, assess, and sustain

new enterprises. Among other things, they need to learn to devise a product, create a business plan, find new resources, build a company, market their innovation, and so forth. To be sure, skills alone hardly generate new enterprises, but they surely facilitate their development. At the other end of the continuum, education in entrepreneurship also must be for the amateur, the consumer, who is the ultimate focus of entrepreneurship. The amateurs constitute the market. They consume, and, in so doing, they assess. Just as education can help students who are not musicians learn how to appreciate the skills, intelligence, and artistic values that go into the creation and performance of great music, so education can help students who are not entrepreneurs understand the skills, intelligence, and the political, cultural, and economic infrastructure that enable the generation of new enterprises.

Entrepreneurship also is a matter of merit, but, as in music, what counts as entrepreneurial merit is constrained by the market. Between the ends of this continuum of learning, as in music, there are many discrete elements of entrepreneurship—some applied, some theoretical—that can constitute the foci of individual courses and projects.

pp. 11 to 12:

Integrating entrepreneurship into discrete courses—however valuable—addresses only part of students' experience with the disciplines. The major, the collection of courses that constitutes an extended and integrated program of learning, shapes what students know about their most important subject and how they know it. The major brings them into a community of inquiry and, [sic] teaches them an intellectual discourse, the discipline's language of knowledge. The courses in the major reinforce habits of mind, analytical practices, and approaches to problem-solving. Entrepreneurship will have its most durable impact on higher education if it not only finds an appropriate place in the disciplinary subjects, but shapes the major itself. For example, to enhance students' sense of entrepreneurial possibility, some educators suggest that courses in commercialization should be available to, if not required of, students who major in any of the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) subjects.

The issue goes deeper than this. Since the major is likely the most influential component of students' learning, it is the logical context in which they can explore and experience what we might call the entrepreneurial move from intelligibility to innovation. An entrepreneurial approach to the major might stress both the mastery of basic information and insight into the new ideas that have altered a field of learning over time. While the major conventionally gives students extensive exposure to a subject, its structure often does not address systemic innovation in a field. Thus, students cannot always see how change and progress have affected their own learning and thinking. An articulated emphasis in the major on how a field has improved analysis, advanced understanding, and implemented change could help students learn to innovate about what they know and thereby make innovation itself more a part of their educational experience and discourse. Again, the analogy to music may be helpful. Departments of music composition cannot make students creative. But studying how great music is made can ignite whatever creativity students possess and help bring it to expression. The aim of studying composition is to unpack works of genius and excellence and thereby lead students beyond imitation to originality. Students are more likely to practice innovation if their education values it, and it is a basic part of their learning. So it is with entrepreneurship. Making innovation

intelligible may help students to imagine and engage in entrepreneurial activities they otherwise might not have considered.

pp. 13 to 14:

By its very nature, entrepreneurship in college cannot be limited to the classroom. Students interested in it and committed to it will want the opportunity to try it out—to actually do it. For students drawn to business or engaged in addressing persisting social problems, entrepreneurship's emphasis on implementing new enterprises provides a constructive and practical outlet for their natural idealism and its associated enthusiasm. It can help them see how to solve problems and get things done. In this regard, the environment outside the classroom is critical. Again, a comparison to music is illustrative. Because it depends on an audience, music, unlike most other academic subjects, thrives outside as well as inside the classroom. Most American colleges and universities regard musical performance as a natural part of campus life. They routinely sponsor multiple co-curricular, non-credit musical groups—from *a capella* ensembles, to glee clubs, to orchestras, to jazz and rock bands. With a supportive campus environment, American undergraduates can increase their musical skills and fulfill their interests in music whether or not they study and perform it for credit.

So it should be for entrepreneurship. Students interested in starting their own businesses or other enterprises benefit from a campus environment that takes entrepreneurship seriously and supports it. Some universities have opened dedicated offices and workspaces that allow student entrepreneurs to find both the resources of information and fellowship that help to foster their work. Other schools have established special residence halls for entrepreneurs or created programs of student-initiated and student-owned businesses. Many university career centers provide regular opportunities for students to meet and learn from local and alumni entrepreneurs The Enterprisers program, offered by Cambridge University, is a useful example of a short, focused co-curricular program with consequential results, particularly in concert with internships and other practical experiences. These activities easily can be applied to students' efforts in the nonprofits sector as well. All university efforts along these lines help student entrepreneurs finds substantive advice and meaningful encouragement to persist with their projects.

