Image, Money, Music: More than Business, Less than Autonomous Self

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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work. The material contained in this thesis has not been presented, nor is currently being presented, either in part or wholly for any other degree qualification. I was solely responsible for all data collection and analysis.

Abstract

The role of musical opportunity in the future commercial and cultural viability of North-West England is secured by social and economic policy that emphasises the contribution of musical entrepreneurs and consumers to creative industries of the region. Yet though opportunity and opportunity recognition have become prominent policy concerns through scholars' response being restricted to attempts to explain their quantity and performance before or after the event of practice clear distinction has been made between entrepreneurs and their historical and institutional habitats and status and wealth have been posed unquestioned as central motivations. In turn conceptual abstractions have reproduced visions of practical and instrumental economic men or powerless and inert human black boxes that are thrown around by socio-economic movements like other 'non-producers' and scholars' capacity to study the nature of musical opportunities within human experience has been limited. Musical opportunities are of especial value for understanding the nature of entrepreneurial opportunities and practice more widely because it is within the experience that commercial setting may provoke organizational creativity.

This doctoral thesis aims to understand the nature of musical opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs operating in and around the Mersey basin of North-West England and distinguish how musical opportunities can contribute to understanding entrepreneurial practice more widely. The normative conceptual abstraction away from experience is reversed, so that opportunity becomes articulated by the entrepreneurial imagination. Situating opportunities within everyday imaginative experiences, clear distinction between producers, consumers, habitats falls away, and a range of entrepreneurial experiences are revealed that relate critically to the assumption that opportunity recognition is driven by sober calculations and interests in wealth and status. A multi-sited longitudinal ethnographic approach employing narrative and observational research techniques participates with different moments and different territories of musical opportunity and entrepreneurial practice that find their presence in relation to each other. The findings show that musical opportunities are often at odds with the current manifestation of opportunity in the management studies literature because its 'rationality' is less affording of space

to imagine and create and can often omit significant personal and social connections. Musical organization is shown to be co-created as entrepreneurs resist or are unable to reproduce opportunities that are distinctly commercial. Rather than restricted to purely artistic or commercial interests, musical opportunity is animated amidst the interplay of human resources like entrepreneurial imagination and versatility and the historical and institutional settings musical entrepreneurs and consumers encounter throughout their lives. This maintains the authority of opportunity recognition for understanding organizational creativity through posing the experience in raw and mobile state: imagination.

Prologue

It is quite ordinary to imagine becoming a musical entrepreneur. Most of us, probably at a young age, look up and around to musical folk, and briefly imagine that could be us. Yet very few consumers begin practising and those that do are often only spotted at the point of successful organization- perhaps on television or on radio, or playing in front of thousands on stage, leaving the rest of us to consume their products. Zoom in to celebrity musical entrepreneurs we have grown up buying musical products from and have worshipped in football stadiums filled with thousands of other anonymous faces and it is quite easy to then imagine that it is symptoms of a rare genetic or psychological advantage that distinguishes them from other mere consumers. Standing there on stage, a sense of authority over audiences and their surroundings suggests they are icons worth worshipping because they have inherent abilities to do things most other musical folk cannot. Zoom out to observe the same people so that they become very small figures on the economic stage, though, and then their lives appear deadened by the machinations of powerful backstage actors- consumers like the rest of us that are propelled into practising by the same market mechanics and demographics that drive us into buying their products. Attention flickers between these smiling faces of professional musicianship and the wider seemingly immovable settings they occupy that shape all our lives. Moments pass, at one minute musical entrepreneurs seem distinct and to have left ordinary life, in doing so somehow finding ways to leave consumption behind, at other times they seem to have become swallowed up and to be as lacking in creativity as other 'non-producers'.

Yet musical creativity remains inherently a social as well as personal experience and consumers and producers alike are having to find ways to blend the two as they take to musical commerce. Pause for instance to imagine a consumer who dreams of making their living through music somehow. Their entry into musical business can only make sense and pick up value in close relation to their surroundings over time, and they have to conjure ways that other consumers can relate to their creativity. They grow up like the rest of us: listening to chart shows, going to watch and listen to music performed or played, enjoying it, buying more products, and finding consuming others' musical products rather than creating their own absorbs their daily life and gives it meaning. Like us, they look up at all these beautiful faces but then, unusually, one day,

feel inspired to play an instrument, write some lyrics, think up a melody, or sing. Or imagine that they have already been playing musical instruments from a young age (likely because their demographics have issued them with the resources and knowledge to be able to do so), and that they are now starting to imagine how they might translate their skills and knowledge into commercial practice. Social life and their historical and institutional settings are constantly flowing in and out of their creations over time and how we as consumers relate to what they do. As they then inherit aspirations designed for them by their role in musical industry, dream of ascending to pop star celebrity and chancing her talent being spotted through a television show like Pop Idol, for instance, they attract criticism as they take to musical commerce as if they passively affirm the historical and institutional settings that shape how the rest of us encounter music. As they look far into the future and imagine how those large corporate businesses we grow up so familiar with could lend them resources and help them assemble their celebrity they are charged with 'selling out'. At other times their aspirations could be quite modest, and, quite romantically, their commercial practice might be restricted to particular times and places because of the feelings and artistic rewards they have. This might get them valued for their 'authenticity', as if their creations are purely musical and distinct from the commerce that 'tarnishes' other musical encounters. Or imagine that they find their commercial practice to be constrained by the established settings and routines of musical production that they must occupy, and that feelings of ambivalence propel them into engaging with the local scene of Do-It-Yourself musical commerce. There they might disrupt the habits we grow up with and conjure new entries into musical business for all of us, and their marketing and public reception might have them as iconoclasts or visionaries. But whether they resist the habits of musical production as they take to business the significance of what they imagine and do is found in relations held with wider social settings we all must occupy.

