

Funding and Accountability

Studies of a Swedish and a British Chamber Orchestra

Anna-Karin Brettell Grip

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PREFACE

This report is a result of a research project carried out at the Centre for Accounting and Managerial Finance at the Economic Research Institute at the Stockholm School of Economics.

This volume is submitted as a doctor's thesis at the Stockholm School of Economics. As usual at the Economic Research Institute, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present her research in her own ways as an expression of her own ideas.

The institute is grateful for the financial support which has made it possible to fulfil the project.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SCO	Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro
MC	Manchester Camerata
PC	Principal Conductor
MD	Music Director
GM	General Manager
AM	Artistic Manager
RNCM	Royal Northern College of Music
BWH	Bridgewater Hall
MMM	Mission Models Money
STIM	The Swedish Performing Rights Society
PRS	The Performing Right Society
AGMA	Association of Greater Manchester Authorities
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sports
NDPB	Non-departmental public bodies
RFO	Regularly Funded Organisations
ACE	Arts Council England
SAC	Swedish Arts Council
ABO	Association of British Orchestras
GMC	Greater Manchester Council

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the studies

1.1.1 The research problem

Professional chamber orchestras constitute unique study objects that can generate useful insights regarding funding, accountability¹ and the organisation of human activity. Despite the difficulty in making generalisations from a single case, unusual cases can generate useful information of a more general nature (Patton, 2002). A professional chamber orchestra represents an unusual case in several dimensions. As an organisation, an orchestra exists within an exceptionally complex context of stakeholders with diverse and conflicting interests that need to be dealt with for the organisation to survive. Internally, the orchestra is characterised by highly specialised tasks executed collectively and with exceptional simultaneity, requiring particularly stable and predictable working frames and trustful working relations between individuals.²

Adding to the unusualness of an orchestra as a case study object is the nature of an orchestra's core output. Autonomous music³ cannot be measured in quantified terms⁴, rendering accountability a more difficult and elusive idea than ever.⁵ Empirically, the fundamental conflict between what some may call “artistic freedom” on the one hand and financial accountability on the other, offers an unavoidable practical dilemma that is brought into focus in this thesis.

¹ The concept of accountability will be discussed later in this chapter.

² Already Max Weber (1922) identified the uniqueness of professional orchestra musicians, describing prestigious orchestras as a unique example of the performance of highly specialised skills that are executed simultaneously. (Weber, 1922, p. 208, §§16, b)β). A possible comparison is a team of highly specialised medical doctors performing a complex surgery at a specific point in time together, exercising their advanced skills simultaneously and with extreme precision.

³ A distinction is often made between “functional” (or utilitarian) and “autonomous” music. For example Adorno (1973) described autonomy as art's freedom from any social, economic, political, or religious use.

⁴ This makes a professional chamber orchestra different as study object compared to for example health care organisations.

⁵ For example Sinclair (1995) has identified the “elusive” or chameleon-like character of accountability, making it hard to understand and even more difficult to use.

Arts organisations are required to produce the best possible artistic production in a way that makes a diverse set of providers of resources sufficiently satisfied to continue their involvement in the production. This includes funders, politicians, private businesses, composers, artists, conductors, guest stars, musicians and audiences – each with their own viewpoint on the aim of that artistic production. The General Manager of the UK chamber orchestra in this thesis talks about this particular challenge:

Ensuring all members, playing and non-playing, have similar motives and direction is key. This can be a challenge when some are voluntary (board), some are self employed (players) and some are employed (office), causing frictions over money and time. In my view a small arts organisation which strives to give something inspiring and of real quality to its participants and audiences, both artistically and as a business, is always going to find there are necessary compromises of some kind.

After describing his view on the challenge, he identifies something of fundamental importance, the possible effect of necessary compromises:

With the interests of a wide and varied range of interested parties, including public, private and commercial funders, there can be even more risk that the organisation dilutes its core activity.
(General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

Making all parties fully satisfied at the same time is impossible; something or someone always has to give for all ends to meet. Supposedly, parties with many alternatives, such as audiences, sponsors or international guest conductors, will be powerful in a situation of conflicting interests. Conversely, parties with few alternatives, such as orchestra musicians, will more likely have to compromise their interests. If external demands must be fulfilled in order to receive necessary funding, the organisation must continuously adapt internally to meet those demands. This thesis seeks to explore such adaptations and their short and long term effects.

1.1.2 The development of professional orchestras

In different time periods and different societies, arts organisations have been funded and organised in different ways, from royal entertainers in serfdom to profit making businesses owned and run by the artists. In accordance to the funding and organising arrangements of the arts, artists have had different roles and identities in different times and societies.

Ander (2000) points to several important aspects in the development of professional orchestras from the 18th and 19th centuries and onwards. The first is an increased emphasis and organisation of artistic and musical education without any specific objectives other than general education. Secondly, during the 18th century, the musician typically did a variety of different jobs such as composing, performing, teaching and administration. During the 19th century, there was an increased specialisation, and a tendency to advance on one single instrument rather than several.⁶

The third aspect was the growth of audiences for live classical music, largely due to the rise of bourgeois society, which led to larger orchestras and concert halls. Lastly, the development of aesthetic thought and the Romantic ideals found for example in the new Romantic conception of the self,⁷ contributed to the perception of absolute and de-functionalised orchestral music as the highest, purest and richest of all music genres, with the symphony as the flagship product.⁸

In the post-war period many European countries experienced massive development with exponential economic growth and increased productivity. In Sweden, the UK and many other western societies, politicians adopted conscious strategies to create attractive cities with several key features such as Universities, sports arenas, theatres and a symphony or chamber orchestra⁹ which would attract private businesses and offer a good quality of life for its employees. One result of this development was the creation of many classical orchestras in smaller Swedish cities.

1.1.3 The development of financial reporting and control

The international, national and local trends and developments in classical music and orchestras in western society brought a more widely spread structure of publicly funded orchestras. This meant that orchestra musicians, management

⁶ The specialisation of musicians is discussed further in Benestad, F. (1978, pp. 204).

⁷ The ideas of the Romantic Movement can be found in for example Froebel (1887): “It is the destiny and life-work of all things to unfold their essence ...” (p. 2).

⁸ See discussion in Ander (2000) p. 41 and 42 as well as Goehr (1992, p. 165).

⁹ *Chamber Orchestra* is an ambiguous term that was not in use before the 20th century, meaning an orchestra smaller than a larger symphony orchestra. As late as 1783, Cramer (*Magazin der Musik*, i, p. 743) recommended 17 as the maximum number of players for a symphony. The growth of public concerts in the early 19th century led to the establishment of larger concert orchestras, which increased in number during the century. (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), Volume 4, pp. 118).

and staff were administratively subordinated to public authorities – national, regional and local – and as such subject to developments and movements in the public sector.

During the 1980s and 90s a widespread development became apparent not only in the field of the arts but in all publicly funded organisations. Scarcity of public finances and increased demands for financial responsibility gave rise to new movements such as the New Public Management, introduced to increase the efficiency and accountability of public sector organisations. In the UK, increased demands for public financial accountability were particularly debated, and other countries followed the same path.¹⁰ Guthrie *et al.* (1999) discuss how accounting has become the language of public organisations and structures. Hood (1995) noted the effects of these developments, arguing that it has led to an increased focus on financial results and standards of performance.

In the non-profit and government sectors, as in other sectors, accountability as a concept has become a central theme in management literature and practice. Broadbent and Laughlin (2003), for example, have studied the growing “value-for-money” logic in public administration in Britain. These trends and changed logic have been adopted by organisations seeking legitimacy for their actions.

1.1.4 Professional orchestra institutions in the audit society¹¹

In the intersection between the development of professional orchestral institutions and the development of financial reporting and control, an interesting research area emerges. Although there are still significant differences between the funding models of different western societies, the challenges of scarcity of public resources¹² and increased demand for accountability cannot escape any arts organisation, and increasingly create challenges for politicians, funders, managers as well as artists.

Arts organisations, like other publicly funded organisations, are increasingly called upon to become more transparent and to argue that investments made in

¹⁰ See for example Hood (1991) and Olson *et al.* (1998).

¹¹ “The audit society” is a concept borrowed from Power (1997) who describes how individuals and organisations, especially in Britain, have become subject to an “audit explosion” with an increasing intensity in accountability requirements.

¹² For example Baumol and Bowen (1965) show that there is a “cost disease” in the performing arts (and in the labour-intensive sector) that cannot be avoided, meaning arts organisations have to produce the same results with decreasing financial resources over time. This will be discussed in greater depth in later chapters.

them mean value for money for someone outside the organisation (see for example Preece (2001) and Östman (2006). Östman (2006) analyses the long term effects of financial processes in the Royal Dramatic Theatre (Dramaten). He explains that financial limits are latent but will from time to time come to light as a financial crisis during which dramatic changes in operational direction often occur.

Parallel to debates on financial crises in arts organisations and increased demands for efficiency and transparency, the financial situation of professional classical orchestras has attracted attention. Brettell Grip and Nielsén (2005) analysed the financial developments of Swedish symphony orchestras over 30 years (approximately 1970 to 2000). They posed the question of how symphony orchestras can become *a part of* a world with scarcer public resources and increasing difficulties in competing with the rest of the entertainment business.

1.2 Theoretical illustrations of the empirical problem

1.2.1 Introduction to the theoretical concepts

This thesis uses three theoretical concepts to analyse and discuss the research findings. The first is a model that explains the horizontal and vertical relationships that can be used as a tool to categorise and analyse external demands with regard to the value creating process, as well as funding and hierarchical processes. The second framework is the communication chain of music,¹³ which specifies the value creation chain for a professional orchestra. The third is the accountability concept, which is used to discuss and analyse the processes by which individuals justify and take responsibility for their activities.

1.2.2 Vertical and horizontal processes

Östman (1993) describes the multiple objectives that coexist in public organisations. Multiple objectives and stakeholders in professional chamber orchestras make increased demands for accountability particularly complex. As Heilbrun and Gray (2001) put it, the making of art has occupied a special position among human activities, and is ranked by some people as the highest of all callings. Many might wish that economists would keep their “dirty hands off it”. Nevertheless, art and culture are produced by individuals and

¹³ In this thesis I will use the phrase *the communication chain of music* to conceptualise the chain from the composer – to the written music – to the conductor and orchestra – and to various audiences.

institutions working within the general economy and therefore cannot escape the constraints of that material world (p. 3).

For arts organisations in different countries with different funding models, financial flows and resources permitting arts production may differ. However, there are common themes that enable us to construct a typical empirical case. The fundamental problem can be illustrated schematically by using concepts in a framework developed by Östman (1993) to conceptualise control and governance processes in organisations.

In his analysis of the Royal Dramatic Theatre, Östman (2006) uses the framework with the following features: On the horizontal line there is an organisation between individuals, on the one hand, who need to make a living while having a meaningful professional life, and on the other hand users who seek fulfilment of their material and mental needs. On the vertical line there are financiers and owners with different alternatives and with prerequisites for that funding.

The framework helps conceptualise the organisational context in this study since it identifies and separates different actors in an organisation's context. The relation between an organisation and its external demands, and how these are dealt with, shape organisational processes, direction and output. In turn, this has an effect on members of the organisation, both as individuals and as groups, and the interplay between them (Östman, 1993). Östman's framework is particularly useful as a methodological tool, and will here be explained using the empirical setting of the orchestras in general. The organisation exists in the intersection of vertical and horizontal processes.¹⁴

Looking at the vertical process in an orchestra, the proportion of public subsidy may be high or low, and may vary in its form and hierarchical structure within different time periods and societies. The vertical process is related to a certain function that the organisation is meant to fulfil; in this case providing musical experiences and learning.

Private sponsors or partners providing alternative sources of funding have become increasingly important. Just as for example Arts Councils in different countries are accountable to the government for the allocation of resources;

¹⁴ Setting the boundaries of an organisation is a central issue that has been subject to much study and discussion; see for example Llewellyn (1994) who argues that the setting and defining of boundaries between the organisation and its context determines the relationship between the two.

private businesses are accountable to their shareholders. There can also be individual donors that sponsor the arts for personal reasons. It should be noted that private sponsorships are more likely in countries where they gain tax relief.

The organisation typically has a board of directors appointed to ensure that the management of the organisation runs it according to formal regulatory and funding requirements, and to act as a link between management and funders. The nature of the relationship between board and management depends largely on whether the board is political, and the size of the organisation.

On the horizontal line, there are important actors who supply their skill and time to the organisation. In an orchestra, the largest group is made up of musicians. Also, the orchestra typically has a chief conductor who is influential in what the orchestra should play and in developing strategy. If the orchestra is prestigious, typically the conductor has many possibilities for alternative employment which makes the management of the orchestra concerned about keeping the conductor. This concern may be expressed in giving the conductor freedom to work according to his or her artistic vision, and a market-based salary. Hence conductors are paid many times higher salaries than other members of the organisation including the general manager. To maintain a position as a leading orchestra, guest artists must be invited regularly. Collaboration with guest artists is usually done through the artists' agencies and the artists are paid market-based compensation in accordance with their status and reputation.

Whereas funders can choose from a wide range of recipients, musicians have invested many years of training to become experts on their instruments and hence have a limited number of alternatives. Most musicians start their training around the age of six or seven. This may be compared with an elite athlete, who normally starts their training from a very young age in order to succeed. Research has shown that musicians' brains have different networks and activity than those of people who haven't had formal musical training. That research shows that this is not due to a genetic predisposition, but rather due to that musicians are trained and have practiced their instrument from an early age for many hours every day (Margulis *et al.*, 2007).

Obtaining and keeping a position in the orchestra typically has meant many hours of daily practice and preparation to learn the music the orchestra plays as well as maintaining a high individual standard, like a sportsman. Musicians play in orchestras typically for two main reasons: to make a living and support their

families; and because they find it interesting artistically and professionally fulfilling.

The difficulty and challenge of being a funder should not be underestimated. Funders often have a difficult task in choosing the most appropriate recipient for their funds, and making sure that their choice fulfils the criteria set for the fund. However, whereas funders have many alternatives, musicians have few. Nonetheless, the orchestra is based on individual investments – its main asset is found in the musicians’ personal investments, whereas the funder’s main asset is political and financial power. This difference is likely to create tension.

1.2.3 The communication chain of music

In order to understand how Östman’s model can be applied in a professional orchestra, we must look closer at the horizontal process and the communication chain of music (see for example Bengtsson (1973), developed by Ander¹⁵); from producers, to practitioners to consumers and recipients of the outcome. For the purpose of this study, a simplified version of the communication chain of music has been adopted and is illustrated below:

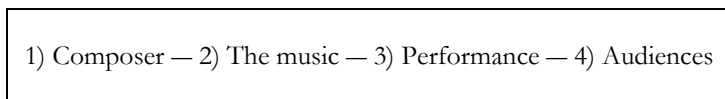


Figure 1.1 The communication chain of music

A conductor tries, from the written music, to interpret the intentions of the composer, communicate these interpretations to the orchestra and together with the orchestra communicate them to the audience. The model is useful for discussing the philosophical question about what music *is*; for example what *is* Beethoven’s seventh symphony? Is it 1) the music as intended by Beethoven; 2) the written music (with possible “flaws” or unclearness); 3) a good or less good performance or 4) the music as experienced by an audience member?¹⁶

The model is also useful in discussions on evaluating professional orchestra institutions. If a stakeholder, a member of management or a musician claims that the orchestra performs well or that a concert was “good” – what does that

¹⁵ As presented in a lecture by Owe Ander, Stockholm, September 1st, 2008.

¹⁶ These questions also give rise to the question of the “ideal”. Is there an ideal performance that can be imagined but perhaps not performed? Can there be a right or wrong way to listen to and understand the music?

mean? Does it mean that 1) the intentions of the composer were successfully realised; 2) the repertoire chosen for the concert was good; 3) the performance was well executed or 4) the audience appreciated the concert?

In practice, evaluations based on different parts of the chain can be independent from each other. The audience can be satisfied with a concert that musicians perceived as a failure, and vice versa. Good music can be badly played, and vice versa. Good music can be well performed but with interpretations of the composer's intentions that raise questions of falsifications, and so on.

In sum, different groups and individuals in the vertical and horizontal processes of the organisation can have different opinions not only on how well the orchestra is run, but also on what constitutes the basis of that evaluation.

It can be difficult to reconcile the opinions of highly specialised individuals with the opinions of political and financial parties. For the musicians, guest artists and conductors, management must ensure the work is interesting artistically. However, if fewer funders and stakeholders are willing to fund those activities that artists find most interesting – the traditional concert-giving activity – that raises a dilemma, given that musicians have invested much of their lives, identity and self esteem in mastering the concert giving activity.

1.2.4 Accountability

Questions about direction and output are constantly pivotal when managing an orchestra. External demands connected to the survival of the orchestra must be met, but simultaneously the needs and perspectives of musicians must be taken into account. Operational strategies are formulated and reformulated continuously, including deciding what the orchestra should play, where, for whom and what other things the orchestra and the musicians should do.

The concept of accountability has been widely used in management studies to analyse the different beliefs within an organisation on what it and its members should be doing.

Ahrens (1996) tried to conceptualise the sometimes broad and unspecific notions that organisational members hold themselves and others accountable for, by suggesting that accountability practices are dictated by the nature of the

task undertaken; an “operational accountability”.¹⁷ Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) argued that not only organisational circumstances, but also circumstances of a cultural or other situational kind may exert a strong influence on individuals and their sense of responsibility.¹⁸

The Oxford English Dictionary defines *accountability* as “The quality of being accountable; liability to give account of, and answer for [...]” (p. 87). *Accountable*, in turn, is defined as “Liable to be called to account”. *Give account for* is defined as “to give an explanation”. Also, in the accounting and control literature, most notably by Roberts and Scapens (1995), *accountability* has often been defined as “the giving and demanding of reasons for conduct”. Accountability is thus a reciprocal concept related to different parties’ views and opinions on what constitutes “good” management, to which individuals and organisations must answer.

Despite the literature on accountability being diverse, this literature defines the relationships underlying accountability and actions involved in being accountable quite narrowly; contemporary notions of accountability largely ignore ongoing tensions that organisations face in reconciling the needs of organisational members with those of external groups (Oakes & Young, 2008). Consequently, this study seeks to add to our understanding of how accountability can be conceptualised, given the tensions in reconciling the needs of individual organisational members and external stakeholders.

1.2.5 The usefulness of the combined framework in the thesis

This study departs from an interest in the conditions for performing a certain activity, in this case the performance of autonomous music, against the backdrop of what organisation that activity takes place in, and under what conditions it is performed. By taking a long term perspective, ideas about how

¹⁷ Individuals often define themselves through their relationship with their employer or with social groups that have an emotional value for that individual, bringing a degree of internalisation of the organisation’s values and beliefs (Pratt, 1998). This idea of identity, self and organisations can also be seen in the accountability literature. Corbett (1996) uses the term “inward accountability”, for which the basis for action is not so much the individual’s professionalism as his or her own personal sense of morality; issues involving general values in relation to others.

¹⁸ As described by Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) the terms *responsibility* and *accountability* are often used interchangeably with little agreement on their definitions. However, this study agrees with the view in Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) that accountability connotes instrumentality and external controls, whereas responsibility connotes morality and inner controls.

accountabilities change over time can be developed, as each point in time is part of a long history continually changing. At each point in time, strong accountabilities influence organisational decisions, laying the foundation of future possibilities and limitations. The possibility to perform autonomous music becomes a pivotal issue, especially with increased pressure of changing horizontal conditions.

Adorno was distressed by this dilemma, arguing that autonomous music was severely threatened by commodification, and that the field of music displayed considerably more features of an exchange value philosophy. He made visible a dichotomy between music that was completely market-driven and music that was not (in Jay (1973)).

The accountability concept as used in this study is an aspect of a relationship, a relationship between individuals or organisations, or both. A relationship characterised by accountability needs and with some stability over time. A second term, *attractiveness*, is also used as a feature of an accountability relationship, but an aspect that can occur at a single point in time, for example a concert visitor who finds a single concert attractive.

Different parties find different parts of the organisations' activities attractive; different parts of the communication chain fulfil different functions for one or several parties within and around the organisation. The three theoretical concepts are thus connected and create a powerful analytical tool when combined into one consistent framework.

1.3 Research aim

We have now elaborated the fundamental problem of how external pressure from stakeholders affects internal processes within organisations. We have also described the theoretical perspectives of the vertical/horizontal model, the concept of accountability and the communication chain of music. We can now pose an overall research aim:

to increase our understanding of the relationship between funding conditions and stakeholder demands on one hand, and managerial and human aspects of organisations on the other.

In order to reach the overall research aim, four empirical questions are pertinent. Especially important has been the historical aspect and enhancing our knowledge of how the organisations' direction, focus and output are affected by historical and contextual challenges. The empirical questions are:

1. How can we describe the historical developments in the two organisations?
2. How can we understand the horizontal relationships in the two organisations?
3. How can we understand the vertical relationships in the two organisations?
4. How are orchestra musicians in the communication chain of music affected by accountability within the organisations' horizontal and vertical relationships?

One additional aim is to expand practitioners' understanding of arts organisation management in different contexts, especially with regard to dealing with financial pressure and formulate advice for management of arts organisations, as well as for funding bodies and policy makers.

1.4 Meeting with two professional chamber orchestras

1.4.1 Introduction to the cases

This study focuses on professional orchestras and increased demands for accountability and financial control. To study this intersection empirically, the research design incorporates two professional chamber orchestras operating in two significantly different settings. A freelance based UK orchestra, Manchester Camerata (MC) and a full-time employed orchestra in Sweden, The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro (SCO) were chosen as comparative cases. The two orchestras have many things in common with regard to their output and goals, but operate under different conditions with regard to employment structure, financing/stakeholder structure and housing arrangements.

As indicated by its name, the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro is situated in the city of Örebro, 200 km from Stockholm, about two hours away by train. Also, as indicated by its name, Manchester Camerata is situated in the city of Manchester, the regional capital of the North West of England, 300 km from

London reachable by train in less than two hours. The municipality of Örebro has 128,977 inhabitants (2007), and is the central city of Örebro County, which has 275,030 inhabitants (2007). Manchester has 400,500 inhabitants (2004), but the larger region around Manchester has a population closer to six million.

1.4.2 The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro

The study of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro took place mostly during the autumn of 2006. Just before this, the orchestra had had their 10th year anniversary. The orchestra was formed in 1995 but had existed before that in different forms in the Concert Hall in Örebro. In 1995 the focus lay on making more efficient use of financial means and constructing one chamber ensemble out of several smaller ensembles previously subject to some rivalry and miscomprehensions (especially between the strings and the wind ensembles). This “putting all eggs into one basket” and making everybody work in the same direction was a response to unclear directions and trends in Swedish cultural policy.

At this time, the Swedish government wanted to cut back on all regional music institutions and broaden Swedish music life. Such national culture policy suggested it was politically inappropriate to create one top quality ensemble. However, many regional institutions making politically correct decisions in the short term were far from successful in the long run. Dividing their organisations into even smaller groups, playing diverse sorts of music and genres, soon eroded their organisation and eventually led them to closure.

By contrast, for the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro the decision to form one elite ensemble was successful. By 2005 the relatively unknown orchestra had become well established with a world-wide reputation, having realised all the organisation’s goals established ten years earlier (such as performing at the BBC Proms in London).

1.4.3 Manchester Camerata

The study of Manchester Camerata took place mostly during the autumn of 2007, when major changes were taking place. Manchester Camerata has by some been called “Manchester’s best kept secret”, and during my first visit in December 2006 its administrative offices were in the Zion Arts Center in Hulme, an infamous part of the city. The small office was cold, and the room where the meeting took place was a meeting room, but also the kitchen, print room, library and storage area. The office was not connected with the

orchestra's rehearsal space; the orchestra rehearsed in a church or in concert venues.

In July 2007 another meeting took place that was not in Hulme. Now the organisation had moved into the Oxford Road Wing in the heart of the Royal Northern College of Music's (RNCM) Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning. The musicians (as well as the General Manager) were familiar with the new surroundings since it had been the training ground for them as musicians, and later a workplace for some as teachers. The new administrative office was completely different from the old one, with more space and light and a fresher and newer look; it felt like coming into a professional business. The orchestra now had a newly built rehearsal space close to the offices in the same building, partly shared with students of the College. But it was not only a physical move that had taken place during the spring of 2007; the organisation had faced many challenges but had also achieved successes over the years, becoming one of the few English freelance chamber orchestras of significance to thrive outside London (Beale, 2003-4).

Entering two professional orchestra organisations as an outsider, it was soon clear that they had several things in common; challenging pasts with regard to financial limits and control issues, and simultaneously substantial artistic attainments under these financially and contextually demanding circumstances.

1.5 Thesis overview

The two chapters following this introduction deal with theory and previous research (chapter 2), and methodological considerations (chapter 3). Several empirical chapters follow. Chapter 4 gives an historical background to the cases, leading up to a presentation of differences in their current settings. After this the value creation process, or the horizontal process, of the two orchestras is presented, and their inputs and outputs are analysed (chapter 5). The following chapter (chapter 6) describes vertical relationships and managerial responses. Then follows an ethnographically inspired chapter (chapter 7) about being an orchestra musician in Sweden and the UK. The thesis concludes with a chapter (chapter 8) that links empirical observations to theory, and discusses the research questions, the findings of the study and possible contributions.

INTERLUDE

Ludwig van Beethoven is famous for breaking free of conventional forms, composing music that examines the depth of despair, expresses heroic struggles and reaches amazing peaks of joy. Beethoven took orchestral music out of aristocratic salons and into packed concert halls. The articulate and influential German critic and writer in music Paul Bekker, active from 1905 to 1935, said that the sum of Beethoven's message is freedom – artistic freedom, political freedom, personal freedom of will, of art, of faith, freedom of the individual in all aspects of life (Powell, 1995).

Perhaps the most famous works of Beethoven are his symphonies, which have been performed and recorded by a vast number of orchestras over the years from all over the world. The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro under their chief conductor Thomas Dausgaard has gained great critical acclaim for their recordings of the complete orchestral music of Beethoven including the symphonies. The recordings and live performances have made the work and sound of the orchestra and its conductor highly appreciated and famous among critics and audiences all around the world, especially for their authentic and genuine sound:

Anyone following the outstanding series of CDs that conductor Thomas Dausgaard and the Swedish Chamber Orchestra have been recording for the Simax label knows how arresting they can be in Beethoven. Heard live, at a Washington Performing Arts Society concert at Strathmore Hall on Tuesday, their high-octane approach to the composer proved even more thrilling.

Under Dausgaard, this modern-instrument ensemble has incorporated 18th-century practice to build a gorgeous, highly disciplined Beethoven sound – dark-toned, vibrato-less strings, forthright and often ravishing winds, whip-crack timpani, horns with hand-stopped bells creating a rustic bray. Dausgaard's propulsive tempos, Toscaninian control of attacks and cutoffs and scrupulous weaving of instrumental lines made Beethoven's "*Coriolan*" Overture and *Piano Concerto No. 1* into edge-of-the-seat events. (*Washington Post*, April 3, 2008; Page C09)

On the 13th October 2006 I had the opportunity to see and listen to Thomas Dausgaard and the orchestra working on a CD recording. Sitting with headphones with the recording people in a room on the second floor of the Concert Hall in Örebro, home of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, I could see

the conductor on a TV monitor down at the stage where he conducts the orchestra, and hear every move of each musician in the headphones. There is a special feel in the whole Concert Hall during their recording weeks. The administration is quieter than usual; several organisational members say they have been told that each retake is costly and everyone must be as quiet as possible.

A few seconds to a few minutes of music is played each time. It is perfection without limit. They have been doing this each day for a week, recording the same piece. The voice of the producer sitting besides me is heard from a loudspeaker on stage when she speaks. The producer is in constant communication with Thomas: “at the end of bar x the second violins disappears a bit, the note ‘a’ in bar x is a fraction too low in intonation, I wish to remind of the phrasing of the two notes in bars x and x.” In the break Thomas rushes up to listen to the recordings together with a few others from the orchestra and they discuss what should be retaken. I ask Thomas if the concentration must be even higher during recordings than normal rehearsals. “Oh no, it’s concentration as normal” he says. Nothing less than perfection is accepted, no matter what the orchestra is doing.

There are other orchestras that have recorded the Beethoven symphonies. One is the distinguished UK chamber orchestra Manchester Camerata which also has gained great critical acclaim for Beethoven interpretations and recordings: “As Music Director of the Manchester Camerata, he [Douglas Boyd] has made them into a major ensemble. BBC Magazine gave their Beethoven recording five stars, comparing their Beethoven No. 2 to Toscanini and their Beethoven No. 5 to Kleiber” (Frank Salomon Associates, 2004). However, recording the Beethoven in this case was completely different than what I had experienced in Örebro.

On a beautiful November evening in 2007 I attended a concert in the prestigious Bridgewater Hall in Manchester, one of the several residencies of the orchestra. This evening Beethoven’s *Symphony No. 7* in A Major was not only performed by the Manchester Camerata, led by their Music Director Douglas Boyd, it was also recorded live during the concert. Douglas Boyd kindly informed the audience before the symphony started that even though there would be a 30 minutes patching session after the concert to retake parts where there would be coughs and other noises, we should be aware of the recording.

The concert was an extraordinary experience. Music is subjective and personal, but it felt like there was something magical about that evening's performance, and I was evidently not alone:

Boyd conducted a superb performance of Beethoven's seventh symphony, which bounced and fizzed with energy. I've admired before the vitality and clarity of sound he obtains in Beethoven with the Camerata (as before, this performance was being recorded as a contribution to their planned complete symphonies cycle), but this quite took the biscuit.

Boyd's illumination of the first movement development, for instance, showed just how full of Beethovenian dialectic it is; his presentation of the second caught intensity from the first bar and was soon full of pent-up emotion; the scherzo achieved graciousness in phrasing along with its extroversion – and touches of real humour. The finale was dizzyingly brilliant. The CD of this should become a collector's item. (*Manchester Evening News*, 5 November 2007)

Recording CDs of Beethoven's affirmations of human freedom is not the only achievement that the two orchestras in this thesis have in common, however. Both have performed in the exceptionally prestigious Royal Albert Hall in the BBC Proms; the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro on the 23rd of August 2004, and the Manchester Camerata on the 27th of July 2005. In July 2007 both orchestras participated in the same highly acclaimed Mostly Mozart Festival in the Barbican Centre during the same week, playing different pieces of music by Mozart. This means that by the time this study took place, it may rightly be said that the two orchestras that comprise the cases in this thesis are no less than success stories in their own rights, each with their own respective journey, overcoming their own unique challenges on the way to the Royal Albert Hall and the Barbican centre.

I did not observe these milestones in the organisations' histories. However, I have had the possibility to buy and collect the recorded masterpieces, the "miracles of our civilisation" as Douglas Boyd expresses it,¹⁹ that the two orchestras have immortalised.

So we have the symphonies of Beethoven by the two orchestras; the same pieces both critically highly praised, not only performed and recorded by two

¹⁹ Pre-concert talk, 3rd November 2007 with conductor Douglas Boyd and leader Richard Howarth, Bridgewater Hall, Manchester.

different orchestras, and interpreted and led by two different conductors, but also – *produced under significantly different fundamental conditions* with regard to working processes, funding, market conditions and business strategy. The orchestras both made their way to participate in the Mostly Mozart Festival in July 2007 as distinguished chamber orchestras, but with fundamentally different ways of justifying and maintaining their existence in complex artistic, community and financial settings.

For example, even though the CD recordings of both orchestras were very important for the organisations and something that all organisational members were proud of, it was not given that musicians in the Manchester Camerata would agree to record the CD. Musicians in both the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro and the Manchester Camerata were paid for their work. However, none of the musicians in either orchestra received any extra money for the recordings other than the usual compensation for regular concert work. In the Swedish case, musicians talked about the CD recordings as a dream come true, an experience they thought they were fortunate to be a part of. In the UK case, however, being paid or not was an issue under debate. Because of this, it became unique that musicians accepted to do the recording in the end.

While musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro felt fortunate to be a part of the recording process, funders and board members were more hesitant. The management of the orchestra had to explain and justify the costly and time consuming recording process during many board meetings. The management repeatedly explained the value of the artistic development for the orchestra that the project would mean. In Manchester Camerata, CD recordings were talked about mainly as a powerful marketing tool. Recordings were also seen as an important part of artistic development, but discussions revolved around CDs as a way of marketing the artistic product, since CD recordings were very unlikely to create an income. Obtaining a powerful marketing tool was in this case much appreciated by board members and management, whereas musicians were more hesitant.

The stories from the orchestras shed light on some interesting differences. This study wants to understand if these differences are important, and if so, in what ways and for whom? Increased knowledge can ultimately enable policy makers and arts managements to make better and more informed decisions, increase the clarity and effectiveness in communication, and ultimately better enable us to care for the miracles of our society [as expressed by Douglas Boyd] today and in the future.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The theoretical framework in the thesis

Whenever we study and reflect upon an entity, in this case the two chamber orchestras, the entities could be said to be conceptually mediated. This means that even though the entities can exist independently of their identification by an observer,²⁰ they are always mediated by a pre-existing stock of conceptual resources (Fleetwood, 2004). These conceptual resources are then used to interpret, understand and make sense of the studied objects.

As outlined in the introduction, three main theoretical concepts in combination constitute the conceptual resources used here to analyse and interpret the research findings.

The first concept was a model of vertical and horizontal relationships used to categorise and analyse external demands. The second concept was the communication chain of music, which specifies value creation for a professional orchestra. The third concept was accountability, which is used to discuss and analyse the processes whereby individuals justify and assume responsibility for their activities in relation to multiple and sometimes contradictory external and internal demands.

The three concepts were briefly presented in the introductory chapter. Here they will be illustrated and expanded in a model combining all three concepts that forms the theoretical model of the thesis.

²⁰ See the ontological and epistemological discussion in chapter 3.

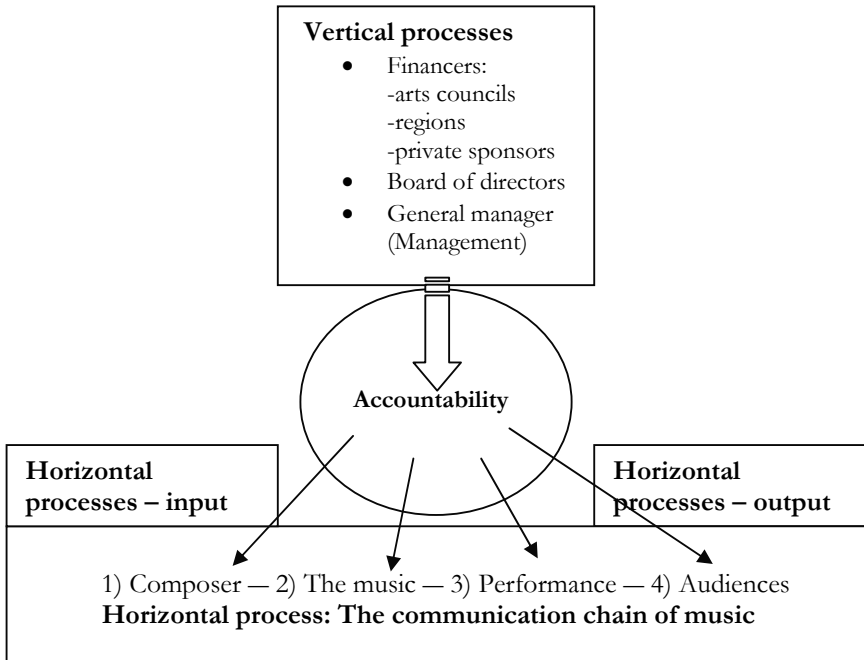


Figure 2.1 Theoretical model

The *vertical process* is constituted by relationships with hierarchical parties. These are often financiers but could also be a party that through financial resources has gained some influence over the organisation, and hence a right to express an opinion on how it is managed and organised. One example could be a landlord of an organisation’s premises. Even though this is not a funder; a landlord may still have opinions that the organisation must take into account. Demands from hierarchical parties are dealt with in different ways by different individuals and groups within the organisation.

The *horizontal process* constitutes of the value creation process.²¹ *Inputs of resources* are transformed into some *output* consumed by various users. The value creation chain can be conceptualised as a *communication chain of music*, which gives, for the purpose of this study, a simplified illustration of the steps from

²¹ Even though the model is presented here with the vertical process first and the horizontal process second, the empirical chapters in the thesis start with horizontal relationships because it enabled a more logic presentation of argument.

the composer, via the music and the performance, to different possible audiences.

Individuals and groups working in the organisation can have different opinions about what is most important in the communication chain of music. Those preferences may or may not be compatible with the demands of the hierarchical parties or the preferences of various audiences.²² Conflicting ideas about what the organisation should be doing lie within the concept of *accountability*; which engages notions of what constitutes good management, or what objectives are most important and thus should guide the decisions and direction of the organisation. Strategies and goals formulated by the organisation and its management will be loosely or tightly connected to different parts of the communication chain of music; an organisation may be guided internally by beliefs that it is important to play a certain repertoire, or develop a specific sound, or reach a certain audience, which may overlap or be in conflict with the preferences of different groups within or outside of the organisation. Different accountabilities may cause frictions.²³

2.2 Vertical and horizontal processes

2.2.1 Financial processes that affect the basic conditions of organisations – a general framework

Östman (1993, 2006, 2007 and 2008) uses a framework based on the idea that control pressures come from two main directions: a vertical process between owners – management – co-workers, and a horizontal process between suppliers of different resources and those who use the output and products of the organisation. These two processes can differ between organisations and they can interact in different ways that reinforce or weaken each other. In public organisations, the vertical process has been traditionally strong and dominant; entrusted politicians determine the direction of organisations. Here, customers and others in the horizontal process had only a limited possibility to influence the output or direction of the organisation. Lately the weak influence of horizontal pressure has been reversed and public sector organisations have experienced increased demands for efficiency and evaluation. Customers' and

²² “Audiences” can mean visitors to a certain concert, but also potential visitors. Östman (2008) uses the concept of users which, when translated to the concept of audiences, can mean everything from tax payers, to politicians and various members in the hierarchical process.

²³ The accountability concept will be defined and discussed further below.

recipients' opinions on organisational performance have been given more attention and emphasis.

An organisation must adapt and adjust to external demands in order to survive in both the short and the long term. Often, the balance between short and long term demands becomes especially challenging, as described for example in Östman (2005). The model incorporates conflicting interests in internal processes as a result of external vertical and horizontal pressures, but an organisation can also influence external demands in different ways. For example, creating a good reputation and a strong identity can increase the organisation's freedom and power in relation to contextual forces.

Östman's (1993) vertical/horizontal model gives a basic framework for discussing and analysing conflicts of interests and trade offs that an organisation must deal with. The vertical and horizontal concepts distinguish two processes that influence the organisation; namely pressures from owners versus pressures from users and customers. The former involves pressure from parties with hierarchical power over the organisation, which gives them the right to express an opinion about the organisation as a whole – its work processes, administration and direction. The latter involves pressures from users that cannot exert pressure on the organisation as a whole, other than by buying its products or not (Östman, 2008).²⁴

2.2.2 The effect of basic financial processes in arts organisations

Many studies have discussed the role of public funding in the arts. In 1965 a study by Baumol and Bowen of financial issues in labour-intensive organisations, such as the performing arts, described how financial emergency seemed to become a way of life for performing arts organisations of all kinds. They describe frequent reports of theatrical groups which collapse and opera houses whose activity is in danger, continuously posing a threat to the cultural prospects of society.

Several basic financial conditions affect the life of a professional orchestra. Baumol and Bowen explain that the objectives of the typical non-profit organisation will keep it constantly on the brink of financial catastrophe. As soon as more money becomes available, new uses for it can easily be found and

²⁴ However, it can be difficult to distinguish owners from consumers (for example a private company that sponsors an arts organisation, and consumes some of its products, but has no hierarchical relationship).

other uses for which no financing has been provided will inevitably arise. Hence any non profit organisation has a group of projects they cannot afford to undertake but look hopefully to the future for their realisation. Moreover, it may be embarrassing to report to contributors that it has money left at the end of the year.

In capital-intensive organisations, such as car producers, workers become more productive as time passes, due to technological innovations. However, in businesses that involve human interaction or activities such as nursing, education or music making, the concept of productivity growth is different. It took the same amount of time for a nurse in 2006 to change a bandage as it did in 1966, and similarly for a music ensemble to play a certain piece of music, hence productivity improvements in the arts lags behind. Costs in the live performing arts will thus rise relative to costs in the economy as a whole because wage increases in the arts must keep up with those in the general economy, while productivity improvements lag behind (Baumol, 1967). This because all industries, including the arts, compete to hire workers in a nationally integrated labour market.

Even though Baumol and Bowen suggested that it will always take a fixed number of minutes to play a certain piece of classical music, this does not mean that many performing arts organisations do not try to be as efficient as they can. They can increase productivity in several ways, for example by repeating the same concert to different audiences. However, since an orchestral piece will always demand a certain performance time, Baumol and Bowen argue to expect that financial strains will increasingly beset performing arts organisations, chronically, with the passage of time.²⁵

Recent studies support Baumol and Bowen's observation. Hackman (2003) claims that the condition of an orchestra is determined almost exclusively by the amount of financial resources it has. This makes societal structures for official support to the performing arts crucial. Hackman concludes that an orchestra's financial strength depends heavily on the strength of its ties with its community. Prosperous orchestras can attract and retain the finest players, conductors and guest performers. They have adequate facilities, music libraries and staff support. It is the money and resources that provide stability and set an orchestra on a course of ever-increasing excellence (Hackman, 2003). This, in turn, makes it easier to secure more financial resources.

²⁵ For a detailed discussion of Baumol's "Cost Disease", see Towse (1997). For a critique, see for example Cowen (1996).

Structures of governmental support to the arts differ across and within countries, but there is a general theme in studies on this issue: the need to reduce public spending through various strategies. Governments in most Western countries are trying to find ways to steer this responsibility to others, through increased ticket sales, sponsorships and other forms of income generation.

Horizontal pressure in arts organisations is also known to be particularly challenging. Caves (2000) gives several examples that describe the unique aspects of the horizontal process in arts organisations, such as an uncertain demand pattern, the inability to explain retrospectively what made products successful, workers caring especially for their product (an *art for art's sake* sense) and the importance of time precision in the delivery of performances. A symphony orchestra follows day to day routines that are planned in detail due to the large number of productions, where each must start at an exact minute. In other companies the delivery of the product or service may be postponed, but this is impossible with an audience waiting in the concert hall at the appointed time for a concert.

Few studies have empirically investigated the long term financial processes in arts organisations. Östman's (2007) longitudinal study of financial processes in the Royal Dramatic Theatre (Dramaten) over a period of hundred years is one of few exceptions. Consistent with Wahlberg (2001), Östman argues that performing arts organisations will sooner or later experience "financial crises" that vary in their specific expression, because of the fundamental cost process. Östman discusses the interplay between long and short term perspectives at the Royal Dramatic Theatre:

Even if the period selected was longer – five or ten years – the picture of trend in audience numbers or costs could be very different, depending on how the starting year related to a more natural phase. Often, the picture of development was heavily influenced by a poor last year for a managing director, which then established a reference point for the successor's figures. Almost constantly, cost fundamentals justified the question of if and how the RDT [Royal Dramatic Theatre] could be financed. Strong processes centered on topical circumstances determined many actions, both externally and internally. Financial problems became visible when there was a risk that some financial limits would be exceeded, and an internal view or a legal sanction did not allow this. (p. 19)

To conclude, we can state that arts organisations are affected by vertical and horizontal pressures common to all organisations, but also have pressures that are specific to arts organisations. Internally, strategies must be formulated to satisfy the demands of the hierarchical parties, users of products and output, and individuals working within the organisation.

While dealing with conflicting demands, arts organisations are subject to some specific financial aspects; the “cost disease” means that costs per performance will rise with time, though efforts to increase efficiency can be made at the margin. The value creation process is unique in that it requires exceptional precision in the delivery of output, and the output cannot be measured in quantitative terms. What constitutes quality can mean different things to different parties.

2.3 The communication chain of music

2.3.1 Perspectives on the purpose of music

An analysis of the purpose of music can lead to many complex fields of study such as the aesthetics and philosophy of music, music anthropology, music psychology, music sociology and hermeneutics. This thesis does not relate to all these areas. For the purpose of this thesis, it is assumed that there are two main views about music; a functional and an aesthetic view.²⁶ Different views can overlap; “the beautiful” can have a purpose and a function to someone in a certain context. But importantly, music may in some sense have no instrumental purpose; it can just exist. For example, Hanslick (1957, pp. 9-10) argues that emotions evoked by music are only a bi-product of its beauty:

The beautiful is and remains beautiful though it arouses no emotion whatever, and though there be no one to look at it. In other words, although the beautiful exists for the gratification of an observer, it is independent of him.

Kant has discussed the purpose-free characteristic of music by claiming that beauty is *not* in the eyes on the beholder. A flower or a sunset, for example, is beautiful; Kant says this statement is universal and necessary. Beautiful music from this perspective is “purposive without purpose” or “final without end”. This is comparable with Dahlhaus’s (1978) discussion on “absolute music”; music without concept, object or purpose.

²⁶ Aesthetics is defined as the critical reflection on art, culture and nature and deals with classificatory systems for judgments about such experiences (Kelly, 1998).

Bengtsson (1973) argues that in principle it is always possible to adopt an aesthetic perspective. He outlines a chain of communication: what does the composer want to express? What does the music express? What interpretations do musicians adopt and what intentions do they have when producing the sound of their instrument? How important is it for musicians to work within a “frame” for certain performance practises? And finally what is important to the recipients? What impressions do they get? In the communication chain of music, we can distinguish between the purpose and intentions in the music itself and its purpose for a recipient. A meeting will coalesce between a recipient with a particular history, personal experiences and tradition, and a piece of music that forms a part of a cultural, historical and social tradition and context.

In different parts of the communication chain, different parties have their respective opinions, and these often diverge. The interests of the actors in the first step – the composer – constitute an issue of relevance in today’s society. The Swedish organisation that protects the royalty rights of composers (STIM) tries to ensure that composers get paid for their work. The financial aspects of choosing a repertoire can thus involve what music requires payment to a composer via STIM and how much. This is only one of many financial aspects that must be considered. Other aspects could include what editions should be used, and if music sheets should be rented or bought.

In the performance part of the communication chain, musicians play the largest part. Their work is, as mentioned before, highly specialised and executed collectively. The three parts of their work could be seen as: individual practice, collective rehearsals, and concerts. In this study, musicians’ opinions and experiences in their orchestra and their organisation are seen as crucial. Musicians have their own perception of the purpose of their work. The last step in the communication chain, the audience, is comprised of not only the actual listeners of a certain concert, but could also be potential listeners and tax paying citizens (given that taxes partly finance the orchestra’s output). Other audiences could be reviewers and critics, and politicians. In the relationship with audiences there is a tension between appealing to as many as possible while educating audiences to like and appreciate the output.

One way of evaluating the purposes of the communication chain of music has been suggested by Adorno (1962), who divided audiences into different listening categories. The expert, the most adequate listener according to Adorno, is someone who, for example, could listen to the second movement of Weber’s string trio for the first time, and after that correctly account for the

different parts of the movement's structure (Adorno, 1962). Musicians in different orchestras may have different opinions with regard to what audiences they would like to reach. Those opinions may overlap or conflict with the targeted audiences of the organisation decided on by management, often under external pressures. Conflicting opinions on audiences may cause internal tension.

Finnegan (1989) has investigated the different opinions and goals of musicians in relation to organisational strategy, and how those sometimes overlap but can also be in conflict, for example because of differences in musicians' private lives. In the musicians' group, the need for external control is low since work follows strict routines and predetermined rules which musicians themselves are raised to and choose to follow. The work and performance in an orchestra can be said to follow a "strong tradition" (Rolf, 1991), meaning it is characterised by a powerful structure, or frame, that constitute the basis for evaluation of quality and results. General acceptance of quality criteria is essential. This can be compared with a "weak tradition" where there are no rules for the execution of a task and the only way to evaluate a result is by judging the willingness of customers to pay for the product.

Thus, the work in an orchestra is extraordinarily complex. Music is performed by several highly specialised musicians, simultaneously, and with extreme precision in both timing and execution. Davidsson (1997) emphasises the importance of the feeling of oneness in a symphony orchestra, which was based on the sharing of goals and strategies. Schutz (1964) regards the making of music a special form of human interaction and collaboration that demands a considerable amount of coordination. Not only does this special collaboration take place in the moment, but it also involves an interaction with the past through interpretations and tradition. The social relationships between musicians are thus a collective experience of multiple dimensions of time, where a large degree of communally shared goals and opinions are of crucial importance.

2.3.2 Perspectives on the purpose of performing arts organisations

Bengtsson's (1973) starting point is the belief that music is a form of communication; i.e. meaningful messages in the form of musical codes. In different parts of the communication chain, different traditions and values may guide organisational behaviour. For example, in the traditional repertoire performed by professional chamber and symphony orchestras, the language of communication has been dominated by certain codes since the 18th century,

with certain musical parts, such as regular rhythms, and keys in major or minor. Different traditions and values guiding decisions and focus with regard to the communication chain, can be more or less connected to, and compatible with, the demands of hierarchical parties in the vertical and the horizontal process. A conductor, for example, may be attracted to an orchestra that has developed a specific sound, whereas a funder, for example, may be interested in an orchestra that fulfils new functions and partly departs from old traditions and working routines.