The universities also benefit. Student entrepreneurs bring a distinctive vitality and energy to campus life. They help make a college campus fun and exciting. Entrepreneurship is among a handful of careers—most of which are not represented in the curriculum—that students can pursue while they are in college. Student entrepreneurs integrate learning with the off-campus world of work, problem-solving, and achievement. They add a rich and leavening dimension to a campus culture.

Appendix B2:

**Excerpts from the 2013 Kauffman Foundation report,
"Entrepreneurship Education Comes of Age on Campus: The Challenges and Rewards of
Bringing Entrepreneurship to Higher Education"**

p. 2:

<u>Education as Ecosystem</u>

Variation as norm

Anyone setting out to map the terrain of contemporary entrepreneurship education immediately faces a challenge: the task is much more like biology than cartography.

If someone says she teaches in a university math department or nursing school, one might have a good idea what her program and academic environment look like, even without knowing where she teaches. The subject matter is a mostly canonized curriculum, and the faculty draws upon a pool of professionals trained in more or less the same way.

Entrepreneurship education is less cut and dried. To succeed for students, it must interact with its community, outside as well as inside the university; to staff its programs, it must draw not on a single pool of credentialed academics but on teachers in a wide variety of disciplines, from business to music, and on mentors, employers, and investors who hail from outside the academy altogether.

p. 5:

<u>Defining the Constituency</u>

Inclusivity versus selectivity: an inherent tension

As simple as it sounds, the first and arguably most basic question about entrepreneurship education—who are these programs for?—also is one of the most complex and challenging. Programs need to find a balance between inclusiveness and selectivity; between serving the campus and serving the community; and between catering to specialists looking to acquire specific skills and catering to generalists looking to bring an entrepreneurial mindset to all of life. A balance, once found, requires continual fine-tuning.

Needless to say, there is no right answer, and even looking for one misses the point. By its very nature, entrepreneurship education serves two masters, which need not be incompatible but sometimes are in tension. On the one hand, an important goal is to expose many students, preferably most or even all of them, to some of the principles of entrepreneurship. In an economic environment where traditional jobs decreasingly are secure and stable, learning to cope with risk, spot opportunities, and innovate has become an essential life skill, one which more and

more students want. A program tuned to giving many students a taste of entrepreneurship must be broad in its curriculum and cater to students who may or may not have entrepreneurial talent—or who often do not regard themselves as entrepreneurial at all.

At the same time, another important role of entrepreneurship education is to help students determine if entrepreneurship is a viable choice for their careers. As one university told us, "We are not trying to turn everyone into an entrepreneur through our programs and courses. Instead, we see a large part of our role as exposing students to entrepreneurship and helping them to learn and decide for themselves if they would like to be an entrepreneur or to play some other role." As this university pointed out, a gatekeeping function probably is central, not incidental, to successful entrepreneurship education: research shows that "keeping people from becoming entrepreneurs who would otherwise have a high likelihood of failing may be one of the mechanisms of business school education."

The funnel model

In response to this tension between serving the many and serving the few, the usual response is one that educators often liken to a funnel, a ladder, or a pipeline. The idea is similar in many respects to the familiar structure of musical education, which begins with music appreciation classes for practically everyone and extends through conservatory training for the especially talented few. "Nearly everything that is true for music is also true for entrepreneurship," a Kauffman Foundation report noted in 2008. "Education in entrepreneurship, as in music, operates along a continuum of learning that extends from the professional to the amateur. In music, at one end of the continuum is the composer or the virtuoso performer. At the other end is the audience, which values what the composer and performer do." Like a music program, a successful entrepreneurship program cultivates the virtuoso practitioner, often elaborately and at significant expense, while simultaneously enriching the lives and deepening the skills of millions of others who have more affinity than talent. While these students will not pursue entrepreneurship after graduation, they will, as consumers and voters, have a deep understanding of the enormous effort and talent necessary for successful entrepreneurship and a profound appreciation for the importance of entrepreneurship to our economy and society.