There are, it is certain, many unknowable ways that consumers might take to musical commerce, but all emerge from ordinary social experience and connect and reconnect with established musical forms, all of which are commercial. Personal musical experiences gained whilst growing up feed back into commercial practice, and reconnect with others as aspiring creators look for support and judgement. New equipment and instruments are borrowed and bought (or they try to make her own), and aspiring musical entrepreneurs have to make money as well as be

comfortable with losing it (or survive from money made somehow else). In their desire to make money through what they love, they will most likely begin inheriting existing commercial practice, like, for instance, playing live performances, and compiling and selling albums or singles, or planning how they might allure a better equipped figure to distribute and sell their music. Unable to stop the march of musical business as they take to their own, they co-create their commerce as influences re-emerge of their own free will inside compositions, modalities invoke memories of lost eras and childhood experiences or far off places, and others pick up on their own musical experiences being sampled, reinterpreted and played back to them. Rhythms, and harmonies, as well as disharmonies change the significance of their surroundings, their habitats are strewn with things and others they must negotiate in their creations. At the heights of celebrity, for instance, there might be moments musical folk feel happy playing to thousands of admiring faces, but on other occasions they may also find themselves becoming disaffected with the commercial settings they must occupy and frustrated with how they struggle to create a meaningful existence through a restricted range of commercial practices. They are constantly absorbed into commercial setting, others encroach on their space, use the same restricted procedures, poach their admirers, also struggle to translate personal experience into commercial service in meaningful and valuable ways, and pose their own new entries, as well as 'risks'. Pressure mounts to distinguish the value of their practice and justify their space in the local economy; yet their commerce is more than just about making money, and their musical creativity is more than just art and cannot be isolated from commerce. They must remain creative in their commerce, and lift fresh commercial possibilities from these surroundings, imagine how commercial setting and musical creativity can be blended as they take to business.

Musical commerce matters in all our lives. Without it, personal, and social, experience would be less interesting, the city streets would be much less vibrant and offer much less to do, life at home all too quiet. Music grafts new and old meaning to personal as well as social experience by giving them a sound track, and relating musical folk to the social groups they inherit their place within and the styles of living they enjoy. Commercial settings, then, construct people as musical consumers, but music is also meaningful and valuable because in its creation social and personal experiences are sewn together, suggesting that in taking to musical commerce folk have to grapple with these settings to make them yield new possibilities. This creates a mystery and

sense of the entrepreneurial about musical commerce when put in its proper setting because something is always left unwritten and drifting off the page into richer social experiences. Consumers continue buying, both them and those involved in musical production imagining how this kind of commerce that matters so much can be created.

1 Introduction

The role of creativity in musical commerce has historically been significant in how musical consumers and producers negotiate a meaningful and valuable existence. This doctoral thesis studies this intersection of musical creativity and commerce in the lives of a mixture of practising musical entrepreneurs with connections to a particularly musical city, Liverpool, in North West England.

1.1 Becoming Commercial

Pausing again to consider how people encounter music, and most seem to first experience it within the context of some form of commercial service. Those involved in musical commerce begin life like the rest of us, as consumers. People grow up buying, pirating, exchanging musical products, going to bars and clubs, listening to performances on the radio, attending gigs, and musical services play significant roles in most people's everyday lives. Music is generally encountered as a commercial experience enacted through a common set of practices, which are in the most part reproduced throughout the spectrum of musical business. 3-4 minute songs are produced by bands and record labels and bought by consumers (perhaps before they too turn to 'produce' more actively), songs are re-compiled and exchanged in album formats and played at gigs. All of these are experiences that are designed in commercial settings.

Yet authors suggest there is much more to the private and public life of musical practice that matters (Cottrell 2010; Turino 2010), and this gives reason for aspiring producers to resist how they take to musical commerce being preconfigured for them by their settings. Symbolic, behavioural, and metaphoric aspects are deeply involved in musical practice, and intersect with its commercial significance (Rice 2002), which can produce tensions and invitations that musical folk have to negotiate. Puritan extremes conjure up images of musical folk chasing after the authentic expression of being rather than profit and status (Fonarow 2004). Existential conditions otherwise difficult to communicate through normative business are animated, and private and public experiences are connected and re-connected (Turino 2010; Cottrell 2010) through common social problems, desires, dislikes, experiences, resources, styles of practice, symbols,

relationships and geographic areas involved in musical commerce. Musical producers have to negotiate existing social settings in the creation of new organization (Parrish 2007; Caves 2000; Townley & Beech 2010). This suggests that while clear distinction is often made between those involved in musical commerce and their surroundings, proper analysis of how they they take to commerce and how consumers relate to their creations requires that practice is understood in relation to social settings- as involving different forms of consumption as well as production that interact in their business. Music is always commercial, yet it must be creative and created, which leaves questions as to how this occurs.

Significantly, it also seems there is a wide distribution of how those involved in musical commerce are able to create a personally and socially meaningful and valuable life out of these settings. Moreover, it seems that in having to make do with these commercial settings new forms of musical organization are created (Frith 1986; Stratton 1982). Though musical and commercial interests and settings pose potential constraints to those wishing to take to musical business, then, they may not be necessarily antithetical to one another and instead potentially invite novel ways they can be negotiated in practice.

It is within these settings that discourse of the romanticised isolate artist engaged in musical creativity for the sake of concerns far removed from commerce faces a restricted understanding of the nature of 'entrepreneurial practice' and unknown things called 'entrepreneurial opportunities' set in a musical context. In becoming musical folk are being distributed ready-made opportunities and trajectories to practice, and within the identity of the entrepreneur and the notion of opportunity commerce and creativity blend. More still, it seems that the tension between commerce and musical creativity is a fruitful one in the lives of those who take to musical business. The 'entrepreneur' even has musical origins: "one who gets up" musical performances or owns a public musical institution (Oxford English Dictionary, Online Version 2012), and there is a sense of the mystic entrepreneurial to music itself (its intractable nature that keeps it elusive and consumers buying). Yet the archetypal figure of the entrepreneur today invokes characteristics and intentions that are sometimes difficult to settle with the archetypal musician, and even while some of the regions best known and valuable entrepreneurs in the region are musical clear distinction is made between musical creativity and commercial setting

as if they are in irreconcilable opposition to each other. Entrepreneurial opportunities create visions of pure business interest to which musical creativity resonates jarringly. So, musical business seems to create tension between commerce and creativity, yet this tension may also lead to the creation of new forms of musical commerce, and the aspiring musical entrepreneur has to make sense of tensions involved in their practice as they take to business. This is reminiscent of their entre-preneurial status: always between things like existing forms of musical commerce, the possibility of creation, personal and social life, the old and the new. It also makes musical opportunities of particular interest to study because they emphasise creativity within deeply commercial settings.