In this thesis, the communication chain of music is seen as a valuable tool for analysing different views of the intentions and purposes at both individual and organisational levels. It gives a tool to distinguish between the *intention* of an artist and the *result* of that intention. It permits a discussion of the different goals that orchestra musicians can have for their work and contrasts with goals sought by audiences and the organisation. Here it is important to distinguish between the usefulness of music and the usefulness of the organisation. There will often be tensions between the purposes intended by musicians, conductors, managements, and the results perceived by audiences and stakeholders in the vertical and horizontal processes. In managing an arts organisation, management must find equilibrium between the different perspectives on meanings and purposes of music and connect them to the organisation's goals and strategies, products and performances.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the communication chain of music can be used to evaluate the direction and strategy of an orchestra. Different stakeholders can be more or less satisfied with different artistic strategies, or be disconnected from artistic strategy. Musicians, artistic managers, general managers, funders and audiences can have significantly different opinions on what constitutes a successful concert. Also, these opinions can be independent from each other; musicians can be satisfied with a concert that did not fulfil the needs of a funder, or was less appreciated by the audience. An audience can be satisfied with a concert that fulfilled a need of a funder but was not regarded a success by musicians, and so on.

Using Bengtsson (1973), a model can be developed of the different artistic goals and strategies that an orchestra can adopt in relation to different types of financial restrictions and hence to the orchestra's programming choices. Given certain financial restrictions, the orchestra can chose a repertoire that demands a lot of work, or a repertoire that does not. The former can be traditional or modern, a first performance or improvisations. In the latter, there are also

choices between a traditional repertoire and more specific repertoire such as music with a local connection or modern music.

The choice an orchestra makes about repertoire is not only determined by financial restrictions, but other aspects like aesthetic views and perceptions of risk. There are many factors that can make a certain repertoire risky beyond the risk of low audience numbers, such as a loss of prestige in playing work not seen as prestigious by others within the classical music production field. The choice is also closely connected to the interest groups and actors that surround an arts organisation in its vertical and horizontal relationships. Individuals separately may have their own private goals as part of their life project, such as becoming soloists, being part of a particular kind of orchestra, playing a certain repertoire, and so on.

The organisation may have different goals and strategies that appeal to some musicians more than others. These goals may be to develop an artistic profile regarding the orchestra's sound, become internationally famous through CD recordings or touring, make music accessible to specific groups of audiences, or develop the musicians' and the orchestra's technical ability. An orchestra can also have other goals, such as creating a group – or ensemble identity, a “we-feeling” (Heiling, 2000). Several goals may be adopted in combination, which would make some interest groups more satisfied than others and create different conditions for the work in and development of the orchestra.

2.3.3 Perspectives on the usefulness and purpose of culture and arts organisations in society

In his book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas (1962) develops the concept of the “bourgeois public sphere” (bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit). He describes the development of society from a monarchical, feudal one, which made no distinction between public and private, to a bourgeois public sphere for rational-critical debate in the late eighteenth century. The bourgeois public sphere constituted an arena independent from the state, best conceived of as the sphere of private people coming together as a public, well established in locations like coffee shops and salons. Habermas also describes the transition to the modern society of the welfare state, one that is increasingly a capitalistic society that reduces the bourgeois public sphere, since the late nineteenth century.

The growth of capitalistic economy led to an uneven distribution of wealth, widening the economic polarity and resulting in a limited access to the public sphere. Habermas suggests that many of the arguments for creating and

maintaining cultural institutions such as professional orchestras, public libraries, museums and art galleries have been to offset the effects of capitalism. Capitalism continually reduces individual independence and the capacity for critical thinking.

Evans (1999) illustrates a similar dilemma of decreased freedom. He argues that the modern state has veered from maintaining an arm's length relationship to selected performing arts institutions, to a more prescriptive and overtly political promotion of cultural values in order to enhance issues such as educating the work force, creating cultural identity, diversity and equity etc.²⁷ Significant development has occurred in cultural policy in different societies over different time periods.

How politicians regarded culture and its purpose in the first decade of the 21st century is not the same as in the 1950s, 60s or 70s. For example, the notion of cultural diversity has become an important cause, whereas it was not talked about even 15 years ago (Evans, 1999). Compared to twenty years ago, public bodies are now called upon to produce reasoned arguments and economic analyses to justify their claims for funding. The Arts Council of England (ACE) in the UK has imposed rigorous tests of financial targeting that require performing arts organisations to raise their current income from other sources, such as donations and sponsorships. Similarly, the National Lottery has become a source of increased importance, according to Peacock (2000). In Sweden, in the period since 1969/70, local authorities have generally taken an increased financial responsibility for the larger symphony orchestras, compared to the government (Brettell Grip & Nielsén, 2005, pp. 83-84).

The threat of audience decline has not been a factor in the past, as classical music served a relatively homogeneous, stable and hierarchical society (Preece, 2001). However, many societal and political institutions have questioned this over the last several decades.²⁸ Preece (2001) argues that classical music groups

²⁷ When discussing arm's length relationships between financiers and arts organisations, financial aspects should be separated from operational aspects. Evans (1999) and others talk about a closer relationships with regard to operational influence. "Financial arm's length", on the other hand, also has increased with an overall increased demand for financial accountability.

²⁸ It should, however, be noted that a decline in audience generally for live classical music is questionable, for example the large symphony orchestras in Sweden have not experienced an audience decline in the years 1999 to 2004 (Brettell Grip & Nielsén, 2005, p. 27).

must define themselves more effectively and communicate more clearly the value that they bring to individuals and society.

2.4 Accountability

2.4.1 Definitions of accountability

The external pressure from governments, financiers or others is discussed here through the concept of *accountability*. Mulgan (1997) assumes that accountability arises when there is an underlying relationship whereby one party accepts delegated task responsibilities from another. This brings an obligation to answer for that responsibility as well as the possibility for the delegating party to impose sanctions (Birkett, 1988; Mulgan, 2003; Stewart 1984).

This is described as “narrow accountabilities” by Bovens (2005, p. 17), i.e.: a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgement, and the actor can be sanctioned. Narrow accountability is most clearly found in the vertical process; the relationships between hierarchical external parties and the orchestra. Pressure to explain and justify conduct is not only the result of control exerted by government or other financiers, but can also come from general beliefs, opinions and values.²⁹

A similar definition of accountability is Schedler’s (1999), that says that A is accountable to B when A is obliged to inform B about A’s (past or future) actions and decisions, to justify them, and to suffer punishment in the case of eventual misconduct. This can be obtained through accounting or financial measures, but also through information processes. This presumes that accountability describes a relationship between power-holders and those affected by their actions, and consists of two key elements: “answerability” (obligation to explain actions) and “enforceability” (punishment for “poor” performance) (Schedler, 1999).

Understanding the accountability concept as an aspect of a relationship permits a discussion of accountability both at the individual and the organisational level,

²⁹ Every action can be explained on the basis of an idea that legitimates the action and explains why it can be defended (Giddens, 1984 according to Mouritsen, 1997, p. 175, note 113). To account for actions, by explanations and justifications, is a fundamental part of human interaction in all social contexts (Garfinkel, 1967; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1996). The traditional definition of accountability is that of a relationship involving “the giving and demanding of reasons for conduct” (Roberts and Scapens, 1985).

as well as between internal and external parties. It is widely accepted that accountability practices have pervasive and enabling characteristics which create particular financial forms of visibility for abstract social and organisational phenomena that would otherwise never be seen, as described by Potter (2005), by the many eyes in the organisational context (Bovens, 2005). Given a separation between ownership and control, accounting is a common and increasingly used technique to assist the control process, but it does not embrace the totality of that process (Emmanuel, Otley & Merchant, 1990, p. 98).

Different definitions of accountability can be associated with different theoretical perspectives on accountability, ranging from a belief that organisations are responsible and thus accountable only to those stakeholders who can directly influence the achievement of the organisation's objectives (Unerman & O'Dwyer, 2006), to a belief that organisations have responsibilities and are accountable to all those whose lives may be affected by the organisation's activities (Cooper & Owen, 2007).

Accountability may hence exist both in a formal (and legal) sense in the vertical process, but also in an informal way in all organisational fields such as personal values, beliefs and culture. The different meanings of the accountability concept have been elaborated on by various researchers. Roberts (1991, 1996) uses the distinction between "hierarchical" and "social" accountability; Ahrens (1996) uses the distinction between "financial" and "operational" accountability; O'Dwyer and Unerman (2008) talk about "hierarchical" versus "holistic" accountability; whereas Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) use the distinction between "accountability", connoting instrumentality and external controls, and "responsibility", connoting morality and inner controls.

The framework used for the purpose of this study – which combines accountability with vertical and horizontal processes with and communication chain of music – allows for an analysis that combines concepts of hierarchical accountability as a form of accountability to a narrow range of influential stakeholders mainly in the vertical chain, and some other kind of "holistic" accountability or responsibility as a form of accountability to a much broader range of stakeholders and beliefs including personal feelings of obligation.

2.4.2 Accounting and accountability in organisations

Accounting has long been seen as the primary tool of the accountability process. Hopwood (1990) emphasises how accounting technologies create visibility within organisations. He quotes Jeremy Bentham in noting that

bookkeeping enables indirect means of visibility to be created where the eye could not otherwise see. It is this ability to create new visibilities that give accounting such power to “influence perceptions, change language and infuse dialogue” and thereby influence action. Other researchers have explored and developed these ideas about accountability and visibility. For example, Miller and O’Leary (1987) argued that costing and budgeting systems create a form of visibility at the individual level in an organisation, and enable the construction of what they call “the governable person”. The stewardship function has long been seen as the primary role of corporate reports with a narrow focus on the management/shareholder relationship (Tower, 1993).

However, as mentioned earlier, accountability may not only be seen as a formal order, but also as a moral order that involves a system of reciprocal rights and obligations (Roberts & Scapens, 1985) in everyday life, and shapes ideas of what constitutes “correct” managerial decisions by taking various aspects and rationales into account (Ahrens, 1996). Quattrone (2004) for example has examined accounting and accountability practices in the Society of Jesus from the 16th to the 17th century and argues that a strictly economic analysis of accounting – as an instrument for allocating, monitoring and administering resources within the hierarchical structure of the Society of Jesus – would leave important aspects undiscovered.

Quattrone concludes that accounting practices and accountability were developed and refined on the basis of an absolutist ideology of the Roman Catholic doctrine, conceived of here as the result of a compromise among various forces (theological, religious, political, institutional and social). Three systems of accountability were found: accounting for sins, accounting for the College, and accounting for the soul. These were found to be the result of the heterogeneous interests mediated by the Roman Catholic Church. Quattrone argues that accounting and accountability cannot be conceived exclusively as expressing a unitary rationale (be it economic, pedagogic, religious or whatever).

Laughlin (1988, 1990) emphasises the use of belief systems of religious organisations in explaining the use of accounting in the Church of England. Accounting is seen as an irrelevancy to the organisation and only tolerated to the extent that it supports the “sacred” – the legitimate part of a church (Booth, 1993). This suggests that opinions within the organisation will be of importance and constitute a factor in managements’ actions. Vamosi (2005) explains that in securing organisations’ survival within a market economy, there is a constant

struggle between different rationale views (the market economy, social accountability and production-oriented views).

Lacking a primary profit motive, there may be vagueness in strategy and aims within the organisation, which might make survival even more challenging, especially when the organisation adopts accountability models developed for private sector organisations (Kearns, 1994). It is expected that similar problems may be found in a professional orchestra. Some opinions and values may constitute some legitimate force within the organisation, and there may be a struggle between different competing views in formulating organisational strategy.

The image of many eyes (Bovens, 2005) mentioned above is one way of metaphorising the numerous conflicting stakeholders who impose accountability on an organisation. The organisation is thus evaluated in multiple forums, and has to prioritise and merge different interests into one strategy that includes various accountabilities (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). Some researchers identify a fundamental difficulty in creating useful insights on how to best handle conflicting accountabilities. Ebrahim (2003, p. 184) describes it thus: “what is missing from much of the debate on accountability is an integrated look at how (non-profit) organisations deal with multiple and sometimes competing accountability demands”. Also, the concept of “conflicting accountabilities” is used to conceptualise conflicts that emerge when formulating an organisational strategy that satisfies the organisation’s many stakeholders and determines what aspects of organisational activity are most important.

Changes in the way accountability is conceptualised and transformed in organisations are also of importance. Broadbent and Guthrie (1992) note changes in accountability in public organisations. Historically they have been geared towards the production of welfare service, but are now accountable for profit and accounting elements as well. Hood (1995) highlights that this transformation is accompanied with a shift in emphasis; from process accountability to results accountability. Accounting techniques are a key element in the introduction of the new emphasis and new conception of accountability. They reflect high trust in the market and private business methods and low trust in public servants and professionals whose activities therefore need to be more closely evaluated by accounting techniques (1995, p. 4-5). Lindholm (2003) illustrates how interaction between actors constructs accountability in a public-sector organisation, following fundamental changes in the accounting systems and the introduction of management accounting

models. She concludes that if there is a contemporaneous shortage of financial resources, formal accounting systems become important. However, in a situation of financial surplus, accountability is constructed according to professional ideas and guidelines. This suggests that under different organisational episodes, different kinds of rationales can guide organisational action.

2.4.3 Accountability and the individual

An attempt to analyse and explore some aspects of individual accountability leads to a discussion of the interplay between individuals and their context. Willmott (1996) argues that the social context of accountability includes two interacting aspects, one universal and one historical, meaning that individuals continually make and give accounts to others, and to themselves, which then become a universal interpretation of our social world, but within a historical framework. Thus, social processes with embedded accountability comprise a historical framework that clarifies who we are, i.e. contributing to our identity.

Roberts (1991) uses the categories of individualizing and socialising forms of accountability. He explores how different forms of accountability produce different senses of our self and our relationship to others: individualizing forms (where accounting information is typically seen as an important means of measuring activity) and socializing forms of accountability. He argues that hierarchical forms of accountability produce and reproduce an individualized sense of self, as essentially solitary and singular, nervously preoccupied with how one is seen. This is contrasted with socializing accountability that flourishes in the informal spaces of organisations, and which confirms the self in a way that emphasizes the interdependence of self and others and makes work more humanised.

The existence of different forms of accountability could lead to a normative discussion on the effects of those forms of accountability. It may be stated that accountability in itself could be seen as “positive”. Roberts (2005) identifies a desire for existence confirming recognition. This recognition founds our interest in the control of others but also leaves us vulnerable to control by others. Accountability represents the attitudes of others towards us and addresses and immediately confirms us. He argues that this can be a positive aspect of accountability, that being held accountable sharpens and clarifies our sense of self. Conversely, in the absence of being held accountable, there is a possibility of a weakening and blurring of one’s sense of self and situation (Roberts, 1991).

Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) add the historical dimension to this discussion by arguing that in Habermas's terms, one could speak of an individual as drawing on his entire life-world [Lebenswelt] background when "deciding" to follow his or her own conscience or idiosyncratic reason. Because of this, there is indeed a need to incorporate life-world notions in firm-level analysis. However, Lindkvist and Llewellyn (2003) argue that a separation between system-world and life-world issues, found in Roberts (1991), is too dichotomous in ignoring such aspects as communal responsibilities.

2.5 Possible contributions to the financial, artistic and human aspects of professional orchestras

2.5.1 Previous research and possible contributions

I believe studies of professional orchestras can generate useful insights and contributions to how financial, human and other issues in organisations can be dealt with. Maitlis (2005) supports this view by stating that numerous and powerful stakeholders in symphony orchestras, frequently with opposing interests, create a context in which the social processes of sense-making and interpretations of conflict and tension are important and visible. A professional orchestra's structure is also similar to a smaller private enterprise with administrative teams that typically include finance, marketing, operations and human resource functions, headed by a general manager who is accountable to a board of directors.

In an orchestra, key stakeholders include governments, customers, employees, unions and local communities. Maitlis (2005) emphasises the importance of management's making sense of external demands and dealing with the organisation's environment.³⁰ In responding to external demands, the foundation of organisational sustainability is hopefully maintained. Maitlis argues that managers' interpretations of situations, and their success in engaging organisational members around these interpretations, will be essential.

A study by Glynn (2000) discusses multi-professionality in identity and claim-making as rhetorical activity. Musicians enact a normative identity and administrators enact a utilitarian identity, "governed by values of economic

³⁰ Similarly, Sinclair (1995) argues that personal feelings of fear and vulnerability should be studied in relation to accountability since accountability is not independent on the person nor the context. It appeared in many ways, and was central to how general managers structure and understand their jobs.

rationality, the maximization of profit and the minimization of cost”. The author argues that in a symphony orchestra, the musicians have a professional identity as performance artists and union members. Orchestra executives, on the other hand, are somewhat under-professionalised, lacking certification (but seeking it) while trying to combine business skills and artistic training, since many are former musicians.³¹

Glynn’s study has many similarities to this one, especially the analysis of the interplay and relationship between individual and organisational identity. However, they do not connect the issue of identity to financial processes and dependencies – a key focus in this study. A dissertation by Wetterström (2001) illustrates the management process as an important part of identity creation in an arts organisation. She studies the interplay between culture, economic activities and aesthetics in the Royal Swedish Opera in Stockholm, and discusses the importance of the name that is given to a complex strategic situation in a particular historical formation. Concepts, strategies and social techniques were used to shape organisational processes. Management is described as a discursive practice and a historical process of organising, arranging and re-arranging local discursive fields.

The environment of the orchestra is however not constant. Allmendinger and Hackman (1996) support the view of the importance of culture and history, and link this to dealing with resourcing and structural changes. Their study analyses organisations in changing environments with questions that relate to those in this study. The authors study East German symphony orchestras and the fall of the socialist regime in 1990, noting how orchestral functioning and the work and life of orchestra players changed in response to regime and political-economic changes. The authors found that orchestras did not lose their cultural traditions, on the contrary, the important thing for the orchestras was “being German orchestras”. Since “being a German orchestra” was the most

³¹ In their comparative study of intensive care units in Finland and the UK, Kurunmäki *et al.* (2003) also found professional identity to be important. They observed that in the UK, the medical staff was characterized by its professional ethics. Accounting and financial restrictions were neglected in internal decision-making with regard to operational activities. There were no deliberate attempts to shield off financial matters; instead professional ethics was emphasised. In Finland the logic was the opposite: accounting was the driving force in decision making and activities normally associated with the controller were carried out by the medical personnel. Since Finnish doctors had willingly adopted accounting practices as part of their legitimate competencies, it has become a hybrid profession.

important factor, particularly prestigious orchestras were even strengthened after the change. This would indicate that the traditions, for example with regard to their (German) style of playing, can be pivotal in formulating long term strategies and goals in a professional orchestra.

Sorjonen and Tuomisto (2008) analyse the factors that contribute to how the Lahti Symphony Orchestra (LSO), a Finnish provincial symphony orchestra, grew into a world-renown arts institution within a period of two decades. Five strategically important resources were identified: the strategy workshops that integrated the orchestral community, the expertise of the Jean Sibelius' repertoire, the long-term relationship with the recording company and its producers, the versatile partnership with the members of a sponsor team, and the new concert hall that enabled improved artistic productions. The most critical aspect of the orchestra's growth and development was the establishment and use of networks.

In this study, we could thus expect not only that multiple stakeholders and environment will impose various demands that will need interpretation, internal engagement and the dealing with internal groups with different accountabilities; we must also consider the historical aspects of both the organisations as well as the developments of their environments with an increasing need to develop networks and strategic relationships. The importance of maintaining identity and "feeling of oneness" in the orchestra should also be expected (Davidsson, 1997).

This study wishes to contribute to previous research, not only with regard to professional orchestras, but the three concepts: the vertical/horizontal model, the communication chain of music, and accountability – by combining the three. The review of existing research, especially with regard to the accountability concept, reveals its complexity. The "chameleon character" of the concept can be a problem, but can also introduce a possibility to open up discussions of broad (and sometimes vague) perceptions of responsibility and dependency at the level of both the organisation and the individual. By combining the three frameworks, the accountability concept may be used in a more systematic way, capturing reciprocal elements of relationships and elaborating on the interplay between internal and external dependencies illustrated by empirical examples. The vertical/horizontal model is developed by its adoption in a specific empirical setting. The communication chain of music is developed and extended by connecting perspectives on its parts to external demands and financial flows.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodological perspectives

This chapter gives insight into how the study was set up, what challenges had to be overcome and how these were dealt with. The chapter begins with basic issues regarding ontological and epistemological assumptions. Then the research design and the choice of cases are discussed. After this there is a section on the collection of data and different data sources, followed by a discussion of barriers and challenges in the progress of the study. The chapter concludes with a section on data analysis and some thoughts on reliability and validity.

3.1.1 Ontology and epistemology

Making methodological choices inevitably brings up the question of what basic assumptions the study rests on with regard to the “reality” of the field of study. Ontology is the study of being; what we can claim exist – from the Greek word for “being” – and embodies a description of the world and its workings. When the ontological assumptions are described and clarified, this study can define what constitutes valid and justifiable knowledge, or its epistemology. A methodology is needed to identify reality and obtain knowledge about that reality (Hollis, 1994, p.8).

The most fundamental dilemma of the philosophy of social science is, according to Hollis (1994), found in two opposing perspectives of structure and action; does structure determine action or does action determine structure? Karl Marx argued that consciousness stems from the contradictions of material life, claiming that “Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under conditions chosen by themselves” (Marx, 1852). This is a different perspective from that of for example John Stuart Mill who says “[...] the only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way” (Mill, 1859). The study of the world requires a different methodology and different epistemology to pursue these different and conflicting views. Marx focussed on understanding structures and material, and social laws that guide individual action (resorting to a causality in which there are no possibilities for humans to change structure), whereas Mills takes an interest in the reciprocal relationship between action and structure.

The former is the main view adopted in this study; humans make their own history, but they do not make it under conditions chosen by themselves. In this study, vertical and horizontal pressures have consequences for the conditions of organisations and their members. Reality consists of relations and forces of production, economic, legal and political structures, but also aesthetic and philosophical aspects. However, these structures and forces provoke conflicts and contradictions which give rise to transformations in which individual action can indeed play an important part. The debate over structure versus agency is an important question for the social sciences. Researchers such as Giddens (1984), for example, have not submitted to one position rather than the other, but have tried to conceptualised frameworks that explain the interplay between structure and agency.

An important dimension of this discussion is the role of the researcher as a creator of the reality observed. As Bateson (1972) has argued, in the natural history of any human being, ontology and epistemology cannot be separated. Our (unconscious) beliefs about what sort of world we are in will determine how we see and act in it, and our way of seeing and acting will determine beliefs about nature. “The living man is thus bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which – regardless of ultimate truth or falsity – become partially self-validating for him” (Bateson, 1972, p. 342). Being aware of various personal ontological and epistemological perspectives are important in understanding what the outcome of the research is.

In this study of conflicting accountabilities, ontology becomes pivotal. Hopper and Powell (1985) emphasise the importance of considering ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying this kind of research. Quattrone (2000) also argues: “[...] if organizations are conceived as a *locus* in which the economic, social, and political interests of workers, entrepreneurs, the state, and shareholders are reconciled with each other and/or in conflict, then these differing aspects cannot then be interpreted in a way which privileges any of them. [...] Then the issue becomes one of understanding ‘how’ and ‘why’ one of these interests becomes dominant within organizations and researching new kinds of rationality, able to guide organisations’ behavior.” (p. 145).

Laughlin (1995) as well as Humphrey and Scapens (1996) discuss the possible gap between theory and fact. An adopted theory becomes an established way of seeing and thus inevitably moves the researcher away from actuality at the same time. Quattrone (2000) also argues that researchers, in aiming to become

“scientific” have adopted the epistemology of the natural sciences, even though they themselves deal with human issues.

In this study the ontological and epistemological perspective is that of a critical realist, acknowledging that reality exists independent of our representation of it but that our knowledge of reality is subject to historical and other influences (see for example Bhaskar (1991)). Adopting a critical realist perspective means one cannot concentrate solely on a single level investigation of a society, group or individual: critical realism argues for a relational perspective, seeing society as “an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions that individuals reproduce or transform” (Bhaskar, 1991, p. 76). Critical realists claim there is one reality, but with multiple interpretations of it.

Critical realism hence suggests that each level may be examined in turn, but the interactions between them cannot be ignored. As the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 suggests; this framework allows for a study of context (the framework of Östman), as well as the interpretations and actions of individuals and groups (theories of accountability). The critical realist perspective for organisation and management studies has been developed by, for example, Ackroyd (2000) and Reed (2005).

In critical realism, some parts of the social world are interpretative and others are not. For the different parts different methods may be appropriate, which is why different data sources are necessary. To understand structures, contexts and systems, the study of documents such as financial reports may be useful. Observations and interviews are more useful to understand individual interpretations.

A relativist perspective has been used to deal with those multiple interpretations and to keep an open mind about categories and analysis. Hollis (1994) explains that relativists do not categorically deny that moral beliefs, for example, can be true or false; merely that “you are bound by your commitments and I by mine” and that beliefs and claims of objectivity vary enormously among people, cultures and time periods (p. 219). To claim autonomy for oneself is to recognise the same claim by others. As a researcher it means adopting the strategy of assuming nothing; expecting to find beliefs and behaviours that strike us as irrational; but then making sense of them by rendering them rational in their local context. This approach would suggest an inductive methodology, or at least an open mind during data collection, with an aim at understanding observed phenomenon by relating them to their specific local and historical context.

3.1.2 Studying the interplay between “levels”

The core issue in this study has to do with the interplay between levels; the relationship between stakeholders and financiers, management and employees. The core of the study assumes that all parties involved have their respective views on the purpose of the organisation and themselves *in relation* to the organisation. For example, financial conditions can have many effects, but it is organisational members' way of dealing with perceived demands for accountability that is of particular interest here.

One way of understanding the core problem is to say that institutions and organisations create social positions. Positions are related internally by reference to the purpose of the institution and what needs to be done to carry that purpose out. Externally, organisations and institutions are influenced by other organisations and institutions in a mobile social and economic context, or network. In this way, an individual's role in an organisation is also in part a social position and entails a certain expected role-play according to presupposed rational, or normalised, preferences. However, roles must not only be understood as guided by the rules and expectations of a position. One must understand an individual's interpretation of the role that the individual plays, and perhaps even more important, the extraneous purposes that the individual might be pursuing in a certain role (Hollis, 1994, pp. 165).

The challenge ultimately becomes one of analysing both structures and organisation on one level, and at the same time adopting a bottom up approach departing from the individual and his or her feelings, preferences and perceptions on the other. The third step then is to connect the two and to understand individuals within the context and structures where they exist. Especially important is to recognise that individuals are part of many organisations, groups or practices, thus people's commitments are fluid and overlapping at the same time, and conflicts within one role and between different roles will occur on a regular basis (Hollis, p. 172).

Roberts (1991) discusses how as a researcher one can interview people as functionaries and receive accounts of their experience which simply reflect their functional roles. Alternatively, one can talk to people employed as functionaries, which allows the interview to produce more reflexive and critical accounts of individual's experience at work. This would allow for at least a partial penetration of the “real” conditions of their work with regard to their interests outside the purely instrumental framework that work dictates (p. 361). As can be seen in the interview guide in appendix 6, the perspective of the interviewee as employed in his or her function was taken.

3.2 Research design

3.2.1 Case study research

This research is qualitative in its methodology, meaning that it is mainly based on non-numerical data. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argue that qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right, and is surrounded by a complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions. Because of this it is associated with underpinnings that are related to the interpretive sociological tradition (Mason, 2002). Mason claims that a qualitative method is appropriate when one explores areas about which little or much is known, but where the researcher wishes to explain what could be thought of as a puzzle.

This study wishes to explain how individuals and groups deal with different accountability issues in different contextual settings, in order to explain or reach a deeper understanding of the connection between financing and organisational activities. The study can be seen as being empirically guided and grounded, which means that the research problem has been addressed mainly by using empirical questions while theory only plays a part in the background as a tool for conceptualising empirical findings along the way.

Case study research is a qualitative method used to organise a wide range of information and to analyse the contents by seeking patterns and themes in the data. Further analysis can then be done through cross-case comparison. According to Feagin, Orum and Sjöberg (1991), a case study is the ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is undertaken. Yin (see for example 2002) has developed robust procedures for case study research. Case study methodology has been explained in different ways. Yin however, suggests that a case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case studies are designed to bring out details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data. These descriptions of a case study suggest that such research is appropriate for the research design and the research questions posed in this study. My ambition, to study individuals and groups in two real-life contexts with multiple data collection methods, is consistent with the underpinnings of case study methodology.

Maitlis (2005) presents several reasons why symphony orchestras are well suited for (in her case sense-making) research. Even though this study focuses on chamber orchestras, some of these reasons are interesting to discuss here. One is that symphony orchestras represent a traditional organisational form forced

to operate in an increasingly challenging environment (Allmendinger & Hackman 1996). Since a chamber orchestra is smaller than a symphony orchestra, the considerable impact of environmental turbulence on a chamber orchestra's internal processes may become even more accessible. Since this study takes a special interest in musicians, a smaller organisation might allow individuals to be more visible.

Elsbach (1994) mentions that the presence of numerous and powerful stakeholders with frequently opposing interests creates a context in which the social processes of sense making are important and visible. An orchestra is dependent not only on its musician workforce and administrative team, but also on a wide range of other actors, such as conductors, soloists, trustees, board members, and customers. These parties often have divergent interests. A central tension of the business may stem from conflicts between artistic goals and financial pressures. Smaller organisations such as chamber orchestras make leaders and key stakeholders easily identifiable, facilitating observations.

One advantage with case studies is that they try to be comprehensive, and involve the researcher in describing and analysing the richness and variety of issues in relation to the organisation. Chua (1986) claims that case studies are suitable for studying emerging processes without a clear beginning or end. In both of the cases in this study, there have been ongoing changes in different ways which have been crucial in describing and relating the cases to each other. Capturing these processes of change has been an important part of understanding and linking individual and group action to accountability issues.

3.2.2 Cross-case comparisons

Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) argue that whereas it is relatively easy to generate a research problem it is often much less straight-forward to find an appropriate research design, i.e. deciding how to actually do the research. The authors state that the design should ideally be so obvious and attractive once articulated that others think – I wish I would have thought of that! They argue that a good research design can be judged by how it approaches the issues of *comparison* and *control*. The importance of the notion of comparison in the research design is consistent with my ontological view as a critical realist, in which knowledge is built on implicit or explicit comparison of one reality with multiple interpretations.

Individuals and groups make decisions constantly, acts which according to Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) make us forget that comparison between alternatives is a fundamental aspect of everyday life. This study is comparative

in two dimensions. The first is the cross-case dimension. It is a very important and fundamental aspect of the research design. At the crux, it compares two organisations that have more or less the same core operations but in different contextual settings. Control³² was achieved partly through integrated comparative work, where interviews with people in similar positions in both organisations were interviewed about similar issues, so a comparison could be made. The second dimension is found in a historical comparison of both cases. The historical accounts were also a way of comparing and contrasting the perceptions of individuals and groups to get a deeper and fuller understanding of their actions and behaviours and how they had changed.

As noted in the introduction, a research design was formulated in this thesis in which two professional chamber orchestras, operating in two significantly different settings with regard to financial structures and conditions, were studied as comparative cases: a freelance UK chamber orchestra, Manchester Camerata, and a full-time chamber orchestra in Sweden, The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro. The two orchestras have many things in common with regard to their output and goals, but operate under different conditions with regard to employment structure, financing/stakeholder structure and housing arrangements.

The choice of the two orchestras was based on the research design, but also a result of the research processes. The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro was a practical choice since I had personal contacts in the orchestra and the small size of the orchestra, compared to a symphony orchestra, made the organisation and its musicians more accessible. Being the only chamber orchestra in Sweden with full time orchestra musicians, the organisation was also unique and fit into a research design where another orchestra with similar output, but operating under different basic conditions, would constitute a good comparison. When I received a scholarship for conducting research in Manchester, UK, Manchester Camerata was the obvious choice, since it was of similar size and produced similar artistic work. Some links also existed between the two orchestras: for example, the Music Director of Manchester Camerata also worked with the Swedish Chamber Orchestra as a guest conductor.

³² *Control* in Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) is about manipulating the research design or the analysis, or both, to increase as much as possible the probability that we really are sure about the conclusions to which we are coming. If we assume, as critical realists do, that one reality exists, then obtaining a certain amount of control is desirable.

3.2.3 Cross-national comparisons

A crucial aspect of the comparative study is that the systems in which each orchestra operates are consistent within each system respectively with regard to financing structures, employment structures, taxes and social insurance structures and so on, but differ significantly from each other. The two orchestras are in some ways typical of organisations in their respective settings and are thus good examples of the contexts they exist in. Sweden has had a long tradition of fully employed orchestras, whereas the UK has one of freelance based organisations.

It is widely accepted that cross-national projects may require compromises beyond those of single-country studies. The process of gaining access to interviewees can create additional difficulty and inconvenience in cross-national research because of language barriers and unfamiliarity with foreign systems and cultures (Zulauf, 1999). However, in this project, there was a convenient accessibility to the English orchestra, since they had recently moved to a new facility just across the road from my own workplace during my six month Marie Curie scholarship in Manchester. This made it easy to be flexible and feel close to the organisation.

The two cases seemed to comprise a good comparison in that they were around the same size, had a similar repertoire, worked a lot with bringing children and youths in to classical music, and were dedicated to taking the orchestra to regions and places that would not normally have access to that kind of live music. However, undertaking these activities took place in significantly different financial and contextual structures and conditions.

When discussing cross-national research, some barriers and challenges to the researcher should be addressed further. Language is always an issue when conducting a comparative study between organisations in two different countries. Even though the researcher's level of skill in the foreign language might be high, language is closely linked with culture and setting, which means that there will always be words specific to a certain setting which are used in a field-specific way. For example, the leading position in the first violins is in Swedish called, if directly translated – the *concert master*. When the interviewee in an early interview in Manchester Camerata talked about the *leader* of the orchestra, I assumed that he was referring to the conductor. However, I soon understood that the leader was what I thought of as the “concert master”. It took a lot of patience and work to carefully understand what was actually meant by different words and expressions. One way of addressing this challenge was to ask the interviewee to explain any word that I was not completely sure of, or

to illustrate what had been said with a concrete example. However, becoming familiar with field-specific terms and national-specific references to history, politics, geography and so on was not only challenging but also very enriching.

The challenges faced in understanding foreign contexts in the process, and how they should be treated from an ontological and methodological perspective, have been much discussed within the field of both anthropology and hermeneutics. Anthropologists focus on understanding and comparing foreign contexts from the perspective of the outsider. Hylland Eriksen (1995), for example, talks about the structures and categories of the specific language used in a foreign context as a source for better understanding the meanings and ways of thinking of the individuals in that context.

3.3 Methodological practicalities

3.3.1 Real-life contexts

My presence at rehearsals, concerts or meetings turned out to be very valuable, and resulted in new understandings and appreciations that could not have been obtained by only using interviews. This relates to the critical realist point of view in which the researcher does not treat collected data as facts, but rather as interpretations from a certain perspective. Observations provide a second perspective on what individuals talk about in interviews. This empirical approach was informed through the methodology and the empirical research questions. The need to remain open-minded was addressed in the iteration process between empirical and theoretical categories. It was a powerful empirical tool to constantly change perspective between individuals in different parts of the organisation.

Access to research sites can be difficult and involve many challenges with regard to accessibility and trust. The process of gaining access to the two chamber orchestras was different in many respects. Sharing similar background and musical upbringing, I had connections with musicians in Sweden. One of the leaders of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra was a friend and my former violin teacher, which made it easy to get into the organisation and through my contact establish a trustful relationship with the General Manager and the Artistic Manager of the organisation. Even though the first contact with the Manchester Camerata was made by the Artistic Manager of the Swedish orchestra, the experience was dissimilar, as I knew nobody personally in the organisation before I arrived. Also, the process was more formal in Manchester Camerata, where a formal confidentiality agreement was written and signed

before the collection of data could begin. However, once access was gained to both organisations, it was easy to book interviews, get access for observations and to collect company material. Physical access was also easy since I studied in Manchester in close proximity to the organisation over a longer period of time. Members of both organisations expressed an interest in the study, which also helped communication and created openness.

3.3.2 The research process step by step

The first meeting with the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro was in early autumn 2005, which was followed by a pilot study of the organisation during the autumn of 2005 and early spring 2006. The pilot study was important for crystallising the questions of the project, developing the research design, and gaining background material. After the pilot study was completed, the material was analysed and discussed with the supervising committee on how to proceed.

After this, the main study in Sweden was conducted during the 2006 autumn season of the orchestra. Over six months, from September 2006 until February 2007, I lived in an apartment in Örebro, hometown of the orchestra. During the spring of 2007 the material was analysed and written up for discussion with supervisors and colleagues in May 2007. A report to the Swedish orchestra was discussed with, and commented on by, the Artistic Manager in August 2007, during the process of gaining access to the Manchester Camerata. In September the confidentiality agreement was signed and the main study in Manchester Camerata could begin. During six months, from the beginning of July until the end of December, I lived and studied in Manchester.

By the end of the collection of data in Manchester in early December, a paper with preliminary findings was fed back to management and a presentation was held to the Manchester Camerata board. Before returning to Sweden, the project was also presented and discussed with colleagues at Manchester Business School. The project had been presented to them at the beginning of the data collection, and in the end I could get valuable feedback on the progress of the project during my stay in Manchester. Parallel to collecting empirical data in Manchester, the cases were written up and other chapters of the thesis were rewritten and commented on by members of Manchester Business School.

During the autumn of 2008 a version of the thesis was presented and discussed with an external opponent and colleagues at the Stockholm School of Economics. During spring 2009, comments were collected from both orchestras' management on each chapter of the thesis.

3.3.3 Methods of data collection

Interviews

The main source of information was pursued through interviews with people in different positions within and around the two organisations³³, including the:

- general managers
- artistic managers
- principal conductors
- board members
- accountants
- administrative staff
- musicians
- orchestra leaders
- extra musicians
- representatives of the Arts Council
- university principal (UK case)
- politician (Swedish case)
- representative of the Musicians' Union (UK case)

In Sweden, organisational members were mostly interviewed in connection to an activity they were a part of. For example, observing a children's concert would be a starting point for interviews about the planning and performing of that activity. All interviews however, even though they had a starting point in some observed activity, revolved around a set of issues that were similar in all interviews. These issues served as a guide or skeleton during the interviews which were all semi-structured.

The main objective of the interviews was to gain an understanding of the individual's day-to-day activities, opinions and perceptions (Mason, 2002). Before conducting interviews, much time was devoted to reflecting upon interview questions, who to interview and the role of the interviewee in the study. An interview guideline was created that served as a skeleton for all interviews, see appendix 6. Even though it was important to have the same framework for questions through the entire comparative project, interviews were conducted in an unstructured manner which resulted in various tangents regarding issues during interviews.

³³ See appendix 7 for a full record of all interviews, observation and other empirical data collected in both cases.

At the core of the interviews and in this study in general, there was a focus on individual interpretations. This method generates questions around experiences and feelings in general. As an empirical point of departure, it was understood that both orchestras were at different stages in dealing with what were new beginnings in organisational life. The Swedish orchestra had started its activities in its current form in 1995 and had been undergoing substantial changes during the ten years following that formation. Manchester Camerata was undergoing fundamental changes during the spring of 2006, following a background of changes within the organisation for several years previously. Hence, many of the interviews revolved around the question of organisational change and accountability aspects of such change.

My aim was to understand the experiences and intentions of the various actors. As the study progressed, interviews became more focussed, as a response to progression of the iteration process between empirical and theoretical categories. Contrasting interviews against each other helped in that iteration, which became easier as the study proceeded. Each interview in the main empirical study, starting in August 2006, began with the same procedure. I told the interviewee about the project and the interviewee's participation. After that I mentioned research ethics underlying the interview and asked permission to record the interview for the purpose of my own memory and data analysis. In all cases, recording the interviews was not a problem. On two occasions however, the recording device did not function during the interview. In this thesis, I have translated quotes from interviews originally conducted in Swedish. Please see appendix 7 for a more detailed interview record.

Observations

Observation is a method of data gathering that involves "the researcher immersing himself or herself in a research setting and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on" (Mason 2002, p. 60). This study is largely a study of human activities. Baszanger and Dodier (1997) state that an ethnographic approach can be used to satisfy three simultaneous requirements associated with the study of human activities: 1) the need for an empirical approach, 2) the need to remain open to elements that cannot be codified at the time of the study and 3) a concern for grounding the phenomenon observed in the field.

Even though the study was not purely ethnographic, the aim was to understand real-life situations by case study research with close proximity to the organisations. In some respects, however, this study adopts the same perspective as that of ethnographers. Baszanger and Dodier (1997) say that

ethnographic work occurs when “the fieldworker is careful to connect the facts that s/he observes with the specific features of the *backdrop* against which these facts occur, which are linked to historical and cultural contingencies” (p. 10).

During meetings I took careful notes which I extended in more detail after the meeting. Meetings were a more complex source of data than I had imagined beforehand. I strove towards as passive a role as possible, even though sometimes the opportunity to participate presented itself. Taking a passive role enabled me to take notes and reflect on what was being said, and what happened during the observation. I also made field notes during observations at rehearsals and concerts. Even small observations were scratched down on pieces of paper and subsequently incorporated and copied into electronic documents. It should be noted that small observations often had a large impact on interpretations. These may not be long lasting but are highly relevant and important.

In addition, the reactions to a researcher’s presence can be a valuable tool in understanding foreign contexts. Hylland Eriksen (1995), for example, uses the metaphor of a clown who is not aware of the social norms and commonly shared understandings of a particular setting and consequently asks naïve or surprising questions. Even if this metaphor is extreme, it is a powerful methodological tool to be observant to such reactions.

Documents

As a complement, documents were also used as empirical data. Perhaps the most important documents were financial reports of the two orchestras. Financial flows are an important tool in identifying critical stakeholders of the organisation. The reports were studied from different perspectives. Documents covering several years were studied, about 10 to 15 years back, to collect relevant data in three different aspects:

- Financial structures, answering questions such as were they get their money from and what they spend it on. A particular focus lay on the income statements.
- Trends in numbers, for example the development of funding from different sources.
- Sudden changes, to identify important organisational events.

A special interest was directed towards trends and changes in numbers, in trying to understand them from the perspective of the organisational setting in which those numbers are given a meaning. It has also been part of the methodology to ask individuals about the meaning of the numbers in relation

to their work, to understand how they attach meaning to numbers and accounts. Understanding how individuals attach meaning to “things” constituted the first step towards understanding complex processes and responses within organisations. One example was an activity that one orchestra undertook which created a loss in the financial statements. This was explored with the person in charge of that activity to shed new light on that person’s reasoning about the objectives and challenges of that activity.

3.3.4 Analysing the data – analytical perspectives

Ferlie *et al.* (1996) state that wider societal factors encompass historical antecedents and the chronology of changes, in combination with actions and interactions of various groups. Early on during the empirical work it became clear that all observed states in the Concert Hall in Örebro and those at the new Manchester Camerata offices at the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM), were the results of processes that had been ongoing for an indefinable time period. Even though this may seem obvious in retrospect, I never appreciated the full significance of this beforehand. Problems and solutions of the past lived side by side to the present day-to-day life of the organisation.

History is inherent in our day-to-day life, and is constantly created and recreated by individuals within the organisation. The number of possible chronological narratives of an organisation’s history is as high as the number of individuals who have been involved. And making it even more complicated, every individual’s account of the organisation’s history seemed to change over time. Making my pre-study during spring 2006, the stories of important processes and events were each told to me in one way. Half a year later, I could hear those individuals’ views and perspectives on themselves, relations to others and their organisation had changed. Something that had appeared a big problem during spring was now looked upon with only vague memory. This had nothing to do with either ignorance or bad memory; it is the way human beings function. One concrete example of this was when the managers and other members of the case organisations read the thesis, or parts of the thesis, in spring 2009, and frequently said that they were fascinated to be reminded of what issues had seemed burning only two or three years ago, that now seemed distant. The challenge was to find the historical roots of the puzzle of the organisation, and to understand challenges that the organisation faced during the six months that I followed it.

Baszanger and Dodier (1997) state that ethnographically inspired material aims to identify certain cases (and notably life histories) as examples of more general phenomena, but with a high degree of freedom to circulate between different

levels of generalisation. A high degree of freedom with regard to generalisation is important in this study of conflicting accountabilities. As stated by Baszanger and Dodier, individuals can be engaged in different “regimes of action” which vary from one specific situation to another. Individuals, and their actions, are thus located at the intersection of a non-harmonized plurality of references, which the analysis of the data must allow for.

Data analysis is thus a crucial step in gathering and structuring material, and iterating an empirical model. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) data analysis is about describing data in a way that traces stable relationships among social phenomenon based on observed regularities. This process has three different stages: data reduction, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The last step is linked to validity and reliability that is discussed below. During the research period, there was a constant process of iteration between the empirical data and theoretical and empirical categories. This study has put a lot of emphasis on structuring data according to categories in order to analyse data as systematically as possible. As stated in the theory chapter, the conclusions this study aims for are on a general level, connecting external demands and their effect on management accountability. However, the study was conducted on the grounded day-to-day level of individuals in the organisation. To analyse the link between the two levels, the data was analysed in three different steps.

First three empirical categories were chosen, based on the framework developed by Östman (1993). These were thus predefined categories that were not developed during the course of the study but existed as a model beforehand; 1) vertical relationships, 2) horizontal relationships and 3) internal management systems. Secondly, under each theoretical category, empirical categories were developed during the course of the study and continually subordinated under each of the three categories. For example, the relationship between the general manager and the representative of the Arts Council appeared important and was thus made into a theme, which was then classified under the category of *vertical relationships*. Relationships with guest artists and guest conductors were categorised under *horizontal relationships*. Another example was that the musicians’ feelings towards the authority of the chief conductor appeared to be a very important issue during the study. This also was made into an empirical theme classified under the category *internal management systems*.

Themes were developed and changed throughout the project. This happened in three different settings: firstly with myself, both when I suddenly realised

something, or gradually came to understand and corroborated interpretations. Secondly it happened in interaction with participants; one interview or observation gave rise to new questions that partially led to new themes and deeper conclusions about the data. Answers from new individuals changed the analysis of previous interviews, and so on. The third setting that revised thematic models was with research colleagues, when I explained and discussed the findings and themes in collected data.

Data reduction as well as data display was mostly made with the help of theory. Themes were partly developed empirically, during the data collection; for example a common theme in interviews with musicians was the personal commitment that they had made from a young age. After creating an empirical category around this theme, it could be developed further through theory to issues of accountability, to themselves and their identity.

3.3.5 Validity and reliability

Reliability is a central concept in assessing the quality and rigour of research. Reliability, according to Hammersley (1992), “refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions” (p. 67). Reliability is a difficult issue when conducting research with interpretative elements, where it is likely that another researcher would reach different conclusions, or see the empirical data from a different perspective. However, this study should have an acceptably high degree of reliability because an important part of the data analysis was found in the process of feeding data back to the organisations and its members, and incorporating their comments into the analysis.

Similarly, the validity of the study is important. According to Hammersley (1992) validity is a central concept in assessing the quality and rigour of research. Validity, according to Hammersley (1992), is defined as “truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (p. 57). This study was a comparative one, making it easier to focus, as data was continuously compared and contrasted, and this contributed to validity and especially to internal validity. To further enhance validity, empirical data from interviews were analysed with questions such as: Who is saying this? Is this a general view or a personal view, and what difference does it make? Is this data plausible? Mixing different methods (the three different sources of interviews, observations and documents), called triangulation, also helped obtain reliability and validity, and enabled the study to investigate multiple aspects of individual action.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter discusses the first empirical question: How can we describe the historical developments in the two organisations? The fundamental basis and conditions of the “now” are dependent on historical events, experiences and developments. History is present as a dimension of every observation. This chapter presents a historical description of the two orchestras. It concludes with an analysis of similarities and differences in developments and current settings. To help the reader, the chronology of each orchestra can be found in appendix 2.

When an historical account is given, sources should always be critically assessed and compared with other possible “truths” of the past. In this thesis, however, the purpose of the historic reconstruction is not to make a historical contribution but to give background understanding to later discussions of empirical data, and provide the reader with an enhanced meaning of the present:

A person who has no horizon is a man who does not see far enough and hence over values what is nearest to him. Contrariwise, to have an horizon means not to be limited to what is nearest, but to be able to see beyond it. A person who has an horizon knows the relative significance of everything within this horizon, as near or far, great or small. (Gadamer, 1975, p. 301)

Three different sources were used to create the histories of the orchestras. The first was interviewees’ accounts of historical developments. This requires critical reflection, for a person’s account is often coloured by subsequent events, and discussions about it. However, this is empirical information as well; how individuals talk about past events and why particular things became significant events in their eyes are of significance in themselves.

The second source is notes and texts written by organisational members and printed internally for information purposes. Often sources are not even available in these texts. However, these texts can be seen as a “commonly shared belief” about history in the organisation, and are thus relevant and interesting to use for the purpose of constructing an historical account. The

third source is the use of reference books which provide a robust frame of events in concrete terms, such as contents of events and dates.