p. 7:

Another widely cited and more fundamental challenge posed by the funnel model relates to those students who have entrepreneurial talent but do not self-identify as entrepreneurs. Among the educators we consulted, an unexpectedly frequent concern was that the label "entrepreneurship" may deter students who identify entrepreneurship with a career in business or with a particular start-up culture like that of Silicon Valley—places that may seem foreign or intimidating. Gifted students in other fields, from engineering to music to nursing, may fail to see the importance of applying entrepreneurial principles to their own disciplines. Seeing themselves simply as engineers or musicians or nurses, for example, they miss the opportunity to learn skills and ways of thinking that could enhance their careers tremendously.

p. 8:

Commingled with those entrepreneurial basics are courses scattered throughout traditional disciplines, such as marketing, human resource management, music production, information technology, and so on.

pp. 14-15:

Escape the pigeonhole. The problem of stereotyping entrepreneurship—of defining, or appearing to define, the field too narrowly—already has arisen in the context of constituency and arises in the context of culture as well. Few of the faculty who teach entrepreneurship are full-time members of entrepreneurship departments; most teach business, engineering, or any of a host of specific disciplines that have entrepreneurial elements. Thus, broad faculty support for the mission of training entrepreneurs is important, and that support partly depends on faculty members' perceiving entrepreneurship education as being about more than just helping a fortunate few students start for-profit enterprises. "We could be more impactful if we had a word that had less negative connotations than 'entrepreneurship,'" one official said. "The initial reaction in many of the schools [at our university was] a negative one, not a positive one. We overcame it in many ways by showcasing what it means in various contexts, and creating a common voice with many units behind us, but it's a really cumbersome task."

Some of the measures that help prevent pigeonholing already have been mentioned in other contexts but are no less important in this one. Educators suggested encouraging each discipline to define entrepreneurship in its own terms—in terms of what, say, musicians or architects do, not in terms of what Silicon Valley does. Equally important, they said, is to beware of talking exclusively about entrepreneurship per se. Instead, make a point of talking about "innovation," for example, "independence," and other terms that are more redolent of individual and social empowerment and less likely to be associated purely with for-profit commercial business. Some argued that broadening the terminology is more than a public relations maneuver. "We've had to accept that a certain amount of the negative reaction to 'entrepreneurship' on the part of our students was correct," one educator told us. "We've had to say there's something right in this. We have engineering students who identify as engineers first. How do we then understand the role that entrepreneurship plays in all of their lives?" Confinement within a stereotyped notion of entrepreneurship is likely to isolate the field within the university. It also may reduce programs' relevance, real or perceived, in their communities—the subject to which we now turn.

p. 20:

In the course of the research and discussions that produced this white paper, two themes bubbled up repeatedly in various contexts. One sounded a note of caution: the concern that the stereotyping of entrepreneurship education as being of interest primarily to self-identified entrepreneurs, and as being interested primarily in high-tech, high-growth companies, artificially and counterproductively will limit the discipline's relevance and appeal. In every discipline or business, to be sure, maturity brings a laudable tendency to develop and stick to core competencies and constituencies. But, as earlier sections of this paper have made clear, educators worry that the discipline already may have narrowed its mission and its brand more than is truly

necessary and desirable—by alienating students who identify as, say, musicians or designers rather than as entrepreneurs; by pushing students toward competitions and ventures prematurely or inappropriately; by defining success in the framework of startups and venture capital, rather than in the framework of life enhancement; and by failing to diversify the brand beyond the term "entrepreneurship" itself.

p. 21:

Students Take Charge

Students are reshaping entrepreneurship education programs, sometimes with the support of faculty or program leadership, but sometimes by circumventing or pressuring academic bureaucracies. A few examples:

• The Eastman New Venture Challenge is a contest to encourage new thinking and innovative ideas in music. It was started in 2006 by the Institute for Music Leadership at the Eastman School of Music (University of Rochester). Two former first prize winners have received patents on their inventions—related to drum and chin rest design.

[other examples are omitted because they were not music-related; the music example above was listed first]

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