The case study looks at how a range of musical entrepreneurs in and around the Mersey basin of North West England take to musical commerce and negotiate personal and social life amidst the historical and institutional settings of musical business in the creation of new forms of musical organization. It is shown how in this diverse musical region they create meaningful and valuable modes of commercial practice, having to consume as well as produce, and sometimes be creative through how they resist existing kinds of musical commerce as they take to their own. Each is a distinct site of musical practice but relates closely to others and common settings occupied together and are so treated as a singular case. Put in relation to show how creativity and commerciality blend in the creation of new organization over time and space, each contribute to how entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial opportunity more generally can be understood through the lens of the creative industries and musical opportunity. To study the sites, new concepts and methods are employed so that the life of musical entrepreneurs can shown to matter in the creation of new organization and musical opportunities are treated with an awareness to how commerce and creativity blend. These new ideas are faced back to the current manifestation of entrepreneurship and particularly the concept of entrepreneurial opportunity to create new beginnings in understanding entrepreneurship as the experience of organization-in-creation.

1.2 Structure

Chapter one- 'Entrepreneurship and Opportunity Recognition Theory' – takes this interest and extends it into existing literature around entrepreneurial practice and opportunity recognition. It introduces William B. Gartner as a researcher who has begun to extend interest away from both the idea of an isolate entrepreneur with peculiar and rare traits, and the contrasting presumption of entrepreneurial agency being an illusion at the behest of more significant commercializing social forces. Gartner searches for a way between the singular and the structural, drawing attention to entrepreneurial experience and suggesting entrepreneurship is organization-in-creation. This allows them to not be restricted to the grand efforts of certain entrepreneurial identities (e.g. the archetypal entrepreneur at a remove from the archetypal musician), and captures interest on entrepreneurial experience and practice that vary across site, time, and actor. Entrepreneurial motivations are also extended from narrow desires for profit and status to multiple intentions that are subject to change as organization develops. Space between pre-organization and organization and creative entrepreneurial acts begins to occupy scholarly attention, and study is invited to toward processes of exchange that transform old organization into new organization. Eliciting this intense variability of entrepreneurial practice, Gartner suggests, involves resisting the tendency to become interested in entrepreneurship the moment new organization has presence in language and action and the habit of focusing only on specific types of practices in certain industries. Study is urged to engage with ordinary entrepreneurial practice always on the way to new organization and how this occurs.

The second section concerns recent literature around the nature of the recognition of entrepreneurial opportunity and the opportunity construct. It introduces a dominant perspective in entrepreneurship theory that recently made attempts to restrict the domain to studying the discovery, evaluation and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities that are at a distance from experience (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). While Gartner suggested openings for new organization are created and emerge within practice as structure and process interact in the lives of entrepreneurs here the 'Individual-Opportunity Nexus' (ION) perspective has entrepreneurial opportunities as independent, emerging exogenously within markets and necessarily edged with concerns for wealth creation. Entrepreneurship is practised in specific industries in particular

ways by particular kinds of entrepreneurs with miraculous abilities to find the necessary opportunity information via particular resource bundles. This is difficult to relate to the nature of musical opportunities and musical commerce because the recognition of entrepreneurial opportunity is not a creative experience- rather, the ION has actors playing roles in insular macroeconomic analyses in which they search for commercial opportunities in market settings. Attention is drawn to difficulties in accepting this view so detached as it is from the lives of practising entrepreneurs and the emphasis it puts on establishing correct opportunity information about things without presence. Actors are shown distinct again, and opportunities are reduced to distinct spaces of pure commercial interest. Hence, the normative conceptualisation of opportunity recognition and current manifestations of the opportunity construct are challenged because they offer very little in the way of studying opportunity recognition *in vivo* and sit uncomfortably with the complex experience of musical commerce.

By contrasting views of opportunity recognition in the strategic literature and approaches oriented around practice and opportunity experience openings emerge to understand the way in which entrepreneurial opportunities are recognised during the play between entrepreneurial selves and business settings. The review then introduces more recent opportunity recognition theory that urges deeper understanding into how and why metaphors like opportunity are able to acquire authority and in what ways they are able to comprehend particular styles of practice. This is significant because it takes study towards understanding how commercial settings and actors interact with one another in the creation and recognition of entrepreneurial opportunities.

The third section entitled 'The Social Construction of Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Opportunity' considers social influences feeding into entrepreneurial practice and opportunity and how entrepreneurs learn to be entrepreneurial. Numerous social influences are forwarded by the constructionists to 'explain' why some individuals are more adept at searching for ready-made commercial opportunities and compiling the correct opportunity information. Entrepreneurship is suggested to be an embedded phenomenon where connections with social networks and actors' habitus play a central role by distributing entrepreneurial ability. However, the social constructionists in entrepreneurship theory are challenged because they are unable to depart the ION perspective and thereby limit study to explaining the recognition of opportunities for profit

and status through determining inescapable social forces. In most constructionist accounts of opportunity recognition actors compete through searching for rival opportunities and therefore do not seem very creative and the variability in their practice and intentions is negligible because structural forces matter most. Actors are distinguished by their embedding in multiple social contexts but agency in the recognition of opportunities is an illusion afforded to them by background determinations because constructionist analyses begin at the point of successful organization. Practice in turn seems homogeneous across space, time, and actor, and opportunity recognition remains difficult to study *in vivo* because of the analytical perspective.

The next section in the review then draws on another strand of literature to distinguish actors engaging with their social construction in creative ways. Here, entrepreneurial agency is not an illusion afforded by more powerful social conditions, and the literature suggests actors become entrepreneurial through subverting historical influences in the recognition of opportunity. Yolanda Sarason, David Rae and Martin Pitt, for example, suggest that as well as being authorised to act by incentives of opportunity information (knowledge about openings for commercial venture set in market contexts), actors create their own authorisations by engaging imaginatively with the social construction of their identity, existing commerce, and restricted opportunities afforded to them as they take to business. This suggests before organization there is perceived constraint in geographic spaces, business contexts, histories and imagined futures as well as embedded incentive that actors work with. Though not provided with the correct opportunity information and resource bundles by their social background, actors may still seek to take to business by challenging the distribution of entrepreneurial ability and entrepreneurial settings to create new organization.