An interesting observation that needs to be made before the storytelling begins is about the difference in how individuals in the two cases talked about history. In the Swedish case, many of interviewees talked about the history of the organisation; they regularly referred back to history and critical events that they perceived were of crucial importance to aspects of the organisation of today.

On many occasions, members provided historical memos or documents in their possession and they wanted to share these with me. A member of the Swedish administration had written “memory notes” about developments of the orchestra. A few musicians had documents they had written, such as a memo by two Swedish musicians with a suggestion for a new organisational form in 1994. In the UK individuals were not inclined to talk about the past; however, some interviewees were thrilled when historical aspects were asked for. These often tended to be organisational members, or people around the orchestra, who had a long term involvement and a close personal relationship with the orchestra.

4.1 The story of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro

4.1.1 The origins of the orchestra

Örebro was an important economic centre already in the 13th century and flourished rapidly in the 17th and 18th century, as an important county town. Between 1850 and 1920 Örebro was one of the fastest growing cities in Sweden, particularly due to its shoe industry. As described by Hansson (1981) the shoe industry, the church and the castle were important features in Örebro in the beginning of the 19th century. From around 1850, free churches became widespread in the county and its churches are still a prominent feature of the city.³⁴ From the 1950s, the service sector became more important and what was later to become Örebro University was established in the 1960s.

Holmqvist (1974) describes the early importance of military music in Örebro for the democratisation of the music life as well as the flourishing of amateur music making during the 19th century. The military musicians took the music out of the bourgeois homes and into the streets and made it accessible to all. Associations of military and amateur musicians gathered to enjoy music making

³⁴ The Swedish Free Church has many branches that can be quite different and that belong to various Protestant denominations such as Baptist, Methodist and Reformed.

and encourage the activity, for example in the Harmonic Society (Harmoniska Sällskapet) 1831.

The Örebro Orchestra Association (Örebro orkesterförening) was formed in 1909 and from the beginning was comprised of mainly amateur players, but was eventually strengthened with professional instrumental teachers and musicians from the Military Music Corps (Regementsmusikkåren). From 1909 and onwards, the Association started to play and perform regularly and soon acquire their first conductor, Adolf Andréén. In the beginning the orchestra was financed by individual donors, but in 1912 the orchestra was granted the first municipal grant of 1,200 SEK (Hedwall, 1969).

In 1932 the Örebro Concert Hall was inaugurated and immediately became the permanent residence of the orchestra. At the Concert Hall a group of Military Music Grenadiers (Musikkåren vid Livregementets grenadjärer I3) gave regular free concerts. Politically there were many voices raised for the formalisation of the relationships between the Military Music Corps and the general music life, Holmqvist (1974). Amongst other things this would include teaching instrumental skills.

In the leaflet *Från I 3:s musikkår till Svenska Kammarorkestern*, Lars Lilja describes how the finances of the association increasingly became based on public grants. 1934 the association started to get support from the Swedish Union of Orchestra Associations (Sveriges Orkesterföreningars Riksförbund) and in 1950 the Swedish government entered as funder with a yearly grant of 10,000 SEK, along with Örebro County Council in 1952. As a result of governmental support, the orchestra was able to employ four musicians, one leader at the first violin, one second violin, one viola player and a cello player. These four musicians worked half time as the professional core of the orchestra, and half time as teachers in the local music school.

Going back to the artistic developments, the orchestra got its first fully contracted conductor in 1947, and in the same year a choir was formed. The conductor was the composer Ingvar Lidholm, and because the conductor was fully employed by the municipality, he received the title City Conductor (Stadskapellmästare). At the same time as the orchestra got a fully contracted conductor, the contracts for the four string players were changed to full time and formed the quartet, Pro Musica, which toured around Örebro and the region.

An investigation of the organisation of the association and its activities commissioned by the Örebro Municipal Council (Örebro Stadsfullmäktige) in 1954 concluded that because of the increasing proportion of public financial support to the association's total income, it was more appropriate that the organisation be turned into a Foundation. On July 1st 1955 Örebro Orchestra Foundation (Örebro Orkesterstiftelse) was created with a board which was comprised of eight members, seven appointed by the Municipal Council and one by the City Council. The orchestra had by this time developed from an amateur association to an organisation with a strong political interest.

The Military Music Corps (Regementsmusiken) in the Concert Hall in Örebro had meant that there was a professional core in the wind section of the orchestra. Together with the strings they formed a symphony orchestra with amateurs filling up the orchestra; Örebro Symphony Orchestra. The military musicians were fully employed by the government but used their free time to play in the symphony orchestra (Friman, 1989). However, the organisation and status of the military music were in constant debate. There was however no doubt that it constituted an important part of the activities in the Concert Hall in Örebro then.

The number of professional musicians was increased in 1962 to a chamber orchestra which started to exist in its own right. The professional string musicians also constituted the core of the string section of the symphony orchestra. The chamber orchestra was the first full time employed chamber orchestra in Sweden. Beginning in 1963 the Foundation gave 20 subscription concerts per year, ten concerts in the Concert Hall with the symphony orchestra comprising 60 musicians, and ten concerts at Örebro Castle with the chamber orchestra. In 1966 the chamber orchestra consisted of 15 string musicians.

During the 60s and 70s, the number of concerts increased to around 120 per year in different venues and settings, like summer concerts, regional concerts, church concerts and a few radio broadcasts. Playing concerts around the whole region was one of the stated objectives of the foundation. The two different ensembles enabled the foundation to offer a broad repertoire. At that time, the programme was created in a discussion with the board and the board had the final right to approve the programme. During the 60s more focus was directed towards children's concerts by forming a school concert committee.

During the time of two different ensembles, the chamber orchestra rehearsed every day except Sundays and Mondays if there was no concert on Sunday. The

ensemble rehearsed for around 5 hours each day and totally 18 to 20 hours before every concert. The symphony orchestra worked in a slightly different way since it also consisted of amateurs. The symphony orchestra rehearsed two evenings per week, around 15 hours for every concert (Hedwall, 1969).

During the 60s the chamber orchestra increasingly started to appear as the front of the organisation and gained an increasing reputation, through guest performances in Stockholm and Germany. In 1968 a new position was created, a new music director who would have a combined role of conductor and artistic manager for both ensembles. In 1969 the composer and music researcher Lennart Hedwall was appointed conductor and director. In 1971 the Military Music was restructured to the Regional Music (*Regionmusiken*)³⁵, which created a stronger identity as a professional orchestral activity. The former military musicians now became civilians and in 1972, an agreement of collaboration was achieved which enabled the musicians to start working full time.

The developments meant that the symphony orchestra gained the character of a professional orchestra. In Örebro the Regional Music retained the military profile for a long time, and among other things had the responsibility to give children's and school concerts and performed in smaller brass and wind ensembles (Friman, 1989). However, a more artistic focus became apparent, something evident in a quote by conductor Ingvar Lidholm in Örebro:

There exists a dangerous tendency in administrative control of Swedish music life, but we cannot let the music be organised to pieces. The Regional Music must, from the beginning, be characterised by artistic thinking, by artistic will. That would mean that the artists get a stronger influence in decisions than before. (Holmqvist, 1974, p. 156, my translation)

In 1974 Göran W Nilsson took over as conductor and artistic director. At this time the development of ensembles had led to a situation where there were basically two different groups of musicians in the Concert Hall, Örebro. One was a group of wind players who played either in the Brass Quintet (*Brasskvintetten*) or the Serenade Ensemble (*Serenadensemblen*); the other group was made up of string players who formed the chamber orchestra. These

³⁵ *Regionmusiken* (the Regional Music) was created in 1971 as a civil authority. It succeeded the Military Music Corps and became organised in 22 music departments in eight regions. The purpose was to be active both in the regional public music life, as well as to be disposable to the military.

different ensembles were combined and augmented with amateurs to form the symphony orchestra for regular performances.

Holmgren (2001) describes how in 1988 the foundation was restructured to Stiftelsen Musik för Örebro län, the so called “Länsmusiken” (County Music). 20 regional music institutions were created in Sweden and this was one of them, with the County Council as main sponsor. The Örebro Concert Hall had also been rebuilt to better suit the orchestral activities with a concert hall of 724 seats (Hedwall, 1969). The reorganisation in 1988 was the result of government’s decision that previous Regional Music and Concerts Sweden (Rikskonserter³⁶) would fall under the responsibility of the County Council. In 1991 “Länsmusiken” assumed responsibility for both Örebro Chamber Orchestra as well as Örebro Symphony Orchestra and all their activities in the Concert Hall.

In 1993 a shift can be seen in the choice of artistic director and conductor. After many years of Swedish conductors and music directors since the formation in 1909, French violinist and conductor Jean Pierre Wallez takes over as music director.

4.1.2 Shaping up for a new start

Developments prior to 1995 pointed towards a merger of all activities in the Concert Hall. For a longer period of time, developments – some resulting from conscious and strategic decisions, and others being of a more organic character – meant structural changes in the orchestra with long term consequences for its future direction. In 1992 some vacant wind positions were replaced by string positions and the year after that all string musicians became employed by the County Music. This meant a stable development toward an orchestra with a smaller wind section and a larger string section, i.e. something similar to a chamber orchestra.

Long standing members describe that in 1994, the County Music had some major financial problems, and the organisation underwent a review of its operations. Simultaneously, there were personnel conflicts and problems at the management level. Members of the organisation at the time described the situation as unstable and financial instability added to the insecurity. A long-term solution had to be found.

³⁶ *Rikskonserter* (Concerts Sweden) is a governmental organisation with the objective of arranging concerts around the country, with high quality chamber music, contemporary music, jazz, folk and world music.

The review of the financial and operational situation of the County Music reached the conclusion to establish a new form of organising the activities in 1995. The wind and string ensembles were merged into one. The name “The Swedish Chamber Orchestra” was chosen at a meeting with the new general manager and members of the organisation. However, even though merging the ensembles had decreased overall costs and enabled a way forward, the future of the orchestra was still very insecure the years after its formation. Musicians had to find a way to work together as a whole.

The County Music had its roots in the Military Music and because of that they had a bit of a bad reputation among the strings. I think the strings were very worried what it would affect the level of quality. Military Music – it’s originally a very different way of making music – you should be able to play a signal on the barrack square in 20 degrees minus and just play ... but trying to match the strings really made all of us in the wind sections much better, and after a while everyone accepted the merger. After 1995, it became more fun to play, we had a whole new repertoire and the ambitions were higher. We started to play with better conductors and really good soloists; we seldom did that in the wind ensemble before that. (Long standing musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In the government’s proposition of 1996/97, it was suggested that the grant to regional County Music institutions be cut in two steps over the two following years. In Örebro, however, there was a broad political support for the orchestra and local politicians wrote to the Swedish government to explain the importance of the orchestra to the region and the city of Örebro. The arguments put forth in the letter mainly had to do with the need for quality and the need for a clear profile for the city of Örebro and its region, and that the orchestra was an important resource, not just in profiling the city and region but also in collaborating with other parties such as the university and the local music school for children.

The problem after the formation of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra was that some people from the Government and Arts Council did not see the orchestra as a part of the music life of the county, but more as a separate entity and questioned its activities. But we; local politicians from all different parties in Örebro had a broad consensus that this orchestra was important and that we wanted to fix this. And we managed to argue for the fact that even though it was named The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, it was still

an orchestra very much rooted in the music life in Örebro. We all agreed to the fact that the orchestra was very valuable and that it was not an alternative to lose all these fantastic musicians and what they had built up. (Politician, Örebro)

In 1998 the Government changed its support structure, and in 1999 they lowered the total amount of support. However, this did not affect the orchestra since the county council and municipality assumed a larger part of that responsibility.

4.1.3 Artistic investments and lack of financial accountability

In 1999 the orchestra could feel relatively secure with a new and stable support structure. Some key individuals had been recruited around 1997, such as the Artistic Manager Gregor Zubicky and Danish conductor Thomas Dausgaard as well as some young musicians in key positions in the orchestra. A process of closing agreements with the record company Simax and planning a repertoire commenced. The orchestra had a clear musical profile which focused on the Viennese classical repertoire with an authentic sound.³⁷ However, costs of a fully contracted staff, even though it had been cut by a few since the merger, continued to rise. With increasing artistic production, and rising overall costs, other problems were about to appear.

The artistic investment in the formation of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra was well received by international critics and opened new doors for the orchestra. However, it meant large challenges financially and soon it became apparent that the administration was not fully prepared for the increased volume of work and need for accountability that came with increased costs and work. The yearly results indicated growing accumulated deficits, and internal tensions.

I was in the middle of a field of tension between a group of people who knew exactly what they were doing, but couldn't really articulate that to those who were to take part in it. So my role became to try to understand what artistic work is, what needs exist within that, what costs are related to that and then translate all this to decision makers, and then go back to the artists and translate to them what the political mission meant. (Former General Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

³⁷ Even though the ensembles play on modern instruments, they perform in a way that produces a sound that is similar to how it sounded on the older instruments at the time when the music pieces were written.

One organisational member claims that administrative routines were close to nonexistent. Paperwork disappeared, people were paid without written receipts, and travel tickets and other organisational material were used by people without record. Costs from CD recordings were not accounted for until months later and there were no regular checks in the balance of accounts. Simply put, there was no internal control system and making yearly financial statements was close to impossible.

The orchestra was the professional part of the organisation, the administration was becoming more professional but wasn't at the time, and that created tensions and problems with regard to legitimacy to the outer world. (Former General Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

To try and cope with the administrative situation which had got out of hand, external consultants were taken into the organisation. However, this increased costs even more and what was meant to be a slimmer and more effective organisation now became a much more costly business, mainly because of the increase in administrative costs. It can be concluded that the large deficit in 2002 was partly a result of the struggle to reach a solution to the difficult and unruly administrative situation, not the artistic investment. However, it did not seem like the financial problems were the biggest worry among musicians. Rather it was the worry about possible changes in operations due to instability and panic in management:

The new people who came in did not appear to have any idea of what we were actually about. Every week there seemed to be new faces in the administration and nobody knew how they got their jobs or what they were doing there. And they certainly didn't know the first thing about the work of an orchestra. Everyone just seemed fanatical about change. I think we even had a travel agency in the reception for a short time; it was just crazy. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

The deficit of 3,000,000 SEK in 2002 meant an accumulated deficit of 7,000,000 SEK. This called for a long term solution to the financial situation. The solution was that the municipality in Örebro gave the organisation loan guarantees and the General Manager left before his contract ended. In the financial report of 2002 there is a new rhetoric of working with "measurable targets" for audiences and sponsorships as well as working to improve internal

administrative control, something that had not been clearly spoken of previously.

We have previously mentioned to the Board that the internal control system must be improved to enable follow up on financial development during the year. Despite efforts to improve this, it has not been done in a satisfying way yet. To enable the recurring financial commitments of the organisation, Örebro municipality as granted a loan to the Foundation of 4.5 MSEK. Despite this and despite that the municipality gave 1.8 MSEK to the Foundation in advance, the financial situation is still difficult. We thus implore the responsible principals (huvudmän) to find a long term solution to the need for capital. (Auditor report, 2002)

At the same time as the financial situation was solved with the loan, which meant that the municipality took a big step forward in taking responsibility for the orchestra, a new board of directors and a new general manager were appointed. Also the orchestra created a buzz in the city because of the invitation to the BBC Proms. The Beethoven recordings and the tours meant that the orchestra had a good international reputation, but it was still difficult to attract an audience among the local citizens. However, after the local media reported on the Proms concert, people started to realise and articulate what kind of treasure they had in their small city.

The BBC Proms and the Mostly Mozart Festival in the Barbican Centre tour started with a large concert in Örebro's large city park. This is an event that many talk about as a turning point for the organisation's recognition among the inhabitants of Örebro. According to a member of administration, the park was full with people and the orchestra received standing ovations.

There were people as far as the eye could see and there was something magical in the air. I was just overwhelmed; I couldn't believe that it was our orchestra that had attracted all these people, and *here*, in this small city! (Administrative member, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

The orchestra also started to get more attention from the Swedish press. On the tenth year anniversary of the orchestra it was awarded the prize Spelmannen by a Swedish newspaper (Expressen) for its recording of Beethoven's complete orchestral works in nine volumes. In 2004, Örebro was added to the name to emphasise the orchestra's connection with the city of Örebro and the municipality.

On the 1st September 2007 the foundation was changed into a company limited by shares, owned mainly by Örebro municipality (91%) and Örebro County Council (9%), with the name Länsmusiken i Örebro AB. The company is thus part of the Örebro municipality group of companies.

4.2 The story of Manchester Camerata

4.2.1 The origins of the orchestra

The city of Manchester started to flourish as market place in the 13th century and became an important city for the textile industry in the 17th century. During the 19th century, Manchester was flourishing both economically and culturally. From the middle of the 20th century, however, the textile industry was fading and the unemployment rate grew, leaving parts of the city in poverty. In the 1980s and 90s Manchester became world wide famous for its “Madchester” scene of pop and rock music, which brought an infusion of young inhabitants many of whom came to study at the University. Crime and gang related problems remain a concern. Culturally, Manchester is a vibrant city with a wide range of choices with regard to both pop/rock and classical music, theatres, musicals, sport arenas, museums and many other cultural alternatives. There are also prestigious universities and music schools (*Nationalencyklopedin*, 2008).

Being the home of Britain’s longest-established symphony orchestra, The Hallé (founded in 1858), as well as the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, and in close proximity to a third (the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic) the Manchester area has been the busiest region for live classical performance in the UK after London since the mid 19th century. Manchester had long had a pool of freelance players on which the large symphony orchestras depended.³⁸ In the 1950s, the city of Manchester was home to the so-called Manchester School of

³⁸ The historical density of musicians in the Manchester region can be registered in that the country’s Musicians’ Union was founded in Manchester already in 1893 (which can be compared with the Swedish Musicians’ Union founded in 1984). In April 1893 orchestral players in Manchester received an anonymous letter reading “You are requested to attend a meeting in Manchester on 7th May 1893 to discuss forming a Union for Orchestral Players. The Union that we require is a protection Union. One that will protect us from Amateurs, protect us from unscrupulous employers, and protect us from ourselves.” Joe Williams, a 21 year old clarinetist at the Comedy Theatre, was the author of the letter. At least 20 musicians turned up to the May meeting, and Joe revealed his identity and his intentions. By November he announced the formal launch of the Amalgamated Musicians’ Union with over 1,000 members. (www.musiciansunion.org.uk, 15 December 2008).

classical composers. Manchester has also long been a centre for music education, with the Royal Northern College of Music and Chetham's School of Music. Until the opening of the 2500 seat Bridgewater Hall in 1996, the main classical venue was the Free Trade Hall on Peter Street (*Nationalencyklopedin*, 2008).

The embryo to the Manchester Camerata was an idea in 1971 from BBC Radio Manchester music producer Raph Gonley to form a chamber orchestra to perform broadcasts on local radio. Raph Gonley wrote to the first secretary of the orchestra's Association of Friends in 1973, that "The orchestra, consisting basically of 23 players, was created to provide public chamber orchestral concerts in Manchester, which had so sadly lacked them". The orchestra's name was inspired by a 16th century group of artists called the Florentine Camerata who met to share ideas and discuss the arts (Beale, 2003-4).

Beale (2003-4) describes how the foundation of BBC Radio Manchester, one of the first local radio stations, first airing in 1970, was the catalyst for creating a concert-giving chamber orchestra with higher ambitions. Radio Manchester could, by agreement with the Musicians' Union, undertake to employ freelance musicians for a series of five seasons. Raph Gonley argued that this would help stimulate the profession outside the regular full-time orchestras. It was the only local radio station in the country to make such a long-term commitment to an artistic venture.

The orchestra's first series of broadcasts were very successful and attracted much attention even outside Manchester. Because of this, the orchestra was able to establish its own concert series around the north of England. Manchester Camerata gave their first full concert season in 1972-3. The first concert was held in the Great Hall of the main building of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

It soon became apparent that there was an immediate interest in the availability of the orchestra for outside engagements, despite the fact that their self-promoted concerts in Manchester lost money (a situation not very unlike the situation at the time of this study). During the first season every self-promoted concert meant a loss of up to £450. Providing players with work was however a major purpose in the running of the orchestra. Raph Gonley was aiming at two concerts per week which would provide players with two weeks work every month.

By January 1974, the Manchester Camerata Ltd. had been created and received a grant from North West Arts Association. The grant was received for making concerts “throughout the North West”. In 1974 Raph Gonley approached the newly formed Greater Manchester Council (GMC) who then became the orchestra’s main provider with £15,000 per year. This was an important step, given that Radio Manchester only funded the orchestra with £3,500 per year.

At this time, before the final decision was made with the Greater Manchester Council, the possibility of merging the orchestra with the Hallé was floated, but this did not happen. In 1970 the North West Arts suggested creating a full-time chamber orchestra for the North-West under the administration of the Hallé, since both the Manchester Camerata and the smaller Northern Chamber Orchestra (also with freelance musicians) were said to be under-patronized. The orchestras would preserve their own identity under their new funding. This would not be the last time that the idea to merge with the Hallé was to appear. In 1975 the orchestra appointed a part-time General Manager, John Whibley, a former Hallé Orchestra cellist to take over after Raph Gonley.

John Whibley was the General Manager until 1996 and introduced, among other things, the membership system to encourage musicians to take on more work in order to increase stability in the orchestra. At this time, the Orchestra Committee was created to allow musicians to be more involved in the running of the orchestra. At this time, the directorate consisted of three people. The administration had literally been “run by one person in a basement in Didsbury”, as described by several long standing members of the organisation. John Whibley wanted the orchestra to start promoting concerts, and in the long run that meant a need for funding.

Manchester Camerata soon started to attract international artists. In 1977, Polish-born American violinist and conductor Szymon Goldberg – former concert-master of the Dresden Philharmonic and later the Berlin Philharmonic – was appointed principal conductor. Camerata’s season in 1976-7 looked similar to that of today with eight concerts in Manchester and fourteen outside, as well as two in the London area. The orchestra established a season at the Royal Exchange Theatre in Manchester that lasted for ten seasons and established presence at several cities in the region. Between 1979 and 1993, for example, it became the resident orchestra for the Buxton Festival’s opera production. The Manchester Camerata, to a greater extent, started to promote their own concerts, both in and around Manchester, including the RNCM concerts when BBC Radio Manchester stopped promoting them (Beale, 2003-4).

The orchestra established a new relationship with the conductor and British violinist Manoug Parikian who was appointed music director in 1980. The orchestra continued to provide orchestra resources for local choral societies and the Northern Ballet Theatre, and it appointed two new members of staff, a publicity officer and an assistant manager. In 1980 the Advisory Council of Manchester Camerata became a 16 member Policy Committee including David Ellies of the BBC and Michael Kennedy of *The Daily Telegraph*. The GMC's support now came through a guarantee rather than a grant; instead The North West Arts Board made a block grant of £6,000 in 1979-80.

In 1980 however, the organisation had taken on too much risk and could not exceed its overdraft facility. An already smaller accumulated deficit then was now added to by the overdraft amount for the season 1979-80. However, the financial imbalance was removed through a famous “musical marathon” in which the organisation made a deal with the Musicians’ Union that freelance musicians would play for 36 hours on 22-23 May for no pay with various celebrities to raise a target of £30,000. Over 200 professional freelance musicians from the Hallé, BBC Philharmonic, Camerata and Northern Chamber Orchestra, 22 conductors and 50 soloists took part in the event that raised £9,000 and became an “outstanding advertising exercise”.

However, North West Arts was about to reduce its grants and simultaneously push for more contemporary music. Consequently Camerata held a concert of contemporary music and a “money back if you don’t enjoy it” guarantee to the audience. Even though nobody asked for their money back, the low number of attendees was described as “disastrous”.

From 1981 until 1992 the orchestra took part in a festival at Rasiguères in the French Pyrenees, where all musicians played for free but had lodging and could bring their friends to all parts of the festival. Manchester Camerata was the first British orchestra to play in the Azores in 1986, and again in 1988 and 1990. In the beginning of the 1980s the Camerata joined the Association of British Orchestras.³⁹ In 1982 the orchestra had its 10th anniversary and now had smaller funding contributions from various sources, such as the GMC and the North West Arts. However, a small accumulated deficit existed in part because of a tour to Hong Kong, and this deficit would increase in the following years.

³⁹ The Association of British Orchestras (ABO) is the national body that represents the collective interests of professional orchestras (around 150 orchestra organisations at the time of the study) throughout the UK. It was founded in 1947, primarily to negotiate with the Musicians’ Union.

In 1983 the baroque specialist Nicholas Kraemer began working with the ensemble (and still does to this day). British conductor Nicholas Braithwaite took over as principal conductor. During the 80s there were plans to change the orchestra's name to just "Camerata", to make it more international. This name was tried for a short while but was changed back since the old name was so established.

Because it is a very good orchestra, we looked into changing the name just to Camerata just to get away from the Manchester thing, but it was too well established, they stayed with that. (Long standing member, Manchester Camerata)

In 1983 Manchester Productions Ltd. became responsible for the activities of the Northern Chamber Orchestra that was facing financial problems; this however only lasted for a short period. A new phase began in 1984 when the orchestra started a series of self-promoted concerts in the Free Trade Hall, as well as a new annual tradition of a Viennese programme to welcome the New Year on January 1st. However, the self-promoted concerts in Manchester and the region were not successful financially and the deficit grew from £12,000 in 1984 and to £16,000 in 1985. The grant from North West Arts of £17,000 was frozen for 1985-6 which disturbed the orchestra financially. The musicians played for free in the Viennese and the Free Trade Hall concerts, which helped to save the situation.

The Manchester Camerata managed to find some stability through increased income from the Free Trade concerts, in addition to a New Years Eve concert and a series of six popular programmes for the season of 1985-6. The orchestra could even go on tour again to Portugal in 1986 and Macao in 1988. In 1987 the orchestra played 30 self-promoted concerts and 45 engagements each year. In 1989 the players in the orchestra were provided with about 100 days of work. For the seasons to come until 1991-2, the annual turnover rose and there were even some small surpluses.

In 1991-2 grant income was around 15%, similar to the situation today, and earned income grew from 71% to 80%, whereas corporate income contributed to around 7%. In 1989 Richard Howarth became the leader of the orchestra, and Nicholas Kraemer took over as principal conductor in 1993. At this time the orchestra had established education programmes in Crewe, Colne, and Chester where today they have residencies. Despite the unstable and often problematic financial situation, many musicians with longer experience in the

orchestra say musicians kept taking the work seriously, and that ambitions among musicians stayed high regardless of ups and down.

An important step was when the General Manager of Manchester Camerata joined the board of the Association of British Orchestras as a representative of the chamber orchestra's sector. This would become important for the orchestra. The orchestra also became better at attracting sponsorship, and was the first chamber orchestra to win an award for this by the Arts Council England in 1993-4.

By this time funders included North West Arts Board, Crewe, Nantwich and Cheshire County Councils, as well as AGMA (Association of Greater Manchester Authorities – the successor of the GMC). This represented 11% of grants in a total turnover of £446,000. The staff now included five full time and five part-time employees. Audiences were increasing but a firework concert with opera music resulted in a big loss. The marketing budget had been overspent and corporate sponsorship and donations were lower than expected.

The season 1994-5 resulted in an overall loss of £35,000 and an interest free loan over three years was negotiated with the Musicians' Union. However, in 1995 the Arts Council committed itself to support Manchester Camerata; this was the first time it had decided to support a freelance based chamber orchestra. The plans to build the Bridgewater Hall as Manchester's major concert venue raised high expectations as Manchester Camerata had made a collaboration deal to perform Saturday concerts in the new venue (Beale, 2003-4). In 1995, Tokyo born Sachio Fujioka became new music director after working three years as Assistant Conductor of the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra. Nicholas Kraemer became principal guest conductor.

General Manager John Whibley ended his years in Manchester Camerata in 1997 when he became artistic and planning director for the Hallé. Instead Chris Knowles, oboist and former chairman of the orchestra committee, became both a board member and general manager. However, Chris Knowles stayed only one year. Gavin Reid, former principal trumpet, became education officer in 1998.

Shortly after the Bridgewater Hall opened in 1996, Manchester Camerata took its closest step towards merging operations with the Hallé. Their two corporate development departments actually merged and Camerata's offices were moved into the Bridgewater Hall where the Hallé resided. Because of the Principal Conductor the orchestra could tour Japan in 1998, and Lucy Potter, former

administrator of St Martin-in-the-Fields, was appointed general manager. It was then decided that Manchester Camerata should remain a separate organisation, and separation from the Hallé became top priority. Thoughts about how to proceed to develop the orchestra were connected to the identity of the orchestra and its possible functions.

We made a fantastic tour to Japan. Our Principal Conductor was Japanese; he had his own fan club, it was absolutely amazing. Then we went to Turkey. We did a couple of recordings as well, so I guess part of the vision was to get the orchestra's reputation out. It was one phrase they used to say, "Manchester Camerata is Manchester's best kept secret". The management at that time did start to get the name and the reputation out more. (Long standing member, Manchester Camerata)

Instead the organisation moved into the Zion Arts centre in Hulme. A vision statement was drafted by Gavin Reid, now chairman of the players' committee and a board member. It said: "The enduring thing about Manchester Camerata is its flexibility. It is a wonderfully creative resource capable of fulfilling many roles within the music industry" (Manchester Camerata Ltd. Board minutes, 14 July, 1997). However, the move meant higher costs for the organisation, which made risk taking in programming an even bigger problem.

4.2.2 Shaping up for a new start

Some risky projects, such as outdoor festivals like the self-promoted Cholmondeley firework concerts, put the organisation in more severe financial trouble than ever. The organisation had to start rethinking its operations, and other self-promoted concerts were reduced from ten per season to five in 1999-2000. RNCM concerts were also reduced to five and then four per season. A total of eight concerts were promoted in the region (Crewe and Colne).

A turning point in the organisation's history came with the appointment of a new conductor, Douglas Boyd in 2000, raising optimism. With regard to the players, there were some tensions because of the risk of the organisation's folding during the financial difficulties, but the general sense seemed to be that after Douglas Boyd started to work with the musicians, the orchestra could start to move forward in terms of quality and performance. This was reassuring for musicians, according to Manchester Camerata's Head of Marketing.

The first years after the turn of the millennium meant more serious financial trouble, and General Manager Lucy Potter applied for a three-year stabilisation

grant with the Arts Council to restore the orchestra's self-promoted events. The application process meant major changes for the organisation and their employees:

There was a lot of tension because we were being interviewed individually by the Arts Council. It was before they actually decided to give us the money, it was during the application process, we got past the first stage. It was more to decide how much to give us and how to work with the recovery.

We were asked about how we felt about the atmosphere in the office, how we thought about the future, very detailed questions about of we saw the role of the then general manager; quite personal, and also questions like: Do you think the orchestra should be doing more work outside in other places? Do you think you should be doing more recordings? What do think the benefits of that is? And so on. (Former employee, Manchester Camerata)

In 2002 Manchester Camerata made modest history when it became the first orchestra of its kind to benefit from the Arts Council's Lottery funded Stabilisation Scheme in 2002, implying that Manchester Camerata, which thirty years ago was a risky and idealistic project, is today a national institution (Beale, 2003-4). As a result of the stabilisation process, the organisation had to commit to avoid risks they had taken in the past, which meant stopping the Cholmondeley firework concerts. The Manchester Camerata still undertakes high risk projects, such as outdoor concerts, but now as an engagement where the organisers take on the risk.

In 2002 when the organisation entered the stabilisation process, Gavin Reid took over as general manager. As a former musician with lot of experience of the organisation he was helpful in the change:

We also had at that time a very charismatic and effective young man, Gavin Reid, who was then general manager, who had seen the orchestra from the perspective of a player and worked in terms of its education programme. So he knew the organisation inside and out. In addition to the Arts Council recovery programme, we enabled him to go on a two year Clore Fellowship programme, which enabled his growth, and much of that came back into the organisation and enabled the organisation

to grow too.⁴⁰ (Former Chair of the Board, Manchester Camerata)

The scheme paid off the accumulated deficit of £120,000 while the Musicians' Union wrote off the debt of £70,000. Funds for a full time development officer and a full time marketing officer were also given. In May 2004 the organisation successfully exited the Arts Council England's recovery plan. In October 2004 the orchestra was broadcast on BBC Radio 3 following a live concert recording at the Bridgewater Hall featuring Douglas Boyd and Melvyn Tan. The orchestra also secured its first performance at the BBC Proms in July 2005.⁴¹

In February 2006, Manchester Camerata was chosen as one of seven national exemplar projects to take part in Mission Models Money (MMM).⁴² In May 2006 it entered into a professional relationship with the Royal Northern College of Music involving general collaboration and the organisation's moving into new rehearsal and office facilities. During this time, the General Manager left and a new General Manager Bob Riley was appointed in March 2006. In November 2006 Manchester Camerata performed Mozart's *Requiem* at Bridgewater Hall using the RNCM chorus.

When the Royal Northern College of Music was awarded the status of a Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning, part of the associated funding went to developing a new wing on Oxford Road in the heart of the University area. This was seen as an opportunity to develop new partnerships with the wider music scene, and RNCM thus invited Manchester Camerata to take up residency and to become a professional partner within the building with great expectancy for future benefits.

⁴⁰ The Clore Leadership Programme aims at cultivating a new generation of cultural leaders for the UK. Fellows are selected annually to undertake a year-long programme of work, research and training. It is designed to develop the leadership skills and experience of each individual. The major funding partners for the Programme include Arts Council England, the DCMS, MLA (the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council), NESTA (the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) and the Clore Duffield Foundation. (www.nesta.org.uk; 8 January 2009).

⁴¹ Manchester Camerata Limited, Annual Report and Financial Statements, for the year ended 31 May 2005, p. 3.

⁴² "MMM is a high profile national research programme run with support from Accenture and funded by HM Treasury and Arts Council England", from Manchester Camerata Ltd Annual report of 31 May 2007, p. 3.

In July 2006 a memorandum of understanding between Manchester Camerata and RNCM was established that would, in the long run, raise Manchester Camerata's profile and establish their identity within the RNCM. Together they would work to increase their supporter base and raise additional funds to support the orchestra's work. Last but not least, artistic and educational development could emerge through the sharing of resources across the two organisations. Even though it was not until June 2007 that Manchester Camerata moved into the RNCM, the relationship between the two organisations had a rich history, with Manchester Camerata having performed concert series at the RNCM since its opening in 1973.

In May 2007 the lease was signed for Manchester Camerata's move into the Oxford Road Wing at the RNCM. The same day the orchestra rehearsed in their new rehearsal room prior to the debut in the RNCM's International Cello Festival. In June 2007 the move was final. The Mission Models Money project had several purposes, besides the physical move to newer and better facilities. The project included a £250,000 grant that ended in the middle of 2007. Its purpose was to address challenges faced by individual arts and cultural organisations, as well as their funders, in developing mission-led financially sustainable organisations. Before the move in 2007, the management of Manchester Camerata had created a business plan that included action to find "an administrative and rehearsal space that better reflected the quality and excellence of the artistic product the orchestra was producing".⁴³

One of the major benefits for us, in my opinion, of being here is that the perception of the organisation has changed, having rebranded, having fit for purpose offices, now being able to handle our own information properly in a professional manner with a kind of new seriousness, it changes the perception.
(General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

The last observation made at Manchester Camerata illustrates the result of the move and new partnership with RNCM. On the 17th of January 2009, Henry Purcell's 350th anniversary was celebrated in the Haden Freeman Concert Hall in the RNCM, with a collaborative concert performance of his most famous opera, *Dido and Aeneas*. Before the concert, the result of a joint education and learning project was presented in the foyer with 25 school children. Three Camerata musicians, two singers from the RNCM, plus a composer and a drama practitioner were involved.

⁴³ Manchester Camerata, MMM exemplar case study, 2007.

In the concert, RNCM students had lead roles and provided members of the chorus, and Manchester Camerata members provided the orchestra. The first half of the concert was a Manchester Radio 3 Discovering Music recording where excerpts from the opera were explored in a discussion between the presenter and Manchester Camerata conductor Nicholas Kraemer, before the full performance in the second half. The opera production represented the biggest artistic collaboration yet between the two organisations following the formalisation of their partnership in 2007.

4.3 Comparison and analysis of the histories of the orchestras

4.3.1 The origins of the orchestras – local, national and international perspectives

These stories give the background to the creation of two specific orchestras in their respective local settings. However, the stories also present two typical examples of the creation of professional orchestras; a unique and fascinating phenomenon in Western societies during the 20th century. Looking at the origins of the two orchestras, we can thus adopt local, national and international perspectives on the *institutionalisation* of classical music orchestras and the *specialisation* of orchestra musicians.

Looking at why professional chamber orchestras were born in Örebro and Manchester, we can see that they were formed through different processes, for different purposes and at different times. The early history of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro shows that there were embryos to the chamber orchestra as it is known today already in 1909. The embryos came from activity among amateurs and semi-professionals who played for their own interests. That activity gradually became more and more formalised, with an increasing degree of professionalism and public funding.

In Örebro the existence of a concert hall meant that the step towards having an orchestra was not large. Moreover, links to both military music as well as Free Church activity can still be detected in the organisation's life. One board member is a teacher of music at a Free Church (Pingstkyrkan), and a long term member musician of the orchestra originally from Örebro explains:

The Free Church was a wonderful environment to grow up in musically because everyone thinks that it is so nice when you play, you got a lot of encouragement and it gave me some kind of musical self confidence even at times when I didn't play so well. That's the environment where I come from and I think it's

thanks to that that I am here now. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In Manchester, the creation of Manchester Camerata in the 1970s had other purposes and could almost be described in opposite terms; there were plenty of professional musicians in the large symphony orchestras in Manchester, but no obvious financing or home for a professional chamber orchestra. The idea in the 1970s to form an orchestra for local broadcasts on radio meant more jobs to already existing musicians.

We can conclude that the origins of the orchestras had very different background and purposes. In Örebro the orchestra was not created but rather developed organically out of a joy for playing among amateurs, Free Church members and military personnel. The creation of Manchester Camerata was more instrumental, and served a purpose for which there was not then a medium, namely local broadcasting.

Leaving the purpose of creation aside, when examining the musicians' relationships with the orchestras, a clear specialisation can be seen following the creation of the orchestras as formalised institutions. In Örebro, the orchestra started as a group of amateurs or semi-professionals playing together, driven by their own passion. Gradually it developed more formalised and organised ways of playing, demanding that musicians become full time professionals. In Manchester Camerata, a membership system was introduced to formalise the orchestra's activities and to create a more stable organisation.

The history of the Örebro orchestra shifted from amateur musicians and semi professionals with other jobs such as teachers of music or in professions completely outside the music field, to an ensemble that soon included only specialised professionals, many of whom moved to Örebro because of a full time job opportunity in the orchestra. This development happened parallel to political decisions in other medium sized cities in Sweden. Hence, the orchestra today is the result of political will: a decision to finance and host a professional orchestra, which in turn attracted professional musicians from other parts of the country. The history illustrates a typical emergence of a professional Swedish orchestra with fully employed musicians (though there are a few exceptions). This structure of employing musicians was not connected to a political trend during the 20th century (such as the ideas of Social Democrats) but rather followed a way of structuring professional orchestras in Sweden

since the 18th century.⁴⁴ Similarly, the establishment of Manchester Camerata was typical of organising orchestra activity in the history of the UK. Several freelance orchestras can be found all over the UK.

In Sweden, the traditional close connection between military music and – the public life of a city – closeness to “the common man” and educational activities was important for creating stable organisations characterised by strong collectivism. In the UK, however, the loose connection of musicians with various activities in their job portfolios was more common. There was also a strong British tradition of choirs, which meant extra work for orchestras like Manchester Camerata, and still does today.⁴⁵

One important observation is that both orchestras soon found ways of operating by performing regional concerts and working with children to gain public financial support. This is connected to the organisations’ basic conditions for funding, and is evidence that their existence soon became an issue of higher political consideration and responsibility.

Both organisations adapted to political contexts that brought demands that needed to be met. In addition to trying to maintain financial balance, there was a continuous search in both cases for a clear and separate organisational identity. In the Swedish case, the organisation was closely connected with the political system, from which the organisation searched for a separate artistic path. This was fully achieved in 1995, when the organisation managed to merge resources, gaining efficiency while becoming an elite orchestra.

Manchester Camerata also fought to keep its own separate identity despite several moments of trying to find stability through mergers with larger orchestras. However, by deciding to put a stronger emphasis on its educational aspects, the orchestra kept their separate artistic integrity as a long term partner with the RNCM. It is apparent that both organisations undertook an increasing degree of autonomy and internal professionalization. Key administrative

⁴⁴ See for example an analysis of The Royal Court Orchestra in Stockholm 1772-1885 by Ander (2008).

⁴⁵ Morrison (2004) describes the importance of choral societies in the early history of prestigious professional orchestras in the UK: “The negotiations between the LSO [London Symphony Orchestra] and the Three Choirs Festival early in 1920 must have been typical of the constant haggling throughout the music business at that time. In Worcester Ivor Atkins, the cathedral organist and close friend of Elgar, was desperately trying to re-establish the Three Choirs Festival as the mighty choral and orchestral jamboree that it had been in pre-war days.” (p. 55).

positions were initially recruited “internally”; in the Swedish case meaning individuals from the political arena and in the UK case individuals from the orchestra. Increasingly, however, the organisations started to recruit individuals externally for positions such as general manager, marketing director, fundraiser and other important administrative positions.

Differences in respective systems can, however be detected in the two histories. Both orchestras struggled financially over time, and small changes in direction did not solve the long term situation. In the case of Manchester Camerata, the financial struggle was related to performance engagements and securing its self-generated income. In the Swedish case, financial struggles were rather connected to insufficient internal control systems.

However, it should be noted that in both orchestras, some key individuals stayed for longer periods, creating stability and continuity. Individuals with strong feelings for the organisation and its identity often brought crucial stability in times of financial crises. Östman (2006) describes what he calls “the topical perspective”; meaning that even though cost processes and other organisational developments continue on a long term basis, the organisation is often occupied with immediate issues, such as audience attendance, shifts in programming or staffing concerns. Management often try to deal with what are perceived as acute situations now, and generating different uncontrollable consequences. In such situations, individuals that represent long term perspectives on organisational identity become important.

4.4 Summary of differences

After analysing and comparing the history and development of the two orchestras, we can summarise important differences in the current settings into four different categories; 1) local contexts, 2) terms of employment, 3) cost structures, and 4) funding structures.

4.4.1 Local context

With regards to *the local context*, Manchester Camerata was created in a region with many large classical music institutions and a vibrant classical music life, partly for the purpose of broadcasting. Later the orchestra realised it could serve another purpose that the larger symphony orchestras neglected, namely to use its flexibility to give concerts in different kinds of venues around the region. However, this meant that the orchestra did not have its own home. For the Swedish Chamber, Orchestra, the Concert Hall in Örebro was a crucial aspect of its development.

For the orchestra in Örebro, having a Concert Hall as an established home makes its reality fundamentally different, especially in terms of organisational identity and creates natural organisational boundaries. Audiences are often tied to a specific venue as much as to a specific event or performer. In the UK case, work with the audience will necessarily be different from the Swedish case, since the British orchestra performs in different places with different programmes and partners. In Örebro, audiences interested in classical music have only one option and feel strongly for “their own” orchestra.

The local setting also affects the demand and supply of musicians to participate in the orchestras’ performances. Although Örebro is a much smaller city with regard to population and cultural life, the supply of musicians in Örebro is relatively good due to the proximity of Stockholm. On the other hand, Manchester is more like to Stockholm where there are two larger symphony orchestras,⁴⁶ including one Radio orchestra (as in Manchester), as well as several smaller ensembles.

In the UK, insofar as this study has found, there is no equivalent to the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro; a full-time chamber orchestra in a small city.⁴⁷ There are however, several chamber orchestras based on a local pool of freelance musicians, and a large number of orchestras across the UK whose work consists of performances, educational and community projects, recordings and tours.

4.4.2 Terms of employment

This leads us to the second fundamental difference between the two orchestras: *the terms of employment*. The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro consists of 38 fully employed musicians. Manchester Camerata has 33 members employed on a freelance basis for a potential 90 days a year (approx). A description of the distribution of each orchestra’s instruments can be found in appendix 1.

Being a member of Manchester Camerata means having the right to be offered Manchester Camerata work first, and the obligation to accept 2/3 of that work. If the musician does not manage to achieve that level, that musician is not a member for the following year, but can become a member as soon as the level

⁴⁶ Three including The Royal Court Orchestra.

⁴⁷ Professional music activity and semi-professional orchestras were developed in many other cathedral cities like Uppsala, Västerås, Växjö and Jönköping. In this sense Örebro is no exception.

of work accepted is back to the demanded level. Members are paid between £107 and £125 per 6 hours (between £18 and £21 per hour) with travel expenses on top. The monthly salary for musicians in the Swedish orchestra is approximately 26,000 SEK. For an average week musicians do around 17 hours of podium time. This gives an average monthly podium time of 68 hours.

For extra musicians, payments are slightly lower. In Manchester Camerata, they are paid £100 per six hours (£17 per hour) with travel expenses on top. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro they are paid between 1,500 and 2,000 SEK per day with travel expenses on top. One day means approximately four to six hours of rehearsal work in the orchestra.

As can be seen below, Swedish musicians, whether they are employed or are extras, earn a significantly higher hourly income from their orchestra than their UK colleagues.⁴⁸

	<i>SCO</i>	<i>MC</i>
Regular member of orchestra	Around 380 SEK (£32) per hour	Between £18 and £21 (between 211 and 245 SEK) per hour
Extra musicians	Between 1,500 and 2,000 SEK (£128 and £171) per six hours	£100 (1,172 SEK) per six hours

Table 4.1 Pay rates for musicians⁴⁹

However, other aspects must be taken into account that modify the information in the table. Since Manchester Camerata musicians are self-employed and thus liable for their own tax and national insurance (social benefits); musicians can set against their earnings all expenses incurred in buying and maintaining their instruments and expenses in travelling to and from work because for most musicians, the base of their business is their home. Because of the different make up of income for each musician in Manchester Camerata it is not possible to give a meaningful comparison of what tax each musician pay.

⁴⁸ UK musicians are likely to be self-employed. This would mean a social insurance cost of £2.30 per week and 8% of income between £5,435 and £40,040. Musicians would also need to take out a private pension scheme to receive a pension (the state pension is about £100 per week).

⁴⁹ Figures are from the General Manager of each orchestra. Currency exchange rate approximately 1 GBP = 12 SEK, August 2008.

However, taxes are higher in Sweden, which means a difference in how much ends up in the hands of musicians.⁵⁰ Also, the self employed nature of Manchester Camerata musicians means they usually keep more of the money they earn because a portion of work related expenses can be counted against tax, for instance the use of a room for rehearsal or teaching. For Swedish musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, several costs for exercising the profession are paid for by the organisation, such as a practise room and some instrument maintenance costs, which means they are not deductible in the musicians' income tax return forms. In addition, the shorter rehearsal times in the UK allow UK musicians to increase income by taking on several jobs during the same week.

4.4.3 Cost structures

In turn, the structures of employment affect organisational *cost structures*. When examining the costs of a musician from the organisations' perspective, in Sweden, the organisation pays taxes and social insurance costs for all employees. In the UK case, self employment means the employer does not guarantee any income, and it does not pay any tax or national insurance on behalf of that person.

It is likely that the terms of employment for musicians in Manchester Camerata would not be a legal form of organising the orchestra in Sweden, because of a general law for security of employment (Lagen om anställningsskydd, 1982:80) which constrains how an organisation can employ someone for short periods without fully employing them.

Although the total costs of the Swedish organisation are about four times as high as for Manchester Camerata (in a comparison of an approximate average for the years 2002 to 2005; 40,000,000 SEK (£3,300,000) in SCO compared to 10,000,000 SEK (£800,000) in MC), some costs are similar in both orchestras. For example, marketing costs are similar in absolute terms. Costs of generating private sponsorship are higher in Manchester Camerata, reflecting the hypothesis that Manchester Camerata must work harder with marketing and generating funds than the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro.

⁵⁰ UK taxes are £5,000 (60,000 SEK) free of income tax, £2,000 (24,000 SEK) exceeding that 10% and £11,000 at 20%. For Swedish musicians, taxes are around 50% to 55% in total (municipal around 30% and governmental 20% and 25% if the salary is over 495,000 SEK). A reduction of income tax in Sweden lowers the tax with around 5,000 SEK to 11,000 SEK.

Below is a summary illustration of the cost structures of each organisation:

<i>Cost</i>	<i>SCO</i>	<i>MC</i>
Marketing	4%	9%
Premises hire	10%	2%
Soloists/conductors	7%	10%
Production costs	15%	22% ⁵¹
Orchestra staff	42% ⁵²	44%
Admin salaries/costs	5%	7%
Other	17% ⁵³	6%

Table 4.2 Cost structures⁵⁴

4.4.4 Income structures

The differences in cost structures are directly connected to how each organisation generates funds, leading to the last fundamental difference, *income structures*. The strong political connection in the history of the Swedish orchestra can still be seen in its core funding and income setup. The dependency on audiences and self-generated revenue is apparent in MC, although it should be mentioned that self-generated revenue has increased significantly in the Swedish case over the last ten years especially.