Looking back to Gartner and text and words are then authorised as openings into entrepreneurial practice that numbers and quantitative analyses would likely restrict. Statistical analyses would arrive too late, struggle to capture richly textured practice over time, and deal with restricted intentions imputed at the point organization is assimilated into commercial settings and narrow concerns.

This connects to the next section, entitled 'Story and Narrative as Entrepreneurial Practice', which looks at existing ways in which entrepreneurial practice has been approached through words and narrative methodology. This is significant because social setting are shown to re-emerge within personal entrepreneurial narrative as the varying stories, characters, plots, genres, archetypal identities, myths, episodes, metaphors, conventions and other intertextualities that actors have to make sense of during opportunity recognition experience. Stories and narratives imitate entrepreneurial practice and pose opportunity recognition as an experience through emphasising imaginative narrative abilities involved in day-to-day business. Creating new entries into understanding how opportunity can be recognised and drive organization-in-creation, the literature suggests that in their own personal narratives actors connect up various spaces of stakeholders, resources, markets, history and future, inside and outside, and that they compose stories for specific audiences and intentions and coordinate them into meaningful and valuable structure. Normative and conventional conceptualisations of musical business, entrepreneurial practice, actors and plots are suggested central to the experience. Existing commercial constraints and incentives are drawn blending together in entrepreneurial narrative under the impress of a creative, fictional capacity that is able to resist as well as lift new possibilities in co-creation with entrepreneurial habitats. The section concludes that narrative methodologies are ontologically complete because they imitate ordinary ways in which actors make sense of being-in-business and recognise opportunities that are iconic of organization-in-creation.

The next section uses Saras Sarasvathy's theory of effectuation as a syntactical bridge between the established interest in the recognition of entrepreneurial opportunity and narrative methodologies. Effectuation focuses on the creation of opportunities over time in ordinary practice as entrepreneurs begin with who they are, what they know and whom they know and set out to transform historical circumstance. Rather than isolate opportunities edged with materialistic concerns effectuation reveals visions of actors engaging in business to recompose social conditions for reasons that, at least initially, extend far beyond normative interest in wealth creation. Effectuation has life's problems becoming soluble in business, and commercial venture and settings are not posed as being antithetical to creativity but rather mediums and resources through which it is actualized. Effectuation proffers analyses in which actors do not need to search for ready-made opportunities for commercial venture miraculously envisioned prior to

entrepreneurial action having created them and instead reveals organization-in-creation as opportunity is recognised by imaginative selves that lift and co-create new possibilities with their surroundings. Opportunities need not emerge as ready-made commercial openings because actors co-create valuable commerce out of more human concerns extending from everyday entrepreneurial life. However, while effectuation takes study toward opportunity recognition as an ongoing human experience iconic of organization-in-creation that is co-authored by self and circumstance, problems exist. Actors seem all too instrumental and practical because it is they who command their narratives to organizational success, opportunities still eventually mutate into looming businesses edged with interests in wealth and profit, and effectual theory imposes scholarly constructs before opportunity has presence in action and language. A concluding note to the chapter therefore challenges effectuation because it assumes business is a repository of solutions, and overemphasises isolate, strong willed and well reasoned actors that may not always resonate harmoniously with musical commerce.

The literature is then summarised to bring back into relief the case study interest around musical opportunity. As it is suggested opportunity recognition and the opportunity construct are dominated by particular, perhaps quite managerial views, the section goes on to introduce critical entrepreneurial study such as that of Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjorth. These theorists enlarge the scholarly gaze so that opportunity recognition, rather than suggesting toward distinct entitative spaces, becomes a more uncertain and richer personal and social experience iconic of organization-in-creation. This re-introduction of entrepreneurial practice, post-Gartner, has it as a creative social process and actors are re-embedded in their entre-preneurial in-betweeness, becoming entrepreneurial through imaginatively re-describing and re-relating to their settings on the way to organization. The language of strategic management that occupies much of the current studies of opportunity recognition is challenged, and far from the rare and inimitable heroic entrepreneurial actor they are shown struggling in the prosaic day-to-day of being-in-business and having to grapple with their settings to make space to create and yield new possibilities. Opportunity recognition and practice are suggested forms of social creativity that also involve desires to play, imagine and make decisions, rather than normative interests in profit and distinct social or institutional status. Entrepreneurial reality is described as being characterised by a certain incompleteness that has experience hovering between relations, always

on the way to something, and meaningful through relationships held to entrepreneurial space and time. Study is invited to look at life before business, and the creative, lived experience of opportunity recognition as iconic of organization-in-creation.

Taking the literature's invitation to treat entrepreneurship as a verb and delve into the prosaics of opportunity experience, the day-to-day of opportunity recognition is approached through G.L.S. Shackle who retrains attention on the entre-preneurial; the space between preorganization and new organization. Shackle describes opportunity as a transient social experience and struggles with the semantic boundaries to the opportunity construct because, he suggests, it is the entrepreneurial imagination that lifts and co-authors organization-in-creation. Shackle gives study the idea of the scheme of things and how, even if deeply commercial as the case settings are in musical entrepreneurship, they are able to provoke imagination and organizational creativity. This develops the initial struts for a framework to elicit the nature of opportunity *in vivo* and extends constructionists and narrative approaches because the experience is shown to be ongoing and to involve both imaginative creation and commercial setting.

In the next section on opportunity recognition literature attention then turns to Edith Penrose, a foundational scholar most associated with the dominant order of strategic management out of which the ION perspective emerged. Penrose centres "flesh and blood" resources in entrepreneurship, and suggests "imagination and intuition" are as much involved in composing opportunities as they are writing songs. A pedagogical relationship is drawn between actor and business settings, and new metaphor is offered to conceptualise this in-between space without falling into assumed presence, language, or action. Penrose's idea of 'images' captures opportunity recognition as iconic of organization-in-creation and the interplay of commercial settings at once, allowing influence and inheritance to be understood in the appearances that matter to actors themselves, and for distinct entrepreneurial actors and opportunities to fall away into restless experiences articulated by imaginative entrepreneurial narratives and stories. The section also develops elements of entrepreneurial images at play in dynamic social learning processes by constructing a structural residue (put in the form of a table) that is common between sites of practice and useful for eliciting opportunity recognition as an experience.

The next section develops the pedagogical relation drawn between entrepreneurial actors and historical and institutional settings to develop the framework to study opportunity as iconic of organization-in-creation. Michel de Certeau reveals how the dominant order is put to use imaginatively in day-to-day experience. Enlarged representations of practice and their imaginative re-description and re-relation are forwarded as being able to reveal openings into entrepreneurial images. A strategic order fighting the significance of time to erode its authority is set against a silent majority that uses formalised definitions and practices to invent meaningful ways to live. Posed in the form of tactics, the section suggests entrepreneurial stories have actors making do with commercial settings, constraints, and the strategies they are distributed by more powerful and larger relations in imaginative ways, through stylizing homogeneous categorisations and things with their own personal experience. This is significant because the section suggests it is within these stories of strategy and tactics that entrepreneurial images can be laid out and the experience of opportunity recognition be given form without falling completely back into abstractions. Rather than necessarily opportunities being distinct spaces of commercial reason that are localized either in spatial or institutional sense outside of the experience of making them, as the strategic literature suggests, Certeau translates the ideas of Penrose and Shackle into a methodological framework. Certeau enables study to engage with opportunity recognition as iconic of organization-in-creation revealed in the play between the strategic and the tactical.

Attention then turns in the next chapter to the enactment of the case study through qualitative interpretivist study methods. A mixed-site case study approach is justified through the suggestion that cases are integral to entrepreneurship- that it is through real life sites that actors put strategic things into imaginative tactical use. Mixed-site case study allows thick description of longitudinal and relational experiences of opportunity recognition and to animate the intensity of organization-in-creation. A mixed-site case study approach is justified on the basis that by contrasting and comparing different sites of opportunity recognition within a singular case study reveals the relational and temporal nature of entrepreneurial images and does not pose one central sample population or distinct opportunities. Ethnographic methods such as active interviews, observation, and participation are justified because they allow access to the rich prosaics of experiences of opportunity recognition and allow for the strategic to be approached in

the appearances that matter to actors themselves. Taking up Penrose's own ideas, understanding is treated as if an ongoing process of co-creation between researcher and the sites. These ideas are extended through describing the use of observation and field notes because they allow study of opportunity as iconic of organization-in-creation through following and engaging organizational emergence over time and space. Sampling techniques and the development of the case study between each site is then described. Data creation processes are then described in detail between the sites of case study, pausing on what their variability suggests for each. Finally, the section pauses on methods of interpretation, emphasising this also to be an iterative and creative process of imputing strategies and other structural residual common between sites to allow them to be redescribed through the images that matter to actors themselves.

Presented as an introduction to the case study settings of musical business they occupy the next chapter then describes the emergence of the so-called 'independent' movement in the British recorded music industry from the 1970s onwards. The first section orients readers toward historical visions of opportunity recognition in which tensions between creativity and commercial setting appear fruitful and lead to the emergence of new images of organization-in-creation. Highly valuable and imaginative spaces of musical entrepreneurship are described emerging in places like Liverpool as actors negotiate commercial settings in creative ways to the advantage of themselves and the local economy. Relations to the dominant order of musical business are shown to be constraints as well as incentives in the emergence and cultural authorisation the of images. The analysis is presented in the form of a table. The contemporary historical and institutional settings and strategies of musical business for entrepreneurial actors in and around the city of Liverpool and the wider settings of practice are then brought into relief to develop the generally identifiable background the sites will relate in their own appearances. New spaces and strategies are shown emerging in these current settings, and actors are shown having to imaginatively negotiate new as well as very old constraints and incentives.

The study then turns individually to each of the sites involved in the case study. Five different sites of musical entrepreneurship with connections to the Mersey basin in North West England make up the case study and are organised through two narrated entrepreneurial images that coordinate organization-in-creation. The images are articulated by stories co-created between the

strategic and tactical and follow practice over time. The discussion interprets the sites against the strategic structure connecting the images and sets them in wider theoretical appendage.

The first set of images concerns the site of a lengthy and circuitous experience of becoming entrepreneurial that stretches back 60 years to the protagonist's childhood. The images describe the entrepreneurial practice of Geoff Davies, originator of the Probe Records shop in Liverpool that is cited as the first independent shop many others have modelled their practice on. The first image describes the process leading up to the shops emergence; many different marginal resources feeding into the image, and the actor imaginatively resisting constraint encountered with normative practice and distinct commercial opportunities. The second image pauses on an intermediary episode in Davies' career as with other actors he disrupts common representations of Liverpool and popular music and re-relates to constraints inherent in his practice as incentive and style. The discussion struggles to interpret the earlier two images and contain the amount of data collected. It suggests that the notion and boundaries of opportunity as currently manifested by the strategic management literature are of an alien language to Davies yet provoke imaginative organization or new musical business. The images show him creating space and new uncertainties in distinction to 'usual business' and have his practice picking up style and value over through how punters are able to move in and out of boundaries to Davies' practice.

The second set of images concerns the site of a well known corporate icon of musical business in Liverpool and the North West that emerged from very humble roots. The former head of Cream (who vacated managing the brand as the study came to a close), James Barton, recalls his founding story in the first image, and the second describes his entrepreneurial experience after a significant episode of market change forced reinterpretation and reconfiguration of business and opportunity. The discussion interprets Barton's story by suggesting it traces the formalisation opportunity that lifts it from concealment within the ambiguity of images to become an 'it' corporate business that distinguishes and commands through calculation and prediction of market response. Yet as opportunity is shown tightening and being lifted from experience the flesh and blood experience of opportunity recognition is shown looking elsewhere for excitement and organization is still creative.