<i>Income</i>	<i>SCO</i>	<i>MC</i>
Arts council	45%	16%
County council	11%	2%
Municipality	26%	7%
Sponsorship	1%	10%
Self-generated revenue	17%	60% ⁵⁵
Donations	-	5%

Table 4.3 Income structures

⁵¹ Including (20%) venue hire and (10%) box office costs.

⁵² 5% of total costs are costs for extra musicians that are not normally employed.

⁵³ The Swedish figures include “other concert hall costs”, which can potentially explain the lower figure with regard to “production costs”.

⁵⁴ Both cost and income figures are calculated as averages over three to four recent years, and calibrated against the general managers’ own perception of the proportion of costs in the middle of 2008. Currency exchange rate approximately 1 GBP = 12 SEK, August 2008.

⁵⁵ 50% engagements and 10% self-promoted concerts.

When discussing and comparing governmental funding in the two settings, income streams cannot be looked at separately. When comparing the income statements, we can identify higher income streams from public funders in Sweden in absolute terms than in the UK case, but also higher expenses going back to public funders in the form of taxes, social costs and venue hire (the Concert Hall Örebro). Looking at one single year, the publicly related expenses for hiring the totality of employees in the Örebro Concert Hall corresponded with the total amount of public support from the County Council, which was 11% of the organisation's total income.

This means that almost 15% of total public support to the Swedish organisation goes back to the public source and should possibly be deducted in a comparison with a UK organisation, since Manchester Camerata does not have such expenses. Also, it should be noted that 10% of the total costs (4,000,000 SEK) of the Swedish orchestra also returns to the municipality in the form of hire of the Concert Hall. This should possibly also be taken into consideration, since it means that the municipality of Örebro gets over a third of their total support to the orchestra back in rent.

With regard to the possibilities of receiving self-generated income from audience, the organisations were similar in that they both relied to a large extent on a core group of loyal concert visitors, most over the age of 50 according to several musicians.

4.4.5 Towards the future – the two cases in relation to each other

Even though the two orchestras have many differences, they also have similarities in how they have developed. The Swedish orchestra might be seen as a case in “phase one”, where governmental support is still on a level that allows it to carry the organisation's risks in artistic programming. When tracing the development of governmental support in Sweden, it is moving towards a similar situation confronting the UK orchestra, where governmental support does not cover artistic risk taking – which could be seen as a case in “phase two”. Governmental support has decreased as a percentage of total income for the Swedish organisation, and its self-generated income has increased.

Also, the activities of musicians in Sweden are becoming more similar to those in the UK case. Musicians in Manchester Camerata have diverse activities in terms of collaborations, kinds of programmes, forms and venues, but also in terms of doing other things than performing on stage. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, musicians have recently been trained to conduct workshops

and visit school children, something that Manchester Camerata musicians have done for a long time.

This is a fundamental change for Swedish musicians and in both cases musicians expressed concerns about the future of the traditional or “pure” concert-giving activity. One can look at the histories of the orchestras and ask a pointed set of questions: Is the specialisation of the classical orchestra musician merely an historical parenthesis? Will someone be willing to take on the financial risks of autonomous music and performing traditions of the classical orchestra, in times of increasing commercialisation in the value creation process? We shall next analyse more deeply the horizontal processes that affect the orchestras, and the issues that arise from that in relation to funders and other stakeholders.

CHAPTER 5

HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter discusses the second empirical question: How can we understand the horizontal relationships in the two organisations? First, we identify which external organisations, groups or individuals are important to each orchestra in their day-to-day operations. Secondly, we examine the output of the organisations and analyse the strategic roles of organisational products.⁵⁶ Control pressures in the horizontal process are relevant to the organisation's desire to produce certain products, and are subject to the demand and supply for that particular product.

As been mentioned, the concept of accountability in this thesis refers to an aspect of a relationship with some stability over time. In the horizontal process, some relationships, such as relationships with musicians who are members of the orchestra or with a principal conductor, can be stable. However, many parts of the process involve parties attracted to the organisation for a single occasion or for a shorter period of time, such as guest artists or concert visitors.

5.1 Providers of resources

Performing a concert or recording a CD involves many collaborative partners and providers of resources. In this section, those identified as most important are discussed; musicians, administrative personnel, conductors, soloists, music licenses, venues and record companies. The selection of resource providers was based on what was revealed as important and relevant in interviews and observations. This does not mean that there are not other providers that also could play important roles at different stages of the value creation process.

5.1.1 Musicians and administrative personnel

As described in the background chapter, musicians in Manchester Camerata are supposedly less dependent on orchestral work than those in Sweden since they

⁵⁶ *Product* and *output* are used with different definitions. As discussed by Östman (2008, see for example p. 155) “products” refers to something that has an exchange value in itself, meaning that an individual user is willing to pay a certain price for that specific product. “Output” is a broader term that refers to both products and other outputs with no specific price, financed by someone other than consumers and performed because the organisation or its vertical parties regard it as important.

are freelance and have different working alternatives. In Örebro there is only one employer for professional musicians, whereas Manchester has many symphony and chamber orchestras, as well as smaller groups.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, many Manchester Camerata musicians are dependent on the orchestra because, as freelance musicians, they need some stable income. Membership in the orchestra provides this.

A survey of over 200 musicians in Manchester conducted by the Musicians' Union revealed that making a living is the musicians' biggest problem (Missingham, 2005). When asked about the least favourite part of their work, three different musicians in Manchester said:

Being worked into the ground for not very much salary.

Continuous feeling of being undervalued and exploited.

How ridiculously hard one has to work to earn anything like enough to support a family.

The above complaints suggest that musicians need all the work they can get to earn a living (related to the discussion under section 4.4.2), and that they work for less pay than they want. According to another musician in the survey, musicians are a profession that suffers financially due to horizontal pressures:

My salary hasn't kept up with the rate of inflation yet my mortgage keeps rising with interest rates. Due to no extra pay for CDs, radio broadcasts etc, my take home pay seems *less* than 3 years ago.

This suggests that musicians cannot exert financial pressure on the organisation; organisations can cut rewards yet still attract players. However, the amount of work that UK musicians undertake to earn a living creates another problem: scheduling and getting musicians to commit to a certain concert:

Let's say I have two days work with Manchester Camerata for a week, and then another orchestra offers me a whole week's work. Then I don't have a choice, I have to take the whole week.
(Musician, Manchester Camerata)

⁵⁷ The proximity to London also brings the possibility to make money as a musician for someone prepared to work long hours, especially in musicals and music making for films.

However, since Manchester is smaller than London, the atmosphere among musicians is a bit different, and musicians are more careful not to damage a relationship with an orchestra:

In London there are more orchestras and many more musicians, you've got more conservatoires, places to study, there is much more competition, very much looking out for yourself. In Manchester the musicians have studied together. They know each other; they are friends. It's a much nicer atmosphere, people look out for each other and there is a much better balance of musicians to orchestras, but they also know that if you mess one orchestra up too much others will find out. So it doesn't happen very much up here. (Former administrative employee, Manchester Camerata)

To summarise, Manchester Camerata musicians do not exert pressure on the organisation financially but their commitment constitutes a risk. For a UK musician this means an important balancing act; a “better” job with better pay must be prioritised without spoiling relationships with other orchestras.⁵⁸

In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, the situation is different. It is not constrained by the availability of musicians; musicians are fully employed and work according to the schedule set by the organisation. Since the orchestra works one week at a time with a set programme, a musician must take a week off in order to take one day off. This often restricts musicians from doing so.

To protect musicians from last minute changes, rules restrict management's freedom to alter the schedule. These rules reflect how musicians are totally dependent on the organisation. In Manchester Camerata, the Musicians' Union is also a strong actor in protecting musicians and influencing working routines, which sometimes creates frustration within management:

Musicians have a very strong union, the Musicians' Union. We have an agreement with them about how our players will work, what they'll be paid and certain sets of conditions which are very rigid, and it's my job to make sure that, broadly speaking, we work alongside the Musicians' Union with the musicians, and within that agreement. I think, and I was only recently a musician myself, that it is a very over-regulated profession, with quite an

⁵⁸ In Sweden musicians can use the unemployment system for periods without work, something that UK musicians cannot do.

old fashion basis whereby there is sometimes a lack of flexibility. If you look to the last 10, 15, 20 years of British history, some of that regulation in other industries has been broken down to the long term benefit of the industry. I am not sure that could or will ever happen in music, but it's such a changing world I think it may need to happen. (General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

Payments and salaries for the Swedish musicians were partly set by general rules and negotiations with the Musicians' Union. However, in 1997 when new musicians were recruited to augment the artistic development of the orchestra, higher salaries were paid to attract young talented players. This meant all musicians' salaries had to be raised to maintain equality within the orchestra. Previously, musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro were paid less than the average of employed orchestra musicians in Sweden. In Manchester Camerata, at the time of the study, fees were raised which was linked to a strategic plan to augment the artistic quality of the orchestra.

In both Sweden and the UK, many musicians talked about their worries for the future of the profession. Many musicians worked as teachers besides their orchestra work and they had observed significant decreases in students, which they attributed to lower musical education among children. Some UK musicians were especially worried that instrumental education seemed increasingly to be a class issue, with only rich families able to afford such education, and similar thoughts were raised by Swedish musicians.

When I was growing up, music was free in school to a large extent, and because it was free it crossed class boundaries. We had youth orchestras in Glasgow from the age of nine and upwards, so you were playing for a year and then you go for a summer course in the Highlands and have a riot with 100 other kids. Lessons were free, instruments were free...

I still have close friends now in the profession who came from an incredibly tough background. One is now a principal cellist, his father was unemployed and his mother worked in a shop, but he learned cello in school. But that's completely gone now in British schools, you have to pay for it. I notice when I go to conduct the National Youth Orchestra of Scotland, the kids I would say are 99% from what we call middle class educated families who got their kids into music. So that cross class thing has gone. (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

Finally, in examining the market for administrative staff, we can see the effects in the Swedish organisation of the long history of municipal and county council employment that created a group of long-term administrators in the organisation. In Manchester Camerata, the high turnover of administrators created a problem of its own:

One of the biggest problems I think we've had looking back at the company records in the past is that we've had that pressure. We've paid relatively low salaries and therefore people have left quickly, so there has been a high turnover of people, which means that the organisation can't really move forward. (General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

In both organisations, the choice of manager was important. Because of the differences in organisational setup and history, different knowledge and talent were sought after. The SCO had both a principal conductor and an artistic manager, so the General Manager had a solid background in finance and accounting. In contrast, Manchester Camerata had a part-time accountant and no pure artistic manager role, so it was important to have a general manager with a background in music.

In both orchestras the combination of music knowledge and administrative knowledge was the key in the general manager position. In the UK, the Clore Leadership Programme had been developed to educate individuals for that combined role. Finding individuals with a combined skill for artistic work, understanding of the orchestra as well as administration, was pivotal in both contexts.

5.1.2 Conductors and soloists

If the glutted market for musicians provides an endless number of skilled and talented musicians eager to work to support themselves and their families, the market for conductors and soloists definitely does not. The limited supply of good conductors is a major problem.

Lawrence Renes,⁵⁹ a guest conductor in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro with an established reputation, describes the problem:

⁵⁹ Lawrence Renes has worked with many of United States' and Europe's most prestigious orchestras. He has made many live recordings with the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro and is a regular guest with several Swedish symphony orchestras.

There are more good orchestras than conductors and soloists, which makes it difficult for an orchestra management – being in one myself I know how hard it is – to get good guest conductors, guest conductors that the orchestra looks up to and thinks “wow” we can learn something, we can enjoy making music with that person. It has become increasingly difficult for orchestras to find these people.

What happens is that many conductors work at a slightly higher level than they should, so for orchestras that means that they work with conductors that are of a slightly lower standard than themselves.

Given that good conductors are in short supply, high-class conductors are very powerful in relation to the organisations. Sought-after conductors need not worry about earning a living and can choose between orchestras and jobs, and even whether to work at all.

An orchestra where they really want to have me, they don't have to come very early because they can come two years before and say “we can offer you this week, or this week, or this or this or this...” and then it's quite easy to make it work. But if an orchestra specifically wants me for some particular week, they need to be three, four years in advance, to make sure that they get that week, and then sometimes I say that I can't give that answer now but I can give it in a year. I only block weeks a long time in advance if I am very eager to go there myself. Loyalty is very important and there needs to be trust between you and the orchestra.

If the orchestra has a strict and tight budget, the other thing they can offer a famous conductor is an interesting working opportunity. Lawrence Renes explains:

For me money is never the number one or two or three reason to do or not do something. The pay depends on the orchestra's budget, and this orchestra [SCO] does not have as big budget as Stockholm [Royal Philharmonics] has for example. Also we are all trying to make this work with X who is a very expensive singer and then another group of singers who are not that expensive but still there are six more of them. So everybody is coming for less, because we all want to do this project.

There is a competitive market for conductors and soloists, and an orchestra can respond in several ways. The first is to pay a high fee to attract them. Secondly, they can offer projects interesting enough (which however often means expensive) to attract them. Lastly, they may be an orchestra with a sufficiently prestigious reputation and status to develop the career of a popular conductor or soloist.

5.1.3 Venues and organisers

Until 1995, when the large new flagship Manchester concert venue, the Bridgewater Hall, was built Manchester Camerata had a concert series alongside the Hallé and the BBC Philharmonic in the historic but acoustically poor Free Trade Hall. Now the orchestra has a regular residence in the Bridgewater Hall, home of the Hallé symphony orchestra. It also has a concert series in the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM), and in regional venues like Colne, Crewe, Chester and Olveston.

Rehearsing and residing in the RNCM has put new and additional financial pressure on the Manchester Camerata, though this is expected to lead to efficiency and higher fund raising in the long run.

We were paying a peppercorn rent down the road and we are paying a fair commercial rent here. I think it is a very reasonable and fair rent but it is more. So there is financial pressure.
(General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

Both orchestras play regularly in places where they have no control over concert arrangements. Without a home of their own, Manchester Camerata are always dependent on the venues where they perform, which makes them sensitive to changes in costs and demand for venues and organisers. For the Swedish orchestra, regional concerts were marketed and arranged by a local organiser, and the same for concerts on tours.

The Swedish orchestra plays in regional venues in the municipalities of Örebro county. However, these venues do not appear to exert financial pressure. Each regional venue is connected to a specific municipality, which is in turn a co-funder of the orchestra through the County Council. Because of this, the arrangements become part of the funding agreements. Also, the orchestra seldom creates specially designed concerts in these cases, but repeats a large concert in Örebro. The concert is comparable to an engagement, in which the orchestra gets a fixed fee from the municipality where they perform. When the orchestra performs its regional concerts, it is not dependent on audience

numbers, though all parties agree that it is better to have an audience there to listen. This is connected to political policies that will be discussed in chapter 6. Municipalities often have insufficient resources to market the concerts, hence sometimes audience numbers can be low.

I think even though there may not always be a large audience, it is very important for the orchestra to go out in the region and play. It's part of their mission, and we can't be seen to tour too much internationally compared to how much we tour in the region – that does not look good in the eyes of taxpayers. (Board member, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

For Manchester Camerata, the repertoire was chosen and occasionally changed to make it attractive to a specific audience and venue. In MC's case, regional venues and concerts always needed to be financially assessed. Programming was an issue in all venues, and information exchanges with venues about previous audience attendance for programmes were valuable. However, regardless of audience attendance, a price rise for hiring the Manchester venues strikes hard. For example, it forced Manchester Camerata to cut one concert each season in the Bridgewater Hall, to the disappointment of some member musicians. Financial pressure is thus largely related to concerts in BWH and the RNCM not being engagements but self-promoted concerts (where the orchestra hires the venue and the box office, and receives the sales of tickets, instead of a fixed fee).

We have cut one concert in the Bridgewater Hall. We always have to ask ourselves why we are playing there – what is the basis of the decision to play there? We make an enormous loss on each concert at the Bridgewater Hall, and the RNCM has a wonderful concert hall so why shouldn't we play there instead? (Board member, Manchester Camerata)

In contrast, for the Swedish organisation, the rent for the Concert Hall is paid to the municipality of Örebro, which is also a funder. In practice, this means that the rent becomes connected with funding: a higher rent would reduce the subsidy to the organisation. Because of this, the rent of offices and rehearsal facilities did not constitute a financial control pressure in the Swedish case.

5.1.4 Record companies

In the 1950s income from record companies was a large source of income for orchestras. Record companies would pay orchestras to produce a record. Today it is different, and record companies have changed their relationship with

professional orchestras. Now orchestras pay to record their own CDs with a company. Different labels have different status, and for the SCO it was important that the Beethoven project recordings were made on a prestigious label. Being recorded in a studio for a whole week at a time, they were costly.

Why the recording industry has changed so much has been highly debated. Some argue that large declines in sales over several years are the reason for changed cost issues in recordings. Yet some labels like Naxos have increased their profits over recent years. Others claim that though sales of CDs have dropped, interest for classical music remains unchanged, if the increase in digital classical music is included. Regardless of the reasons for the change, record companies operate differently today than in the 50s, and plays a different role financially in relation to orchestras.

For an orchestra such as the LSO [London Symphony Orchestra], recording had been a steady and substantial source of income since the mid-1920s [...] many orchestral musicians were startled to see just how swiftly and brutally a major, long-established record label such as EMI or Decca could reduce its classical operation to a mere trickle of predominantly ‘crossover’ of populist albums, mostly featuring photogenic young violinists or string quartets who seemed more interested in *Top of the Pops* than the Proms. The effect of this abrupt change of direction on the economics of the orchestral business was devastating. (Morisson, 2004, p. 233)

The recording industry is dominated by a small number of large multimedia corporations which find it increasingly difficult to justify classical recording projects that often take years to repay production, marketing, and distribution costs. (Dempster, 2000, p. 50)

In Manchester Camerata, costs were a decisive force that governed the process of recording the CD, from choosing a label to how it was recorded. Camerata’s records had to be recorded live with a shorter patching session at the end. Musicians did not get paid for this, which was not as big a problem for regular musicians as for extra musicians.

Now, with the internet and downloading becoming more popular among young people in particular, the old idea of producing a commercial CD, for example, is of course still going on but the CD market has contracted a lot. There aren’t as many recordings being made now by orchestras. It’s much more difficult. Now

orchestras must provide funding to the record producers to even get their stuff out. However, these days you can almost bypass recording companies if, for example, you make it possible to download your music on your web site. (Principal, RNCM and contemporary composer)

Developments within the recording industry created a difficult balance in the UK creating musicians' contracts overall:

We have to be very conscious these days that the recording market is a Europe wide market. It's a lot cheaper to record a Prague orchestra, and to get them into the media, compared with the fees that are negotiated between the British Phonographic Industry and the Musicians' Union. We believe that British Orchestras may be more expensive, but in general they provide a better quality finished product. We have to balance that we don't want to risk work going away from our orchestras, so sometimes it's better to agree a deal, but that's not easy because then sometimes musicians can see us as selling out. So it's a difficult balance. (Musicians' Union Representative, Manchester)

This can be linked to another cost issue that made the situation more complex. Several years ago, when recordings were profitable, record companies would pay for public relations (PR); however nowadays all such costs are met by the organisation. This has many consequences:

Smart orchestras create popularity. A very good example has been Stockholm [Royal Philharmonics] where I am doing a lot, and from the beginning they just put big photos of me all through the city, so when I came for the fifth time they just said – oh that's that same guy that we went to last time and enjoyed so much, and you are actually building up something.

Nowadays the whole recording industry is not functioning as it used to. Back in the 60s, 70s and 80s, recording companies were putting a lot of money in PR. Whenever Karajan would conduct, the recording company Deutsche Grammophon would put big posters everywhere and the recording companies made these people world famous, and people want to go to a concert where a world famous person is playing or conducting. (Guest conductor, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

5.1.5 Music sheets and the licensing of rights to perform music

In Sweden, the Swedish Performing Rights Society (STIM) protects the rights of authors and publishers by administering and licensing rights to music and texts. STIM also control rights to the worldwide repertoire of musical works, and promotes the creation and dissemination of new Swedish music.⁶⁰ Organisations that use music must pay by buying a licence from STIM. The proceeds are then distributed by STIM as royalty to the composer or publisher.

Each society has one collecting society (The Performing Right Society (PRS for Music) in the UK) that receives annual fees from broadcasters, live music venues, websites and other parties who perform music publicly.⁶¹ As in Sweden, by law, any party or venue in the UK that performs music publicly has to have a PRS licence. In Sweden and the UK, like many other countries (particularly EU ones), a copyright applies for the duration of the author's life plus 70 years. After then, the work can be freely performed, arranged and recorded.

In the two case organisations rights to perform music was not a problem or restricted the choice of a repertoire. It was an administrative aspect of the horizontal process, but it was not discussed when choosing which music piece to play. However, several editions exist for each music piece, and sometimes a cheaper edition could be bought to save money. This did not affect the performance, however. Music that was a recurring feature of each orchestra's repertoire was purchased by the organisation, whereas music played on a single occasion, or rarely, could be rented. Conductors could have specific preferences about what edition to use, which would be discussed during the contracting process.

5.2 Users and consumers

5.2.1 The increased importance of self-generated income

As will be analysed in chapter 6, funders in the UK and Sweden have increasingly diverted risks to the orchestras, making them think more about audience attendance and their own revenue.

⁶⁰ www.stim.se (6 December 2008).

⁶¹ In 2007, PRS for Music and STIM announced a new collaboration for music rights administration. A jointly-owned commercial service centre, ICE (International Copyright Enterprise), was created to handle the two societies' requirements and global rights administration (www.prsformusic.com, 29 March 2007).

Prices are more competitive in Manchester. An adult can go to the theatre and the cinema at a lower cost than in Örebro. Especially compared to the prices for something like Manchester United football tickets, ticket prices for Manchester Camerata concerts are remarkably low. An adult can get a ticket to one of Manchester Camerata’s self-promoted concert at the most prestigious venue for half the price of an equivalent concert by the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro. Also, there are free and cheaper tickets for students for Manchester Camerata concerts.

Events	Örebro	Manchester
Self-promoted concert with the chamber orchestras in the study	£18 ⁶² (210 SEK)	£9-£32 ⁶³ (100-380 SEK)
Theatre play	£15 (180 SEK) ⁶⁴	£10 ⁶⁵ (120 SEK)
Larger sport event	£15 (180 SEK) ⁶⁶	£100 and above (1,200 SEK)
Movie at a cinema	£8 (100 SEK)	£7 ⁶⁷ (84 SEK)

Table 5.1 Ticket prices for various events⁶⁸

The historical review concluded that the financial struggles of Manchester Camerata regularly came from its self-generated income and risk-taking when programming its self-promoted concerts and festivals. For the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, from 1993 to 2007, self-generated income had more than doubled as a percentage of total income. This was connected to demands towards self-sufficiency, which meant paying more attention to

⁶² Prices are for one adult. Students pay 80 SEK (£7), youths under 18 pay 60 SEK (£5).

⁶³ The prices vary with the seating of the venue. A “Sonic card” gives students the possibility to buy a ticket for £3. On some concerts, youths under 18 enter for free.

⁶⁴ “Länsteatern” (County theatre) one adult. Students pay 100 SEK (£8).

⁶⁵ There are several theatres in Manchester. This price is for one adult for a play at Contact Theatre. Students pay £6 (72 SEK). A play at for example the Royal Exchange Theatre in Manchester range from £8.50 to £25.

⁶⁶ Ticket for Allsvensk fotbollsmatch, Örebro SK.

⁶⁷ Prices vary depending on day and time. Students get tickets for around £4.50 (54 SEK). This price is for an adult during a Friday or Saturday evening.

⁶⁸ Currency exchange rate used approximately 1 GBP = 12 SEK, August 2008.

audiences and competition from other recreation and entertainment events. In Manchester Camerata, self-generated income was a significantly larger part of total income, but had varied greatly over the years 1993 to 2006, illustrating the constant volatility in self-generated income sources. Table 5.2 below illustrates self-generated income as a percentage of total income:

	SCO	MC
1993	8%	89%
2003-2007 (average)	17%	60%

Table 5.2 Self-generated income

Comparing concert statistics and income from self-promoted activities for the years around 2005 and 2006 for the two orchestras gives fascinating insights. Both orchestras make very similar revenues from self-promoted concerts; in Örebro Concert Hall and in Bridgewater Hall and Royal Northern College of Music respectively. Each year, the organisations made a little more than £100,000 (1,200,000SEK) in self-generated revenue. However, audience numbers are lower for Manchester Camerata. The Swedish orchestra had 12,228 visits during 2005 whereas Manchester Camerata had 7,443.⁶⁹ The reason, however, that these visits meant the same amount of revenue is attributable to the Swedish orchestra promoting children's concerts, for which prices are lower. Some free tickets are also given away for each concert.

5.2.2 The professionalization of marketing

In 1995, the Swedish orchestra created a new ensemble with a new image illustrated by the chosen name – the Swedish Chamber Orchestra – and with new collaboration partners, organisational goals and strategies. The fresh start opened up new markets and functions such as recording CDs and touring with an ensemble with a clear and specific identity. For Manchester Camerata, 2007 was also a new start with regard to identity. Its marketing strategies and plans were influenced by a recovery plan that laid down specific goals and strategies to be fulfilled over several years. The new profile not only sought to attract new audiences, but also to raise its image with private companies.

One of the things we have done recently, over the last 18 months or so, is really look at how we present ourselves. We started

⁶⁹ The visiting numbers reflect numbers of visits as a total, It does not show the number of individuals who attend concerts over a year. The same individual may attend several concerts and thus contribute to several “visits” in the figures.

working with a new organisation that does all our printing for us, a creative consultancy, asking them to come in and see how they can work with us to create a new look for the orchestra, a new image. We had some incredibly positive feedback from some companies as well. [The Head of Development] was talking to our largest supporter in the trust and foundation sector and they said that they thought how we looked really summed up what the organisation is all about. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

The orchestras had different possibilities for meeting and maintaining relationships with various audiences. In the Swedish case, the administration and musicians could meet the audience in the reception of the Concert Hall at the time of ticket sales and distribution, and instantly establish a relationship. In Manchester Camerata's case, neither the administration nor musicians could contact audiences when distributing tickets. Hence, face-to-face contact was more important during concerts when the administration greeted the audience inside the venue and musicians could meet the audience before and after the concert.

However, after the study of the Swedish orchestra was conducted, some changes in the receptionist function in the Concert Hall Örebro were enacted. A receptionist who had sold tickets in the Concert Hall for 13 years and knew most regular visitors, left her job and a municipal company took over ticket sales. The receptionist reflected on the developments:

I know a lot of people who will miss coming in here and buying their ticket. We have built up a personal relationship and I feel sad that I will not be able to continue to greet them and talk to them from now on. We have developed such nice relationships, almost like friends in a way; they have brought me home-baked cookies, we have exchanged recipes, talked about life and the next concert ... a closed Concert Hall ... What kind of signals are we giving them now? (Receptionist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro of 13 years)

Generally, in both organisations, a professionalization of marketing could be deducted starting several years before the study. During the study in Örebro, in autumn 2006, some of the administration team formed a marketing group that met and discussed marketing issues. Both organisations had a full time employee who, with others, worked mainly on marketing and created a marketing team that actively tried to build audiences and market the orchestra's products. In both orchestras audience statistics had become more important.

In Manchester Camerata, marketing was even more formalised. Two persons were engaged solely with marketing and communication. The marketing function was part of a network of marketers in other arts organisations and they exchanged statistics and audience records for different repertoires. Also, the network included a project to attract more students to concerts by all the orchestras in Manchester: The Sonic Card – a student card – which is a collaboration between Manchester Camerata, the RNCM, the Bridgewater Hall and the Hallé symphony orchestra.

Marketing is all about data, trying to get access to data, because we work like a kind of a touring company. Venues that sell our tickets hold the data so you have to keep requesting it. So we have to go to a third party in order to get to people who consider themselves as our audience. We've been working really hard to gain access to different databases and to get to people who hold the data to make them feel comfortable to give us that data. We have started to do data swaps with Opera North in Leeds. They bring their things to the Lowry in Manchester and they ask us for relevant data, which we can give them. Then they give us the people who go to their shows, which I don't think we did so much before.

Obviously there is openness to an extent; they are not going to give you data that they are going to use tomorrow but occasionally we get really good relationships and we can get swaps. If the BBC Phil for example needs something for a particular audience we may give it to them because we know in two seasons' time they might give us something. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

5.2.3 Reviewers and critics

The largest private sponsor of the SCO at the time of the study was the local paper *Nerikes Allebanda*. The newspaper did not contribute a large source of funding, but it was a very important communication tool with audiences. The Head of Marketing in SCO commented:

It is very important that they [*Nerikes Allebanda*] write about us. But I don't think people read the paper to find out things they didn't already know. I think it's rather used as a calendar; you get a tip from your neighbour and then you go and look up the details in the paper. (Head of Marketing, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In terms of reviews the international newspapers were most valuable to the orchestras. Being reviewed positively by a well-known paper can be used in many ways; e. g. a review from *The New York Times* was used on the front web page of Manchester Camerata on the internet:

“The ensemble’s playing crackled with fierce electricity and dramatic urgency ...” (Steve Smith, *The New York Times*, 1 April 2008)

Reviews were thus used to communicate the quality of the orchestra on the web page and in communicating the artistic qualities of the orchestra in various forms of media. In a short leaflet called “Örebro Promotion”, the Artistic Manager of SCO says:

Once not long ago the City of Örebro was mentioned three times in the honourable *The Times* in London – has that ever happened before? Now, the reason why Örebro was mentioned was of course for a very special reason: The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro was reviewed by a critic from *The Times* who came to listen to the orchestra in the Concert Hall. (Örebro Promotion, 2006)

For Manchester Camerata, collaboration with newspapers was difficult. The organisation had targets for how many reviews they sought during a year. Getting a review meant a lot of work to get a critic to attend a concert. Networking thus became very important; calling up critics and asking them to listen to a concert. As it did not tour as much as the Swedish orchestra, international reviews were not common, and getting a critic from London to come to a concert was difficult because of the many competing culture events across the country.

Reviews are incredibly important. I mean we struggle sometimes to get the national critics up here, away from London, because they are all based in London pretty much. A few years ago, *The Guardian* used to have a northern critic based somewhere up here, I think Leeds, but they cut back so there is no one from *The Guardian* who reviews regularly up here anymore. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

Reviews in the newspapers were not always achieved by excellent concerts, but was more easily achieved through work with children:

The other important part is our learning and participation work, we actually get a lot more press for that because it is more newsworthy for local newspapers, they like writing about a classroom of kids learning about music. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

5.2.4 Financial partners and music colleges

In both cases, centres for higher education in each city (Örebro College of Music at the University and the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester) have become increasingly important as working partners. In the Swedish case, the University of Örebro gives a yearly grant to the orchestra in return for a collaboration, whereby the musicians act as a training orchestra for conducting students. During this training, the orchestra also gives a concert in the university with free admission. Although the collaboration in the Swedish case is close and stable, and the orchestra is dependent on the funding from the university, it may be regarded as a consumer of the orchestra's products, rather than a funder since it has no influence on the running of the organisation.

In Manchester, the relationship with the RNCM was different. The RNCM has long been an important venue for self-promoted concerts by the orchestra, and the College is now the orchestra's landlord. Most of the Camerata's musicians (as well as the General Manager) also had a personal history and relationship with the RNCM since most of them received their higher education in music there. This is dissimilar to Örebro, where most musicians received their higher education in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö or other cities.

5.3 Organisational products and outputs

5.3.1 Local, regional, national and international arenas

The previous analysis suggests that there are several different arenas in which orchestras are active. Both orchestras have strong roots in the local arena. As described in chapter 4, Manchester Camerata once considered changing their name to "Camerata" in order to make the orchestra appear more international, but did not do so because of the perceived importance of the local audience's support. The Swedish Chamber Orchestra added "Örebro" to its name in 2004 to emphasise its local connection. Both orchestras depend on a group of local supporters.

In Manchester, audiences for the orchestras behave like audiences of football; many supporters of Manchester Camerata go to see *their* orchestra and not another one:

It's quite fascinating; if you go to a Manchester Camerata concert you see faces you never see at a Hallé concert, and vice versa. It's the same thing with venues; some faces you always see at the RNCM concerts that you would never see at the Bridgewater Hall. (Chair of the Friends Association, Manchester Camerata)

In Örebro, local support and the audience's pride in the orchestra and its achievements were apparent in one concert during autumn 2006. The first leader of the orchestra was scheduled to perform a solo with the orchestra, and the programme was set long before the concert. However, the leader was offered an alternative performance in a prestigious setting, which following discussion with the Artistic Manager led to a last minute change in the programme. The audience, however, when told about the changed programme, did not express disappointment. Instead they reacted with a murmur of admiration followed by applause to mark their pride in the success of their orchestra leader. This indicates the strength of support and feelings in the local arena.

After the local arena, the regional arena is important for both orchestras. As noted in the historical background (chapter 4), the most enduring quality of Manchester Camerata, was its flexibility. It could perform popular large-scale symphony music such as Brahms' symphonies in prestigious venues of Manchester, but could just as successfully play small-scale chamber music in a small stage in a regional town, or conduct workshops with children in a town several hours from Manchester.

The regional arena was also important for the Swedish orchestra, which stemmed from its history, since military musicians early on had the mission to play throughout the region to make music accessible to a broader audience. During the study, the orchestra's regional work operated under a highly formalised structure where municipalities met regularly with the management of the orchestra to discuss arranging concerts.

One such meeting took place in the Concert Hall Örebro on September 21 2006. Its purpose was to set a schedule for concerts that satisfied all the municipalities and to discuss the orchestra's development.⁷⁰ The management

⁷⁰ County music meeting (Länsmusikråd), 21 September 2006.

detailed the concerts planned for the upcoming season and then representatives of the municipality asked for certain concerts at certain dates. In the Swedish case, regional concerts were a spin off – regular concerts being repeated in the regions – whereas Manchester Camerata’s regional activities were separate projects with specific programming and arrangement processes.

Although Manchester Camerata toured in the past, it is not a regular part of the orchestra’s activity. However, in order to be regarded as prestigious, both orchestras perform in famous London settings. For both orchestras, performances at the BBC Proms at the Royal Albert Hall and the Mostly Mozart Festival, both in London were important although for Manchester Camerata such events constituted a national arena performance but an international arena performance for the SCO. Performing at the prestigious Mostly Mozart Festival had several important marketing effects. Music Director, Douglas Boyd was interviewed about “the importance of being true to Mozart” on national radio. The work and sound of the orchestra, and its concerts, were also discussed.⁷¹

5.3.2 Self-promoted concerts

The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro promotes around nine concerts per season in the Concert Hall Örebro, and three additional family and children concerts. Manchester Camerata has ten self-promoted concerts per year in Bridgewater Hall and the Royal Northern College of Music. Looking at the yearly programme for a typical season of self-promoted concerts, many similarities can be found in the general structure.⁷²

Concerts with soloists (such as violinists, cellists, oboists or other instrumentalists as well as singers) are frequent in both orchestras’ repertoires. Prominent are symphonies by Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Brahms, Schubert, Schumann and others. The third commonly frequent part of their programmes is baroque repertoire with composers like Bach, Vivaldi, Purcell, Handel and others. Both orchestras play well-known music from their respective countries, but only the Swedish orchestra plays modern music by contemporary Swedish composers as a recurring aspect of their programme.

An analysis of their programmes reveals interesting differences. One difference is the frequency of modern classical music and first performances by the Swedish orchestra. Manchester Camerata does play modern classical music.

⁷¹ Classic FM Arts Daily, Friday 20 July 2007.

⁷² Examples of season listings can be found in appendix 4 and 5.

During autumn 2007, Thomas Adès violin concerto *Concentric Paths* was performed in the Bridgewater Hall with the violinist Anthony Marwood for whom the concerto was written. This can be compared to a concert by the SCO in autumn 2006 with music composed by HK Gruber who conducted and performed his music *Frankenstein* with the orchestra in the Concert Hall Örebro. The largest difference was that in Örebro, the whole concert was dedicated to modern music as the theme of the evening, and the concert was promoted based on this fact. In Manchester Camerata, the Adès violin concert was part of an otherwise standard performance also containing Stravinsky's *Concerto in D* and Beethoven's *Symphony No. 7*. The risk of playing Adès violin concerto at the Bridgewater Hall resulted in a drop in audience numbers as the management and members of the orchestra feared:

The outcome of the Adès concert immediately changed the planning ahead. Next year, we'll have very good programmes, but they will be very standard, very safe. We had talked about various other things, but we went for the safer options. Yes, people especially our Music Director may be a little disappointed that we can't do more challenging work, but everyone including the Music Director is extremely aware of the whole situation.
(General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

On the contrary, in Örebro the whole concert dedicated to modern music produced a good audience turnout. Even though the concert would have had a low turnout, promoting a programme with modern music was not a risk for them.

In Manchester Camerata, self-promoted concerts were generally seen to mean more interesting work for the musicians. In sum, the administration's view of self-promoted concerts at Manchester Camerata had the following key characteristics in combination:

- They enabled full artistic control
- They were promoted at financial loss
- They provided satisfying work for the players
- They represented questionable sustainability in an increasingly saturated market

Because of these characteristics, self-promoted concerts were valuable in terms of standard and satisfying musicians, but at the same time they provided considerable challenge financially and strategically. The financial risk of programming self-promoted concerts was becoming more evident in the

programming process. This was evident in the different roles of the head of marketing in the two organisations and the marketing function in Manchester Camerata, which was becoming increasingly involved in programming as well as the use of networks and audience information:

I didn't use to be involved in the programming process, or if I was it was quite late. It has changed a lot in the last couple of years. When [the General Manager] came in it was more a collaborative thing and he would create the programmes with Dougie [Douglas Boyd] and Nicholas [Kraemer], and then ask for feedback from various departments. So he would ask my opinion as to whether I thought it would sell or not or how we could create a whole season that works rather than one off concerts. Largely it's looking at the programme and saying "Right, will this bring in the income that we need?"

You have to be incredibly honest and have a look not only at our old programmes and what they have achieved in the box office in terms of sales, but I will quite often have a chat with people at the Bridgewater Hall and say "Look, how have your programmes with a similar nature performed?" We do look at quite a lot of facts really about what works and what has sold. So if there is an idea to do something like a contemporary work, we can go back and see whether we can do that financially or if it would be best probably to revise the programme.⁷³ (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

The process of artistic planning of the general programme was, in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro mainly given to the Artistic Manager with input from the chief conductor and musicians (only recently had the Head of Marketing attended the meetings). The programme is discussed in the Programme Group (Programrådet), a group led by the Artistic Manager and mainly consisting of musicians. The discussion concentrates on the suggestions and plans of the Artistic Manager and revolves mainly around the regular concerts: what should be played and what artists and conductors should be invited. Manchester Camerata did not have formal meetings about the programme with musicians. Board members in both cases had no influence over the general programme and stated explicitly they should not intervene in such decisions. The General Manager in SCO claimed he had some influence in

⁷³ An example of this was that the Adès violin concerto was not, as first intended, performed in the regional venue of Chester.

creating a concert with the City Theatre in Örebro for example, but did not want to be too interventionist in the process.

5.3.3 Engagements

When examining the concert giving activity, fundamental structural differences in concerts played can be seen with regard to the number of self-promoted concerts and so called engagements: concerts for which the orchestra is bought in by a venue or promoter and which guarantee a fee for the orchestra, from which players fees are paid and an administrative fee is taken. Table 5.3 below shows the range and quantity of SCO concerts over three years.

Type of concert	2003	2004	2005
Orchestra concert in the Concert Hall	30	22	19
Orchestra concert outside Örebro	11	14	14

Table 5.3 Orchestra concerts, SCO

The most frequent concerts performed in the Swedish case are self-promoted with ticket sales in the Concert Hall Örebro, similar to Manchester Camerata's self-promoted concerts. Manchester Camerata rents the RNCM or The Bridgewater Hall for the evening of the concert, and then gets the ticket income. This means that the orchestra bears the financial risk of the concert.

It is interesting to note from table 5.3 that the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro has performed fewer orchestral concerts in the Concert Hall, and an increasing number outside the county. Similar figures for Manchester Camerata in table 5.4 show that the number of self-promoted concerts has decreased and that the number of engagements varies but is significantly higher.

Type of concert	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08
Orchestra concerts BWH	6	6	6	6	5
Orchestra concerts RNCM	5	4	4	5	5
Engagements (including regional)	62	56	54	61	58

Table 5.4 Orchestra concerts, MC

Despite that the numbers change a little year to year, engagements are the most frequent and important type of concert financially for Manchester Camerata. Compared with the purpose of the output of self-promoted concerts mentioned in the previous section, the purposes of engagements can be summarised as:

- To provide a guaranteed fee
- To use income from this work to support loss-making activities elsewhere, i.e. BWH and RNCM
- To provides work for the orchestra
- To extend a profile and offer opportunities for audience development

Artistic control is hence relatively low. Many engagements are choral work with amateur choirs, an activity of low status within the organisation, but which is strongly connected to UK musical activity. We can also see requiems in examples of programmes given in appendix 4, which the Swedish orchestra would not perform. The Artistic Manager of Manchester Camerata explained that because engagements are so important for the orchestra's survival financially, management has tried to raise their status within the organisation, making them more equal to the promotions:

Sometimes the financially promoted concerts here in Manchester are thought of as more artistically important, and then the engagements are just to fill out. Then we do some choral work that artistically might not be of such a high standard. So the way I look at it is that most of our concerts are engagements and if you put all of the artistic thinking into just these eight concerts, it doesn't make sense. So we must acknowledge that working with amateur choral groups is a very important part of what we do, and actually recognise it as something we do and encourage it, rather than just something that comes in by chance. (Artistic Manager, Manchester Camerata)

In the Swedish orchestra work such as requiems would not be considered (even though amateur singers are sometimes used in the Concert Hall Örebro during the regular concerts) since engagements are not important financially. However, a few new kinds of concerts had started to appear; engagements or more commercial work that seemed to have a broader purpose. One was participating in the famous Swedish television show *Bingolotto* with world famous singer Erika Sunnegårdh. The concert was agreed on for marketing reasons and to show the collaboration with the high-class soloist. The other event was to participate in the yearly summer opera festival "Opera på Skäret", acting opera orchestra (in Puccini's *Tosca* 2008).

5.3.4 CD recordings

The role of CD recordings in the two orchestras differed significantly, as was described in the introduction with respect to the Beethoven symphony recordings. The two orchestras shared the goal to record all Beethoven symphonies (in the case of SCO it was all Beethoven's orchestral work). The SCO had just finished doing this at the time of the study, whereas Manchester Camerata was in the process of doing so. Both orchestras talked a lot about their Beethoven recordings. However, looking at the list of CD recordings of both orchestras in appendix 3, it is interesting to note that the SCO had already recorded a wide range of symphonies and works with a wide range of conductors and soloists, whereas Manchester Camerata had recorded only a few CDs.

For example, the SCO's recordings of the complete series of symphonies by Swedish composer Joseph Martin Kraus stand out as a unique set of work. The composer's work was an important component in a large investment by the record label Naxos on earlier music, and the orchestra, with conductor Petter Sundqvist, was given the prestigious Cannes Classical Award in 1999 for the series' first volume. The Kraus recordings were, however, not as widely discussed as the Beethoven recordings within the organisation.

One important difference was also that CD recordings in the SCO were integrated in normal operations and linked to enhancing the technical and cooperation skills of musicians. In Manchester Camerata recordings were not a part of operations but an ad hoc activity attached to another activity, the self-promoted concerts, and discussed mostly in terms of marketing and strategy.

5.3.5 Regional concerts

An important part of both orchestras regular activity, as has been noted, is to give concerts in cities around the county, to audiences who would not otherwise get easy access to live classical music. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 below show the number of regional concerts the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro and Manchester Camerata performed each year, a few years back.

Type of concert	2003	2004	2005
Orchestra concerts in Askersund, Hallsberg, Kumla, Lekeberg, Nora, Lindesberg, Hällefors, Karlskoga and Ljusnarsberg	13	8	10

Table 5.5 Regional concerts, SCO

Type of concert	2003	2004	2005	2006
Crewe and Nantwich	4	4	4	4
Colne	4	4	4	4
Ulveston	-	4	5	5
Stafford	-	3	4	4
Total	8	15	17	17

Table 5.6 Regional concerts, MC

As table 5.6 shows, the regional activity in Manchester Camerata was extended to include four cities in 2004. Regional concerts doubled over three years, which suggests that regional work is increasingly important. The regional concerts had different roles in the two orchestras. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, regional concerts were closely connected to a political mission.

For Manchester Camerata, providing work opportunities for musicians and attracting new audience members regionally was an important financial issue, which meant choosing programmes that attract as large an audience as possible. However, regional concerts were also connected to public funding and their political mission, where artistic control could be high, but where other aspects needed to be taken into account:

- They were largely dependent on public funding with tight evaluation
- They sought to provide quality products in areas that have little or no orchestral support
- They sought to build regional profile and support
- They could achieve artistic control
- They could provide work for players

An important dimension of how each orchestra works with regional concerts is their role in their weekly routines. In Sweden, the orchestra works regularly Monday to Thursday with a concert on Thursday evening. This concert is then repeated in another city in the county of Örebro on Friday and sometimes on Saturday. This means that the regional event could be seen as a “da capo”; a retake of the regular concert in the Concert Hall. In Manchester the process is reversed. The orchestra rehearses on Monday and has their first concert somewhere in the region on Tuesday evening. Then the concert is repeated a few more evenings in other towns throughout the week, and the week typically ends with a main concert, either in RNCM or the Bridgewater Hall on Friday or

Saturday. This means that regional concerts can be seen as a way of rehearsing the concert in one of the main venues in Manchester.

Another difference is that the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro always performs as a full orchestra, and never compromises “the standard product”. On the contrary, a fundamental role for Manchester Camerata is being able to offer different ensemble sizes and products, meaning the orchestra can be at two places at the same time. The large orchestra, Manchester Camerata, can play a concert in the Bridgewater Hall, on the same evening as eight strings, the so called Manchester Camerata Ensemble, has a concert in the small town of Colne, for example.

Looking at the repertoire, the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro plays a similar repertoire in their regional concerts as in their concerts in the Concert Hall, whereas Manchester Camerata changes the repertoire slightly to fit the programme to the audience. The concert can also be different. In Colne, for example, the ambiance was relaxed and had a very different feel; in the back of the room there were round tables where some of the audience sat and listened while drinking glasses of wine. The regional concerts of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra Örebro, however were more similar in their set up as the main concert in the Concert Hall.

5.3.6 Music for children

As mentioned above, the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro always aimed at providing the same “product”. This also applied to products created to make music accessible to school children. However, at one point during the study, the musicians had a seminar training them how to conduct workshops as a possible feature of the musicians’ work.

In Manchester Camerata, such workshops were a regular part of the musicians’ work. Several member musicians specialised in conducting workshops in schools around Manchester as part of Manchester Camerata activities. The workshop activity had long been an important core activity of the organisation. Below in table 5.7 and 5.8 are details of the scale of work directed towards children in the two orchestras.

Type of activity	2003	2004	2005
School children and family concerts	47	34	64

Table 5.7 Children’s concerts, SCO

Type of activity	2003	2004	2005
Workshops, learning and participation	367	226	>300

Table 5.8 Children's workshops, MC

Observing the orchestra's work directed towards children revealed the great need for such work in a school near Manchester. Two musicians conducted a workshop during the study that had "Music and Numbers" as a theme. Not only did the musicians show their instruments to the children and talk about them, but they also connected music to mathematics. This meant seeing musicians in a very different role than on stage, and it was clearly something new to the children who did not seem at all familiar with the musicians' work. One of the first questions was if the children knew any classical composers, whereby one boy in the class raised his hand and answered "Michael Jackson!"

Several musicians in Manchester Camerata argued that despite the connection between the workshops and getting children interested in attending concerts in the future was vague, it was still there. In addition, musicians made a link to an increasingly important mission: providing children with music education, which is increasingly absent in schools today. In the Swedish case, the children's concert had a strong connection to the orchestra's regular activity. Children often had the chance listen to quite advanced works, such as modern pieces by Swedish composer Karin Rehnquist by the full orchestra in the Concert Hall.

The Swedish orchestra performed children's concerts to many school children during a whole week which ended with a promoted family concert open to the public. In these concerts, the repertoire was adjusted to suit the audience, and worked into a package with a story teller or a performer holding the concert together by pursuing a special theme. One example was a family concert entitled *To Feel Feelings (Känna Känslor)*. Two of Sweden's most famous writers of children's books (Sören och Anders) worked on their manuscript with producers in the Concert Hall for several months leading to a week of performance.

Interaction between children and musicians is different when comparing a children's concert with a workshop, especially regarding the distance between the child and the musician. During a visit to the Concert Hall Örebro, a child can get a dazzling musical experience, but not interact personally with a musician. During a workshop, the child may not acquire a live music experience, although the musicians play their instruments to illustrate their lesson. However, there is a close interaction between the child and the

musician. The children can compose and provide input to the performance and are an integrated part of the session, which is held in the children's own school. It can be concluded that the products offered by the orchestras to children are fundamentally different.

5.3.7 Additional output

This section will discuss several other products offered by the two orchestras. Generally, these “additional products” seem to be continuously increasing – both orchestras were constantly searching to find new and better ways for attracting new audiences.

One product offered by both organisations is a chance to meet one or several musicians to discuss a concert. Both orchestras offered visitors a pre-concert talk. However, in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro this talk was done by a person with special knowledge and expertise from outside the orchestra, often a member of the orchestra's Friend's Association, whereas in Manchester Camerata, the talk was done by musicians, often with the participation of the conductor or the guest star of the evening.

After the concert, Manchester Camerata offered something called “Camerata on the Couch”, for those staying on in the concert hall. A red couch was rolled into the centre of the stage in front of enthusiastic audience members with many questions. All members of the management team were often present and also asked questions to the musicians, which contributed to interesting discussions. Musicians are paid to do pre-concert talks, but the “Camerata on the Couch” is not paid. However, musicians often agreed to do this in exchange for a drink after the concert.

There are just a few members who don't have any involvement with Learning and Participation at all. Most do something. And this is not only within schools and formal learning settings; but also the “Camerata on the Couch” and other ways of engaging with our audiences are extremely important. There are only one or two who don't like doing things like that and who find it very difficult to talk in front of people. (Head of Learning and Participation, Manchester Camerata)

In Örebro there are few regular meetings or opportunity for questions between audience and musicians, though the management encourages musicians to informally meet the audience after the concert. The Head of Marketing claimed that the musicians are very social and open, which meant this worked very well.

In addition to performing the regular events, the Swedish orchestra puts on the annual “Culture Night” in November, when approximately 3,000 visitors, mostly youths, visit the Concert Hall to listen to amateurs, young musicians, pop groups and the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro. The orchestra also has a formal procedure for welcoming groups to listen to a rehearsal and then sit onstage besides the orchestra, an event called “In the middle of the music”.

In both the “Culture Night” and “In the middle of music”, the orchestra performs its regular repertoire, often the repertoire of the week. During “Cultural Night” 2006, the orchestra was working on a modern piece which was performed to several hundred young people who were waiting for the rock performance that was to follow. The audience was new to the orchestra but the concert was frustrating for the musicians since the audience talked, shouted and used their mobile phones during the performance. This illustrates how classical music demands something not only from musicians but also from audiences, making the challenge of reaching new audiences that are not familiar with the proper behaviour around live classical music difficult.

In sum, regarding additional outputs that is offered in conjunction with the concert giving activity, musicians in Manchester Camerata were much more involved, which was appreciated by both management and audiences. In the Swedish case, there seemed to be a demarcation that musician should not provide any products beyond performance on stage. This was also connected to the Musicians’ Union agreements.

5.4 Discussion of horizontal relationships

5.4.1 Analysis of horizontal processes – input and output

The two organisations had differences and similarities in the horizontal processes, and different organisational outputs. In both cases, musicians were not a strong group of resource providers since the supply of musicians was large, and pay could be fairly low.⁷⁴ Similarly, administrative personnel had low salaries which in turn resulted in a high turnover of staff in the UK. The pressure to find managers with both artistic and administrative skills had increased. Finding such individuals seemed crucial but difficult.

⁷⁴ As will be explained later, musicians were a strong group in terms of playing crucial roles within the organisation. At this stage, however, it is only concluded that in terms of financial pressure, musicians did not have many alternatives and thus had weak position in relation to the organisation. However, small pay raises had been decided on in both organisations connected to a strategy to increase artistic quality.

Both cases were part of an international market. Resource providers with strong financial power included famous artists and conductors in high demand. Good conductors and soloists could be attracted by financial compensation, but also by artistically interesting projects. Both organisations worked with conductors pursuing artistic opportunities, but the SCO offered more rehearsal time which appealed to conductors seeking to immerse themselves in a specific repertoire.

Changes in the recording industry also presented the orchestras with financial challenge with regard to recording CDs. The two orchestras had to find different ways when pursuing their projects to record Beethoven's symphonies. Because of horizontal pressures, the CDs in the Swedish case was the result of a careful and time consuming studio recording process, whereas it was the result of a live performance recording in the UK case. Because of these differences, the orchestras could achieve different strategies and goals with their projects.

Horizontal processes put increased pressure on musicians to perform other work tasks than to play their instruments in the orchestra, most notably in Manchester Camerata. Also, increased pressure was seen with regard to Musicians' Union agreements. Managers increasingly felt frustrated about a lack of flexibility in musicians' working routines as a result of Musicians' Union agreements, sometimes limiting the possibility to fully satisfy external partners.

Many differences could be found concerning the products and output of the organisations:

- The SCO offered more concerts with high artistic control and could take risks in programming.
- MC's self-promoted concerts had similar content and structure to equivalent concerts by SCO; however MC did not take the same risks with modern music.
- MC offered a wider range of concerts: choral, popular, and concerts with different structures such as smaller ensembles. SCO also offered different kinds of concerts, but always with the same standard product of the full orchestra.
- Both orchestras offered special products for school children and families. However, SCO's product for children was a repackaging of the main product, whereas MC offered a completely different product that was not offered in a concert hall but in schools.
- Both orchestras offered concerts around the region for people who could not easily access high quality music. However, the products were

different. SCO offered the same product as in the Concert Hall Örebro, whereas MC had a tailor-made product to suit smaller venues and different audiences.

- The orchestras both recorded different parts of their standard repertoire on CD but the SCO had substantially more recordings than the Manchester Camerata and the recording process differed.
- MC offered audience frequent face-to-face contact with musicians. Musicians had become increasingly skilled at communicating with audiences in other ways than by playing their instrument.

Examining differences between the outputs of the orchestras, it seems as if the SCO is more likely to offer concerts and projects that are more attractive to such resource providers as high-class conductors, interested in programmes with higher risk or recording projects with more time and space for interpretations and personal artistic realisation (with a focus on the first parts of the communication chain of music).

In both cases, but most notably with the Manchester Camerata, audiences (the last part of the communication chain) constituted a powerful influence as self-generated income had become more important. This, in turn, often and increasingly affected programming and internal roles. Work processes were also designed to attract audiences, giving them more “value for money” with additional output offered around the concerts, such as pre-concerts talk with musicians and conductors and after-concert discussions. The outcome was a development towards more tailored and differentiated products, depending on the venue and audience. The marketing function had, in both cases, become more professionalised.

As Sorjonen and Tuomisto (2008) noted, creating a network with stable relationships to conductors, artists, concert venues and record companies was crucial. In addition, the study of the case organisations’ horizontal processes revealed that these different elements of relationships with conductors, venues and record companies, were closely interconnected, creating a development where one thing led to another.

However, for the SCO, the much focussed horizontal process followed what many members claimed was a positive circle creating “positive feedback”, with a clear primary focus. Here recordings reached international acclaim, giving rise to touring possibilities. This in turn attracted invitations to more prestigious venues and increased other artists’ interest in working with the orchestra, attracting a larger audience, and so on. Manchester Camerata consciously tried

to create that positive circle by getting CD recordings out, working with talented artists and finding more prestigious venues, not only in Manchester but in London or other cities.

Hence, the two orchestras had developed different strategies where the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro always offered products stemming from a constant core, whereas Manchester Camerata had developed the strategy of flexibility; being able to work quickly and offer many different tailor-made products. This had the effect that musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro always worked together in the same group and according to the same working logic, whereas Manchester Camerata worked with different musicians for different purposes (though there was a stable core of musicians in the concert-giving activity) – similar to an employment service. This way of working in turn put increased pressure on management in balancing all different interests.

My job is to make everybody feel they get what they think they should get, all the different stakeholders, and I also think of the musicians as stakeholders and try to communicate with them what the organisation is about, make them feel they are part of whatever it is, make them feel supported and you get something back for that.

I have no authority to say this, but my feeling is that we rely on the people who have felt that they have been a part of Camerata for the last 20 years, in a way that's really valuable. It's that and then the Arts Council statutory applications that are really really important, those two things that keep Camerata going. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

Increased horizontal pressure thus seemed to entail challenges for Manchester Camerata. The next chapter will go on to examine the funding dimension and accountability in vertical relationships, and investigate the interplay between funding, payment structures and organisational outputs by examining hierarchical accountabilities and risk-bearing.

CHAPTER 6

VERTICAL RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter discusses the third empirical question: How can we understand the vertical relationships in the two organisations? This empirical question contains several sub questions which will guide the discussion: Who are the external parties with a hierarchical influence over the orchestras' organisation? What gives rise to this hierarchical position? What do they demand from respective organisation? Which individuals/groups within the organisations are involved in meeting demands from hierarchical parties? How are hierarchical processes related to the organisations' outputs, as presented in chapter 5?

Vertical relationships entail hierarchical dependability which can give an external actor the possibility to exert an opinion of the running and direction of the organisation (Östman, 2008). Although an organisation has many different important stakeholders, vertical relationships are those where the accountability concept is perhaps most relevant since they are stable over time and normally foreground risk issues. These relationships actualise the concept of *narrow accountabilities*, defined by Bovens (2005, p. 17) as “a relationship between an actor and a forum where the actor is obliged to explain and justify his conduct. The forum can pose questions; pass judgement and the actors can be sanctioned”. Three main groups of funders have been identified in this analysis: 1) the Arts Council, 2) regional/local funders and 3) private partners.

Following Boven, Schedler (1999) argues that accountability is divided into two parts; answerability and enforceability. Each vertical relationship will be analysed to determine what kind of answerability exists in the relationship, and how the organisation keeps important principals sufficiently satisfied to continue their involvement in the organisation and thus avoid negative consequence. The analysis is comparative, i.e. each relationship and role in the organisations will be analysed and compared for both orchestras. The general framework of vertical relationships is derived from the framework formulated by Östman (1993) as presented in chapter 2.

6.1 The Arts Council

6.1.1 Institutional forces supporting classical music; cultural policy in Sweden and the UK

In both Sweden and the UK there has been a belief that culture is an important area that can improve peoples' lives. Different ideologies, functions and funding of culture and arts have existed in different time periods.⁷⁵ The 1960s and 70s witnessed a cultural policy that still dominates Swedish cultural life. It decentralises arts decision-making to elected politicians at a regional level while funding comes from taxes. An inquiry by the Swedish Arts Council (SAC) in 1972 *Ny Kulturpolitik* (New Cultural Policy) articulated these beliefs that have affected the direction of cultural policy in Sweden since then.

The inquiry was followed by the creation of the Swedish Arts Council. The government established eight guiding principles for Swedish cultural policy in 1974, including counteracting negative commercial effects, decentralising the practice of and decision-making about culture, and enhancing creativity and activity between individuals. The desire to counteract negative commercial effects was expressed by the Swedish socialist movement during the 60s and 70s.

During the 90s, the Swedish public sector had undergone recurrent crises which led to cuts and demands for increased efficiency at all three levels of government – national, regional and local. This necessitated reviewing cultural policy. In 1997, the policies of the Social Democrat movement were deemphasised (Frenander, 2001). The government's proposition 1996/1997:3 concluded that co-funding of regional cultural institutions is necessary since municipalities and county councils cannot compensate themselves for financial cuts.

However, it also concluded that regional funding of the arts is a fundamental part of Swedish cultural life and local authorities should thus articulate their own cultural guidelines. The proposition also stated that statutory funding

⁷⁵ Ander (2008) for example describes, in his study of The Royal Court Orchestra in Stockholm during the 19th century, that one can over a longer period of time see an interplay of different *functions* (representation, entertainment, opera as art), *ideologies* (enlightened monarchy, liberalism, nationalism), *financers* (personal, regional, and national in the form of the king, Stockholm, and Sweden respectively), *managing institutions and individuals* (the court, the state, private entrepreneurs) and different *target groups* (the court, Stockholm's bourgeoisie, the "nation") (p. 477).

should decrease and that larger funds should be put into statistics and follow-up of the use of public money in addition to better coordination (p. 228). It concluded that regional music had developed unevenly and funding for County Council Music⁷⁶ should be cut in half and reallocated to different areas. In so doing, the government claimed it would widen cultural life in Sweden in general.

This plan led the proposition to comment on professional classical orchestras. It stated that orchestras failed to fulfil political goals such as making music accessible to everyone everywhere, and collaborating with music life beyond the orchestras (Prop. 1996/1997:3). The government's recent examination of possible changes in organising professional classical music and its official support (SOU 2006:34) suggested that "orchestras need to create new alliances and ways of cooperation in order to secure their own survival" (p. 139).

A review of the guidelines for arts policy commissioned by the newly elected government in 2007, and presented in February 2009 (SOU 2009:16), examined alternatives for funding other than public resources, and thereby helping arts organisation to be less dependent on the government. The guiding principle, about counteracting negative commercial effects, was removed.

Swedish culture receives a higher proportion of funding from the public purse and a lower proportion from individuals and the business community. In situations where it has been difficult or impossible to increase public funding, the cultural field has been unable to expand. The currently prevailing view of social responsibility means that the importance and necessity of support for culture from non-public sector sources should be welcomed. It is also important to pay more attention to voluntary efforts. The view that funding of cultural activities is a matter for the public purse alone creates a risk that cultural activities will lose their broad support base in the community. Cultural independence is best protected when it can rest on support from many sources. (ToR 2007:99)

Turning to the UK, recent debates about arts policy recognised that the government has a commitment to developing arts and culture, but there is a new way of looking at its purpose. Instead of arts and culture being pursued as an end in itself, they are being valued for their contribution to the economy, urban regeneration and social inclusion. Arts organisations are being asked to

⁷⁶ In 1988, 20 county council music organisations had been created.

articulate how their work supports government targets in health, social inclusion and education (Mirza, 2007). This has similarities to the new guidelines in the Swedish inquiry SOU (2009:16).

Peacock (2000) argues that compared with twenty years ago, public bodies in England must now produce reasoned arguments to justify their claims for funding, and economic analysis has begun to analyse those claims of their rationale (p. 172). The writer Munira Mirza claims that this is more complex than a mere increase in financial awareness and language:

Whilst artists and arts managers may speak the language of 'performance measurement', 'market share' and 'return on investment', they are more dependent than ever upon the state. In terms of funding and policy direction, politicians have extended their reach into the arts beyond the traditional 'arm's length' envisaged in the post-war period. The close relationship between state and artist may be unintended but it presents worrying developments. (Mirza, 2007, p. 18)

Increased demands for accountability have become a problem for many arts organisations. In 2007, the Secretary of State for Culture asked Sir Brian McMaster (former Director of the Edinburgh Festival) to report on "how the system of public sector support for the arts can encourage excellence, risk-taking and innovation, how artistic excellence can encourage wider and deeper engagement with the arts by audiences and how to establish a light touch and non-bureaucratic method to judge the quality of the arts in the future".⁷⁷

6.1.2 Arts Council and the arm's length principle

Arts Council England (ACE) is often regarded as "the brainchild of Keynes". After its establishment it was widely accepted that one task of government was to support cultural activities (Peacock, 2000, p. 173). Underpinning this position was an investment in arts education premised on the assumption that individuals would improve their welfare if they improved their taste (Glasgow, 1975). Similarly in Sweden, the work of politician Arthur Engberg assumed that the arts were as much about consumers as producers, and that accessibility should be a priority.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/Arts/3213.aspx (15 December 2007).

⁷⁸ The historical backgrounds to cultural policy developments in Sweden and the UK are vast areas that are mostly outside the scope of this thesis.

During the 70s, the arm's length principle still operated and the Arts Council was seen as reactive rather than proactive. Choices were to be made by "the great and the good" independently from the state. This perspective tallies with John Maynard Keynes' (1945) words: "... everyone, I fancy, recognizes that the work of the artist in all its aspects is, of its nature, individual and free, undisciplined, unregimented, uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him. He cannot be told his direction." (Anderton & Pick, 1995, p. 6).

However, the Arts Council during the 1980s was encouraged to become more business-like and thus move away from the ideas of Keynes that was formulated some 40 years earlier. It became more interventionist and it began adopting the language of commerce. The Arts Council began to refer to the arts as a "product" and audiences as "consumers", with references to current management practice and needs to minimise overhead in a drive for productive efficiency. Evaluation of grant recipients increased, leading to complaints by many arts organisations in the UK that demands for accountability created large amounts of paper work and necessitated close contact with the Arts Council on all aspects of the organisation.

A comparison of cultural policy developments in Sweden and the UK shows a shift to where arts organisations are left to manage their own destinies. In Sweden, the pendulum has swung from cultural institutions created at the beginning of the 20th century not being funded by the government but through a lottery system, mainly being a function in burgher societies. During the 20s and 30s, the government sought to make arts more accessible and enjoyable by all members of society, culminating in the creation of the Swedish Arts Council in the 60s. The Swedish Arts Council was now an independent decision maker.

From the 1930s, social and demographic issues became the centre of attention for the Arts Council Sweden.⁷⁹ When financial conditions changed in the mid 1970s, demands for higher efficiency became more vocalised by publicly administrated funders, leading to an increased precision with regard to what was expected from them in return for financial support (Östman, 2006). These developments continue to today.

⁷⁹ Östman (2006) illustrates this development by describing how the Royal Dramatic Theatre (Dramaten) in Sweden became obliged to tour around the country.

6.1.3 The set up of the Arts Councils

In Sweden the Ministry of Culture is responsible for two policy areas, cultural and media and it bears responsibility for sporting issues as well as burial and cremation services. The objectives of Swedish cultural policy include: safeguarding freedom of expression and creating genuine opportunities for everyone to use that freedom; taking action to enable everyone to participate in cultural life, experience culture, and engage in creative activities; promoting cultural diversity, artistic renewal and quality to counteract the negative effects of commercialism and to enable culture to act as a dynamic, challenging and independent force in society; preserving and making use of our cultural heritage; promoting a thirst for learning, and promoting international cultural exchange and meetings between different cultures in the country.

The Swedish Arts Council (Kulturrådet) is a government authority managed by a board appointed by the government. Its administrative office has around 80 employees, most of who work in the Department for Performing Arts, Art and Museums and Literature and Libraries. The Swedish Arts Council's administrative office has three departments; Arts and Culture, Communication and Development, and Administration. The board of the Swedish Arts Council determines issues including budgets, operational policy and other matters of fundamental importance. The board also rules on certain grant-related issues.

The Arts Council receives money each year from the Ministry of Culture to allocate to arts organisations. Until 2007 the Arts Council informed arts organisations in the autumn about funding for the next year. However, from 2008 neither the Arts Council nor arts organisations get information about their funding until some time into the financial year. The Arts Council is discussing the consequences of this with the Ministry of Culture.

The mission of the Swedish Arts Council has been to implement the cultural policy decided by parliament and create an infrastructure for official support of dance, theatre, music and all other cultural institutions (except film) in Sweden.

This means allocating grants, informing about Swedish cultural policy and evaluating cultural activity in Sweden nationally. Until 2007 the Arts Council made a budget during the spring, followed by a budget proposition containing the government's general ideas in September (October if it was the year of election) on how the performing arts field should be developed. After this, the board of the Council discusses general and specific issues raised by officers on specific trends or questions. The resulting discussion culminates in guidelines

for the Council when handling orchestras' applications for government support.

In the UK, the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) describes their aim as to improve the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities, to support the pursuit of excellence and to champion tourism, creative and leisure industries. The DCMS is the principal source of central government funding of the arts in the UK. It claims to continue the tradition of arm's length support, whereby funds are transferred to various disparate bodies. Now the DCMS makes funding agreements principally with non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs)⁸⁰, one of which is The Arts Council.

The DCMS implements government policy and administers government grants to arts bodies. The arm's length relationship means that the funding agreement between the DCMS and Arts Council England is broadly formulated under a rubric of increasing participation and work with young people. It does not stipulate which organisations should receive funding or how they should be funded. The Arts Council has nine offices and a strategic office based in London. Each office is set up similarly with a development department responsible for developing partnerships and leveraging funding in various related areas such as education, social inclusion and arts departments.

Every three years, the Arts Council negotiates with the government, specifically the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS), with whom the Arts Council is attached to at arm's length for treasury funds. These come directly from taxation.⁸¹ The music officer at the Arts Council North West described his function as fulfilling two goals: the development of music in the region (which entails working with colleagues to develop the infrastructure for music including the distribution of music, agreements with local authorities, problems of a national and regional kind), and being responsible for a portfolio of regularly funded organisations (RFO:s).⁸² Manchester Camerata is thus partly funded by treasury funds through these means.

⁸⁰ NDPBs carry out their work at arm's length from ministers and are not an integral part of a government department.

⁸¹ At the time of the study, preparations for the Olympics in 2012 in the UK meant a cut in the Grants for the Arts scheme, which affected arts organisations all around the UK.

⁸² RFOs are organisations funded on an annual basis to deliver a programme of work, which in the region around Manchester includes the Hallé, The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, Manchester Camerata and others (16 programmes in total ranging from classic music organisations to jazz festivals and jazz organisations).

6.1.4 Arts Council - answerability and enforceability

In Sweden, a fundamental prerequisite for government support of a regional performing arts organisation is the support of the region and the municipality. The officer at the Council follows the activities of institutions personally through web sites, personal visits and other sources, along with engagement at the Council where the local press is followed regularly. As a general rule, institutions receiving government support should be “diverse” and “highly qualitative”.

The Swedish Arts Council’s handling officer states that they encourage orchestras to tour the region, that there should be a local benefit. However, they would not decrease support because a lack thereof.⁸³ The only thing that would result in the Arts Council ending their involvement with the organisation would be if the organisation ceased to exist.⁸⁴ This was the opposite of Arts Council England, where funding would cease if artistic standards started to fall, or if audiences diminished, or if the organisation was felt to be poorly managed. Being self-supported was an important aspect of accountability to Arts Council England, something that had affected the reasoning of board members:

When it comes to business income we are selling a product that they are buying as our customers, which means we have to satisfy an interest. The alternative is to find a funder to match what we are doing, who is willing to support the company and its strand of activities. I think that the change to look at funders as customers is a necessity; it is a big mistake to have an over-reliance on the Arts Council, because it creates a lack of accountability and a lack of vision.

This change has happened through the stabilisation process and has also been driven by MMM [Mission, Models, Money]. 15-20 years ago arts organisations in the UK relied heavily on the Arts Council. 30-40 years ago it was the recording companies who paid for the largest part of orchestras’ income. That created a false economy which meant that orchestras later experienced a shock. (Board member, Manchester Camerata)

⁸³ Interview with representative, Swedish Arts Council.

⁸⁴ If the activities are shut down (even if only temporarily) funding can be stopped. In one case, a theatre claimed it did not have any resources to produce any plays. As a result, the municipality lowered their funding while the Arts Council stopped their funding entirely until the activities were resumed.

The stated prerequisite for Manchester Camerata's receipt of Arts Council funding was to deliver a mix of performances and outreach work, mainly in the North West, but also throughout the UK as outlined in Camerata's business plan. Particular focus will be on developing audiences for Camerata's Bridgewater Hall and RNCM series and new residencies at Stafford and Ulverston.

The general perception in Manchester Camerata, however, was that though the Arts Council formally focussed on the artistic quality of the orchestra's performance, it was still the outreach and education work that constituted the basis of funding:

If we presented to the Arts Council our visions for the next five years and it didn't include "life-long learning" as they call it, we probably would be cut completely. And not only that, I would say, if I am putting my cynical mantel on; if you say to the Arts Council we got this amazing idea for a Beethoven cycle, in a ground breaking way, whatever; we would be laughed at. Say we wanted to do a festival over a weekend, a Beethoven festival and do in a very intense period all nine symphonies and we applied to the Arts Council for funding for that; I suspect that they would be laughing at that and say: "Concert? You want money for a concert? Are you joking?"

But if we went to them and said we had this great idea of getting the kids in the community to be introduced to Beethoven, they can come to the foyer at the Bridgewater Hall and perform it to the parents, etcetera, and by the way there is a concert at the end that we will be doing by the end of the week, they might give us some money. That may be cynical but it's not so far from the truth. (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

Increased pressure to satisfy a growing number of parties, such as broader audiences and private partners, by differentiating the horizontal process, made it even more difficult to define the organisation in forums where the management was challenged to define themselves and justify their funding:

We spent a whole afternoon with the Arts Council and we ended up having an extremely energised debate with them. They had problems defining what the Camerata really was; they wanted me to give them a definition. For me it's quite clear what we do. What needs to be spelled out? Come to our concerts! On a symphony orchestra there is less pressure to define themselves. I don't think the Hallé needs to define what they are – they're the

Hallé orchestra – why do *we* need to define ourselves? (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

Comparing the prerequisites to receive funding from Arts Council England in Manchester Camerata with the Swedish, differences can be seen. Arts Council England has prerequisites directly connected to the organisation's operation (such as establishing new residencies at Stafford and Ulverston), whereas Swedish Arts Council has goals that the organisation could fulfil as they wished.

Examination of the reports that Swedish organisations must hand in to the Arts Council revealed that there are two pages of financial information similar to income statements, illustrating income streams and costs. However, the level of detail is quite low; for example there are boxes where the organisation should tick *yes* or *no* to questions such as whether they have had any cooperation with a children's organisation during the year. Also, the cost for children and youth activity should be presented. Much of the reporting to the Arts Council, however, is not about details on financial figures. Instead it focuses largely on political goals, such as:

- What is the number of men and women in your organisation? Do you have a plan for gender equality? Have you had any training during the year on the issue of gender equality?
- Do you have a plan of creating multiculturalism in your organisation? Have you had any training on multiculturalism? How is this issue presented to new employees?
- Is your organisation adapted for people with disabilities? Is your web site adapted for people with disabilities? Did you have a dialogue with people with disabilities during the year?

The Swedish organisation could chose for themselves how the political objectives should be fulfilled, keeping full control over operations.⁸⁵ In addition, the demands from Arts Council England were closely connected to financial issues: audiences should be developed in terms of higher audience attendance, not in terms of focussing on certain groups in society. Also, the representative could make demands on the running of day to day operations:

Manchester Camerata has recently moved from premises in Hulme which was not satisfactory for a number of reasons. They have moved into the College of Music, now. Fantastic premises

⁸⁵ This does not mean Arts Council England sets goals that the organisation felt were counter to what they wanted to achieve. ACE, however, says they prefer SMART objectives to be set, meaning Specific – Measurable – Actionable – Realistic – Timed.

they have, and there is a gut feeling I think around that there must be lots of synergies. Now the cost of their living there is quite high in relation to what they were; there was quiet a bit of tension between the two of us, because I wasn't clear that they were clear on what they were getting out of it. I felt they felt something good about it but they couldn't articulate it.

So within the funding agreement we wanted to absolutely stipulate: what are you getting out of this? What are the tangible partnerships? What are the tangible benefits? And I have to say, they haven't really been able to articulate that particularly well, so that is something that we *have* to monitor and I think in a year or two down the line, it seems that actually there is a one way traffic. The RNCM is getting a lot out of Camerata, but they get very little back. Then I'll have to sit down with them and say is this still the right thing for you? (Representative, Arts Council England)

As mentioned above, the representative of the Arts Council in Manchester says that what could lead the Arts Council to cease funding Manchester Camerata is if its artistic quality did not meet required standards or if management was poor. For monitoring artistic quality, reviews are important, along with attending concerts occasionally and getting feedback from others. "Quality assessment" is important, unlike in the Swedish case. There is also a difference in the approach the Arts Council takes to different organisations. The larger ones are expected to continue unless something goes very wrong, whereas other organisations get more closely evaluated in terms of delivering what the Arts Council wants: if they are performing well in different parts of their organisation, in particular their artistic performances.⁸⁶

For Arts Council England, the monitoring of organisations is generally about meeting directors and chief executives on a regular basis, and monitoring artistic performance. There is a delicate balance of not wanting to monitor the organisation too closely, but the monitoring is rigorous and includes tracing each step the organisation takes:

⁸⁶ The ACE representative adds that the larger organisations do receive a very high level of scrutiny, and an underperforming large organisation would be cut; however it is correct that the very large organisations tend not to be cut very much, mainly because on the whole they are well run, or sometimes because they have such a high level of impact that the Arts Council would spend more time with them in helping to overcome problems when things go wrong.

We assess an organisation's artistic quality and the quality of its governance, management, we look at the finances, we look at the public benefits in the broad public. Other than that we leave them alone. We don't monitor them too closely. However, what I will say is that I am in touch constantly with the halls which they perform at, and so constantly meeting with people that I can get feedback from the organisation. I also get all of the monthly board meetings' papers, all of the figures from the Camerata, which I'll go through, the minutes of the board meetings, quarterly finances from the end of the year.

I receive everything that they have, financial information, personnel information, absolutely everything. So I go through this and if I notice any trends, any sort of worrying trends, I will take it up with the organisation. We have a funding agreement which is over three years, but each year we revise that. So if I were to note that audiences at some of their halls were diminishing, causing a financial strain, one of the things in the funding agreement might be a monthly report on what is happening and a risk analysis of why things have gone wrong and how they intend to put it right. (Representative Arts Council England)

This can be compared with the Swedish Arts Council representative, describing the relationship with the SCO:

I don't put my nose into their business too much. It's not like I go into details of their operations. Our primary objective is to maintain an infrastructure for the funding and that is connected to the relationships with municipalities and county councils as well. A lot of it is routine work.⁸⁷ (Representative, Swedish Arts Council)

Nevertheless, the representative at Arts Council England says once they have assessed the artistic quality of an organisation, the Arts Council will help it as much as possible to continue its operations. However, cases for uplift created

⁸⁷ It should be noted that this interview, being part of the first of the two case studies, was conducted in 2006. In 2007, the general guidelines for Arts Council Sweden were changed in that funding are to be tried against, not only financial situation and fulfilment of political goals, but also against *operational performance* (Verksamhetsmässig prestation), which is a move towards the operational accountability seen in the UK case. The changes in 2007 also meant that organisations are tried in greater detail one by one and with demands for individual arguments for funding.

by the organisation are given much time and thought. The General Manager explained that making a case for uplift meant recognising and advocating the strong points of the organisation. Arguments about the organisation, between the General Manager and the Arts Council representative over telephone and e-mail, were sometimes decisive.

6.1.5 The Arts Council and effects on internal roles

In examining reciprocal relationships between Arts Councils and the respective managements, the Arts Councils in both countries have moved closer to their respective orchestras in several ways. In Manchester Camerata as a result of the stabilisation process, demands for increased accountability increased face-to-face contact but also paperwork. Relations between each Arts Council and their orchestras appeared to differ: relations in the Swedish case were more formal and sporadic, whereas Arts Council England demands on Manchester Camerata were more contingent.

MC's General Manager (right-hand side in figure 6.1) saw face-to-face contact with ACE as more important, and ACE was more directly involved with internal operations; for example they were invited to board meetings and attending rehearsals, something that would not happen in SCO. Because of these differences, effects on internal roles and ways of working differed between the two organisations. Different external pressure meant different pressures on key positions, such as managerial, within the organisation.

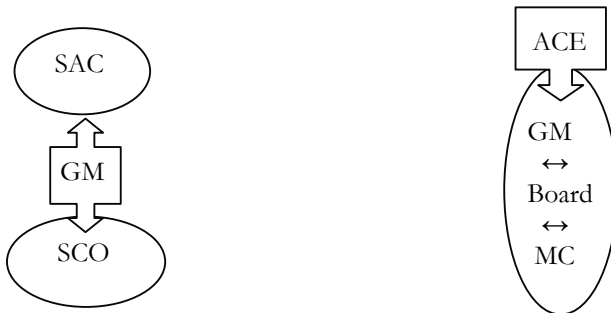


Figure 6.1 Role of General Manager (GM) in SCO versus MC

Different pressures on the General Manager meant different pressures on other organisational members as well, influencing ways of working. As the diagrams above in figure 6.1 illustrate, the General Manager's role varied in each orchestra. In Manchester Camerata a key management feature is teamwork, and

sharing overlapping responsibilities for external accountability. ACE was closer to, almost inside, the organisation. Members of the administrative team discuss the importance of grasping opportunities, often by being updated on each other's projects:

We have staff meetings and we work in a very open way. We sit together and we talk across each other all the time. It's quite a noisy office. I am aware of what is going on and that is often how you pick up something that is happening, like [Head of Development] would say to [Head of Learning and Participation]; "This funder wants to do something", and I prick my ears up and say "Oh I can do a press release about that," and so I become more aware of different stakeholders. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

At board meetings and all concerts, members of the team were highly involved and present; something that seemed a big strength. Administrative team members were thus involved in face-to-face accountability processes with various external partners on a daily basis and were active participants at board meetings, justifying organisational decisions.

In contrast, the SCO General Manager (left-hand side in figure 6.1) plays a "middle man" role, mediating and translating the demands of both the organisation and Swedish Arts Council. Contact between the board and General Manager in MC was closer and based more on teamwork, whereas in the SCO it was formal and usually via board meetings. The board meeting itself in MC however was much more formal in its procedures. Looking at the vertical relationship between Arts Council, board and management, the relationship between board and management in MC is more loosely connected, whereas it was stable over time in SCO because of the political foundation of the board.

The relationship to Arts Council England affected MC board members' roles. The close relationship between management and the MC board was explained by one board member:

I talk to the General Manager every week. It would be unusual if we didn't talk for a week. The General Manager keeps everybody updated. I am quite sure that everybody knows what he is doing. He must have a finger on the pulse of the whole thing. (Board member, Manchester Camerata)

Even though Arts Council funding was a much lower proportion of total funding for MC, relative to the Swedish Arts Council funding, Arts Council funding was the most stable of all funding sources for MC. Hence it was still regarded as crucially important for the survival of the organisation. It also meant that every small change in funding became relatively larger than in the Swedish case. This, in combination with total transparency, meant social forms of communication were very important in the UK case. The ACE representative and the General Manager of MC were in close contact and could discuss artistic assessments affecting ACE funding decisions. The General Manager worked hard to establish a good relationship with the Arts Council, meeting their representatives and inviting them to concerts and rehearsals to validate the orchestra's high artistic excellence.

For Manchester Camerata, the close relationship with the Arts Council can be understood as a direct effect of the recovery plan, putting pressure on all elements of the administration and management. The Head of Marketing explained:

During the recovery they [the Arts Council] were very keen on having milestones and seeing if we had achieved those milestones – it was a very sensible way of working really. Financial targets but also personal targets, like where we wanted the organisation to be in publicity terms, how much profile we were getting. So it wasn't just financial. It was targets to move everyone on. Each department had targets, so fundraising had their targets, financial had their targets; it was about what we should be doing and by when. We did, in the main, hit the targets and if we didn't there was usually a very good reason why not, and easy to explain to the Arts Council why, especially if we had done things in a different way. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

In addition, one tangible change in roles was the creation of a learning and participation manager role:

Before May 2006 the management of learning and participation was a part time role. I think having a full time member of the staff as Head of Learning and Participation is necessary now because more and more we are having to justify the money that we are getting from the public purse, via our ACE regular funding. So education has, in the last 15, 20 years, become *much* more important: you are expected to go out to the community, and contribute to developing that community. Having a full time member in the staff working with learning makes it seen as an

equal part in the organisation to the concerts. And I think it should be an equal part because if we didn't do this right we would find it increasingly difficult to justify our ACE regular funding. (Head of Learning and Participation, Manchester Camerata)

6.1.6 The development of Arts Council funding – discussion and thoughts about the future

In 2002, Arts Council England underwent major restructurings of its formal structure. Gone were the heads of theatre, dance, literature and visual arts, four of five art forms funded by the Arts Council. Instead it sought managers who could see the “bigger picture” and structure the organisation according to its main goals such as development and education.

There are still art form heads. However, in recent years all employees at Arts Council have been developed to understand the wider picture, and new posts in development have been added as this cross cutting agenda has become more important. (Representative, Arts Council England)

Changes in the setup of the Arts Council can also be seen in Sweden, consistent with developments in the UK.

Swedish Arts Council has been restructured over a number of years. A few years back the department of performing arts included theatre, dance, music, but now these areas have merged with museums, visual arts, exhibitions, literature and libraries. It is the municipality and region that are owners of the organisations, not the Arts Council. The role of the government has changed and that is a major change in Sweden. During the financial crises in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra the systems had to step in and take responsibility for the organisation; the municipality and county council had to realise that they were owners from now on. (Former General Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

From 2006 the government for the first time left the Swedish Arts Council to decide the allocation of the total sum of official support. The Swedish Arts Council representative said this illustrated an increasing will to put more and more responsibility closer to users. Making the Council more freely responsible for allocating funds within broad guidelines meant moving the decision one step closer to the institutions that received the grants, according to representatives of the Council. On the one hand, the Swedish Arts Council sets important working cultural policy priorities. Currently this includes equal

conditions for male and female artists, equal accessibility for the disabled, and the enhancement of ethnic diversity within the performing arts. On the other hand, this is a difficult and delicate issue where the artistic integrity of each performing arts organisation must be respected.⁸⁸

The Inquiry of Orchestras commissioned by the Swedish Government (Orkesterutredningen, Ku 2004:06), pointed out the vagueness of ownership of regional orchestras and called for clearer missions for them. They concluded that the Swedish Arts Council should not split the official grant in one direct and one indirect part (going through the county council), but have only one lump sum directly granted to chosen orchestras, with clearer formulations of the mission and contribution.

The Swedish Arts Council identified the same problem of vagueness but recommended the opposite solution, granting all government support to the region which in turn was fully responsible for its allocation and use. The Council did not share the opinion of the Inquiry that the Swedish Arts Council should identify the orchestras to receive official support. As stated before, it is the Council's aim, together with regions and municipalities, to work on the conditions for artistic activity through dialogue and collaboration. One important point of departure is found in regional and local conditions and priorities.⁸⁹ Many have called for a clearer formulation of benefits and missions. The Swedish Arts Council agrees with this view. One thing was clear, however, the role of the government in arts funding has been changing for several years.

	SCO	MC
1993	60%	5%
2006	43%	15%

Table 6.1 Arts Council funding

Table 6.1 shows Arts Council funding as percentage of total income. Examining financial reports in the two organisations over 13 years, MC's income appeared more volatile across all categories than that of the SCO, giving rise to greater unpredictability. Looking at the Arts Councils' respective involvement in the organisations in strict financial terms, state funding for the SCO has decreased as a percentage of total income. In contrast, state funding increased for the MC (though it is still relatively modest compared to SCO),

⁸⁸ Interview with representative at Swedish Arts Council autumn 2006.

⁸⁹ Letter from the Swedish Arts Council in August 2006.

something that was connected to the stabilisation process. Generally, even Arts Council funding seemed more difficult to predict:

The Arts Council has always been supportive but the funding rounds here in the UK make it very difficult to predict how much you are going to be able to get. We are a regularly funded orchestra but any increases and scrutiny going forward is dependent on governmental funding cycles. (Former Chair of the Board, Manchester Camerata)

6.2 Regional and local funders

6.2.1 Larger responsibility in exchange for representation

The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro is part of the somewhat complex and much debated support system for regional music, Länsmusiken, which commenced in 1988 with 20 regional music organisations by the merger of the regional music and the organisation Rikskonserter.⁹⁰ In 1997 Music for Örebro was the region with the highest percentage of official support (93%). In the same year, the Swedish Parliament decided that governmental support for regional music would decrease starting the following year, 1998. The resulting system of governmental support aimed to be a more equal system of support across Swedish regions, and be more closely tied to the regions. The Culture Investigation Report of 2009 argued that the role of municipalities and county councils should be developed even further, and that they should develop their own decision processes and systems for evaluating their implementation of cultural policy.⁹¹

With larger funding from Örebro municipality, it has become increasingly important for the SCO to represent the city of Örebro. In several ways, this representational aspect is in turn linked to private partners. When the municipality of Örebro can market the city during international tours; it is directly linked to creating business opportunities. In this way, the small town and unique local context of SCO is a big strength. For Manchester Camerata this connection is much more difficult to achieve. Manchester does not need Manchester Camerata to create a flourishing business life in the city and its region – the city has many other alternatives to fulfil that objective. In Örebro, the orchestra can offer the city opportunities that are unique.

⁹⁰ In the Culture Investigation Report (2009:16) it has been suggested that Rikskonserter be closed down.

⁹¹ From SOU 2009:16, p. 263.

This aspect of regional funding and its usefulness for the region gives a deeper understanding of the figures in table 6.2 below, that show regional funding as percentage of total income. In Manchester Camerata the stated objective of the funding from the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) is to provide high quality chamber orchestral concerts and associated outreach and education work. Both orchestras have been able to increase their regional funding, however the regional funding has increased significantly in SCO, which may be related to how the orchestra can represent their city or region and thus become “of use”.

	SCO	MC
1993	31%	6%
2006	37%	7%

Table 6.2 Regional funding

6.2.2 Regional funders – answerability and enforceability

In Manchester Camerata, regional funding as in Sweden was closely connected to Arts Council funding. The mission of taking music into regional venues was fulfilled in collaboration with regions who in return got the orchestra (or parts of the orchestra, as often with Manchester Camerata) as a regular performer. For example, just before the study took place in Manchester, the organisation had received a small funding pot from the South Lakeland District Council conditional on their taking up a residency in Ulverston until 2010. Part of the Arts Council funding was also conditioned on securing specific local funding, something that had not happened before.

A difference between the two organisations was their process of entering funding agreements with regional funders. In the Swedish organisation, management hosted meetings with the municipalities of Örebro County and presented the yearly programme, and from that concerts were distributed among municipalities according to suitability of concert dates. Funding from the regions was not directly connected to specific activities, only indirectly in that municipalities could choose when and how often the orchestra should visit.

In Manchester Camerata, negotiations with regions were different from one case to another. Often the process came down to reaching a “Service level agreement”, with the orchestra presenting the desire to do a concert series and education programme in the region, showing how this fits the region’s

community strategies and objectives. The General Manager, however, emphasised that personal relationships are often the most effective, for though the orchestra can show benefits consistent with the region's overall objectives, there needed to be an interested person there who wanted it to work. The fairly low degree of accountability requirements in the UK case was possibly connected to the relatively low proportion of regional funding.

In the Swedish case, accountability relationships with municipalities were closely linked to the relationship with the board of directors since it was a political board. The chair of the board of the organisation is also the chairman of the municipality board. Consequently, the relationship between the municipality and the organisation in Sweden is similar to that between the Arts Council and Manchester Camerata, which has a high degree of operational accountability and full transparency.

Some organisational members in Sweden expressed concern that since the board was political and connected to the municipality (rather than to the Arts Council) it was in the hands of politicians that may or may not support the orchestra. It also created a constant need to explain the organisation's identity and importance to the board.

When I first started as a member of the board, I didn't know anything about classical music. But the Artistic Manager is such an inspiring person and he has made me quite excited and passionate about the orchestra's work. When he has talked to us in board meetings you always leave the meeting very motivated; he has that ability – to make people understand and feel something about the work they do. (Board member, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

6.3 Private partners

6.3.1 Private funding – ambitions to steer arts organisations away from “public dependency”

Private partners can be both consumers and funders. In the Swedish case, private partners were clearly not funders. Yet in the UK they had a very different position. As shown in table 4.3, private sponsorship and private donations were in total around 15% of total income in MC, compared to one percent of total income in SCO. The 15% of total income can be compared to the 16% of total income coming from the Arts Council. The figures are

reflected in a statement by the new Chair of the Manchester Camerata board during a board meeting in autumn 2007:

We have now come to a place where we must consider private partners as our core funders. Looking at the part of income stemming from that source, it's becoming more and more true.

Companies as well as individual givers are included among private partners. Manchester Camerata has five Chair Endowers at the highest level of donation, about 90 individual Patrons at the mid-level donation, and around 300 Friends at the lowest level which is £15 a year. Also, there is constant work to attract private companies to sponsor the organisation, mostly through specific projects.

In Manchester Camerata, public funders explicitly wanted to steer the organisation towards becoming more attractive for private partners. As mentioned in chapter 4, after the MC stabilisation process, Manchester Camerata was chosen as one of a diverse set of small and medium-sized arts and cultural organisations to be exemplar projects in the Mission, Models Money (MMM) programme, a research initiative financed by Arts Council England and several private companies. The organisations were embarking on innovative projects which addressed the challenges of sustainability.

The arts sector in the United Kingdom is over-extended and under-capitalised, with cultural organisations trying to do more things than they can possibly do well, with both human and financial resources too thinly spread. Additional resources secured by the sector are generally more likely to result in further under-funded expansion – whether of programmes or buildings – than in doing core things better.

Lacking liquidity or reserves, cash strapped and thinly spread between ever more diverse, fragmented pools of funding, arts organisations find it easier to secure the marginal costs of marginal activities than the core costs of core activities. The result is a hyperactive sector that responds with Pavlovian urgency and enormous ingenuity to the imperatives of funders but that has a decreasing capacity to hear, or at any rate listen to, the voice of mission. (Ellis, 2004)

Manchester Camerata was chosen when it had no fit-for-purpose administrative or rehearsal space. The move to RNCM was a solution that provided a foundation for growth and productive collaborations. Of the seven key issues

addressed by the MMM initiative, the Manchester Camerata concentrated on two:

- Developing strategic alliances
- Developing new markets and building engagement and participation

The MMM aimed to address seven key issues, related to current challenges for arts organisations. The first was how the sector could better engage with the changing demographic, technological and social environment. The second was finding new ways to improve the capabilities of arts organisations to develop new and more collaborative approaches to sustain their customer/visitor base, develop new markets and build engagement and participation in the arts. In order to do this, a third issue addressed what strategic alliances could be developed between organisations to achieve back office cost efficiencies and how these could be extended to include more collaborative business models.

For example, they enabled new kinds of artistic collaboration, better connections to culturally diverse communities and organisations or new income streams. The core issues in the programme were sustainability and finding stable funding. The Manchester Camerata initiative was a direct result of the organisation's funding situation, namely low Arts Council funding and the struggle to secure future cash flows. Moreover, the new collaboration with RNCM tallied with the interests of private partners, something that will be discussed further in section 6.3.2.

In Sweden, private funding constituted a negligible percentage. As mentioned in chapter 5 in the discussion on reviewers and critic, the local newspaper in Örebro, *Nerikes Allebanda*, was for many years (and during the study) the main private sponsor of the orchestra. However, continuous work to attract other sponsors was taking place and resulted in several new well-known sponsors in 2009. However, the level of private funding remains fairly insignificant.

6.3.2 Private partners – answerability and enforceability

As mentioned, Manchester Camerata's private source of income is, according to the new chair of the board of directors, the new core funding. Thus the business must be set up to please the new core funders. One illustration of the increased focus on private funding is the creation of a role specifically dedicated to fundraising (called *development*). From having a split role between marketing and fundraising, the organisation had a fulltime development officer at the time of the study. By the end of the study an assistant to the development officer was appointed, reinforcing the crucial role of fundraising.

In addition, the administration team had tried to embed fundraising within the culture of the organisation. For example, conductors became “ambassadors for fundraising”, asking audiences to contribute during concerts, or thanking lists of contributors from stage during concerts. Since the most likely private contributors are the audience members, the best fundraisers may be those who the audiences see on stage. This follows from the fact that personal ties with the orchestra, its history and its members are decisive for private giving:

Why people are currently giving is because they have known Camerata for a long time, around 35 years. They respect having their own chamber orchestra and feel a real ownership of the orchestra and love the music. A number of our current givers give because of particular members of the orchestra, the nature of it being a chamber orchestra: you see individuals; you hear individuals and particularly identify with them. (Head of Development, Manchester Camerata)

Fundraising from companies was hard and challenging for the organisation but had brought some major successes in attracting new private partners. One board member argued that private funding is largely given on the back of learning and participation work, and concerts are becoming a bonus made possible by outreach work.

The terms of funding from private partners tends to be tied to products, namely the outreach work linked to social responsibility, such as school projects, not necessarily related to classical music. The Head of Development explained that all Manchester Camerata’s corporate partnership had a strong learning and participation element. Its financial importance was evident in the increased focus on learning and participation work within the organisation.

During 2007 a deal was closed with a large corporate organisation that made Manchester Camerata unique: a partnership that was the largest ever of its kind in the North of England. During the study, the partnership was being negotiated, and the Head of Development reflected on what it would mean for the organisation:

We are hopefully just about to agree a massive new corporate partnership. If it comes off, in our hierarchy of supporters the Arts Council will still be at the top, but only just, and then *a company* will come underneath and *then* AGMA our other public funder will come after that. That will certainly have some effects.

Hopefully it will give us some leverage to uplift our public funding. Also, I know having worked with this company now for eight or nine months, their demands are incredibly, *incredibly* strategic, and they think about everything and they are hands on and involved, and that is quite refreshing but also new to us. (Head of Development, Manchester Camerata)

The increased importance of, and pressure from, private partners was apparent in two aspects of the management in Manchester Camerata. First was the perceived importance of being seen as a professional business; moving to the new premises was seen as important in making private partners take the organisation more serious. Second, a development department was set up which had previously been a function of marketing. In Sweden the Marketing and Development functions were still one combined role. However, SCO management argued that increased efforts to attract private sponsorships were vital and that this needed a bigger unit beyond the marketing department.

In the UK the role of the voluntary donors, friends and patrons was used to create buffers for risk taking in self-promoted concerts. Public funders of the SCO had demanded that international touring and recordings be funded privately, since they were not part of the political agenda. Hence, SCO focused on attracting international sponsors of tours and helped promote private companies abroad.

In Sweden, finding private sponsorships were, however, not easy and is becoming increasingly difficult. An explanation lies in the numbers in table 6.3:

Beneficiary	Culture	Sports	Charities
2000	20%	60%	10%
2007	7%	59%	23%

Table 6.3 Beneficiaries of private funds in Sweden (Temo, 1999)

Similarly, according to general perceptions in interviews, private companies in the UK are less likely today to sponsor special events restricted to the performance of classical music, such as promotions of the orchestra. As mentioned before, companies regard the collaboration with the orchestra as part of their social responsibility work. This fact relates to two trends in society: 1) companies gaining legitimacy in the public eye through social responsibility work, and 2) increasing pressure for shareholder value: elaborate parties and representation events containing classical music are not liked by shareholders.