The third set of images concerns the site of an emerging celebrity musical actor called Little Boots signed to the world's biggest and most powerful record label. The first image describes her combination of ubiquitous technologies and how the boundaries to distinct commercial opportunity enacted through an array of powerful strategies are blurred in the organization of her identity. Opportunity is shown to be left informal and indistinct as marketing routines and piloted songs retrieve and tally market response. The second image describes opportunity recognition experience after Boots being signed to a large corporate record label. Entrepreneurial self and opportunity is shown to have tightened and mutated into a distinct space of reason, organization-in-creation to be slowing. The discussion suggests that as opportunity tightens and is lifted from experience the protagonist finds it looking back at her in the eyes of her worshippers, struggles to re-relate to what she has created, and finds it difficult to muster the space and human resources necessary to create exciting new images.

The fourth set of images describe a 3 year long active engagement with a critical and alternative site of opportunity recognition in the city of Liverpool known as a.P.A.t.T. The first image describes the process leading up to the emergence of a.P.A.t.T. as actors became disaffected with existing commercial practice and how their learning to become entrepreneurial is looped back into subversive commercial practices. The protagonists are shown resisting setting up distinction with outside, but also not having the capacity to pose opportunities as they currently manifest themselves in the strategic literature. The second image describes the experience of becoming active member in a not-for-profit unincorporated association operating in Liverpool city centre and the ongoing experience of negotiating restrictive commercial practices. It narrates the experience until the creative space insinuated in the city centre was reabsorbed back into normative commerce it could occupy only very briefly. The discussion relates the site back to the structural residue to reveal imaginative tactics that keep organization as a verb, always creative in its commerce.

The final set of images describes the immensely successful entrepreneurial practice of one of the world's most difficult entrepreneurs to pin down, Bill Drummond. Drummond has made a career through successively reinterpreting his practice, identity, opportunity and ways of becoming musical. Two images of participatory research are narrated- the first being the emergence of

Drummond's core project, The17, a choir that seeks to re-establish connections music historically had with body and place, and the second being the experience of becoming 'member' inside the opportunity. The discussion suggests that rather than being interested in localizing distinct spaces of spatial and institutional reason and command Drummond's images involve a desire to keep opportunity recognition experience as fuzzy, uncertain and exciting in order that it might reawaken memories of early encounters with the musical object and create new uncertainties in becoming musical. By situating opportunity in images, organization is always creation, and it is this that seems to matter to the protagonist.

The final chapter of discussion re-relates to the sites and poses the images back toward the interest in opportunity recognition as iconic of experiences of organization-in-creation and sets new beginnings for understanding entrepreneurship through the lens of the creative industries. Musical opportunity is shown to develop cultural and commercial significance in direct relation to the rigid conceptualization of opportunity recognition stemming from the strategic literature. Rather than the making of rare inimitable characters or the work of an inescapable commercial system, opportunities are shown to emerge in the intersection of human resources like the entrepreneurial imagination and entrepreneurial resources and relations. Significantly, opportunities are also shown to not always be recognised as they currently manifest themselves in the strategic literature because they are unable to understand the experience of organization-in-creation. New tactical constructs and methods are shown to be needed in order that study is able to engage with opportunity recognition as the imaginative experience of organization-in-creation. Penrose is re-read and re-related to in order to break her out from the control of her current interpretors, and musical opportunities are described in relation to constructs entrepreneurial study is currently employing to study opportunity recognition. Rather than a strategic separation able to made between self and business, or opportunities ever emerging as distinct spaces in which the primacy of either actors' efforts or determinations of commercial setting can be posed, musical opportunities are shown to emerge and pick up significance in the play between the strategic and the tactical and to be inherently creative even while always in the depths of constant commerce. In turn, the study develops a processual approach to study the nature of opportunity as experienced by actors themselves through the idea of images and develops the creative process perspective to opportunity as iconic of organizational creativity.

2 Literature: Opportunities & Opportunity Recognition

2.1 Beginning in Entrepreneurship Studies

Gartner

The intimacy of commercial settings and entrepreneurial creativity was eloquently described more than twenty years ago by William B. Gartner (1988, 1989, 1990, 1993) as he took the entrepreneurial decision to re-define the subject of entrepreneurial study. Back then Gartner saw no clear established definition yet observed scholars who were quite comfortable with the concepts and methods they used.

Gartner set out with a strong orientation, defining entrepreneurship as the impetus and process of organizational creativity, retaining connections with enduring interest in the economic function of entrepreneurship since figures such as Ludwig Von Mises and Joseph Schumpeter. But an existing order distributing ways in which entrepreneurship could be understood needed re-relating to. Already other scholars (e.g. McCelland 1953, 1961, 1987; Carland *et al* 1988; Chell *et al* 1991; Brockhaus 1980) were explaining entrepreneurship via traits that distinguished entrepreneurial actors as having rare inimitable characters (McMullen 2007). Their analyses began at the point of successful organization to attribute complete causal responsibility to the genetic and psychological traits of actors, the expense of which being to obscure entrepreneurial processes and the significance of entrepreneurial settings in actors' lives. Meanwhile, theorists embedded in the resource based view of strategic management (Barney 1991; Amit & Schoemaker 1993; Fombrun 1996; Selznick 1957) tended to isolate their focus upon internal resource configurations presumed to give actors and firms the capacity to leverage entrepreneurial settings to gain competitive advantage. These analyses can explain the role of entrepreneurship in economies, but they make it difficult to understand entrepreneurship from the perspective of actors themselves because the 'subject' of entrepreneurial study is posed as a distinct space existing at a separation from their settings, and their analyses begin either too late or too early.

Those who did not see entrepreneurship as the reserve of a rare few with inborn ability to marshal their environment for orthodox reasons and in rational ways, or as being the result of internal resource bundles with the muscle to overpower markets, instead understood it as the upshot of wider environmental forces. From withdrawn macro perspectives organizational structure and performance for instance appear determined by the distribution of power, resources, knowledge, existing competitive advantage, agency, legitimacy, and costs within and between organizations and actors (Weber 1947; Blau *et al* 1966; Porter 1979, 1980; Scott 1995; Coase 1937, 1961). Others such as Israel Kirzner (1973, 1979) and Mark Casson (1982) suggested interstices between firms and temporal and spatial inefficiencies created through market mechanics jostle actors about by distinguishing the successful through their being most alert to recognize entrepreneurial opportunities. What is remarkable about each of these literatures is that they make clear distinction between actors and commercial settings, and leave very little space for creativity or studying organizational creativity as experienced by those involved. In the first analysis actors have the rare ability to manipulate historical and institutional settings into submission, and because only they matter and the analysis begins when entrepreneurship has created successful business it is up to study to decipher what distinguishes those who 'succeed' from others who are more ordinary, or have either not begun, or stopped practising. In the second set of analyses entrepreneurial agency within processes of organizational creativity is just an illusion at the behest of more significant social conditions. Actors do not matter, and neither are they in anyway creative, instead being just a medium through which industries and economies drive their own development. These analyses, then, seem to abstract away from experience for the sake of conceptual parsimony and explanation.

Gartner (1988, 1989), and later others such as Christine Oliver (1997), have problems with these conceptual abstractions because of the clear distinction they make between actors and commercial settings and how they draw away from entrepreneurship itself. If entrepreneurship is the process of organizational creativity, then they disallow study to engage with it in any way other than after some form of commercial success has occurred, being unable to show it as it occurs. Gartner though keeps with entrepreneurial experience, and never seems to allow his attention to drift too far from the day-to-day of organizational creativity. He suggests numerous entrepreneurial qualities, macroeconomic and social influences, types of organization can be

identified, but the happening of entrepreneurship - what actors do and the rich variability of their visions and how they relate to their settings - will be obscured if analyses begin too late. He noticed how these analyses created entrepreneurial subjects that are very difficult to study, and how the entrepreneurial process became very difficult to study *in vivo*- in life itself. Populated by a certain indigenous tribe with specific modes of practice and intentions, entrepreneurship seemed to result in very similar business configurations. Worse still, because actors can be posed as secondary to determinations produced through institutional and market configurations, they might not even be worth the study. Gartner suggested this to be untenable if scholars are to understand organizational creativity rather than explain it from positions of withdrawal, but also an invitation to invent new ways of approaching the human made 'subject'.

Taking the invitation afforded by these restricted definitions and divisive approaches, study could reorient attention to experiences of organizational creativity (Gartner 1988; 1989). Academics would study the things actors do rather than retrospectively conjecturing as to who and what they might be, or how they are determined. Revealed (Gartner 1988: 429-430) was the absence of the most intense moments of entrepreneurship from the literature and new entries into studying entrepreneurial practice, the significance of commercial settings in actors lives over time, and less normative visions. Asking himself "What is entrepreneurship?", Gartner extended the resource based view of Karl Vesper (1980), Karl Weick's (1979, 1984, 1989, 1995) phenomenological interest in organizational creativity via retrospective sensemaking processes, contextually disciplined imagination and enactment of context, and the doing of entrepreneurship more generally, and Yolanda Sarason's (1972) commitment to dynamic processes of exchange between structure and actor. Entrepreneurship was presented as the process "by which an organization evolves from nothing to something", and Gartner retrained attention on experiences of organizational creativity by inviting others "to explore that period of time in which the pre-organization becomes the new organization" (Gartner 1988: 433). Rather than explaining entrepreneurship through conceptual abstractions always pulling back from experience and dealing with organizational presence before actors have begun to practice, then, it was "organization in-creation" that began occupying his interest (Gartner 1988:433).

"Studying the new organization therefore explores the territory between preorganization and the new organization" (Gartner 1988:429), before potential organization 'success', and departs assumed innate qualities, the presumption entrepreneurial agency is a simulation afforded by dominant social forces, and subsequent assumptions about intentions, practices and configurations. This is significant for research setting out to understand entrepreneurship as organization-in-creation because the 'subject' keeps some of their entre-preneurial nature by being positioned in a conscious middle space between historical circumstance and the possibilities that actors somehow elicit for organizational creativity, a space that is deemed worthwhile and possible to study because it is fed by historical circumstance, constant within actors lives, and can show new organization always emerging (Gartner 1988). It is entrepreneurial experience itself. This view has actors becoming entrepreneurial through reorganizing commercial settings through more commerce and invites study into how this occurs. The entrepreneurial actor re-emerges neither a rare inimitable type, nor just a mechanical element. Rather, their practice carries with it many unknowable novel forms, and their experience of becoming entrepreneurial seems wide and varied.

2.2 Exchanges & Processes

Entrepreneurship, conceived as organization-in-creation, then, Gartner suggests relies on determinations being absorbed and exchanges being made with outside by actors who are minded that in in doing so they might alter circumstance through the possibilities that existing commercial setting elicit in their lives. Organization-in-creation is shown a process that is driven and revealed via unique experiences of commonplace phenomena, in which neither actor nor circumstance takes primacy (Gartner 2007). Structure is posed as being simultaneously restricting and inviting, affording actors resources and relations that they forge exchanges and relationships with as the existing and possible forms of practice they experience in unique and creative ways (Gartner 1988, 1989, 1993; Katz & Gartner 1988). By also emphasising the entrepreneurial process to be an experience through time, fragmented archetypal identities fall back into practice as different action episodes. Determinations are not set up through conceptual abstractions employed at the point of successful organization, and practice is not caught in inertia, but reveals variable and intense experiences that extend well beyond normative business

interest (Gartner 1988). Rare inimitable characters are set against backgrounds that shape them, and the fatalism of historical determination and normative entrepreneurial practice fall away because their significance is shown to be found within experience itself.

This keeps "organization in-creation" *in vivo*- occurring within experience itself (Gartner 1993:237-238). Interest turns to ordinary entrepreneurial practice, actors' intentions, the boundaries to practice, exchanges that are made with circumstance, possibilities that emerge for organizational creativity, the connections that are made with others, and the language that is used by actors on the way to organization (Gartner 1993:237; Gartner *et al* 2003). Study is drawn to how, before setting out to reorganize commercial settings creatively through more commerce, actors act 'as if' (Gartner, Bird, & Starr 1992) possibilities for organizational creativity are projected from historical circumstance as actors experience them in their own lives, and how "the nature of these 'opportunities' seems to hinge on ever-so-slight behaviours" during the interaction of structure and process in the lives of entrepreneurs (Gartner 1993:238). An interest in warranted toward how it is entrepreneurship creates new organization from preorganization, how possibilities are lifted in the experiences of actors themselves, and how they develop over time.