Manchester Camerata's Head of Learning and Participation gives an example of how private partners can be attracted by interesting learning and participation projects:

There was this maths lecturer in Manchester who was organising a celebration around the 50th anniversary of space exploration, and he wanted to get as many elements involved as possible and asked me "what do you think we can do musically?" We talked about it and he asked if I knew that at 7 am every morning on the international space station they play a wake up call – why don't we make the kids write the music for it?

Our Head of Development picked up on that and said that Air Products really loved that idea, given their association with both Camerata and NASA (they provide the gas cylinders that help launch the space shuttle), and provided the funding for us to develop the idea into a project. Musicians from the orchestra and a composer worked with the children to create and then perform their new pieces to an audience including the University and a visiting Russian astronaut, so it was quite an interesting project. (Head of Learning and Participation, Manchester Camerata)

Private companies are different from other partners and funders in that they have, for example, very detailed requirements and higher demands for evaluations and reporting of benefits. This can be seen in projects such as the one described above where musicians often must keep diaries to compile evaluations and reports for partnerships with private companies:

Evaluation of learning and participation projects is built into the work. As soon as the project is completed everyone involved gets a form to fill in to evaluate the project. Sometimes they have been asked to keep diaries and children have spoken in front of video cameras so that we get a lot of feedback. (Head of Learning and Participation, Manchester Camerata)

The unreliability of private partners as funders was also frequently discussed:

A company is under no obligation to fund the arts. It could change its policy for corporate philanthropy whenever it wanted to. The Arts Council has a national remit to fund the arts, and one of the things as a fundraiser that you have to bear in mind all the time is that the people that you are talking to are under no obligation to give you money. (Head of Development, Manchester Camerata)

To summarise, private funders have become very influential over form, substance and process in the work of the UK orchestra. The board was highly involved in attracting and organising private funding and a few board members are givers themselves, a tradition from many years back. The General Manager of Manchester Camerata wanted musicians to be more flexible to enabling the organisation to better adapt to working with companies and meet their needs and ways of working. The focus lay on trying to build long-term relationships with private companies to make that income less risky, and in turn create funding that can be used to do more “artistically interesting” projects that satisfy musicians. However, the situation where different stakeholders want different things from the organisation also leads to internal tension, especially between management and musicians.

All stakeholders want different things, of course they do. As cynical as it is, a corporate sponsor doesn't want to do a learning project to help children; a corporate sponsor wants to do a learning project to *be seen to* be helping children, they want press coverage, that is what they want. Some musicians are involved in that learning work because they want to be paid for it, and perhaps they don't want to do millions of interviews and have their photos done. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

It becomes evident that the different stakeholders want different things that are sometimes in conflict. We will now go on to analyse the accountability processes within the organisation in order to analyse these issues further, beginning with accountability from the perspective of the board of directors.

6.4 Management responses in vertical processes

6.4.1 The board of directors and legal aspects of organisational accountability

In the UK, many corporations call their board of directors its trustees. In Manchester Camerata the directors of the charitable company, Manchester Camerata Ltd. set up in 1973, under charity law are referred to as the trustees. In virtually every common law jurisdiction, trustees have certain fiduciary duties. These include the duty to: carry out the express terms of the trust instrument, defend the trust, prudently invest trust assets, show impartiality among the beneficiaries, account for their actions and to keep the beneficiaries

informed about the trust, show loyalty, not delegate, and administer the trust in the best interest of the beneficiaries.

The Board of Manchester Camerata has nine members. The executive team also has nine members including full-time artistic planning, fundraising, education and marketing posts. In the annual report for the year ending 31 May 2006 the responsibilities of the trustees are clearly stated. They are responsible for keeping proper accounting records that disclose with reasonable accuracy at any time the financial position of the charity and enable them to ensure that the financial statements comply with the Companies Act 1985.

The trustees are also responsible for safeguarding the assets of the charity and hence for taking reasonable steps for the prevention and detection of fraud and other irregularities (Annual Report 2006). On a more strategic level (as a consequence of the Art Council England's recovery programme) the trustees adopted a policy to keep sufficient unrestricted reserves to maintain liquidity to cover short-term emergency cash requirements.

The trustees are also responsible for scoping a risk management strategy which builds on financial risk reviews undertaken during recovery, comprising (according to the annual reports):

- Regular review of risks faced and actions taken to mitigate identified risks
- Establishment of systems and procedures to mitigate those risks identified
- Implementation of procedures designed to minimise any potential impact should any of those risks materialise

The board of the Örebro organisation also had nine members. Here, the board is political and is comprised of three members appointed by Örebro county council, five by Örebro municipality and one by the Association of Local Authorities in the County of Örebro (Kommunförbundet Örebro län). The board is responsible for overseeing the overall running of the organisation and ensuring that financial reports are constructed according to applicable guidelines. No other responsibility is articulated in the annual report, unlike with Manchester Camerata. Risk assessment was not formally stated in financial reports and was in practice mainly focussed on the achievement of the political goals and safeguarding financial limits.

In SCO, during the financial crises in 2002, discussions took place on a need for board members who were more engaged in their mission, i.e. playing an active not passive role:

It's more a feeling of things going the way they should. We don't have any specific targets or measurements. I don't know, maybe we should have. At this time we don't really do a formal evaluation in terms of figures. It's more a discussion. But I think that this board is much more involved than the last one, and that's an important thing. (Board member at the time of the study, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Increased demands for an active and involved board were observed in both cases. During a board meeting in Manchester, one board member said that, "the times when you could just ask for more money if things went wrong is no more, because of this, we have to take a much bigger responsibility". The Manchester Camerata Trust has become a very focussed and critical contributor to developing a sustainable financial situation, especially regarding risk taking in programming.

In MC, this could also be connected to a parallel development, namely that the Friends Association – having had a marginalised role over a number of years during the financial difficult times (financially contributing to a smaller proportion of funds today compared to in the early years of the orchestra) – now had become much more important as a support group. The administration of Camerata at the time of the study had worked hard to regain a close relationship with the Friends Association. The chair of Manchester Camerata Trust describes:

Now, as Chairman of the Manchester Camerata Trust, I am able to fully appreciate recent educational and artistic initiatives made possible by legacies from generous benefactors, among them my late wife, Helen. It's the role of the Camerata Trust to provide a bed-rock of long-term support for our wonderful orchestra. I have already made provision to support the orchestra in my will and would commend others to support in this practical way too. (Chairman, Manchester Camerata Trust)

A board member of Manchester Camerata claimed that the stabilisation process brought an important understanding of the obligation for arts organisations in general and Manchester Camerata in particular to have better management and more active boards.

Who is on the board is not always the most important thing; the most important thing is that board members have very clear roles to play. Board members must understand why they are there – to provide support in the relation between the organisation and the Arts Council as well as other funders, to assess risks, above all to assist in personnel issues and artistic issues in the orchestra as well as going to concerts. I have very frank conversations with the General Manager about the orchestra and their players. We should not be involved in artistic matters, but we are open to discussions. (Board member, Manchester Camerata)

The general perception was that the role of the Manchester Camerata board changed considerably as a result of the recovery process in 2002.

Pre my time, I think the tension would have been frustration surrounding the direction in which to go and a sense of wanting to grow and not knowing how to achieve that step-change. I came in on a change ticket, but valuing all the heritage. During my time, probably too much breathing down the necks. We needed to get slicker, the whole organisation needed to get slicker. We had to really galvanise that whole machinery – so I was quite an interventionist Chair. People would have been quite hands on. We needed really good governance.

I think the role of the Board did become more proactive, insofar as we brought in people with specialist skills who could shadow each area of the business – hence a global expert in HR, a top Trust lawyer, a corporate recovery specialist who had joined a little before me – and I think that has been helpful to the executive team, the management team and a key plank in moving things forward. (Former Chair of the Board, Manchester Camerata)

The board in the Swedish case is not engaged in raising private money for the orchestra, and is not comprised of individuals especially skilled to assist in various areas of the day-to-day running of operations and is not involved in artistic planning. However, especially important is that the Head of the Municipality has also been the chair of the board. In Sweden, there is no tradition of board members being private donors to the orchestra; however, it is similar to the board of Manchester Camerata in that they are both closely related to the most important funder; in SCO the municipality. The chair of the Swedish board of directors had long been involved (not always as chair) in the well being of the organisation and in its financial problems. A former General

Manager says that “he has always been the orchestra’s friend” and that having an individual like this in the municipality was crucial at many points in time.

In both cases, the financial problems around 2002 brought changes in the composition and responsibilities of the board of directors. Individuals with a passion for the orchestra often had a decisive importance.

6.4.2 Maintaining legitimacy and stability in the general management position

Reciprocity between the Arts Councils and the respective orchestras is much about ticking off boxes and political goals, in return for fairly stable funding. However, in the UK, the Arts Council representative had closer contact, and was more focused on evaluating artistic work. The Swedish Arts Council was less concerned about the orchestra’s artistic performance and did not evaluate it. In SCO, discussions with the Arts Council revolved around the number of children’s concerts and other political priorities. In Manchester Camerata, the discussion revolved around issues of artistic quality, self-sufficiency and relations with other funders.

In Sweden, the financial crises affecting artistic investment, culminating in 2002, brought changes in funding structures and accountability demands, which in turn had an impact on roles within the organisation. When a new General Manager was appointed in 2003, the board wanted someone with three main qualifications: first and perhaps most importantly, a financial background; second, experience in arts organisations; and third, being apolitical. In addition, since he was not from the region but from Stockholm, the new General Manager was perceived as independent – just what the organisation needed. Almost all board members were changed, and recruiting the new General Manager was the first job of the new board.

Appointing a General Manager with a financial education brought changes in routines and financial reporting structures. Efforts to increase individual cost awareness by demanding staff members to do their own bookkeeping were made. New pressures to increase self-generated income became tangible as the new General Manager changed the presentation of the income statement in the annual report. Previously it had always been structured with public grants first but now it started with their self-generated income. New routines for gathering statistics on audience numbers were also initiated. The new board made new demands, among others that concerts for school children should increase. It was very important that the Artistic Manager was given financial frames within which he had to allocate the costs of producing the annual programme.

Generally, the vision of the organisation was artistic; new appointments for marketing and work with children's concerts marked a new focus that supplemented the core artistic focus.

From 1995 to 2005 the SCO passed through three phases. The first, 1995 to 1999, was characterised by a strong artistic vision with little or no internal management control. The second, 1999-2002, was characterised by a struggle to increase administrative efficiency and awareness. The third, from 2003 onwards, was about financial awareness and trying to impose individual cost awareness while becoming more independent and managing without the day-to-day involvement of consultants. During this period the organisation increased its own revenue. Manchester Camerata went through similar management changes following the stabilisation process beginning in 2002, but had developed even further in self-sufficiency and business models. Legitimacy in the general manager position in MC was about running and profiling the organisation as a professional business.

6.4.3 Delegating responsibilities and translating accountabilities across roles within the organisation

As was mentioned in relation to the organisations' respective relation with their Arts Councils, the administrative office in Manchester Camerata functioned differently than in the Swedish case, in many respects. The management team's close teamwork and overlapping responsibilities enabled them to respond quickly to opportunities, and artistic planning was more integrated with other departments such as marketing. A key aspect of the day-to-day running of the orchestra was that the General Manager maintained close contact in team-based interactions with professional partners, board members, musicians and representatives of stakeholders. Team members were often present at board meetings and took active part in vertical accountability processes, something that was relatively new:

I didn't used to be in board meetings; previously that was all within the General Manager's report. The General Manager would update on the various areas, which is fine, but if there were any questions, and he wasn't directly involved, then it would have been easier for the person actually doing it to answer the questions. In the last year or so I have been to most board meetings. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

In SCO the board and external stakeholders were more detached from the organisation, especially its artistic side. In MC, the whole team created an aura

of being accountable to external parties, whereas in the SCO mainly the General Manager was involved in accountability to external stakeholders and at board meetings.

However, the management team in Sweden was more stable than in Manchester, where there was a high turnover and the management team consisted mostly of people under 30. This meant that the General Manager saw one of the main challenges as being managing people and reducing the risk of regularly losing staff. During my study in Örebro, no team member left and most had worked there for a long period of time. During my study in Manchester, four young members of staff left and two new ones were recruited, a trend that continued after the study took place.

In examining roles of principal conductors, the SCO's Principal Conductor has responsibility for the artistic vision and sound of the orchestra. It is generally perceived that he has brought out more from every musician than they thought possible. There is a close relationship between leaders and conductor, with leaders working like middle managers, often playing a crucial role in mediating and communicating across the organisation. According to the conductor and his colleagues, it is important for the conductor to be free in determining artistic vision and development. This could perhaps be described as a "pure" kind of artistic accountability, or in this case an "accountability to one's self", since Thomas Dausgaard could fulfil a childhood dream of recording all the Beethoven symphonies. This can be linked to the power relation between the conductor and the organisation: Thomas Dausgaard is an internationally recognised and respected conductor with many alternatives, whereas the organisation (especially with increased financial pressure internally) is grateful for his cooperation and expresses concerns about when he might leave to further his career.

The new chief conductor of MC is a former oboist from the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, Douglas Boyd. He has a different title than his predecessor (who was the Principal Conductor and focussed mainly on artistic issues) – Music Director. This entails the same duties as chief conductor, but includes more programming responsibility. However, the current Music Director is more involved than that. He participates in communicating with the Arts Council, communicates regularly with the audience from stage about the importance of giving money to the orchestra and thanking those who already did, and was also becoming more involved in the learning and participation work.

My personal opinion is that a music director should be actively involved in all aspects of the organisation. If that person is not fully integrated it becomes very dangerous for quality. You can't separate the orchestra's artistic vision from its business model and its market. It's just like you can't run a biscuit factory and just focus on the biscuits. (Board Member, Manchester Camerata)

Douglas Boyd claimed that he does think about other things, such as how large an audience a certain piece of music will attract. Yet, both Douglas Boyd and Nicholas Kraemer, the orchestra's baroque specialist and former music conductor, are aware of the need for financial support. I often heard them ask the audience for support and to become Friends of the orchestra. Thus, the images of the conductors in the orchestras were opposite. Whereas the English conductor spoke on stage about learning and participation projects and how grateful the orchestra was for audience financial support, the Swedish conductor did not speak at all from stage, which created a different, more mysterious image.

The roles of artistic manager in each orchestra also varied as a result of these differences. The Artistic Manager's (AM) task in the SCO was split in MC (right-hand side in figure 6.2) – meaning both the General Manager (GM) and the Principal Conductor (PC) also functioned as AM – leading to the title of Music Director instead of Principal Conductor in MC.⁹² In the SCO the General Manager's (GM) work with the Artistic Manager was to a large extent independent of the Principal Conductor (PC), and the General Manager had little contact with the Principal Conductor (left-hand side in figure 6.2).

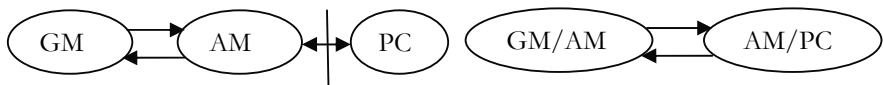


Figure 6.2 Roles of Artistic Manager (AM) and Principal Conductor (PC) in the SCO versus MC

Previously, the Artistic Manager in Sweden had also been more detached from financial responsibility; however, the current General Manager and the Artistic Manager had developed a closer collaboration after the financial problems around 2002. A first step to make the artistic work more closely connected to

⁹² Manchester Camerata also had a person with the title Artistic Manager. However, this person mainly worked with finding engagements and was thus not directly involved in the programming of self-promoted concerts.

the financial and overall management of the organisation. In MC the collaboration between the General Manager and the Music Director was very close which meant no single manager was accountable *only* for artistic decisions: everyone must take other factors into account.

As a result, the Music Director in MC had to face other people when he planned a programme, for example the Head of Marketing. This had various consequences. He claimed, for example, that his awareness of audience figures for different concerts had increased, and that he was concerned with funding and overall managerial issues of the organisation:

The roles are quite shared because I am the Principal Conductor and I am the Music Director so I have a big say in the artistic programming. But at the same time the chief executive is somebody I work with almost on a daily basis; mostly discussing artistic projects. He has an input, a huge input, especially financially, the buck stops with him, and also he has got things to say musically as well. Then you might have an amazing idea for a programme that the marketing people are scared about because it is not going to get people to come to the concert. So there are all these dilemmas that go back and forth and I think you have to come to a collective decision. You can't just dictate and say "I am the Music Director and we are going to do this programme".
(Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

Developments in the two organisations thus suggest three different observable phases; one illustrated in the situation in SCO before the financial problems in 2002, with both an Artistic Manager and a Principal Conductor working independently with little or limited connection to the General Manager. This first phase was also similar to the situation in MC before the changes after its stabilisation process with Arts Council England due to its financial problems. The next phase, illustrated by the situation in SCO after the financial problems in 2002, financial responsibility for the artistic work had been shifted to the Artistic Manager who worked more closely to the General Manager, while the Principal Conductor still worked independently. In a third phase, illustrated by the situation in MC at the time of the study, there is no principal conductor, but rather two managers in close collaboration (one general manager and one artistic) – both taking part in all the accountability processes of the organisation but with different main focuses.⁹³

⁹³ This third phase interestingly turns out to be a return to a situation in an even earlier stage of SCO history, namely that of 1968 when the possibility for a professional orchestra had just started to evolve in the Concert Hall, Örebro.

6.5 Discussion of vertical relationships

6.5.1 Summary of developments in vertical relationships

Having analysed vertical relationships, answerability and internal roles in the two orchestras with regard to the Arts Councils, regional funders and private partners, the concluding summary is:

- Both orchestras had experienced increased pressure from Arts Councils to become more self supportive.
- The Arts Councils had increased demands for accountability in both cases, but its form differed. In the SCO the Arts Council had increased their financial accountability by demanding more statistics and accounting information (“decreasing financial arm’s length”), whereas the Arts Council in Manchester had become both a formal and informal partner partly acting inside the organisation with increased operational accountability (“decreasing operational arm’s length”) and demanding transparency regarding all accounting and statistical information (no financial arm’s length).
- In both organisations, other funders besides the Arts Councils became increasingly important financially. In MC private partners were seen as core funders and in SCO regional funders (partly linked to private interests) were seen as the main owners. This seemed to have effects on what the organisations could do and had changed the direction, strategy and ways of working of both organisations.
- The developments had brought changes in roles internally because of answerability issues. Individuals were increasingly required to take all aspects of the organisation into account. External pressures had to be dealt with internally by adaptation, which meant internal structures, such as roles and ways of working, had to be changed. These changes (especially in MC) seemed to suggest the appearance of internal tension in reconciling various different interests (as will be further described in chapter 7). These empirical observations thus suggest that the type of funding an organisation receives has a real impact on internal operations.

6.5.2 Concluding reflections on risk-taking and independence

Although it had a smaller relative amount of funding from the Arts Council than the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro; Manchester Camerata was not more independent of the Arts Council. On the contrary, the SCO had greater freedom of action to interpret and operationalise their political mission, and

could concentrate on concert activities. In MC, funding conditions were more direct and left little room for risk taking since the risk of programming for self-promoted concerts had to be managed by the organisation itself. The quotes below confirm the problematic relationship between being self-supported and artistic freedom:

We have our hands tied behind our backs artistically; it's very difficult to take risks musically, because there is no guarantee that people are going to come to the concert. (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

In one sense they are free artistically but the problem is that they can't take risks. What's an arts organisation about if it can't take risks? It's got to take risk with contemporary art, with trying new work, but lot of them are frightened to do this in case their year end accounts go into deficit and then the Arts Council will say "You've been very naughty, you made a deficit budget." They have taken a sense of freedom from them which is a great shame.

The Arts Council England does *not* support British music enough - I am flabbergasted. I am always surprised that when I visit other European countries, the levels of support for their national composers are still pretty good. If you go to Finland for example, the Finnish Arts Council supports concerts by Finnish composers but they don't do that in this country. So if Manchester Camerata decided to do an evening of contemporary British music, they couldn't get any money for it. I think that's *really* bad. (Principal, RNCM and contemporary composer)

The high degree of risk in other sources of income, such as engagement income and private sponsorship, seemed to make the organisation even more dependent on their relatively small, but stable public funding. The statutory funding still provided all the real stability of the concert-giving activity with regard to autonomous music, although leaving it to the organisation to bear risks in programming itself. We will now go on to analyse the effects of horizontal and vertical pressures on the musicians in the two orchestras.

CHAPTER 7

BEING A MUSICIAN IN THE ORGANISATION

This chapter discusses the fourth empirical question: How are orchestra musicians in the communication chain of music affected by accountability within the organisations' horizontal and vertical relationships? The chapter begins with an introduction to being a musician, by describing the work of individual musicians and the collective work in the orchestra. Then the chapter compares and contrasts different musicians' opinions in the two orchestras about the parts of the communication chain of music. These opinions are then analysed in terms of the horizontal and vertical processes discussed in chapter 5 and 6. In sum, this chapter analyses what it is like to be a musician in the Swedish and the UK case respectively, and how musicians are affected by and cope with horizontal and vertical influences.

7.1 Working as an orchestra musician

7.1.1 Basic working conditions

Chapter 4 described income and cost structures and terms of employment for musicians. In chapter 5, some financial aspects of the market of professional musicians were discussed. Each musician's relationship with his or her orchestra differed because of financial and contractual relations, but also because of personal goals.

When calculating the monthly salary in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, the management estimates that a musician spends around 70 hours per month on personal preparation and practice.⁹⁴ This implies that a Swedish musician spends around 16 hours preparing and practising for one programme each week. The rehearsal hours of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro follow a strict schedule that must be followed. Monday to Thursday, the orchestra rehearses 10:00 a.m. to 11:15 a.m., 11:35 a.m. to 12:45 p.m. and 1:15 p.m. to 2:15 p.m.

For the UK musicians, preparation and practice time for each programme is less, and the number of concerts played per week higher. This means musicians

⁹⁴ *Practise* is the term used for musicians own work with their instrument. *Rehearsal* is the term used for the work with the whole orchestra.

do not spend the equivalent 16 hours of individual preparation and practice for each programme, but rather around three to five hours. This means the remaining hours of that week can be devoted to other concerts and income sources. In Manchester Camerata, rehearsal times are usually 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., with a 7.30 p.m. concert, but there could also be rehearsals between 10:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. during the day. The schedule can change for each concert and repertoire, and musicians must plan accordingly. Thus if they are given two jobs in the same week, where one means a full week of work and the other only three days, many say they often have to decline the job that lasts only three days. However, some musicians say they have a rule to take whatever comes in first is, meaning it is too tricky of a game trying to get out of jobs already accepted. In Sweden problems of double booking are dealt with by management. The time schedule can be changed up to five days before. In Sweden, changes in schedule are also limited through contracts with Musicians' Union.

As mentioned in the section on employment structures in chapter 4, Manchester Camerata musicians have to accept 2/3 of the work offered to them in order to remain a member; however this rule only holds if the work is offered more than eight weeks beforehand. There have been examples of musicians who did not fulfil the 66% demanded but who still stayed on as members. They could stay because they explicitly argued that they were highly committed to the orchestra but had been offered solo work, for example. The management then judged this would only develop and advance that particular musician to the benefit of the orchestra. The decisions are taken on a case-to-case basis and often involve meeting with members to explain why they didn't meet their percentage. The cases where members were forced to leave the orchestra because of too low a work percentage seem very few.

Musicians earn more from the Swedish orchestra per se, but the work of UK musicians is structured with shorter rehearsal times, meaning they can and must gain income from other sources. The UK musician depends on being able to work all hours each week and practice efficiently individually to attain an acceptable monthly salary, whereas Swedish musicians even with maternity leave and sick days can still make a living and continue as members. Even though Manchester Camerata members are not fully employed, they are very dependent on the organisation as an employer. Table 7.1 below details work offered to members since 2005.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Days of work offered</i>
2005/06	65
2006/07	75
2007/08	88
2008/09	95

Table 7.1 Days of work offered per year, MC⁹⁵

Looking at the table above, and supposing that members of Manchester Camerata accept most of the work offered, the orchestra provides members with work equivalent to up to a third of a whole year of work full time.⁹⁶ It can easily be concluded that the members of Manchester Camerata receive a significant part of their total income per year from the orchestra, and are thus dependent on the orchestras in ways similar to the Swedish musicians. The leader of Manchester Camerata describes his relation with the orchestra:

I have been the leader of Manchester Camerata for 20 years now. The long and the short of it is that I am employed as a freelance musician like everybody else. I have no real influence in how the organisation is run, but at an artistic level, with the conductor. That is where my area of responsibility is, so in all matters artistic, I am available for consultation.

I do 99% of Camerata's work. I suppose it gives me 66% of my income. The rest is work with other orchestras and some conducting. I think "loyalty" is linked to how much money members can make from an organisation. Loyalty is a funny word, I don't like the word very much, because we can say we are loyal but it can be confused with being offered lots of work, so I think very few members are loyal in the sense that you are meaning. (Leader, Manchester Camerata)

Another member says doing around 80% of the offered work gives a foundation of income and then other things can come on top of that.

In Sweden, the situation for musicians is different. The schedule of working hours in the orchestra is planned several months before hand. At first it is quite an interesting experience, being able to talk to a musician about what time and for how long a person will work, to the minute, at a date several months in

⁹⁵ Figures from General Manager. Days offered per year means days that a member is offered work with Manchester Camerata during a year.

⁹⁶ Supposing a full year comprises around 250 to 300 working days.

advance. One person in SCO's administration says that everything revolves around the "musicians and their working hours". The fact that the orchestra actually delivers their products at the exact same hour every time, week after week, is probably at least in part due to routines. The Swedish General Manager explains that, in a way, operations must be managed more effectively here than in any profit making firm:

Where in any business do you see products being perfected, marketed and delivered at an exact point in time to the minute? We do that over and over again, week after week. (General Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Work as an orchestra musician turned out to be extremely demanding. Social controls in the work situation were very strict; many musicians in both orchestras say they feared colleagues' opinions more than conductors or audiences. Social rules were upheld by the group, and musicians – especially in leading positions – could point out unwanted behaviour to other individuals. One musician tells about a rehearsal where he took out a magazine to read in his seat during a part of the rehearsal where he was not playing, and that this was later brought up by one of the leaders who did not accept the behaviour – all musicians were demanded to concentrate fully and pay attention at all times during a rehearsal. Some musicians even take beta-blockers to help slow the heart rate (by blocking the effect of the hormone adrenaline), to deal with pressure, especially during concerts.⁹⁷

Also according to strict social rules, the time that is set is followed without exception in both orchestras. This is the core of internal operations, and without a strict following of rules and routines the orchestra could not work. Being late for rehearsals is unacceptable because it affects all musicians in their work which they take extremely seriously:

Being late for rehearsal is a mortal sin. People are here around an hour before we start and warm up. I don't think it ever happened... yes, one time it actually did. There was a person who had misunderstood the change in schedule. He thought we started at 11 but we started at 10. Poor guy... he stood up in the front of the whole orchestra and apologised and promised all of us that this would never ever happen again. God, I felt so sorry for him. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

⁹⁷ This study does not suggest that this use of beta-blockers was generally widespread in the two case organisations; however, a few musicians in both cases talked about it, but said they did not want their colleagues to know about it.

The strict working conditions were connected to the rules set by negotiation with each country's Musicians' Union which in both countries had a prominent role. However, horizontal conditions also played a role; in the UK the large supply of both musicians and orchestras made working rules and routines even stricter, in order for musicians and orchestras to do their rehearsals and concerts in different place during the same day:

In the UK it's even stricter with times and schedules. If you are late for a rehearsal there are hundreds of other musicians waiting to do your job at least as well as you do. So people are always there one or two hours early. You work three hours at a time at fixed times, like ten to one in the day for example, then others can schedule their rehearsal two to five, for example, so that musicians can do both rehearsals. (Freelance musician, Sweden and the UK)

7.1.2 A life project and a lifestyle – individualism versus collectivism

Being a classical musician in an orchestra first and foremost means being an expert on an instrument; being an expert on producing specific sounds together with others. Many musicians talk about the fact that they have a special intimate relationship with their instrument.

I just love making that sound. Trying to achieve the most beautiful sound that I possibly can, that's what I work for.
(Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Unlike most other professions, musicians have been trained since they were young. The tradition of playing in an orchestra, the rules and routines of the orchestra, its repertoire, as well as the instrumental skill, are all taught in a long and devoted musical education beginning around the age of six or seven. Sharing that background is an important part of a musician's identity, and it creates a lifestyle.⁹⁸ This meant that musicians in the two cases had similar backgrounds and upbringings. A Swedish musician said something that I, as an observer, heard in different forms but with the same meaning from most musicians in both orchestras.

⁹⁸ Ander (2000) gives the example of Franz Berwald, the son of a professional violinist, who, like many professional musicians, had professional musicians in his immediate family and hence had an upbringing coloured by the traditions and lifestyle of working as a musician.

Practicing all these hours every week, weekends, evenings, holidays, alone with the instrument – it’s not just a job – it’s a way of life. It’s very difficult for someone who doesn’t play themselves to understand that way of life. For me, my work with my instrument and the music we create, it’s a matter of life or death. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Musicians in the two orchestras had various life projects that were interesting to analyse and compare. In Manchester Camerata, musicians had different life projects, from those who had some other non-artistic part-time work outside the orchestra, or focussed mostly on teaching, to musicians who dreamt of high artistic challenges and collaborations with interesting conductors and soloists. In the Swedish orchestra musicians had more similar objectives and dreams with their hard work and lifestyle attitude towards their jobs.

As described in the introduction to this thesis, one of the several unique aspects of the chamber orchestra is the strong collectivistic aspect of the orchestra musician’s work. Fromm (1994) describes the mode of concentrating on sharing and engaging in meaningful, creative and productive activity as the mode of “being”.⁹⁹ Each individual exercises highly specialised tasks simultaneously and with extreme precision. Adorno (1962) describes chamber music as oriented towards the players – it means playing your part according to its function in a totality. The music is, in its ideal form, created in the moment and the boundaries between music, performer and audience become blurred. Adorno argues that there is no clearer example of Kant’s description of music as purposefulness without instrumental purpose, as the playing of chamber music.

⁹⁹ The feeling of “being” in the strong collectivism of which an orchestra musician is a part, is excellently portrayed in Ingmar Bergman’s *Saraband* in which the daughter; a cellist who feels under pressure to become a soloist, says “[...] Jag vill faktiskt inte. Jag tror inte på mig själv som solist. Jag vill bli orkestermusiker. Jag vill leva innesluten i en klangkropp, i den där väldiga gemensamma ansträngningen. Inte sitta på ett podium, ensam och utelämnad. Jag vill inte att andra människor ska komma och tala om för mig att jag inte räcker till. Jag vill själv bestämma över min framtid. Jag vill leva ett vanligt enkelt liv inne i musiken. Jag vill vara – hemmahörande.[...]” (“[...] I really don’t want to. I don’t believe in myself as a soloist. I want to be an orchestra musician. I want to live enclosed in a body of resonance, in that immense united effort. Don’t want to sit on a podium, alone and deserted. I don’t want other people coming to me and telling me I am not good enough. I want to decide on my own future. I want to live an ordinary simple life inside the music. I want to – belong [...]” (my translation)).

When performers were not in the orchestra as a part of this whole, life in the two orchestras differed significantly because of the employment structure but also because of each organisation's way of working. One way of revealing musicians' differing relationships to their organisation was something so basic as comparing how musicians travelled to and from concerts. When the Swedish orchestra performs outside Örebro, the musicians travel together in a specially arranged bus. When the orchestra performed for a Swedish television show recorded in Gothenburg, I travelled with the orchestra to observe the recording. The journey in the bus reminded me of school trips that I did as a child. Even though the trip was a lot of fun, many musicians also worked during the hours on the bus, reading music and listening to next week's programme in headphones, a programme that they said was going to be very demanding.

Planning to attend one of Manchester Camerata's concerts in the small town Colne outside Manchester, I asked – coloured by my experiences from the Swedish study – if there would be a bus taking us all to the concert. Someone answered that they never travel together. A member of Manchester Camerata explained that it is part of the job as a freelance musician to drive many miles each week to get to and from different jobs. Compared to a full time employee in one of the larger symphony orchestras, a freelance musician could actually earn more money on a monthly basis, but taking into account the expenses for travelling the difference becomes smaller.

Travelling may appear of little significance. Each way of travelling has its own merits and travelling by bus would probably not even be a particularly practical solution, given the spread of Manchester Camerata members around the Manchester area. However, when examining this phenomenon more closely, it turned out this was standard procedure not only in freelance orchestras, but in many fulltime orchestras around the UK. I got the impression that the bus trips in the Swedish case either contributed to, or at least manifested, a stronger feel of group or even family belonging. This certain "feel" could be seen in other situations as well.

Because of the different employment structures in the two orchestras where musicians are fully employed in one and freelance in the other, it is expected that the musicians would identify differently with their respective orchestra. A Swedish musician explains:

When I do a concert outside the orchestra they usually state in the programme or present me as "a musician from the Swedish

Chamber Orchestra, Örebro” It’s like a quality stamp and that makes me want to perform well, to do the orchestra justice. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In Manchester, on the other hand, musicians do not seem to have the same close connection to the orchestra, which is to be expected from a freelance organisation. It is not typical that their involvement would be mentioned in relation other types of work.

When I’m doing something I feel loyal to what I do at the moment, but then the week after I do something different and then I’m very loyal to that too. It’s hard keeping a feeling of loyalty for something when you go on and do other things. You focus on what’s in front of you at the moment. (Musician, Manchester Camerata)

When asked about it, musicians replied that when they were presented in leaflets many aspects of their work were typically mentioned, including playing for Manchester Camerata; however, it was not particularly important for them if it for some reason was left out.

However, even though individuality was more apparent in the UK orchestra, it was equally important in both that there should always be a core of individuals who upheld a feeling of oneness. In both orchestras, it seemed to be a pivotal aspect of the organisation’s survival and prosperity, especially during harder financial times, that there was a group of musicians who constituted a stable core in the orchestra, and this was something that could be found in Manchester Camerata.

Compared to almost all other freelance organisations I know of, we are a much more stable organisation; it’s almost more or less the same people playing. The freelance market is not as large here in Manchester as in London so being a member of Manchester Camerata is something important to the musicians. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra that’s your contract, that’s your employment, you are unified with that, that’s your identity. With Manchester Camerata musicians feel for it when they do a concert with us, but then they go and do something else that is equally important. (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

As has been mentioned, Manchester Camerata has their new administrative offices – an open office landscape with two separate meeting and conference rooms – in the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM) and uses a rehearsal

space near those offices that is shared with the school for the purpose of education of music students. The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro has their own Concert Hall in which both administration and musicians have their own rooms and share a space for drinking coffee or having lunch. This is naturally a big difference and has an effect on the collective feeling.

Interviews with musicians in the different orchestras had a different character largely because of the work space situation. With musicians in Manchester Camerata, most interviews were made in the restaurant or the café inside the college, which meant meeting in a busy place in the middle of students, teachers and others, not only from the RNCM but from other parts of Manchester University. Even though this meant some disturbance, I had the feeling the interviews became a bit separated from the specific organisation Manchester Camerata, but rather exclusively focused on that individual musician as independent from the organisation.

In the Swedish orchestra, interviews were occasionally conducted in a café outside the Concert Hall Örebro. However, most often interviews were made either in a quite place in some corner of the Concert Hall, or in the musicians' own practice room. This had two important aspects. The first was the feeling of the interview being with a representative of the orchestra in a more directly connected way. The other was the fact that the interview often gave more of direct insight to the life of the musician in that particular working environment. The way interviews with musicians were conducted revealed interesting differences in the musicians' lives. Many Swedish musicians have posters, photos and other objects of affection in their rooms, and the rooms are not only used to practice, but to keep different clothes, shoes and other necessities for different concerts. It is also an important place to get some rest and quiet time before a concert. An oboist talks about the importance for the practical work with the instrument:

Having a room is *very* very important to me. I need to have all the reeds in order; it would not be easy to keep track on them if I didn't have my room. I need to have all my different reeds, know exactly where I was in the process of making my reeds and keep track of different reeds of different quality.¹⁰⁰ (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

¹⁰⁰ Reeds (oboerör) are something that oboists make themselves as part of taking care of and preparing the use of their instrument. It is known as a very difficult and sensitive craft. Reeds are of different material where each produces different sounds, depending on the oboists own handicraft.

The opposite situation was seen in an article in the local as well as a national paper during my stay in Manchester, where the difficulty of two freelance Manchester violinists was described:

Two of Britain's most promising young classical violinists have been told that their precious instruments could be seized by antisocial behaviour officers if they carry on playing Mozart or practising their scales at home.

The couple insist that they rarely practise at home for more than two hours, and not every day, or in the evenings, but they have fallen foul of an irate upstairs neighbour who has complained to Manchester City Council.

They have now received a formal warning from the council that their behaviour is unacceptable and must stop. Further breaches will lead to a noise abatement order and forcible entry to their flat to seize their violins. (*The Times*, October 13, 2007)

7.1.3 The relationship between musicians and the conductor

Regardless of how close musicians identified with their respective orchestras, in both orchestras, musicians emphasised the crucial role of group performance as a part of their work. Many musicians talked about their job as requiring sufficient skill at an instrument in order to carry out specific demands of a conductor in collaboration with others. Being a specialised expert who works to fulfil the artistic visions of someone else – the conductor – was talked about as perhaps the most challenging part of the work.

When you play in the orchestra you are to do what you are told. I can tell you a story about a flute player who had a major solo in a symphony. The conductor said that it should be played in a specific way, but the flute player couldn't do it; he said it was an offence to his personal integrity to perform this music the way the conductor wanted. The conductor said to the flute player in front of the orchestra that "this is *my* symphony and you are to play it in the way *I tell you* to play it." The day of the concert came and at that moment the conductor couldn't do anything about it; the flute player played it the way he wanted to. After the concert the flute player was called up to the administration and they said that this was not an acceptable behaviour. (Artistic Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In the Swedish orchestra there were no formal routines for musicians to give feedback or opinions about conductors to the management other than informally, whereas members in Manchester Camerata regularly evaluated conductors through a written form, where they share their opinions on working with each conductor. The forms are then passed on to the orchestra committee who then discuss the conductors with the management. The general perception in the UK case was that the conductor, in sharp contrast with the role of the conductor seen in the quote above, had to respect that, ultimately, a musician in the orchestra was the expert on his or her own instrument.

The power asymmetry between musicians and conductor in the work of both orchestras meant rules that regulate aspects such as rehearsal times and the structure of the work are important for musicians in their day-to-day work.

If a rehearsal stops at 2 p.m. and the conductor wants to take it once more after that, there are specific musicians in the orchestra whose responsibility is to make sure that the rehearsal is ended. At 2 p.m. the musician who is responsible stands up and says that rehearsal is over and everyone leaves. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In Manchester Camerata, it could be argued that there is a more equal relation between musicians and conductors in the employment structure and the way the Union regulations protect the musicians. A conductor in the UK case could not override the rehearsal time by a single minute since that would mean the organisation would have to pay musicians overtime. In Sweden, the time limits were also strict but more as an informal and social rule. There were no financial consequences for overriding of the rehearsal time by a few minutes.

Cultural values had different effects in the two cases, even though general rules in the work of the orchestras were similar. For example, communication between musicians and in hierarchical relationships seemed to differ in directness between the two countries, which in part seemed to stem from cultural differences.

In Sweden you can work somewhere and people are really nice to you, and then you just don't get invited back. In the UK it's the opposite; you can tell immediately if they are not happy with your work. People are much more open and direct and straight-forward than in Sweden. In the UK you audition and then you get instant feedback, so you can change and improve things. In Sweden, I have heard about musicians working the full trial year,

and then they didn't get the job and they had no idea why, it all came as a surprise – it's not only about your playing skills, it can be that some of the musicians around you were annoyed about something in your personality – but they never tell you so you don't know it. You just don't get the job. (Freelance musician, Sweden and UK)

7.2 Musicians' opinions on the different parts of the communication chain of music

7.2.1 Perspectives on composers and their intentions

One musician in the SCO describes how rewarding it was to become familiar with different composers intentions as a result of how the orchestra worked, especially with regard to the work with recording Beethoven's symphonies.

It is something very important, I have realised, to understand how the composer was thinking. It is much more interesting to play the music after I have become knowledgeable about that. It is largely because of our Principal Conductor who is very keen on making us familiar with those aspects of the music we are playing. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

The conductor had an important role in mediating intentions of the composer and communicating the importance of understanding such intentions. Principal Conductor Thomas Dausgaard, when talking about working with the Beethoven symphonies, describes the orchestra's effort to get as close as possible to Beethoven's own manuscripts:

Not only was the Beethoven project unusual to do for a chamber orchestra, but a good friend of mine Jonathan Del Mar was preparing a new edition of Beethoven symphonies based on the study of Beethoven's own manuscripts, where he had seen that the old editions of Beethoven's symphonies weren't necessarily right in every detail. Some things were unclear and debatable and then Jonathan had different solutions to those, and I think that this is as close as we can get to the original. And I knew about this project, so even before it was published we had his information about what was missing in the old available editions, and we put it into our work long before it was printed. So when it then came out we were the first to use this new edition; since then many orchestras have made recordings of this now very famous new edition.

I think that was inspiring for the orchestra to feel that we were really cutting edge there, we were among the first, and we also had a wonderful visit when Jonathan came here and explained why these changes are so important; what does it tell us about the composer? What is the meaning? And this was very important for the orchestra. And whenever there was something strange in the edition I would call Jonathan and discuss it and then I could tell the orchestra about it. (Principal Conductor, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In Manchester Camerata, composer's intentions were a natural part of working with a music piece, mediated through the conductor. However, whereas the specific sound – inspired by authenticity and closeness to the composer's intentions – was a specific aspect of the Swedish orchestra's identity and image, there was no talk about a specific sound constituting the orchestra's image in the UK case. Rather it was dependent on the conductors and the players at each concert:

The whole musical side of being on the stage is completely down to Dougie [Douglas Boyd] and the way he conducts the orchestra, or if we have a visiting conductor, he might do something completely different with the orchestra and the sound might change. I guess indirectly we do have control over the sound in that we get the players, for instance we have a new flute player. After the concert I was talking to the General Manager and we were saying the wind is sounding really really good now and we will work on other areas of the orchestra to make that sound better. (Artistic Manager, Manchester Camerata)

In Manchester, the role of the conductor in relation to the orchestra, the limited rehearsal time and the fact that different concerts generally included different groups of musicians, made it more difficult to create a similar focus on understanding composers' intentions compared with in the SCO. A freelance musician with working experiences in both major symphony orchestras in Sweden and various orchestras in both London and Manchester explains:

In Sweden and Germany the tradition is that you build up the performance from the foundation as a new creation each time. In the UK the attitude is that we all know what the piece sounds like so let's just play it. If you are lucky to have a really good conductor and a little bit more time then maybe the conductor will make an effort to do something, but that's often not the case.

Being a good conductor in the UK is probably extremely difficult because you have to be exceptionally good at communicating clearly and effectively exactly what you want; there is no time to try things out. Also, UK musicians are especially trained for that way of working. (Freelance musician, Sweden and UK)

The Music Director of Manchester Camerata who has worked with both orchestras, in this case sees the rehearsal conditions much as a result of scarce funding, and explains what this means in reality:

Because of our small funding, everything we do is with our hands tied. For example, as a result of that, we only have one day of rehearsal which is absurd; we all meet today, get through the programme, and tomorrow there is a concert. It's another world than when I go to Sweden and we'd have Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and then Thursday is the concert. Then our musicians are phenomenally quick and their first day of rehearsal is miles better than the first day in Sweden, but then over the several days of rehearsing in Sweden it reaches an even higher level than our concert level because you can do so much and create higher artistic excellence. (Music Director, Manchester Camerata)

7.2.2 Perspectives on the music

As I spoke to UK musicians about repertoire, their opinions often differed. Some musicians were involved outside the orchestra in playing contemporary art music, for example, and others were involved in playing commercial music. The reasons for playing different kinds of repertoire had to do with artistic motivation – seeking artistic challenges and development – but also with a way of finding work and securing an income.

Especially in Manchester, musicians seemed to have accepted commercial work as a way of being able to do other “more interesting” projects in other contexts. This acceptance did not, however, seem to stem from a greater attraction to such work, but to a resignation to the conditions of being a musician in general.

In Manchester Camerata, the general awareness of the limited possibilities in funding, UK musicians accepted, and even argued for, different kinds of more commercial programmes:

Doing popular works is a means to an end; it enables us to do those things which may be more interesting artistically. I think most musicians do understand that. Some of them would be

happy to do much more popular programmes oddly enough; a lot of them do these very, very popular massive Tchaikovsky style programmes which usually sell really well, because that's what the audience wants to hear.

It's not necessarily "artistically challenging" and satisfying, but some people who I could think of say we should be doing more of that, so there are different opinions actually within the orchestra on what we should be doing. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

In the long term, however, musicians seemed to feel that commercial projects had a negative influence on their work as musicians:

I have worked for longer periods of time in several of the most prominent symphony orchestras, and I have studied in both Stockholm and London, and my view is that there has been a clear development in orchestras towards attracting new audiences and sponsors, for example with an increasing number of commercial projects. There are no objections towards any specific concert or project among the musicians, but after a while... I don't know, there's just a feeling that after a while people start to feel under-stimulated; being in an orchestra, backing up a pop artist is not really something that develops and challenges you. (Freelance musicians, Sweden and UK)

A musician in SCO says that the reasons he became a musician in the first place was because of the traditional repertoire, and says he thinks other feel similarly. Contemporary music is difficult, he says, because orchestras (in Sweden) have to have a broad repertoire with a substantial amount of modern music, and some of it is just not "good" music. A focus on the "quality" aspect of the music was a common theme in Swedish musicians' opinions on repertoire:

I don't mind playing new music – if it's good music, but some of it is just not very good. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Looking at the long term development of the UK orchestra, especially taking financial challenges and the freelance based structure of the orchestra into consideration, repertoire appears important in what has motivated musicians and made them stick with the orchestra, beyond the need to make a living. A few musicians talk about the chamber orchestra form as a way of playing that they like particularly, and many say that the love for the chamber music repertoire has made working in Manchester Camerata interesting. Working

opportunities similar to Manchester Camerata are not many. Most obvious are the Northern Chamber Orchestra, a much smaller organisation, and the Lancashire Symphonietta. Musicians in Manchester Camerata can be found in both.

The repertoire was also often connected to the venue. For example, the concerts in the University of Örebro were appreciated by the musicians since the orchestra had considerable freedom to choose an interesting repertoire and be soloists: a difficult or modern repertoire can offer good training for students of conducting. Concerts in the Bridgewater Hall were appreciated by Manchester Camerata musicians because of the traditional and challenging repertoire suited for that venue.

7.2.3 Perspectives on the performance

Everything practical around the performance was important to musicians. For both orchestras' players, venue was of great importance. At the time of the study, plans were being formed to lift the roof in the Concert Hall in order to improve the sound. In addition, lightening had recently been changed. Everything that was changed and improved in the Concert Hall ultimately seemed to have to do with sound; the roof was to be lifted for acoustic reasons, the lightning, heating, quality of air, the quality of chairs and so on were all seen as pivotal aspects to the performance because they led to the improvement of sound through improvement of musicians' working conditions.

In Manchester Camerata, self-promoted concerts were not only appreciated because of the repertoire, but also for the quality of the venues. Because of the overall effect of "good" music and "good" venues, the number of members was higher on self-promoted concerts than on other engagements, where the percentage of extras was higher. Moreover, who they perform *with* could make a concert more or less attractive. Particularly, the orchestra has one engagement with more of an amateur quality which is difficult to get members to do, but which is still done because it's an important source of income (see section 5.3.3 about work with amateur choral groups).

Working with amateur conductors is something that often leads to members giving the work a lower priority. In both cases, musicians felt a strong dislike towards any conductor who was perceived of as amateur. This is particularly interesting to note against the background of the scarce supply of, and increasing difficulties to attract, high-class conductors in the horizontal process (as discussed in chapter 5).

Also in both orchestras, the musicians' work revolved primarily around the performance on stage. However, the musicians had somewhat different perspectives on the most important parts of the performance. In interviews with different individuals in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, the way of playing and the unique sound of the orchestra was often mentioned. One of the orchestra's strategies was the aim to obtain an authentic sound though using modern instruments.

This too could be connected to the orchestra's possibilities to focus on the first parts of the communication chain of music. Not only musicians talked about it, but management emphasised the orchestra's achievement of a *dialect* of its own as an important factor in making the orchestra unique:

Finding and developing a dialect of its own is probably the hardest thing an orchestra can do. Very few orchestras succeed. In a symphony orchestra it's almost impossible because there are so many musicians that must agree on exactly the same way of playing.

I can only think of very few – The Vienna Philharmonic comes to mind – who have achieved this. But with a smaller orchestra it is possible if you have the time to work with the same group of musicians over several years with first-class leadership from the conductor. (Artistic Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Many Swedish musicians talked about the specific manner of playing that makes not only the orchestra, but each musician unique. One musician describes how the way of playing has become an integral part of their professional identity:

I have played a lot in larger orchestras in the larger cities of Sweden, but I realise that my way of playing has become quite different because of the dialect we have developed in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra. In a way it is a limitation, but on the other hand I am very proud of the sound we have worked hard to achieve in our orchestra. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

As was mentioned in relation to the composer's intentions, in Manchester Camerata a special style, or dialect, was not mentioned. On the contrary, the diverse experiences and tasks performed by the freelance members were seen as strengths in flexibility; musicians could adapt to any way of playing, any

different style sought after by different conductors or appropriate to different settings and situations. This specific issue is talked about by one of the Swedish musicians:

English musicians are so fantastic at just having one rehearsal and then doing a concert. When I meet English musicians they think it's really strange we have a whole week to rehearse for a concert. But I really do believe in our system. If you are really skilled, as many English musicians are, you can have a concert without rehearsing. But there really can't be any room for actually interpreting the piece and making something unique of it. It becomes more of a standard product. If you have time for details, you can create something new with the music you perform.
(Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In both orchestras, musicians talked about the great advantage of working in a chamber orchestra, compared to a larger symphony orchestra. This aspect seemed even more important in the Swedish case, since musicians there were always the same. In Manchester Camerata, musicians felt their own instrument mattered more because they were part of a smaller group than a symphony orchestra.

In many ways the music and the performance were closely interconnected. The core of the work in the eyes of musicians had to do with a *repertoire played in a specific way*.

In a way our work is kind of conservative. But there are so many other people doing many other things and working with different genres of music – if we also start to broaden ourselves and can't preserve the core of what we do, who would then play our music the way we do? The risk is that if we did not do our special thing the way we have done it for so many years, it would be lost.
(Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Since the possibility of creating an identity based on the orchestra's sound in Manchester Camerata was limited, the orchestra could rather be described as having developed a different kind of competence, in that it could play a traditional repertoire with hardly any rehearsal time to the general public's satisfaction. Nevertheless, the General Manager of Manchester Camerata had more than once had the orchestra compared by representatives from the Arts Council with the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (AOE) in London which plays on original instruments and strives for an authentic sound as its unique trait. The General Manager was frustrated with this comparison as a

benchmark, since it does not take into account the basic conditions for the orchestras operations.

In Manchester Camerata, performing old repertoires in a new manner was also seen as a way of stimulating orchestra musicians and finding ways of profiling the ensemble in new ways:

Dougie [Douglas Boyd] has been instrumental in looking at the standard repertoire in a new way, in a fresh way really. We have done four Brahms symphonies in the last few years, which is not something generally that chamber orchestras do, but actually a number of the players had never played Brahms symphonies before, even though Brahms is pretty standard. It's actually looking at some repertoire in a different way, keeping them stimulated. A challenge is still there. (Head of Marketing, Manchester Camerata)

7.2.4 Perspectives on audiences

In the discussions with musicians about how they perceived the purpose and value of their own work, different *types* of purpose could be found. In Sweden, musicians largely talked about their purpose as individuals, enacting moral values and being role models, and hence connecting their work to more than the music itself with a belief that their work was important to society in general. Also in the UK case, pre-concert talks with audiences for example, did not seem to mean an act of charity, but rather as more of a mutual exchange where musicians wanted to communicate what their work was about.

SCO musicians were not as frequently engaged in audience communication before and after concerts, however, many SCO musicians expressed their hope that their concerts and their music would reach a broad audience, especially children. This was not only said in interviews – some musicians had worked very hard outside of their normal working hours in helping produce high quality children's concerts at times where financial limits affected the quality of such productions:

I felt there had been a low focus on children's productions during those years [leading up to 2003]. There was chaos in the administration and someone said "why don't you just put an ensemble together and do something fun for children?" But for us it was crucial to keep the orchestra together, and do something really good for the children with the whole orchestra. So me and a colleague started to work on it ourselves – planning and

producing a few really good children's projects. It took a lot of time but we felt so strongly that it was just too important with our children and youth activity to leave it as it was. Now we fortunately have a children's producer in the administration so that is working really well now, which I am very happy about. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

One observation during the two studies was musicians' way of talking about the audience. In SCO, musicians saw it was pivotal that the orchestras had attracted such attention in the city and that they now felt accepted and appreciated by the public in general. Playing their repertoire to full houses made all members of the organisation proud and happy. Prestigious tours often gave the opportunity of a challenging audience which musicians liked to play for:

The concert we did in New York was the coolest experience I've had in my entire life. We played so extraordinarily well and everything just clicked; everyone played like gods! Thomas [Dausgaard] had warned us beforehand and said not to expect anything from the audience, since the New York audience is extremely picky. But we got standing ovations and we were called in again eight times!! When we got out of the concert hall people honked their horns and shouted "bravo!" when we walked by; I felt like a rock star! (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In Manchester, musicians were not only happy about a "good" audience; they were occupied with audience opinions and perceptions regarding other things than the music that may make concerts even more appealing and accessible. The following observation provides an example of meetings between Manchester Camerata musicians and the audience, in which musicians' interest in audience opinions is apparent:

One hour before a concert in the RNCM during the autumn 2007, a pre-concert talk with two of the members of the orchestra takes place. Tonight, however, one of these members is not only playing in the orchestra but also appearing as soloist in Vaughan Williams' concerto for oboe. The pre-concert talk is in an auditorium and the room is full with people. This talk is set up in a way that one of the musicians, the leading cellist, engages in an informal discussion with the oboe player who illustrates the sounds of two different oboes, plastic and wooden. The audience gets to guess what sound comes from what oboe, and the illustration gives rise to further questions.

At one point, the leader of the cellos turns to the audience: “We always want to make our music more accessible and make it more interesting to young people, but how would you feel if we all came out on stage with, for example, purple instruments? Would you be fine with that or would you rather have the more traditional look of the orchestra?” The answers are diverse. In Sweden a musician says to me after a concert that it is fascinating to think about that musicians originally played in tails in order to appear closer to the audience, since the audience was dressed in white ties and tails at that time. However, now, the same clothes rather distance musicians from the audience.

A common theme in both orchestras was a general worry about the future development of audiences, especially connected to decreased music education. All musicians working as teachers on the side of their work in the orchestras expressed concern about the decrease in publicly administrated music and instrument education. The general perception, especially in Manchester but increasingly so in Örebro, was that the lack of music education was now becoming the responsibility of professional orchestras and that this as a mission was not feasible. This can in turn be connected to the discussion in section 5.1.1 about the future of the orchestral musicians.

The concern with a lack of education can be discussed from an aesthetic point of view. Beardsley (1981) argues that opinions about music can be of three different kinds: descriptive, interpretative and normative. He claims it is not possible to judge if a musical piece is “good” or “bad” in itself, but that music can indeed be judged as “good” according to some predefined categories. According to Adorno (1962) the most adequate listener to music is the “expert”, however “the good listener” is also accepted as adequate. Both these preferred listening groups have to do with being knowledgeable about the structures and “grammar” of music – being able to follow the changes in forms and structure in the music. It is plausible that such groups of listeners increase in a country where 2/3 of all school children is educated in an instrument,¹⁰¹ than in a country where very few children get in contact with musical instruments and music education.

We have now discussed different perspectives and opinions among musicians with regard to the different parts of the communication chain of music. We can now begin to discuss the tensions stemming from the horizontal and vertical pressures for enacting the different aims and opinions of musicians.

¹⁰¹ When the municipal music schools expanded in Sweden from the 1940s and during the 1950s and 60s, 2/3 of all school children applied for and received music education by playing an instrument (Åstrand & Jonsson, 1994).

7.3 Vertical and horizontal pressures

7.3.1 Internal tensions as a result of external pressures

In chapter 6 it was concluded that individuals in the organisations were increasingly called upon to take other aspects than artistic ones into account. External pressures had to be dealt with internally by adaptation, which meant internal structures, such as roles and ways of working, had to be changed. As will be discussed here, this also included musicians and provoked different tensions in the two different cases. As was described in chapter 4, Swedish musicians were not affected as much by the financial crises in 2002 per se, as they were by some of its short-term operational consequences. Musicians became worried when changes in the organisation started to appear that did not match their personal perspectives about themselves and their organisations. In both organisations, suggestions for change were persistently topical.

At the time of the study, one topical issue in the SCO was the suggestion to introduce outreach work in the job descriptions of the musicians. The orchestra had just participated in a seminar on how to conduct workshops in classrooms. Even though some musicians had positive things to say about outreach work in general, many did not seem to appreciate that it could become part of their job description. Some argued they were orchestra musicians trained to perform in an orchestra on stage, while others had the proper training to do work in front of a class in a class room. In general it seemed to come down to the threat of changing focus in the core of the profession:

There has been some talk about broadening what we do in our employment. I think there is a great danger in that it can become diluted. We are trained musicians, and sometimes I don't understand why our competence can't be used in a better way instead of making us do things we are not trained for. I'd be happy to go out to a school to tell them about my work, but doing that should not become my work; my job must still be to be an orchestra musician. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

The Artistic Manager in the Swedish case says that in one way or another, outreach work will have to be incorporated in the orchestra's activities. But he admits that it is not easy. Everyone will have to do it, he says, it can not be justified that some of the musicians are forced to do it and not others. This creates problems that can be dealt with more easily in Manchester Camerata,

where the freelance structure allows for allocation of work to musicians willing to do that particular work.

MC musicians explain that some members are more inclined to do outreach and teaching work than others, and emphasise that some are better at it than others. In the Swedish case, internal tensions and conflicts would be inevitable if all musicians were made to do outreach work; some musicians might even leave the orchestra:

If they put things like that on my time schedule, I'll simply call in sick. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

Perhaps I could give advice to some advanced chamber group or something like that. But if they want us to go out to school classes and play some songs, I am not interested at all. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

The pressing need for greater flexibility and broader job descriptions for musicians was talked about in both cases and seemed unavoidable. In the UK, this had already filtered through at a more general level with regard to the education of professional musicians:

When we look at what we call employability in terms of the job market, we find that opportunities for students have changed a lot. The impression of providing students with the thought that they would just go into a career in orchestra playing or opera singing or whatever within the genre of classical music may have been the case 30 to 40 years ago, but this has changed now. The music profession now is not just so.

Training the next generation means that if they join an orchestra, they may well be asked “Will you be willing to take part in this outreach community project, this education project?” This affects how we train students now. It's just not enough to play your oboe beautifully any more, you actually have to be able to *talk about* the oboe, to improvise, and be able to talk to people. They can expect more of a portfolio career and they need several skills to enable them to earn money. (Principal, RNCM)

In Manchester Camerata, many of the members who participated regularly in concerts with the orchestra expressed similar opinions to those in SCO, that they were not skilled for, and did not enjoy teaching. However, other MC members who were more heavily engaged in teaching seemed to enjoy that kind

of work and were also complimented, both by management and other members, on their ability to be creative and inclusive, and engage others in that kind of work. In addition, it seemed teaching work was often substantially better paid than concert work, which also contributed to that teaching had gained a similar status to the concert work. Also, teaching provided work in better hours than concert work for musicians with families. Traditionally, wind and brass players had been more frequently asked to do learning and participation work because there were not as many concert opportunities for them to be part of.

In Manchester Camerata, dealing with the pressure to do outreach work was hence not a problem in that different kinds of work could be allocated to different kinds of musicians.¹⁰² In Sweden such a division could be problematic for several reasons; one being that Swedish musicians, in contrast with UK musicians, were trained and skilled at building up a unique performance over a longer period of time – making it more problematic to divide musicians into different working tasks. Another reason was the general dislike of the idea of doing such outreach work.

However, even though learning and participation work was accepted as part of the UK orchestra's activities, there were other concerns about the orchestra being seen as a “student orchestra” – not because of the outreach work itself, but because of the new premises and new closer collaborations between Manchester Camerata and the RNCM. For example, the orchestra was about to introduce a Professional Access Scheme during the study; placements that would give RNCM students first-hand experience of working in a professional orchestra.

A student scheme is perfectly fine in a salaried orchestra where people are still getting paid. But here there can always be issues and questions around who is playing and who is not playing and why, and a number of people are concerned with students taking

¹⁰² It should be noted that professional orchestras in the UK have not always been doing extensive teaching and outreach work. Similar to SCO during the study, nearly every professional British orchestra established its own in-house education department between 1980 and 1995 in order to develop links with local schools and communities and to begin develop teaching and outreach work as part of the orchestra's core activities. (Morrison, 2004)

up the work of members.¹⁰³ (Member musician, Manchester Camerata)

In addition, in Manchester Camerata, musicians expressed concern about the decreasing opportunities for the whole orchestra to give regular concerts.¹⁰⁴ The fact that there was a rumour that the orchestra was close to losing its residence in Crew because of poor funding was worrying; and there were rumours that the Bridgewater Hall be lost all together.¹⁰⁵ One concert per year had already been cut at the Bridgewater Hall, something that was by some considered to be proof of a new (and negative) change in organisational direction. Even though the General Manager argued that the cut of BWH concerts was not a change in organisational direction, but a funding based decision, some musicians still feared the core of musicians' work and skills were being lost.

According to musicians, the cut in BWH concerts was connected to the recent move to new, and more costly, premises in the RNCM. Some musicians could not see the benefits of the increased administration costs since all the new investments did not "filter through" to the artistic activity. (In the last meeting with Manchester Camerata's General Manager in January 2009, he emphasised that many musicians had expressed positive feelings for how the organisation had developed since the move to the RNCM. The General Manager also stressed that the cut in BWH concerts was not related to the move to RNCM.)

However, the BWH series had not been cut for financial reasons only. The board and management had also started to discuss the concerts for strategic reasons: "why are we really playing at the BWH; is that really our arena?" For musicians it was taken for granted that that was where the orchestra would want its main concert series. However, management had started to think differently, meaning that since the money for it did not exist, it would be best to change strategy since the Arts Council funding did not leave room for risk-taking or for manoeuvring the artistic side of such concerts.

¹⁰³ In a meeting with musicians in autumn 2007, the General Manager promised musicians that the student scheme would not mean less work for members, but the worry that it would remained.

¹⁰⁴ This perception among musicians is especially notable against the background that the total number of days of work per year actually had increased over the last years. See table 7.1.

¹⁰⁵ The General Manager emphasises that the rumours about the Crew residence were a misconception on the members' parts due to their not having read information that had been sent in monthly members' updates.

Another theme connected to organisational direction was that musicians, as well as management, wanted to go on tours internationally. The success achieved by the SCO has made it easier to go on tours. The Beethoven recordings made the orchestra famous for their unique dialect which in turn created other opportunities. Politically, however, it has become increasingly difficult to justify using public support for international tours, since the orchestra's political programme is to give classical music to the inhabitants of the region. Lately it has thus been decided that a tour can not cost more than it would cost the orchestra to do something at home, and that additional costs must be financed privately. This means that additional financial support has to be attracted, but also that touring has to be made more effective. In Manchester Camerata, the financial means to go on international tours were hard to find, even though the orchestra's management worked hard to increase the number of tours to prestigious venues and festivals.

Horizontal pressures in terms of audience attractiveness, for example, in combination with the limited possibility to take risks, meant musicians in Manchester Camerata had to accept less touring possibilities and more commercial work and diverse engagements even though self-promoted concerts seemed to be most attractive for players. Creating a specific image based on a special and unique sound, or dialect, was not possible, due to the nature of employment as well as the rehearsal times. However, at the same time, getting more high profile venues and concert opportunities meant an increased pressure to come up with something unique:

What I am trying to do a lot is to develop the orchestra more in larger and more prestigious venues, ones that we should be going to, and that we are not going to. Like, we played down in London in July, in the Barbican, and making sure we do play down in London again, soon. We try to go more to all the bigger places, like festivals, bigger concert halls, and with the programmes we want to go with. In London it's hard to compete with what they have there, not because our standard is not good enough; it's just that they have got so many orchestras that I think coming up with something that will stand out completely is quite challenging. (Artistic Manager, Manchester Camerata)

As was concluded in chapter 5, Manchester Camerata had a wide range of concert activities from traditional concerts with a traditional repertoire at the Bridgewater Hall, to choral work in churches. Choral concerts were not the most popular kind among musicians, but created an income for the organisation. The freelance structure meant musicians could always be found

for such work. In Sweden, however, performing in such a context, as an orchestra accompanying singers, was also a fairly new idea at the time of the study.¹⁰⁶ Again, this provoked fear among musicians that their core activity would be lost in the long run, even though musicians' opinions towards the opera work were not negative per se.

Generally, in both orchestras, the relationship between musicians and management was sometimes as a background theme, and sometimes as a core problem. In Manchester Camerata the “we and them” feeling was stronger, whereas administration and musicians acted more like the same team in the Swedish case. This was partly expected because of the different employment, and housing, situations.

Understanding one another in different working positions seemed a key factor in the communication between members of the organisation. In Sweden, members of the administrative personnel often expressed admiration for musicians and especially that musicians managed to cope with difficult aspects of their job. For example, musicians had to give up personal musical ideas to fulfil the intentions of the conductor. A deeper understanding of the musicians' work was clear on the part of management and administration, perhaps because administrative staff in SCO had been with the organisation for many years and had strong personal feelings for the orchestra. However, the different nature of administrative and musicians' work always posed a challenge when difficult issues or organisational changes came up.

As I understood it, they were thinking about making our breaks unpaid time. That made me furious; once when I was working on some music sheets in the copying room two members of the administrative team were talking about sewing curtains for 40 minutes – and they don't get cuts in their pay for that, so why should we? (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

In MC, administrative staff was younger and most had not been with the organisation for very long. This sometimes created scepticism among musicians that administrative staff did not identify and feel for the orchestra the way they themselves did. The most important reason for the young administration team

¹⁰⁶ More concretely, a heated debate at the time of the study in Sweden concerned participating once a year as an opera orchestra at a summer festival in the region. Fears that the orchestra would become “an opera orchestra” were raised. This can be compared with the discussion in section 5.3.3 about the growing importance of engagements and doing other kinds of work other than self-promoted concerts.

was financial; the orchestra simply could not afford to employ someone who had more experience. (This could also be a problem in areas such as fundraising where experience and age could have a certain impact in generating legitimacy in the eyes of the management of profit making companies). The whole situation created an imbalance where Manchester Camerata musicians were both older in terms of age, and more dependent on the organisation as an employer.

Management and administrative staff, on the other hand, were often frustrated that their hard work was not acknowledged by some musicians, and that some musicians could not see the benefits of having an administrative team at all, which resulted in a reluctance from musicians to help out:

As professional partners with the RNCM, they invited us to be part of their prospectus DVD because it is important for them. We are here to sell to undergraduates, they are a conservatoire. I was more than happy to help them do that because we are getting Camerata's name in front of thousands of potential students all over the world, so that's fantastic. But I don't think, and it's not their job to understand... the musicians don't understand what we get from that. Their first question is: "Will we be paid for it?" Well no, that's not what we are getting out of it; Camerata doesn't get any money for it, you don't get any money for it. What we do get out of it is a little bit of raised profile and good relationships with the people who have asked us to help. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

Adding to the tension was the different nature of orchestra and administrative work. Musicians have invested much time and hard work in becoming a musician at their level. Getting a position in a renowned orchestra means being the best of hundreds of applicants. Many musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro are not from Örebro originally, but have tried for positions in orchestras all over Sweden and were successful in Örebro. But after settling down in Örebro with their families and having no other similar employer anywhere nearby, musicians are quite dependent on their current position.

The tragedy when it builds up to a conflict is that most musicians here don't have any alternatives. It is so difficult to get a job, and that is where the frustration is coming from. At the same moment you are so joyful to have gotten the job and say "YES!" – At that same moment the doors lock around you, you're a prisoner. (Artistic Manager, SCO)

7.3.2 Possibilities for dealing with tensions between internal groups

A feeling of not being listened to and understood was a general theme that appeared in so many interviews and discussions with different groups within the organisations; general managers felt musicians and funders had no appreciation for the difficulty of their work, administration members were frustrated that others did not see how much work they did for the good of the orchestra, and musicians felt managers, boards and funders did not have any understanding of how demanding their situation was like or what their work was about. The feeling of not being understood between different parties seemed stronger in MC than in SCO.

I was shocked the other day, to hear one of the orchestra members say that they thought that the office team didn't care about the orchestra. When you are working as hard as we do this can be very demoralizing even if it is just one person's opinion.
(General Manager, Manchester Camerata)

There is a constant feeling of lack of respect and being under valued.¹⁰⁷ (Musician, Manchester Camerata)

Identifying with the organisation often seemed to be what made it easier to work together across organisational groups within both organisations, and the main reason for taking on responsibilities that overlap other areas. In both organisations, musicians helped out in marketing the orchestra and its activity by appearing in the local media for example.

However, it was a larger challenge to get musicians to do this in Manchester Camerata – it being unpaid work, but perhaps most of all because musicians were often busy with other work. This meant MC management had to work more strategically to get musicians to feel like they were a part of the organisation, and hopefully help with PR and the press in different situations.

We have members' lunches, every month; we have lunch with them and chat, which sounds like a simple thing, but I think it helps because then they know who we are and they know what is going on and what the issues are in Camerata, and they are able to ask questions. They might feel a little bit outside the loop.

¹⁰⁷ This was the feeling of one of the member musicians and cannot be said to be a general feeling among all members. However, it shows that feelings of being misunderstood and under-valued can exist in all groups of the organisation – musicians, managers and administration.

I don't like to ask musicians to do too much, its free work. All publicity, by its very nature, is marketing without a budget. The press or any PR things – we don't have a budget to pay them for a photo shoot or an interview – but you get to know particular people well who are more willing to do it, and are better at it. I am very careful about briefing them about key messages that I want to communicate. Like X [musician] is really brilliant and recently did a whole hour on BBC Radio Manchester, which he wasn't paid for and for which X was really well prepared and did very well. (Marketing and Press Officer, Manchester Camerata)

Building relationships with certain musicians over time was thus one strategy that was important in both cases, and in both cases members of the orchestras who had been involved for a long time seemed happy to offer their time and energy for the benefit of the organisation.

Good relationships with musicians were, however, not sufficient in real problematic situations, for example in times of financial crisis or during large changes in the operations. In the Swedish case, it became apparent that musicians had acted as “translators” in times of organisational difficulty on several occasions. A musician could explain management decisions to other musicians, helping others to integrate changes with their self-image and the image of the organisation. A former General Manager explains:

I was so deeply grateful to X [a musician] in several meetings. I tried to explain the severe financial difficulties we had at the time but people refused to listen. Artistic opinions could not be compromised, they said, and yelled at me as if I was an idiot. But then X could say that we really need to listen to the financial side of it, and try to find a way forward. And then people actually listened to X rephrasing my arguments a bit and the discussion could move forward. (Former General Manager, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

“Translators” in this respect could be defined as individuals preferably with legitimacy in the orchestra and with communicative skills, who could understand financial processes and help others accept their consequences. These individuals were not necessarily formal leaders in the orchestra, but were individuals who felt highly involved and engaged in the future of the orchestra. However, it should not be neglected that the formal leaders in the SCO had important roles in mediating and communicating across the organisation.

Leaders in the Swedish orchestra had greater social responsibilities than in Manchester Camerata. Naturally this was largely a result of the employment structure, meaning that for all problems relating to other players, personal or professional, the only duty leaders in MC would have would be to report the problem to the administration. In the Swedish case, leaders had crucial roles as what could be called “middle managers”; leading the work of each section and making sure each player functioned socially and professionally in the group.

In Manchester Camerata, interesting developments were occurring at the time of the study in that management expressed the desire for more manager-like leaders who could take on more responsibility. In a job description for a new leader, new qualities were sought after. These responsibilities included meeting regularly with the Chief Executive, principal players and violin members, attending board meetings and (besides having outstanding instrumental and orchestral skills) having experience of outreach and learning work. This seemed directly connected to increased vertical pressure and new horizontal focuses.

7.3.3 External pressure and internal solutions – the identity struggle

Weick (1995) discusses organisational identity as a set of core beliefs that anchor organisational members to where they are and thus to who they are. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, musicians and other organisational members seemed to share a similar view on who they are.

In Manchester Camerata, different self images existed in the same orchestra, leading to some difficult challenges for management. Mishler (1999) uses the concept of identity to describe individuals’ inner conflicts by contrasting the inner “scene” of the individual with the external social and structural realities. What an actor says and does is connected to that individual’s relations with others both in the present and in the past. Administrative or political regulations comprise both structural possibilities and hindrances for the individual, and cultural and historical factors are always present.

Mishler has studied artists and their conscious decisions, their life experiences and process of achieving their adult artistic identities. By describing their life stories, Mishler details the conditions for their work and the creation of identity. Mishler identifies unresolved tensions between different roles of artists and suggests that identity is always dialogic and relational; a complex of sub identities which more than anything reflect an individual’s mode of adaptation, appropriation and resistance to socio-cultural plots and roles.

In this respect, organisational identity is an interesting concept since it captures the relationships in which individuals define themselves through their relationship with their employer, or with social groups that have an emotional value for these individuals. This involves a certain degree of internalisation of the organisations values and beliefs (Pratt, 1998).

Tajfel (1981 in Pratt 1998) presents the idea that the self-concept is composed of a personal identity and a social identity. It is when organisation members are strongly identified with the organisation's objectives, goals and values that they are more likely to behave and make work related decisions that are also in the interest of the organisation.

When we use concepts like identification, we need to take other aspects of individuals' lives into account. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argue that organisations control individuals not by focusing on what they do, but rather on who they are – producing the appropriate individual. They explain that there is a struggle to sustain a sense of self-identity which is shaped by multiple images and ideals of how we should be. With various sources and pressures or influence on “who we should be” (most often from management) individuals can be more or less driven to accomplish their own life projects.

In the Swedish case, the relationships between musicians could almost be described as “family ties”, which meant closer relationships in some cases as well as larger dependencies and larger need for appreciation and approval in others. In the case of family ties, group values and rules were important, which meant an unspoken expectation that musicians would stand by their colleagues when called for. When participating in a television show, for example, many musicians did not support the idea of participating, but in the end very few decided not to take part, in a “one for all, all for one” spirit.

The feeling of dependencies could partly be connected to a lack of alternative work positions in general. However, it could also be connected to the issue of identification, where the orchestra was an important part of each musician's self image. In Manchester Camerata, a member could easily say no to a concert or an organisational activity that was not of interest without any social cost.

The fact that MC musicians seemed to have greater flexibility and stronger ability to set boundaries and say “no” to the organisation could partly be explained by a larger independence from the organisation because of the freelance structure. However, as explained earlier in this study, it turned out that Manchester Camerata musicians were in fact largely financially dependent

on the orchestra for work. Rather, their personal independence seemed to be connected to the fact that musicians did not identify personally with the organisation, meaning they did not fear the feeling of standing outside the organisation as individuals.

What can be learned from this analysis might be that dependence in an organisation has many different aspects, and that identity may be even more important than financial aspects. The more the individual identifies personally as a part of a whole, the weaker that individual becomes in setting boundaries and saying “no” to that whole. A person who is largely dependent on an organisation for personal identity will fear losing him or herself by being disconnected from the organisation.

In Manchester Camerata, musicians were independent, but the problem was more one of keeping the members loyal enough for the organisation to move forward. Keeping a stable core of individuals was crucial in doing so:

Sometimes if there are only two or three members on a concert and everyone else is an extra, they would say “Why am I so loyal when everybody else is pulling out all the time?” And I think it affects the ensemble if you play with the same players, especially with a small ensemble it gets much better, it works much better, and the sound and performance is great, compared to if you constantly get different people. (Former Orchestra Manager, Manchester Camerata)

However, the family feeling in the Swedish case could be seen negatively as well; members seemed psychologically very dependent on each other and as much as some musicians talked about hugs and tokens of appreciations after a concert, other musicians complained and appeared sad that they did not receive enough appreciation from close colleagues and wondered what others thought of them, both as musicians and persons. One Swedish musician says:

It was so hard in the beginning. I was constantly worrying about what others thought of me; did they like me and my playing? What would happen if I made mistakes and so on? After a while one of my colleagues noticed that I was really anxious and took me aside. I explained my feelings and he said: we believe in you and we really like you. If we didn't you wouldn't be here at all. That meant everything to me, after that I could relax more. (Musician, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

On the other hand, for SCO it had indeed been a key factor that hardly any members had quit the orchestra during the period 1995 to 2005.

I think the most important thing, when I think back on the fantastic achievements since 1995 and until now, is that everybody was able to be a part of it. No matter what background you had as a musician – if you were a newly recruited young talent or if you were a former member of the Military Music Corps – *everyone* was on board all the way. And that’s what really mattered, and I think the real reason for that genuine and real feeling in the orchestra. (Long standing member, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro)

7.3.4 Concluding thoughts on being a musician in the organisation

This chapter has analysed what it is like being a musician in the two organisations, what is important for musicians, what kind of tensions can appear and how these are dealt with. Taking an historical perspective, this study began to describe the history of the two organisations and pointed to some differences in the organisations’ contexts and structures. Differences between being a musician in the two cases could be understood by the differences between the two cases: their origin, their funding history, their financial challenges, artistic achievements and so on.

However, work as an orchestra musician also showed many common features in the two cases. The work is strictly socially controlled by rules and routines, and musicians have invested many years from a young age to get where they are today. They take their work extremely seriously, with many hours of daily practice and rehearsal, and a life style focussed around their profession.

Interestingly though, those common features take different forms in the two different cases. The two systems have different results in what is played, how and where it is played, with whom and to what kind of audiences. This is not to say that one system is better than the other one. Instead it would be fair to say that each system meant the development of two different organisational competences, where the Swedish organisation has developed the skill of building up a performance over time with a conductor who is focussed on creating a unique performance, for example by trying to come as close as possible to the composer’s intentions. The Swedish system allowed for a diverse set of musicians to be part of that creation, since the conductor had time to “lift” each musician.

The UK organisation on the other hand had developed the competence to create a high level of energy and performance the first second of a rehearsal, and to be able to perform challenging music at a high level with minimum rehearsal time. Moreover, Manchester Camerata musicians had developed the skill to adapt to different ensembles with different musicians in different settings, and were continuously developing the skill of communicating with audience before and after concerts in more ways than just through their instrument.

Going back to Adorno, the Swedish system is perhaps more likely to create specific performances that appeal to an “expert” listener (who could listen to the second movement of Weber’s string trio for the first time, and after that correctly account for the different parts of the movement’s structure (Adorno, 1976)). The UK system, on the other hand, is perhaps more likely to be able to reach a broader audience. However, the UK system has more difficulties with, for example, modern art music, since they are unable to take the financial risks to create performances that would appeal to expert audiences. This meant that the UK systems created deep concerns for the future of autonomous music among musicians, whereas Swedish musicians were concerned but felt no immediate fear.

The Swedish way of working meant tighter dependencies between musicians, and a weaker position with regard to setting personal boundaries. However, Swedish musicians were more satisfied in that they felt the organisation – in its direction, working routines and outputs – satisfied their needs and mirrored what they felt was important. In addition, musicians who had never dreamed of such a successful career could be a part of the SCO’s extraordinary journey, regardless of their background.

Manchester Camerata musicians enjoyed the flexibility of their work, had accepted commercial work and broader kinds of engagements, and were happy to communicate to a broader audience in different ways, but at the same time expressed concern that core aspects of their profession would not be preserved (for example by decreasing the number of concerts at the Bridgewater Hall or by not being able to work with more modern art projects).

Hence, the two systems put different kinds of pressure on musicians. The fact that all musicians could be a part of SCO’s development was connected to the system in general that the orchestra existed in. For example, solutions could be found for musicians with children during international tours. In the UK system,

musicians in a freelance based orchestra with children would have a hard time making a career in a prestigious orchestra.

The Swedish way of working meant that systems of security for individuals were more important. Individuals who were offered personal integrity within the organisation (with their own rehearsal rooms, for example) and had a safety net in times of sickness or parental leave, could better deal with a close and demanding dependency and “family” like working condition, which helped realise challenging projects and build up sophisticated collective knowledge over a longer period of time.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION ON FUNDING AND ACCOUNTABILITY

We shall not cease from exploration
 And the end of all our exploring
 Will be to arrive where we started
 And know the place for the first time.
 T.S. Eliot

8.1 Concluding discussion

We can now turn our attention to the overall research aim, which was to increase our understanding of the relationship between funding conditions and stakeholder demands on one hand, and managerial and human aspects of organisations on the other. The empirical chapters have discussed this relationship from different perspectives in two orchestral organisations. It seemed that horizontal and vertical pressures had an effect on internal processes; on roles within the organisations, on the character of the issues that arose in the day-to-day work, and ultimately on the output of the two organisations. Tensions within the organisations often stemmed from disagreements about what the organisation should be doing and what purposes it should be fulfilling.

In this chapter, these conclusions will be described and discussed from a theoretical perspective, using the three theoretical concepts presented in chapter 1 and 2 to analyse the empirical findings.

8.1.1 Overall reflections on the studies of a Swedish and a British chamber orchestra

Musicians in both cases were heavily dependent on the organisations, something that affected accountability aspects of their day-to-day work. Dependencies came from the nature of the work; the need for stability, consistency, personal integrity and trust in the exercise of simultaneous and highly developed professional skills became apparent. Accountability for musicians strongly revolved around their instrumental skill, the traditional repertoire and their performance together with others according to strong social routines and traditions.

The situation of musicians in the organisation could be understood by looking at horizontal and vertical influences, especially from an historical perspective. The organisation's constant adaptation to various external demands changed the interplay between vertical and horizontal influences, and changed the direction of the organisations over time. Management could be more or less eager to protect a certain inner core of the operations.

The strong traditions and strict working routines of the orchestras were prerequisites for the high level of achievements of the musicians. A common problem in both organisations was a perceived lack of understanding of each other. Musicians, especially in times of financial crisis and managerial instability, did not feel understood or valued in their work. In their turn managers and administrators could feel misunderstood in their intentions, or unappreciated for dealing with strong external pressure in difficult times. SCO musicians felt a constant fear towards a new manager or funder who would not understand the importance of their traditions and ways of working. However, in the SCO, Thomas Dausgaard had an important function as symbol for the artistic work – the fact that Thomas Dausgaard's role enabled him to focus solely on the music was a comfort and inspiration to musicians. In MC, managers (including the conductor) could not take only artistic aspects into account, which made musicians more aware of the financial and contextual reality but also concerned with the development of their profession.

Strong operational traditions and structures (as defined by Rolf (1991)) played a unique role over the years in providing stability and continuity. Strong traditions kept a core of organisational members closely connected to the organisation and influenced the interpretations of critical situations. Members of the organisation could always compare operational changes to values and rules that came from a long history. Maitlis (2005) emphasised the importance of managers in the interpretation of challenging situations. This study confirms managers' crucial roles of communicating across stakeholders, but it also contributes to this understanding by emphasising the important role of other organisational members besides managers in communicating and interpreting organisational changes, and in overcoming new pressures to adapt, enabling the organisation to move forward.

Both organisations had various external interest groups with very diverse interests. In Manchester Camerata the challenge of linking different interests together was even more difficult and often entailed dividing the organisation into several parts while trying to ensure that each interest group got what it

wanted. Similar developments started to appear in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro.

Some interest groups were stronger than others at different times. Some could influence the organisation more than others, overall. This was often connected to financial resources, but some groups could be important for other reasons. For example, having great difficulties in taking risks in the programming of self-promoted concerts, Manchester Camerata became increasingly inclined to appreciate all groups that valued the organisations concert-giving activities (such as the Friends Association) even though their financial contribution was relatively low. Relationships with groups and individuals that represented any important concept and tradition to organisational members became important at a time where shifts in the organisational core were apparent. In the case of the Friends Association, a shared view that the organisational core should be the live performance of autonomous music strengthened the relationship.

Different ways of seeing the organisation meant different possibilities for the organisation to fulfil different *functions*.¹⁰⁸ Östman (2009) distinguishes between two different kinds of organisations: function-driven and pay-driven organisations. Function-driven organisations are those in which the principals of the vertical chain want horizontal activities pursued because they satisfy a special interest or need for some group or for themselves. In pay-driven organisations the principals of the vertical chain are willing to consider various options in terms of activities and output to satisfy their interests through payments from horizontal activities.

Originally, music activity in Örebro fulfilled two main purposes: within the military and within the church. That meant that opinions about repertoire, venues and other aspects of the concert-giving activity were decided based on accountability aspects of the relationships to the military and the church respectively. The development of autonomous music could, at the same time, be seen in the creation of the Harmonic Association (Harmoniska Sällskapet) 1831. Musicians' personal opinions on what, where, when and to whom to play gradually became more decisive.

During the 20th century, the performance of autonomous music developed gradually with the building of a Concert Hall in Örebro. New relationships with conductors, employment of fulltime musicians could develop. Funding from

¹⁰⁸ Ander (2008) gives a pedagogic description of how activity, funding, ideologies and functions are interconnected.

the Swedish Union of Orchestra Associations and other public funders who wanted to fulfil political and cultural goals through the orchestra, especially geographical and societal spread, became particularly important early on. The focus on such political goals left considerable room for deciding internally on aspects of the early parts of the communication chain of music, such as repertoire.

In the 1980s financial restrictions in the public sphere as a whole meant reorganisations (for example the County Music reformation). Financial restrictions also brought on to the agenda the question of more efficient use of means. This ultimately led to the merger of all activities in the Concert Hall and the formation of the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, which fulfilled both the purpose of financial efficiency as well as artistic expression.

The fact that the orchestra could fulfil a marketing purpose for the municipality of Örebro saved it from severe financial problems in 2002 and secured its ownership in 2007. However, this new intimate relationship with municipality meant increased demands for financial accountability. Tendencies for increased demands for operational accountability could also be seen in both the relationship to the municipality and to Arts Council Sweden.

The creation of Manchester Camerata was done with a professional identity and purpose in mind from the beginning. Their purpose, to fulfil the need for a professional orchestra for local broadcasting, was successful. The orchestra became much appreciated and started to perform not only in Manchester but in other places within the region. This in turn meant that other potential supporters of the orchestra were enacted, and the orchestra formed a charitable company. Most concerts outside broadcasting were arranged as engagements, meaning that the company took on the financial risk. However, with freelance musicians, costs could be flexible and negotiated from one concert to another.

After the BBC withdrew their involvement in the orchestra, the concert activity broadened and developed. The orchestra's flexible composition meant that the orchestra from an early stage could fulfil various roles such as taking part in opera and ballet productions, working with amateur choirs, teaching, conducting workshops, as well as performing the traditional chamber music repertoire. Cutting its ties to BBC, it had only a small administrative core with a strong continuity among highly involved individuals. These individuals worked on more or less a voluntary basis and were driven by personal passion.

However, the funding structure remained unstable and no clear principal supporter appeared on the horizon. This shifted the orchestra's focus further towards fulfilling many different purposes and making money through engagements. That also meant very short-termed accountability relationships with actors outside the orchestra. During some very difficult times, however, financial problems meant that musicians had to accept less or no pay for concerts. Musicians showed strong support for the orchestra, and the Musicians' Union also entered as a sponsor in difficult times. Musicians could, on the other hand, enjoy an expanded concert making activity in the Free Trade Hall. Their strong position in the Free Trade Hall later meant the orchestra had a natural residence in the newly built Bridgewater Hall in 1996. The operative part of the organisation grew.

Beginning in the 1990s, following artistic achievements in the Free Trade Hall, the orchestra developed stronger links to national and regional funders. An increased pressure towards more professional management, stimulated discussions about an administrative merger with the Hallé. It was finally decided that the orchestra should continue as a separate entity. Musicians who had been with the orchestra since its formation in the 70s, played a vital role in keeping stability and continuity over the years.

The governmental support grew more fixed significantly after the year 2000 by taking the organisation into a stabilisation process, which meant a sharp increase in operational accountability towards full transparency. Having experienced the need for a self-supported basis of operation for some time, a new partnership was formed with the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM). The orchestra had then developed two strong accountability relations; one with the Arts Council as a result of the stabilisation process, and another with the RNCM where the orchestra is now based.

Funding was now mostly given on the basis of fulfilling the function of learning and participation rather than producing autonomous music. The limited possibility to take risks in their self-promoted concerts meant that freedom of action in the early stages of the communication chain was low, and that several horizontal processes had to be developed simultaneously in order to secure an income. Private partners, interested in the social responsibility aspect of the musicians' work, became core funders.

In this study, we have two examples of function-driven organisations; both organisations exist to fulfil the specific function of music and learning. In both cases, common developments could be seen over time such as an

institutionalisation of the orchestras, increased control mechanisms in the vertical chain, an increasing degree of professionalization of marketing, and increased pressure to become self-supportive. However, as we have seen, the two function-driven organisations differ in their control structures with regard to the hierarchical allocation of funds and dependence on user payments. These differences have an effect on how the organisations' functions are expressed and executed, and how they develop over time. The processes of dealing with strong accountabilities over time have been described and analysed in this thesis, and will now be discussed from the perspective of the three concepts in the theoretical model developed in chapter 2.

8.2 Vertical and horizontal processes

8.2.1 Reflections and contributions

Developments over time entailed a shift in the interplay between vertical and horizontal relationships. Although it is a function-driven organisation, Manchester Camerata had become increasingly skilled at efficiently creating self-generated income from various activities in the horizontal process as a result of its control structures with regard to the hierarchical allocation of funds and dependence on user payments. A larger part of the income came from other sources than the allocation of funds in the vertical process. This is parallel to a position taken in new Swedish cultural policy guidelines (SOU 2009:16), which argue that arts organisations should be supported by an increased number of funding alternatives. However, in the performance of autonomous music, Manchester Camerata had become less able to take any programme risks and had thus very limited artistic integrity and freedom. This was as much a result of increased demands for self-sufficiency (with an increased dependence on a growing number of sources and stakeholders), as a result of accountability in the relationship with the Arts Council itself. This dependence goes counter to the assumption of the Culture Investigation (Kulturutredningen) that "Cultural independence is best protected when it can rest on support from many sources" (ToR, 2007:99).

As the organisation became even more dependent on Arts Council, "operational arm's length" decreased. Meanwhile, few funders and few other stakeholders now supported activities that were compatible with musicians' life projects and commonly shared values and beliefs that came from the traditions of the autonomous concert activity. In both cases, financial pressure from stakeholders (but also financial scarcity in general in the business), was ultimately carried by individuals who felt strongly for their work as musicians.

In the Swedish case, the pressure to create more self-generated income had also increased. A professionalization of marketing could be seen, similar to the UK case, and even though private funding was very small, relationships with private partners became more focussed and important in the overall working logic. This was also true for relationships with the Music College and working partners in children and outreach work. Manchester Camerata had the explicit pressure to justify and prove the quality of the concert-giving activities through reviews and references. In SCO external evaluations of the artistic activities did not have a decisive role in relations to funders, even though international praise in particular had helped the orchestra gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public and politicians.

The job as General Manager in the two orchestras meant dealing with conflicting interests, balancing different vertical and horizontal pressures and making trade offs between needs that could not all be fulfilled at the same time. Creating alternatives and developing skills in the horizontal process was possible but the power to affect conditions in the vertical process remained small. In SCO, however, the General Managers had historically strived, and often succeeded, to protect musicians and their rehearsal and concert activities from vertical pressures. This had helped maintain stability in insecure times. It also appears to have been a wise managerial strategy given the transient effects of individuals' decisions in the long term perspective within historical and contextual and empirically unobservable structures captured by Östman (2006):

The tension between operations and financing often took the shape of increased ambitions, albeit with little or no additional funding. The Theatre and not the least the State, encouraged such views on and off. At those times, what was possible within financial limits was put to the test. Many times such ambitions did not have long term sustainable effects. Successes were then quite short termed. Certain topics returned decade after decade, sometimes the actors did not have their own memories of how it all went the previous time. (Östman, 2006, p. 405, my translation)

Financial limits must thus, as was argued already in 1965 by Baumol and Bowen, be seen as a long term problem which will always assault arts organisations with increasing financial challenges regardless of new marketing strategies, pricing, repertoire changes and other operational decisions. This is simply part of an ongoing development, not only in the performing arts but in society in general. However, to argue that an increased number of funders, such

as private, would solve this problem and make arts organisations more independent is too simplified, and even misleading.

8.3 The communication chain of music

8.3.1 Reflections and contributions

The communication chain of music, i.e. the chain from the composer, to the music, to the conductor and orchestra and to the audience, was an important conceptual tool in adapting the vertical/horizontal model to the empirical field. The communication chain of music enabled more precise descriptions of tensions that arose from vertical and horizontal pressures. The vertical and horizontal model has been specified to the analysis of a specific field, and the study has shown how the communication chain of music is affected by external financial influences, and how these in turn affect the development of strategies over time.

The empirical material in this study shows that different vertical and horizontal pressures will, over time, affect which focus the organisation must take with regard to the communication chain of music. In the Swedish case, focus was still directed towards the first stages of the chain, even though a trend towards increasing focus on the last part could be seen. In the UK case, focus was visibly directed to the user end of the communication chain, with increased focus on the connection between output and vertical interests. This development could be seen in changes in the horizontal process, such as the professionalization of marketing, the increased importance of networking with regard to audience statistics on repertoires, as well as the increasing pressure on musicians to reach audiences in other ways than through playing their instruments.

Even though musicians to a large extent had adapted to the working conditions, musicians were worried about the long term development of the concert activity of autonomous music. The division in Manchester Camerata into several, and substantially different, core activities made it more difficult to adopt artistic strategies that required any long term build-up, such as the development of a specific dialect. The Music Director sometimes talked about authenticity in certain performances, but that was something that was added to a certain performance rather than an integral part of organisational identity. The fact that all funding in Manchester Camerata, both private and governmental, was perceived as having been received through education and workshop activities, created a general feeling of reverse logic.

In Manchester, the musicians worked with several orchestras and were thus more loosely coupled to the organisation. However, musicians who had strong feelings and a long history with the orchestra were concerned with identity issues and felt strongly for the orchestra. The identity issue was not so much connected to each musician individually, but was a concern with regard to the ways in which the orchestra's performances were perceived to be seen by others outside the organisation.

Manchester Camerata musicians with strong connections to the organisation perceived that repertoire, quality in productions and organisational presentation were crucial in their day-to-day work. Most of musicians in both cases seemed to prefer the traditional repertoire and the traditional concert activity above all. Manchester Camerata musicians talked about their love for the traditional chamber music repertoire as the main reason for their commitment to the orchestra. Musicians in the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro had the opinion that all activities should stem from the sophisticated work exercised collectively with the traditional repertoire.

Going back to Adorno (1962), we can compare these opinions with his view on chamber music. According to Adorno, chamber music must revolve around the perspective of the musicians and their collective performance – the audience plays only a minor part or is even forgotten. He argues that playing chamber music brings to force the ideas of Kant about music being “purposive without purpose” more clearly than any other activity. Because of this, Adorno argues that chamber music is especially badly suited to capitalism.

Using the model developed by Bengtsson (1973), we can discuss the effects of adopting different strategies in the two case organisations with regard to the chain of communication of music. In the Swedish organisation, the concept of sound was important and appealed to the expert perspectives of musicians. The concept of sound and performance praxis constituted a mental frame that was important for the identity of musicians. In Sweden, the products of the orchestra were more outspokenly part of a cultural, historical and social tradition and context. Using the ideas of strategies an orchestra can adopt, developed in chapter 2, we can do a concluding analysis of the strategies that were taken by the two organisations.

Artistic strategy	Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro	Manchester Camerata
Perform programmes that require a lot of work	Yes, work hours not a restriction	Rarely, work hours always a restriction
Perform a traditional repertoire	Yes, almost exclusively, seen as core activity	Yes, but one of several equally important core activities
Perform a modern repertoire and first performances	Frequently, part of cultural policy	Rarely, not part of cultural policy and a difficult risk to take
Perform music with a local connection	Yes, some local modern composers; but more seldom now than 30 years ago	British traditional composers frequent, but not modern local composers
Perform commercial music or accept work with low artistic control	Rarely, but more often than before	Frequently, such as choral work
Develop a unique dialect	Very important part of strategy	Not possible
Create an ensemble identity	Very important part of strategy, developing <i>all</i> musicians' technical and musical skills collectively	Flexibility achieved through several kinds of groups with different competences and focus

Table 8.1 Artistic strategies

What may appear to be identical products at first sight – for example a couple of CD recordings of one of Beethoven's symphonies by two different distinguished chamber orchestras – may in fact be two fundamentally different objects when they are considered parts of organisational strategy. These differences may be of great importance; one way of recording CDs may create different future possibilities than the other for the organisation as a whole, and may result in different level of satisfaction among musicians. In addition, if the orchestra's strategy is to build some unique competence, such as a dialect over a long period of time, the orchestra could not fail without significant costs. Not only would the competence of each musician be lost, but also the collective knowledge achieved within that particular ensemble. If such an ensemble ceased to exist, it would take much longer to retrieve and rebuild a similar competence.

On the other hand, Allmendinger and Hackman (1996) argue that such an ensemble is more stable and robust in times of contextual change. This study supports their view; the forcefulness of the investment in one elite ensemble in Örebro in 1995 can be compared to similar County Music organisations in Sweden that instead divided their operations into several different ones in order to neatly fulfil the politically correct goals in the short run, but that eventually faded and disappeared. However, the benefits of long-term build up must always be balanced against the immediate risk of losing funding if not meeting the demands of funders.

8.4 Accountability

8.4.1 Reflections and contributions

In analysing conflicting accountabilities in the process of adapting horizontal processes to vertical demands over time, this study has pointed to the importance of the concept of identity or how the orchestras were perceived to, or feared to, be seen by the “many eyes” surrounding them (Bovens, 2005).¹⁰⁹ Mishler (1999) describes identity as individuals’ inner conflicts stemming from the contrasting of the inner “scene” of the individual with the external social and structural realities. Similarly, I argue that organisations’ inner conflicts could also be related to external social and structural realities in contrast to the organisation’s inner “scene”.

The empirical material in this thesis provides several examples for both cases, of how adaptation to external demands actualised identity issues among organisation members who had different accountabilities. Being able to define oneself as an organisation – to be able to show some sought-after organisational identity in the eyes of important vertical actors – was crucial in just that accountability process (not least in narrow or vertical accountability relations, and especially from a manager’s perspective).

¹⁰⁹ Asplund (1970) argues that the aim of qualitative research is to reinterpret objects that we have already identified; looking at well-known objects in a new way should be seen as an important part of theorising. The different ways the organisations functioned as employers ultimately raised the question: what, really, are Manchester Camerata (MC) and the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro (SCO)? Structural aspects of the organisations seem to suggest that MC could be understood as an intermediary of different kinds of work for different kinds of musicians – an employment service, and that the SCO could be seen as a stable professional chamber orchestra organisation.

Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argued that organisations control individuals not by focusing on what they do but rather on who they are – producing “the appropriate individual.” This study suggests that this also holds true for accountability processes between the organisation and vertical external parties. However, the study illustrated that producing “the appropriate” organisation turned out to be more challenging the more differentiated the horizontal process had become. The more pressured the organisation was by multiple ideas of what it should be (often as a result of increased financial pressure); the more difficult was the struggle to sustain a sense of self-identity within the organisation.

In the introduction it was concluded that although the literature on accountability is diverse, this literature defines the relationships underlying accountability and actions involved in being accountable quite narrowly. In particular, previous research has called for new notions of accountability that will not ignore ongoing tensions that organisations face in reconciling the needs of organisational members with those of external groups (Oakes & Young, 2008). The vertical/horizontal framework and the communication chain of music enabled precise and empirically grounded descriptions of such ongoing tensions in the case organisations. Hence this study contributes to empirical examples of how accountability conflicts can be understood as ongoing tensions that arise in trying to reconcile the demands of external interest groups with the needs and perceptions of identity of organisation members. My study also contributes to the notion of accountability by suggesting that the concept of *organisational identity* should be included as an aspect of the accountability process in reciprocal relationships.¹¹⁰

As concluded in the theory chapter, a fundamental key of all social life is to account for actions through explanations and justifications (Garfinkel, 1967;

¹¹⁰ *Organisational identity* is a particular manifestation of social identity. It is equated with three related concepts: internalisation, affective commitment and positive organisational fit (Pratt, 1998). Many studies have examined the consequences of organisational identity and have shown that organisational identification is positively associated with performance, job satisfaction and membership behaviour. It is negatively associated with the desire to quit and actual turnover (Haslam, 2001). In the vast body of research about organisational identity, it has been concluded that there is a lack of empirical work (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). Hence, this study may also be a contribution to research on organisational identity, and something that could be further explored in future research projects.

Czarniawska-Joerges, 1996) and some researchers, such as Roberts (1991), have already discussed a connection between accountability and identity by arguing that in the “taking over” of the attitudes of others upon oneself, one is introduced to the beliefs, values and rules that structure social life. Our awareness of self thus develops simultaneously with our awareness of the world and our relationship with others including accountability and dependency as basic aspects:

[...] the practice of accountability can reflect and enact a sense of self which whilst individually confirming simultaneously acknowledges and expresses the interdependence of self and others. (Roberts, 1991, p. 358)

However, this study suggests that accountability should be defined and analysed not only by focussing on how accountability singles out or confirms individuals in relations to others (as discussed by Roberts), but also from the point of view that accountability actualises possible conflicts between individuals’ ideas about the context they are in and how this context is seen by others, i.e. organisational identity issues. In a relationship characterised by accountability, I argue that individuals’ actions, explanations and justifications will be made to protect and defend some preferred image of the organisation, on which those individuals are dependent.

For example, a fear that others may perceive Manchester Camerata more as a student orchestra than as one of the UK’s most distinguished professional chamber orchestras was the first reaction among some musicians to the organisational changes that had been taking place at the time of the study. In the Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro, a seminar on conducting workshops in school classes, and a commitment to participate in a yearly opera festival, created many worries about a transformation of the organisation’s focus. A short initiative to invite a local travel agency into the reception area of the Concert Hall, Örebro during the financial problems in 2002 (in combination with other sudden managerial changes) posed a general threat to musicians who felt it gave others the wrong idea about the organisation.

The above operational changes, resulting in fear among organisational members, were in turn a result of management’s responses to vertical and horizontal pressures. Dealing with those fears by communicating across groups within the organisation became crucial.

8.5 Concluding reflections

The empirical material in this thesis illustrates that it *does* matter, not only how much money an organisation has, as argued by for example Hackman (2003), but also where the money comes from – and especially what kind of relationship the organisation has with its sources of funding. The character of the relationships with funders highlighted different internal issues and influenced internal developments that shifted the organisational core and subsequently emphasised identity issues. This overall conclusion will now be discussed in two steps.

8.5.1 The long term effects of external accountabilities

This study illustrates the importance of the long term perspective in understanding internal management systems of an organisation. Specific relationships with strong accountability at certain points in time, sometimes gradually and sometimes suddenly, become particularly important and affect internal operations. In its simplest form, relationships and dependencies matter because the funder can have a strong opinion about what the organisation should do. However, the empirical material in this study shows that the character of the relationship – mainly the overall level of independence in the relationship – affects the organisation indirectly by affecting ways of working, the development of relationships and internal roles, the composition of individuals in the organisation and ultimately the output.

The stronger the accountability aspect of the relationship is, the more important it was to be able to define oneself as an organisation and show some sought-after organisational identity in the eyes of vertical or horizontal actors – something that became more challenging the more differentiated the horizontal process had become. In the long run, the pressures and developments led to shifts in the organisational core – either the core was changed, or it was differentiated into more than one equally important cores.

An organisation that wishes to protect an inner core may thus want to find means to keep funders and stakeholders at a distance, when and if possible, and hinder insight into core operations by decoupling internal operations from external pressures in order to increase independence. This is often not easily done, or even possible, but awareness of possible benefits of independence in relationships may be valuable. Internal and operational change stemming from desperate attempts to solve issues that appear critical in the short term perspective (often as a result of perceived external pressure), should preferably be avoided.

Pressures to adapt developed organisation members' skills in effectively dealing with their specific situation. However, the skills developed today could have an effect on what the organisation could do tomorrow and in the future. Competences that develop can create possibilities, but they can also create limitations in what projects can be taken several years ahead. Deviations and minor changes in the way an organisation operates (for example as a response to external pressures) can thus have large and unforeseeable long term effects, especially in organisations with members that have lifelong investments in one particular skill.

This study illustrates what may be argued to be a general development in society with a shift in focus from the carrying out of activities, to the functions and use of organisational output. Organisations become more focussed on evaluation and develop closer connections to clear and easily explained functions.

Building up knowledge over a longer period of time becomes increasingly difficult for two main reasons. The first is that horizontal processes were divided into several different ones, and changed the organisation's focus more frequently to satisfy different user interests in the short term perspective. Pleasing many different parties at the same time makes it difficult to build on one core in the long term; instead flexibility is developed at the cost of being rooted in one single core. The second is that the differentiation of products and the subsequent division of organisational members in order to more efficiently satisfy different user groups, makes it more difficult to build up knowledge in a coherent group over longer periods of time. Possibly, this will limit the future possibility for the existence of prestigious orchestras in the way Max Weber defined them in 1922 (see section 1.1.1).

8.5.2 Emergence of identity issues

When the core of an organisation shifts over time as a result of external accountability relationships, identity questions emerge in the organisation. Over time, external demands create situations where the organisation has to adapt internally, and that internal adaptation puts new pressures on organisational members. Organisational members start reflecting on questions such as "who are we?" Some members can easily adapt whereas some members are reluctant to adapt, and new pressures could even result in that some organisational members leave – some because they can't provide the skills needed in adapting to new demands, some because they do not themselves get their needs fulfilled by the organisation.

Similarly, this study has illustrated that in internal processes, organisational identity is an important aspect of the day-to-day life of organisational members. Even small and funding based decisions can become important symbols for organisational members, leading them to become occupied with protecting and defending some preferred image of the organisation, or ultimately to question how compatible the organisation is with what they think the organisation should be. In a situation where the organisation has to adapt by dividing itself into several different parts, tensions between members are likely to occur. These conflicts stem from disagreements about what the organisation's core is, and should be.

Researchers have already suggested that accountability is connected to the concept of identity. However, this study contributes by demonstrating empirically how conflicts between members' perceptions of organisational identity, come about as a result of external pressures. Communication between individuals and groups within the organisation becomes particularly important in times of internal adaptation, and a contribution of this study is the idea that "translators" could have a crucial role in mediating the organisational members' self image with their image of the organisation, or vice versa. "Translators" may be understood as particularly communicative individuals with legitimacy in the operational core, who could provide a high level of operational accountability. They can explain and justify the organisation's conduct, by linking that conduct to some sought-after image of the organisation, and thus deal with the questions and judgements posed in different forums, avoiding negative consequence and enabling the organisation to move forward. With increased pressure on management, translators become more important. Organisations may want to consciously encourage and create room for such individuals.

I have now illustrated, with two intriguing cases and with an innovative combination of theoretical perspectives, how external accountabilities influence an organisation's core through internal adaptations over time, highlighting issues of identity and future possible directions. These interplays have been especially apparent in the studied cases. However, there is no reason to believe that they are unique to the studied organisations. Rather they are probably general phenomena that one would be able to observe in all kind of organisations; whether they are function-driven or pay-driven. It is thus plausible that the observed mechanisms and conclusions can be a contribution to and enriching for all organisations.

APPENDIX 1

COMPOSITION OF THE ORCHESTRAS¹¹¹

	SCO	MC
Violins	First: 8 Three leaders: 1st leader, 1st alt. leader and 2nd leader Second: 6 One principal, one alt. principal	10 One leader, one co-leader and one principal 2nd
Violas	4 One principal, one alt. principal	4 One principal
Cellos	4 One solo cellist, one principal	4 One principal
Basses	2 One solo bass, one principal	2 One principal
Flutes	2 One principal	1 One principal
Oboes	2 One principal, one alt. principal	2 One principal
Clarinets	2 One principal	2 One principal
Bassoons	2 One principal	2 One principal
Horns	2 One principal	2 One principal
Trumpets	2 One principal	2 One principal
Timpani	1 One principal	1 One principal
Percussion	-	1 One principal

¹¹¹ The table shows the composition of the orchestras' regular members. The composition is changed according to the needs for a certain repertoire. For example, if the score states one oboe, there will not be two oboes in the Swedish case. Other instruments will also be taken into the orchestra, for example a cembalo or trombone, when this is stated in the score.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANISATIONAL CHRONOLOGY

The Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro

- 1909 The Örebro Orchestra Association (Örebro Orkesterförening) is created with Adolf Andrén as music director (1909-1917)
- 1912 First municipal grant
- 1932 The Concert Hall in Örebro was inaugurated
- 1947 First fully contracted conductor Ingvar Lidholm (1947-1957) with the title City Conductor
- 1950 First governmental grant
- 1951 Four musicians are employed
- 1952 First county council grant
- 1955 Örebro Orchestra Foundation (Örebro Orkesterstiftelse) is created
- 1957 The Orchestra Foundation Choir is created
- 1962 Formation of a fully employed Chamber Orchestra
- 1968 Creation of a combined Artistic Manager and Principle Conductor role: first in this position Lennart Hedwall
- 1971 Military music restructured to regional music (Regionmusiken)
- 1974 Göran W Nilsson takes over in the combined role of Conductor and Artistic Director (until 1981, then as Principle Conductor 1983-1993)
- 1988 Stiftelsen Musik för Örebro län is created, the so called Länsmusiken
- 1991 Länsmusiken takes over all activities in Örebro Concert Hall
- 1993 After a long period with Swedish conductors and music directors, a new international phase begins with French conductor Jean Pierre Wallez as Music Director (until 1995). The roles again become split between Music Director and Principle Conductor
- 1995 The Swedish Chamber Orchestra is created through a merger, led by Knut Kirkesæter
- 1997 Recruitment of Principle Conductor Thomas Dausgaard and Artistic Manager Gregor Zubicky
- 2002 The municipality grants loans to solve bad finances in the Foundation
- 2003 Appointment of new general manager Sverker Gawell (appointed by a new board of directors)
- 2004 The city name Örebro is added to the orchestra's name
- 2004 BBC Proms performance
- 2007 A company limited by shares is created with the municipality as main owner

Manchester Camerata

- 1971 The Manchester Camerata is created, funded by Radio Manchester
- 1972/73 First full concert season for the orchestra
- 1974 Manchester Camerata Ltd. is created
- 1974 First grants from North West Arts Association and Greater Manchester Council
- 1977 Szymon Goldberg appointed Principle Conductor and Nicholas Braithwaite Principle Guest Conductor (later Principle Conductor 1984-1991)
- 1980 Famous musical marathon with freelance musicians to save the organisation
- 1983 Manchester Productions Ltd. becomes responsible for the activities of the Northern Chamber Orchestra for a short period
- 1983 Baroque specialist Nicholas Kraemer begins working with the orchestra
- 1993/94 First chamber orchestra to win an award for its work with sponsorships by the Arts Council of Great Britain
- 1993/94 Establishment of education programmes Crewe, Colne, and Chester with subsequent financial support
- 1994 Loan from musicians union to solve financial situation
- 1995 First funding commitment from Art Council England
- 1995 Appointment of conductor Sachio Fujioka (until 2000)
- 1996 Bridgewater Hall opens and becomes new residence with plans to merge Manchester Camerata with the Hallé
- 1998 Move to the Zion Arts Centre, Hulme
- 1998 Gavin Reid, former principle trumpet, becomes Education Officer
- 2001 Appointment of Music Director Douglas Boyd (current at time of study)
- 2002-2004 Stabilisation scheme with Arts Council, write-off of Musicians' Union debt, and employment of full time development officer and full time marketing officer. Gavin Reid takes over as General Manager
- 2005 BBC Proms performance
- 2006 Appointment of new General Manager Bob Riley, former violinist and music administrator
- 2006 Mission Models Money research program supports a move of administration offices
- 2007 Move to Royal Northern College of Music

APPENDIX 3

DISCOGRAPHY

Manchester Camerata

Yoshimatsu Memo Flora

Yoshimatsu, Takashi: Concerto for Piano “Memo Flora”, Yoshimatsu, Takashi: And birds are still..., Yoshimatsu, Takashi: While an angel falls into a doze..., Yoshimatsu, Takashi: Dream Colored Mobile II, Yoshimatsu, Takashi: White Landscapes, Kyoko Tabe (piano), Sachio Fujioka, Manchester Camerata. (Chandos Records, 1998)

Bassoon Concertos

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Concerto for Bassoon in B flat major, K 191 (186e), Weber, Carl Maria von: Concerto for Bassoon in F major, J 127/Op. 75, Haydn, Michael: Serenade in B flat major, P 52 2nd movement, Stamitz, Carl: Concerto for Bassoon in F major, Weber, Carl Maria von: Andante and Rondo Ungarese for Bassoon and Orchestra in C minor, J 158/Op. 35, Laurence Perkins (Bassoon), Douglas Boyd, Manchester Camerata. (Hyperion, 2002)

Beethoven: Symphonies no 2 & 5

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 2 in D major, Op. 36 and Symphony no 5 in C minor, Op. 67, Douglas Boyd and Manchester Camerata. (Avie, 2004)

Mahler Symphony No 4

Mahler, Gustav: Symphony no 4 in G major, Arranged by Erwin Stein, Soprano: Kate Royal, Douglas Boyd, Manchester Camerata. (Avie, 2005)

Mozart Symphonies no 40 & 41 Jupiter

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Symphony no 40 in G minor, K 550 and Symphony no 41 in C major, K 551 “Jupiter”, Douglas Boyd, Manchester Camerata. (Avie, 2006)

4x4 North-West

Reeman, John: Scena, Gilbert, Anthony: Quartet for Strings no 4, Ellis, David: Quartet for Strings no 3, Op. 70, Druce, Duncan: Quartet for Strings no 4, Manchester Camerata Ensemble, Tavec String Quartet.
(Campion Records, 2007)

Over The Water

Reizenstein, Franz: Partita for Flute and String Orchestra, Op. 13b, Crosse, Gordon: Watermusic, Butterworth, Arthur: Rêverie, Op. 113a “Farewell Manchester”, Hopkins, Antony: Suite for Recorder, Harp and String Orchestra, Jackson, Francis: Moonrise, Cooke, Arnold: Divertimento for Recorder and String Orchestra, Hurd, Michael: Suite for Recorder and String Orchestra “Three-Piece Suite”, Hedges, Anthony: Miniatures (3) for Recorder, Harp, Percussion and String Orchestra, Pehkonen, Elis: Concerto for Recorder “Over the Water”, Recorder: John Turner, Percussion: Janet Fulton, Harp: Louise Thomson, Philip McKenzie, Manchester Camerata Orchestra.
(Dutton Laboratories/Vocalion (UK), 2007)

Peter Hope Songs and Chamber Music

Hope, Peter: Serenade for Violin, Viola and Cello, Soloists: James Bowman, Craig Ogden, John Turner (recorder), Stephane Rancourt, Graham Salvage, David Francis, Peter Lawson (piano), Manchester Camerata Ensemble.
(Dutton Laboratories/Vocalion (UK), 2007)

Manchester Camerata Live Beethoven Symphonies No 4 & 7

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 4 in B flat major, Op. 60 and Symphony no 7 in A major, Op. 92, Douglas Boyd and Manchester Camerata.
(Avic, 2008)

Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro

Lars-Erik Larsson Förklädd Gud

Larsson, Lars-Erik: Förklädd Gud (God In Disguise), Rosenberg, Hilding: Den Heliga Natten (The Holy Night), Christmas Oratorio, Amadei Chamber Choir, Anders Larsson, Anna Larsson, Frej Lindkvist, John Erik Eleby, Karin Ingeback, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 1996)

The 18th Century Symphony – Kraus Complete Symphonies Vol 1

Kraus, Joseph Martin: Symphony in E flat major, VB 144 “Pariser Sinfonie”, Symphony in C major, VB 139, Symphony in C minor, VB 142 “Wiener Sinfonie” and Olympie, VB 29: Overture, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 1997)

Skogsharen Per

Hallman, Björn, Ribbegren, Birgitta: Skogsharen Per (Per the Rabbit), Jan-Åke Hillerud, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Stockholm Edition Ribbegren, 1997)

Jul med Håkan Hagegård

Traditional Swedish Christmas songs, Gustaf Sjökvist Chamber Choir, Adolf Fredrik Girls Choir, Håkan Hagegård (barytone), Gustaf Sjökvist, Bo Johansson, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Stockholm 4 Vision/Nordic Artist, 1997)

The 18th Century Symphony – Kraus Complete Symphonies Vol 2

Kraus, Joseph Martin: Symphony in C major, VB 138 “Violin obligato”, Symphony in F major, VB 130, Symphony in A major, VB 128, Sinfonia buffa, VB 129, Urban Svensson (Violin), Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 1999)

River

Beamish, Sally: Concerto for Viola no 1, Beamish, Sally: Concerto for Cello “River”, Beamish, Sally: Tam Lin, Philip Dukes (Viola), Robert Cohen (Cello), Gordon Hunt (Oboe), Ola Rudner, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 1999)

From Equinox To Solstice

Nilsson, Anders: Concerto Grosso, Hvoslef, Ketil: Concerto for Saxophone Quartet and Orchestra, Kaipanen, Jouni: Vernal Concerto From Equinox to Solstice Op.53, Raschèr Saxophone Quartet, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2000)

Swedish Romantic Violin Concertos Berwald Stenhammar Aulin

Berwald, Franz : Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in C sharp minor, Op. 2, Stenhammar, Wilhelm: Sentimental Romances (2) for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 28 and Aulin, Tor: Concerto for Violin no 3 in C minor, Op. 14, Tobias Ringborg (Violin), Niklas Willén, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2002)

Swedish Orchestral Favourites Vol 2

Larsson, Lars-Erik: Lyric Fantasy, Op. 54, de Frumerie, Gunnar: Pastoral Suite for Flute, Harp and Strings, Op. 13b, Blomdahl, Karl-Birger: Vaknatten: Adagio, Larsson, Lars-Erik: Little Serenade for Strings, Op. 12, Atterberg, Kurt: Suite no 3 for Violin, Viola and Strings, Op. 19 no 1, Larsson, Lars-Erik: Adagio for Strings, Op. 48, Ture Rangström: Divertimento elegiaco, Sara Trobäck (Violin), Johanna Persson (Viola), Sarah Lindloff (Flute), Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2000)

The 18th Century Symphony – Kraus Complete Symphonies Vol 3

Kraus, Joseph Martin: Symphony in C sharp minor, VB 140, Kraus, Symphony funèbre in C minor, VB 148 “Trauer-Sinfonie”, Overture in D minor, VB 147, Symphony in E minor, VB 141, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2000)

Sally Beamish The Imagined Sound of Sun on Stone

Beamish, Sally: The Caledonian Road, The Day Dawn, The Imagined Sound of Sun on Stone, No, I'm Not Afraid, Sally Beamish (Spoken Vocals), John Harle (Saxophone), Ola Rudner, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(BIS, 2001)

Dittersdorf, Vanhal Double Bass Concertos

Vanhal, Johann Baptist: Concerto for Double Bass in E major, Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters: Concerto for Double Bass no 1 in E flat major, K 171, Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters: Concerto for Double Bass no 2 in E flat major, K 172, Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters: Concerto for Double Bass no 2 in E flat major,

K 172: 1st movement, Allegro moderato, Chi-Chi Nwanoku (Double Bass), Paul Goodwin, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Hyperion, 2001)

The 18th Century Symphony – Kraus Complete Symphonies Vol 4

Kraus, Joseph Martin: Symphony in F major, VB 145, Symphony in D major, Symphony in E flat major, VB 144 “Pariser Sinfonie”: 2nd movement, Larghetto, Sinfonia con fugato per la chiesa, VB 146, Riksdagmarsch, VB 154, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2002)

Nyårskonsert

Glinka, Mikhail: Ivanovich, Ruslan and Lyudmila: Overture, Antonín, Dvorák: Slavonic Dance No. 10 in E minor, Op. 72, No. 2, Lanner, Joseph: Malapou-Galopp, Op. 148, No. 1, Strauss II, Johann: Der Zigeunerbaron (The Gypsy Baron): Overture, Strauss II, Johann, Strass, Josef: Pizzicato-Polka, Brahms, Johannes: 21 Hungarian Dances, WoO 1: No. 1 in G minor, Suppe, Franz von: Ein Morgen, Mittag und Abend in Wien (Morning, Noon and Night in Vienna): Overture, Strauss II, Johann: Tritsch-Tratsch Polka, Op. 214, Strauss, Josef: Die Libelle (The Dragon Fly), Op. 180, Strauss II, Johann: Frühlingsstimmen (Voices of Spring), Op. 410, Perpetuum mobile, Op. 257, “Musikalischer Scherz” (Musical Joke), An der schonen, blauen Donau (The Beautiful Blue Danube), Op. 314, Sibelius, Jean: Valse triste, Op. 44, No. 1, Lumbye, Hans Christian: Champagne Galop, Strauss I, Johann: Radetzky March, Op. 228, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2002)

Trumpet Concertos Haydn Hummel Neruda

Haydn, Franz Joseph: Concerto for Trumpet in E flat major, H 7e no 1, Hummel, Johann Nepomuk: Concerto for Trumpet in E flat major, S 49/WoO 1, Neruda, Johann: Concerto for Trumpet in E flat major, Weber, Bedrich Divis: Variations in F major for Trumpet, Niklas Eklund (Trumpet), Roy Goodman, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2003)

Haydn Symphonies Vol 27

Haydn, Franz Joseph: Symphony no 50 in C major, H 1 no 50, Symphony no 51 in B flat major, H 1 no 51 and Symphony no 52 in C minor, H 1 no 52, Béla Drahos, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2003)

Manhattan Broadcasts

Gruber, Heinz Karl: Cello Concerto, Zeitfluren, Manhattan Broadcasts, Robert Cohen (Cello), HK Gruber, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(BIS, 2003)

Mozart Flute Concertos Nos 1 & 2 Concerto for Flute and Harp

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Concerto for Flute no 2 in D major, K 314 (285d), Concerto for Flute and Harp in C major, K 299 (297c), Concerto for Flute no 1 in G major, K 313 (285c), Patrick Gallois (Flute), Fabrice Pierre (Harp); Roderick Shaw (Harpsichord), Patrick Gallois, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Naxos, 2003/2005)

Peteris Vasks Violin Concerto "Distant light"

Vasks, Peteris: Concerto for Violin and String Orchestra "Distant Light", Musica dolorosa, Viatore, Katarina Andreasson (Violin), Katarina Andreasson, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(BIS, 2005)

Christian Lindberg - A Composer's Portrait

Lindberg, Christian: Helikon Wasp, The World of Montuagretta, Condon Canyon, ...Ty solen är uppe!, Behac Munroh, Christian Lindberg (Trombone), Christian Lindberg (Voice), Sharon Bezaly (Flute), Stockholm Chamber Brass, Orphei Drängar, Robert Sund, Cristian Mandeal, Basque National Orchestra, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(BIS, 2005)

Spohr Clarinet Concerto No 1 Clarinet Concerto No 2

Spohr, Ludwig : Concerto for Clarinet no 1 in C minor, Op. 26, Potpourri for Clarinet and Orchestra on themes by P. von Winter, Op. 80, Concerto for Clarinet no 2 in E flat major, Op. 57, Variations for Clarinet in B flat major on a theme from Alruna, WoO 15, Michael Collins (Clarinet), Robin O'Neill, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(Hyperion, 2005)

Nordic Spell

Aho, Kalevi: Concerto for Flute, Haukur Tómasson: Concerto for Flute no 2 and Lindberg, Christian: The World of Montuagretta, Sharon Bezaly (Flute), Osmo Vänskä, Lahti Symphony Orchestra, Bernhardur Wilkinson, Iceland Symphony Orchestra, Christian Lindberg, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
(BIS, 2005)

Un moto di gioia – Opera and concert arias

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Schon lacht der holde Frühling, KV580, Ch'io mi scordi di te? KV505, Nehmt meinen Dank, KV383, Lungi sa te, mio bene Aria from Mitridate, Rè di Ponto, KV87, Un moto di gioia, Arietta KV579 from Le nozze di Figaro, Come scoglio Recitative and aria from Così fan tutte, KV588, Ruhe sanft mein holdes Leben from Zaide, KV 344, Exultate, jubilate, KV165, Miah Persson (soprano), Yevgeny Sudbin (piano obbligato), Bengt Olerås (solo horn), Ulf Samuelsson (organ), Sebastian Weigle, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (BIS, 2005)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 3

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Concerto for Piano no 1 in C major, Op. 15, Concerto for Piano no 2 in B flat major, Op. 19, Rondo for Piano and Orchestra in B flat major, WoO 6, Boris Berezovsky, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2005)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 5

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Concerto for Piano no 3 in C minor, Op. 37, Concerto for Piano, Violin and Cello in C major, Op. 56 “Triple Concerto”, Boris Berezovsky (Piano), Mats Rondin (Cello), Urban Svensson (Violin), Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2005)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 4

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 7 in A major, Op. 92, Egmont, Op. 84, Henriette Bonde-Hansen (Soprano), Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 6

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 6 in F major, Op. 68 “Pastoral”, Leonore Overture(s), Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 7

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58 and Piano Concerto in D major, Op. 61a, Boris Berezovsky (piano), Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 8

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 3 in E flat major, Op. 55 “Eroica”, Contradances (12), WoO 14, Leonore Prohaska, WoO 96: no 4, Trauermarsch, Romance for Violin and Orchestra no 1 in G major, Op. 40, Romance for Violin and Orchestra no 2 in F major, Op. 50, Contradances (12), WoO 14, Leonore Prohaska, WoO 96: no 4, Trauermarsch, Katarina Andreasson (Violin), Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 2

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony no 4 in B flat major, Op. 60, Symphony no 5 in C minor, Op. 67, Coriolan Overture in C minor, Op. 62, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 1

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Ritterballet, WoO 1, Symphony no 1 in C major, Op. 21, Symphony no 2 in D major, Op. 36, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Simax, 2006)

Vivaldi The Four Seasons

Vivaldi, Antonio: The 4 Seasons: Violin Concerto in E major, Op. 8, No. 1, RV 269, “La primavera” (Spring), Violin Concerto in G minor, Op. 8, No. 2, RV 315, “L'estate” (Summer), Violin Concerto in F major, Op. 8, No. 3, RV 293, “L'autunno” (Autumn), Violin Concerto in F minor, Op. 8, No. 4, RV 297, “L'inverno” (Winter), The Larc Ascending, Katarina Andreasson (violin), Björn Gäfvet, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (Naxos, 2006)

Arktis Arktis!

Rehnquist, Karin: On a Distant Shore, Rehnquist, Karin: Beginning, Arktis Arktis! and Traditional: I himmelen “In heaven's hall” Arranger: Karin Rehnquist, Martin Fröst (Clarinet), Simon Crawford-Phillips (Piano); Malin Broman (Violin); Jesper Svedberg (Cello), Kungsbacka Piano Trio, Petter Sundkvist, John Storgårds, Adolf Frederik Girls Choir, Bo Johansson, Swedish Chamber Orchestra. (BIS, 2006)

Mozart Eine Kleine Nachtmusik

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Serenade no 13 in G major, K 525 “Eine kleine Nachtmusik”, Serenade no 6 in D major, K 239 “Serenata notturna” and Divertimento for 2 Horns and Strings no 10 in F major, K 247, Petter Sundkvist, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(Naxos, 2006)

Carl Reinecke Harp Concerto Flute Concerto

Reinecke, Carl: Concerto for Harp in E minor, Op. 182, Concerto for Flute in D major, Op. 283 and Ballade for Flute and Orchestra, Op. 288, Fabrice Pierre (Harp), Patrick Gallois (Flute), Fabrice Pierre, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(Naxos, 2006)

Beethoven Complete Orchestral Works Vol 9

Beethoven, Ludwig van: Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93, König Stephan (King Stephen), Op. 117 (excerpts), Die Ruinen von Athen (The Ruins of Athens), Op. 113 (excerpts), Wellingtons Sieg oder Die Schlacht bei Vittoria, Op. 91, “Battle Symphony”, “Wellington's Victory”, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(Simax, 2007)

Schumann Symphonies Nos 2 & 4

Schumann, Robert: Symphony no 2 in C major, Op. 61, Scenes from Goethe's Faust: Overture in D minor, Julius Caesar Overture in F minor, Op. 128 and Symphony no 4 in D minor, Op. 120, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(BIS, 2007)

Dvůrák Symphonies Nos 6 & 9

Dvůrák, Antonín: Symphony no 6 in D major, Op. 60/B 112 and Symphony no 9 in E minor, Op. 95/B 178 “From the New World”, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(BIS, 2007)

Sally Beamish The Seafarer

Beamish, Sally: Concerto for Viola no 2 “The Seafarer”, Whitescape, Beamish, Sally: Concerto for Orchestra “Sangsters”, Tabea Zimmermann (Viola), Ola Rudner, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.

(BIS, 2008)

Schumann Symphonies and Overtures

Schumann, Robert: Symphony no 1 in B flat major, Op. 38 “Spring”,
 Schumann, Robert: Die Braut von Messina, Op. 100, Genoveva, Op. 81:
 Overture, Symphony in G minor “Zwickau”, Overture, Scherzo and Finale in
 E minor, Op. 52, Thomas Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
 (BIS, 2008)

Christian Lindberg - A Composer's Portrait II

Lindberg, Christian: Asa, Joe Jack Binglebandit, Akbank Bunka, Gipsy
 Kingdom, Lindberg, OF BLOOD SO RED, Bombay Bay Barracuda, Christian
 Lindberg (Trombone), Christian Lindberg, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
 (BIS, 2008)

Spohr Clarinet Concerto No 3 Clarinet Concerto No 4

Spohr, Ludwig: Concerto for Clarinet no 3 in F minor, WoO. 19: 1st
 movement, Allegro moderato, Concerto for Clarinet no 3 in F minor, WoO.
 19: 2nd movement, Adagio, Concerto for Clarinet no 3 in F minor, WoO. 19:
 3rd movement, Vivace non troppo, Concerto for Clarinet no 4 in E minor,
 WoO 20: 1st movement, Allegro vivace, Concerto for Clarinet no 4 in E minor,
 WoO 20: 2nd movement, Larghetto, Concerto for Clarinet no 4 in E minor,
 WoO 20: 3rd movement, Rondo al espagnol, Michael Collins (Clarinet), Robin
 O'Neill, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
 (Hyperion, 2008)

Schumann Symphonies Nos 3 & 4

Schumann, Robert: Symphony no 3 in E flat major, Op. 97 “Rhenish”,
 Symphony no 4 in D minor, Op. 120, Manfred, Op. 115: Overture in E flat
 minor and Hermann and Dorothea Overture in B minor, Op. 136, Thomas
 Dausgaard, Swedish Chamber Orchestra.
 (BIS, 2008)

Spellbound

Gubaidulina, Sofia: The Deceitful Face of Hope and Despair, Takano, Mari:
 Concerto for Flute and Beamish, Sally: Concerto for Flute “Callisto”, Sharon
 Bezaly (Flute), Mario Venzago, Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra, Anne
 Manson, Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Martyn Brabbins, Royal Scottish
 National Orchestra.
 (BIS: 2008)

APPENDIX 4

SEASON LISTING 1965-1966, SCO

Örebro Symphony Orchestra		Örebro Chamber Orchestra	
Date	Repertoire	Date	Repertoire
19/9 -65	Bussotti, Welin, Lidholm	26/9 -65	Linde, Werle, Wirén, Werle, Linde
10/10 -65	Smetana, Sibelius, Brahms	17/10 -65	Mozart, Martinu, Beethoven
31/10 -65	Roman, Gershwin, Sibelius	24/10 -65	Bach
14/11 -65	Mozart, Verdi, Debussy	21/11-65	Händel, Bach, Mozart, Schubert
5/12 -65	Sibelius	12/12-65	Rangström, L-E Larsson, Smoliansky, Leo, Schönberg
23/1 -66	Nystedt, Dvarionas, Brahms	16/1-66	Corelli, Purcell, Rossini, Hermansson, de Falla Moszumanska-Nazar
13/2 -66	Verdi, Leoncavallo, Mascagni, Strauss	6/2 -66	Vivaldi, Corelli, Slavik, Suk
6/3 -66	Mica, Mozart, Tjajkovskij	20/2 -66	Geminiani, Stravinskij
20/3 -66	Haydn, Schubert, Mendelssohn	13/3 -66	Corelli, Vitali, Suk, Sjostakovitj, Bentzon, Lekeu
17/4 -66	Berwald, Beethoven	27/3 -66	di Lasso, Hassler, Rangström, Penderechi

SEASON LISTING 1990-1991, SCO

Örebro Symphony Orchestra		Örebro Chamber Orchestra	
Date	Repertoire	Date	Repertoire
16/9-90	Liszt, Prokofjev, Dvorak	7/9-90	Geminiani, Sjostakovitj, E von Koch, Bloch
7/10-90	Alfvén, Gershwin, Sibelius	28/9-90	Bridge, Telemann, Vivaldi, Britten
25/11-90	Mozart, Nystroem, Beethoven	19/10-90	Händel, Gluck, Mozart
16/12-90	Mozart	4/11-90	Roman, Mozart, Larsson, Alfvén, Boyce
11/1-91	Eklund, Brahms, Rachmaninov	16/11-90	Berwald, Martinu, Tjajkovskij
10/2-91	Mendelssohn, Williams, Ravel, Mozart	7/12-90	Bax, Nystroem, Williams, Corelli
10/3-91	Rossini, Tjajkovskij, Schubert	20/1-91	Händel, Mozart, Walton
7/4-91	Mahler, Bartok	1/2-91	Telemann, Hartmann, Schubert, Händel
19/4-91	de Falla, Mozart, Mendelssohn	22/2-91	van Wassenauer, Mozart, Copland, Dvorak
8/9-91 (N/A 28/4 -91)	Ravel, Strauss, Loewe, Gershwin, Saint-Saens, Prokofjev, Puccini	22/3-91	Vivaldi, Händel, Purcell, Purcell, Geminiani, Telemann

SEASON LISTING 2004-2005, SCO

Swedish Chamber Orchestra, Örebro	
Date	Repertoire
16/9-04	Beethoven (Symphony Nr. 9)
3/10-04	Fjellström (First perf.), Brett Dean, Flodin (First perf.), H K Gruber
9/10-04	Rehnqvist (First perf.): children's concert
21/10-04	Reinecke (Flute Concert, Ballade), Schubert (Symphony Nr. 4)
11/11-04	Verdi, Donizetti, Cilea, Puccini, Rossini, Gounod, Offenbach, Bizet (Symphony)
18/11-04	Haydn (Symphony Nr. 1 and Nr. 99), Knotts, von Weber, Berg
9/12-04	Cutler, T'jajkovskij (Violin Concerto), Mendelssohn (Symphony Nr. 3)
23/1-05	Mozart (from Don Giovanni), T'jajkovskij, Schumann
29/1-05	Prokofjev (Peter and the Wolf): children's concert
10/2-05	Mendelssohn, Beamish, Vivaldi, McMillan, Maxwell Davies
17/3-05	Schubert, Beethoven (Piano Concert)
7/4-05	Brahms, Mozart
14/4-05	Purcell, Britten (England theme)
21/4-05	Mozart (Symphony Nr. 1, Violin Concert Nr. 3), Schubert
4/5-05	Prokofjev (Piano Concert Nr. 3), T'jajkovskij
28/9-05	Bach, Haydn, Telemann
8/9-05	Mozart, Wirén, Beethoven
5/10-05	Mozart (Symphonies Nr. 39, 40, 41)
6/10-05	Mozart, Beethoven (Piano Concert Nr. 5)
10/11-05	Gluck, Mendelssohn, Haydn
17/11-05	Dean, Weill
24/11-05	Kodály, Beamish, Haydn
15/12-05	Cazzati, Mozart, Biber, Beethoven

SEASON LISTING 2007-2008, MC

*For season listings season 2005-6 see audience statistics in appendix 5

Manchester Camerata	
Date	Repertoire
3/10-07	Ravel, Saint-Saëns, Mozart
6/10-07	Ravel, Debussy, Beamish, Saint-Saëns (Cello Concerto), Mozart
18/10-07	Handel, Vivaldi, Telemann, Purcell, Bach
2/11-07	Stravinskij, Saint-Saëns, Beethoven
3/11-07	Stravinskij, Adès (Violin Concerto), Beethoven
15/11-07	Purcell, Vaughan Williams (Oboe Concerto), Elgar
22, 24, 27/11-07	Gershwin, Delibes, Verdi, Berwald
29/11, 1/12-07	Strauss, Mendelssohn, Brahms
8, 9/12-08	Handel's Messiah
31/12-07	Rossini, Bizet, Rorigo, Strauss, Gershwin, Lloyd Webber
1/1-08	Strauss, Tjajkovskij, Mozart, Lanner, Heuberger
19/1-08	Stravinskij, Mozart (Violin Concerto), Schnittke, Haydn
30, 31/1 -08	Wagner, Strauss, Beethoven
3/2-08	Strauss Sextet from Capriccio Mendelssohn Octet Brahms String Sextet no.2
23/2-08	Handel, Bach, Thea Musgrave
3, 4, 12/4 -08	Telemann, Vivaldi, Rebel
28/4-08	Mozart, Beethoven
17/5-08	Mendelssohn, Beethoven (Piano Concerto, Symphony Nr. 5)
7/6-08	Verdi's Requiem
8/5 -08	David Matthews String Trio op.48, Beethoven String Trio op.3

APPENDIX 5

AUDIENCE STATISTICS FULL YEAR 2005, SCO

Date	Concert	Visits	Booking
23 Jan	Dausgaard & Wang	676	97%
29 Jan	Peter and the Wolf	428	61%
10 Feb	Scotland	529	76%
17 Feb	A Night with Maria	640	92%
17 March	Austria	516	74%
31 March	Ale Möller Band	673	96%
7 April	Rehns, Brahms & Mozart	573	82%
14 April	England	326	47%
21 April	Manze, Mozart & Schubert	662	95%
28 April	Rodgers & Hammerstein	565	81%
4 May	Russia	609	87%
28 May	Fruksallad och Tut i rutan	546	78%
28 May	Fruksallad och Tut i rutan	689	99%
25 Aug	Manze, Levin	180	90%
27 Aug	Manze, Levin	137	69%
8 Sept	Weigle, Larsson	657	94%
5 Oct	Dausgaard och tre symf.	487	70%
6 Oct	Dausgaard, Hamming, Mozart	695	100%
10 Nov	McCreech, Kaggerud	685	98%
24 Nov	Rudner, Zimmermann	286	41%
1 Dec	Ek, Lindgren, Gustavsson	551	79%
10 Dec	Vargen som tyckte synd om...	322	46%
10 Dec	Vargen som tyckte synd om...	493	70%
15 Dec	Manze, Hemström, Mozart	303	43%

AUDIENCE STATISTICS 2005-06 SEASON, MC

Date	Venue	Concert	Visits	Booking ¹¹²
8 Oct	BWH	Mozart Symphony no. 25 Beethoven Ninth Symphony Choral	1388	58%
29 Oct	RNCM	Beethoven String Quartet in F minor op.95 arr Mahler Finzi Clarinet Concerto	272	58%
11 Nov	BWH	Rameau Suite from Platee Bach Cantata 82a Ich Habe Genug	948	40%
3 Dec	RNCM	Telemann Overture in C for 3 oboes bassoon and strings, Purcell Fantasia on a ground for 3 violins & continuo	534	114%
21 Jan	RNCM	Mozart Divertimento in E flat K563, Britten Phantasy Quartet for oboe & strings	225	48%
4 Feb	BWH	Mozart Symphony no. 39 Mozart Symphony no. 40	1481	62%
18 Feb	RNCM	Haydn Symphony no. 67 Musgrave Aurora	218	46%
4 Mar	BWH	Haydn Symphony no. 70 Mendelssohn Violin Concerto	1001	42%
6 May	BWH	Beethoven Prometheus Overture, Brahms Symphony no. 3 in F	1376	57%

¹¹² The Hayden Freeman Concert Hall at the Royal Northern College of Music has 470 seats, but an additional 150 seats can be put on risers on the platform if required and if the staging allows. Bookings have been calculated on a total of 470 seats.

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Members of staff team/managers

- Tell me about your background, when and how did you come to work here?
- What kind of organisation did you come to at that time? What was the journey it had behind it?
- How has the organisation changed during you time here? How has your job and role changed during you time here?
- Describe your daily work. Who do you work with, what do you do? What are your challenges and problems, future goals and direction?
- What are the objectives, focuses and challenges of your work? How has that changed?
- How do you perceive the focus of your managers? What is important to them? Describe relationships between your managers and the orchestra. How are you evaluated?
- Please describe the organisations stakeholders, their view of the organisation and what they want from it.
- What are the conflicts of interests that you can see in the organisation's day to day life? Please exemplify.
- How do you see the organisation developing in the future? What are the risks and possibilities?

Members of the orchestra

- Tell me about your background, when and how did you come to work here?
- What kind of organisation did you come to at that time? What was the journey it had behind it?
- How has the organisation changed during you time here? Why have you chosen to work here? Benefits? Disadvantages?
- Please describe the relationships between musicians, conductor and managers, and players committees. How has it changed?
- Are you involved in other things than playing? What is you motivation for that? Do you do a lot of things for the organisation without being paid for it?

- What are the pros and cons of (in terms of recent decisions, new start, partnerships) of the organisation from your perspective?
- How does the orchestra work? Has that changed? How would you like it to work?
- How much of the orchestra's work do you do? Are you dependent on the orchestra? Is it a big part of your identity?
- What different opinions are held among musicians about managers, your future direction, working practices, programming, conductor, and different decisions that have been made?

Members of the board

- Tell me about your background, when and how did you come to work here?
- What kind of organisation did you come to at that time? What was the journey it had behind it?
- How has the organisation changed during your time here?
- Please describe the different stakeholders of the organisations, and their relative demands and interests.
- Please describe the risks of the organisation as you see them. How do you manage those risks and how are they related to each other?
- What do you get involved in and what would you not get involved in?
- How does the relationship between the management and the board work?

Representatives of external stake holders and partners

- What kind of organisation is [the orchestra] from your perspective?
- How has your relationship changed over the years?
- What challenges have occurred in the relationship? Please exemplify.
- What do you demand from them and what can you offer them?
- What kind of contact do you have? How do you evaluate and follow up their work and fulfilment of objectives? Please exemplify.
- What do you think they should be doing that they are not doing fully at the moment?

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEWS

Swedish case study	UK case study
Head of marketing (1 hour+45 minutes+30 minutes+1 hour)	Musician (1.5 hours)
Head of children's concerts (2 x 1 hour)	Representative Musician's Union (1.5 hours)
General manager (1 hour+1.5 hours+2 hours)	General manager (30 minutes+2 x 2 hours+45 minutes)
Musician (1 hour)	Chair of the Friends (1 hour)
Receptionist (45 minutes)	Former member musician (1 hour)
Accountant (1 hour)	Freelance musician (1.5 hours telephone)
Three musician (1.5 hours)	Former staff member (20 minutes telephone+50 minutes)
Leader (45 minutes)	Representative Arts Council North West (1 hour)
Representative Arts Council Sweden (45 minutes)	Head of development (1 hour)
Board member (1 hour)	Former Chair of the board (30 minutes)
Guest conductor (30 minutes)	Head of marketing (1 hour)
Head of Commercial Productions (30 minutes)	Marketing assistant (1 hour)
Head of administration (1 hour)	Leader (40 minutes)
Orchestra librarian (1 hour)	Head of learning and participation (1 hour)
Representative County Council Music (70 minutes)	Accountant (1.5 hours)
Head of the Swedish Arts Council (5 minutes+20 minutes telephone)	Principal RNCM (30 minutes)
Musician (1.5 hours)	Music director (45 minutes)
Former member of staff (1.5 hours)	Amateur violinist (45 minutes)
Musician (45 minutes)	Orchestra manager (2 hours)
Musician (1 hour)	Musician non member (1 hour)
Former general manager (2 hours)	Musician and chair of orchestra committee (1 hour)
Politician (50 minutes)	Board member (1 hour)
Musician (2 hours)	Musician (1 hour)
Musician (1 hour)	Chair of Friends (1 hour)
Musician (1 hour)	Musician (45 minutes)
Artistic manager (1 hour)	
Principal conductor (45 minutes)	

OBSERVATIONS

Swedish case study	UK case study
<p>Staff meeting (2 hours) Rehearsal (2 x 1 hour+2 hours) Concert with SCO (4 x 3 hours) University work shop (2 x 2 hours) Children’s concert (3 x 2 hours) Marketing group meeting (1 hour) Programming group (1.5 hours) CD recording (1 hour) Children’s concerts working group (30 minutes) Board meeting (2 hours) “In the middle of the music” (1 hour) Day tour Bingolotto in Gothenburg (15 hours) Culture night (3 hours) Open free concert at Örebro University (1 hour) Staff day meeting (5 hours)</p>	<p>“Camerata on the couch” (2x30 minutes) Board meeting (2 x 2 hours) Guided tour Bridgewater Hall (50 minutes) Seminar in Music Administration in the UK (2 hours) Concert with member musician outside the orchestra (1 hour) Concert with MC in BWH (2x2 hours) Concert with MC in Chester (2 hours) Pre-concert talk BWH (30 minutes) Reception with friends and patrons (30 minutes) Rehearsal in new rehearsal facilities (3 hours) Rehearsal regional venue (30 minutes) Pre-concert talk RNCM (30 minutes) Concert with MC in RNCM (2 hours) Staff meeting (1 hour) Concert with MC in Colne (2 hours) Orchestra committee and management meeting (2 hours)</p>

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The need to deal with accountability is fundamental in every organisation's struggle to survive. When external demands must be fulfilled in order to receive necessary funding, the organisation continuously has to adapt internal processes and outputs to meet those demands. This thesis seeks to explore such adaptations and their short and long term effects.

Funding and Accountability: Studies of a Swedish and a British Chamber Orchestra examines two organisations with an unusually complex context of stakeholders with diverse and conflicting interests. Adding to the unusualness of an orchestra is the nature of the orchestra's basic output: autonomous music cannot be measured in quantified terms, rendering accountability a more difficult and elusive idea than ever. In addition, the orchestra is characterised by the performance of highly specialised skills executed collectively and with exceptional simultaneity, requiring particularly stable and predictable working frames.

With two intriguing cases and with an innovative combination of theoretical perspectives, this thesis illustrates how external accountabilities influence an organisation's core through internal adaptations over time, and highlights issues of organisational identity and future possible directions.



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