2.3 The 'Domain': Opportunities & Their Recognition

A few years later another set of scholars (Bygrave & Hoffer 1991; Gaglio 1997; Kirzner 1997; Venkataraman 1997; Eckhardt & Shane 2003; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Shane 2000, 2003; Gaglio & Katz 2001; Van Gelderen 2004) engaged in a second entrepreneurial act attempting to define the subject of entrepreneurial study. Gartner (1990) previously suggested entrepreneurship is inherently at odds with distinct definition and that such attempts often miss the most intense and variable moments, but, nonetheless, these other theorists insisted on positioning a unique analytical construct at the centre of entrepreneurial study. They suggested other disciplines of management and organizational study overlapped into studies of entrepreneurship and in doing so questioned the legitimacy, precision and imitability of scholars' commitment to the study of entrepreneurial behaviour and psychological characteristics (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). Subsequently, there has been a Porteresque formalising of disciplinary boundaries around the

inimitable construct of 'entrepreneurial opportunities'. This is significant because before the new organization Gartner speaks of actors imagining 'as if' these other authors assume there already exists a ready-made opportunity to organize it that exists independently of actors' experience. Suddenly, then, the analytical gaze abstracts away from experiences of organizational creativity again and is retrained upon explaining entrepreneurship through determinations inherent in the make-up of entrepreneurs and their relationship to existing market interstices.

The most visible proponents in this setting of grounds was Scott Shane and Sankaran Venkataraman (Shane 1997; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Shane 2000, 2003), associated most immediately with strategic management (Barney 1991). They retrained attention upon the subjective life circumstances of individuals and how they cohere with opportunities held in markets. The 'Individual-Opportunity nexus' (ION), they presented posed entrepreneurship as the "study of sources of opportunities; the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities; and the set of individuals who discover, evaluate, and exploit them" (Shane & Venkataraman 2000:218, original emphasis).

Dig into this and opportunities are assumed to be new 'means-ends' relationships whereby services, goods and practices are introduced to market at higher price than their assembling cost (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). Actors commit uncritically to business for the sake of profit, finding new means-ends relationships through adapting their business and personal configurations to the request of gaps perceived to be ready-made and face them as an objective organizational presence found in markets (Shane 1997; Shane 2000; Shane & Venkataraman 2000). Normative why's are attributed to particular cases (Berglund 2011:5), and actors fit (Dimov 2007b; Sarasvathy 2008:42) their subjective life circumstances with their market settings. They play a jigsaw solving role as the strong willed rational homo economicus able to identify correct opportunity information (itself rationalistic in that superior kinds exist).

The ION goes on to suggest there is no entrepreneurship without opportunities (Shane 2000:220), yet insists there are opportunities without actors. It has opportunities existing as independent entitative, objective spaces emerging exogenously in markets that actors have to correctly decipher (Shane 1997, 2000; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Kirzner 1979; Casson

1982). Opportunities are teleological, goal oriented, "concrete and real" (Gartner 2003:108), and necessarily edged in competitive interest because they are assumed to exist 'out there' and set actors at odds with one another over rival resources and market openings. The upshot of this is that the ION seems to jump ahead of Gartner's interest in the organizational creativity and how opportunities for new organization are lifted from circumstance in the lives of actors themselves to instead retrospectively conjecture as to their source in markets and marvel at their unfolding from the point that successful organization has presence. Actors in turn are distinguished by their miraculous abilities to transcend opportunity experience and perceive openings for organizational creativity before practice has composed them. Rather than opportunities emerging endogenously within practice as Gartner suggests, then, because the ION has opportunities somehow separate from actors' lives, the view ignores experience the instant opportunities are discovered.

To recognize opportunities actors have the unenviable task of being alert (Kirzner 1979) to informational disequilibrium (Casson 1982) between themselves and competitors; the more alert they are the more 'correct' their description of the opportunity is (Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Kirzner 1979, 1997). The ION therefore commits actors to specific modes of action and environmental representations (Busenitz *et al* 2003; Alvarez & Barney 2007; Short *et al* 2010) in which they grope around for correct information through audits of Knightian risk, searching for ready-made opportunities and bundling psychological, cognitive, and business-oriented resources for pre-defined orthodox ends (interest in profit and status). Alertness varies and is distributed amongst actors and therefore determines performance (Shane 1997, 2000; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Kirzner 1997). It is subjective to the degree that the residue of historical advantage won, risk calculations, resources bundled and genetic and psychological make-up cohere and correctly map onto futuristic commercial possibilities embedded in markets (Shane 1997; 2000). Context matters only as a stubborn, realist environment actors either describe correctly or incorrectly, depending on the requisite composition of their history. The upshot of this is that attention turns again to the particular nature of particular kinds of entrepreneurial actors (McMullen 2007), 'outside' appears quantitative, divisible, geometric and predictable (Alvarez & Barney 2007; Busenitz *et al* 2003), and the isomorphic impress of 'outside' appears to

'educate' actors about their possibilities and pose them in at odds in their competitive dexterity to discover, evaluate and exploit opportunities.

Significantly, while the opportunity construct is then positioned centrally in the discipline (Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Shane 2000; Short *et al* 2010; McMullen *et al* 2007; Alvarez & Barney 2007; Busenitz *et al* 2003; Plummer *et al* 2007; Sarasvathy *et al* 2010), the nature of entrepreneurial opportunities is assumed at the expense of understanding organizational creativity and the nature of entrepreneurial opportunities from the perspective of actors themselves. Through opportunity being posed as an analytical construct always at an adjunct to actors' lives, how opportunity emerges or is recognised is very difficult to study *in vivo*, and conjecture toward contextual determinations and forces already inherent in practice must be made retrospectively or through prediction. This suggests that this so-called 'discovery perspective' and the equilibrium approaches it is based upon precludes entrepreneurial creativity pre-empting the emergence of entrepreneurial opportunity. The construct of entrepreneurial opportunity reproduces the analytical distinction between actors and their settings, as opportunities are found exogenously with instant presence, configured with normative business interests, and are exploited through particular action scripts favoured by certain heroic individuals (Busenitz *et al* 2003; Alvarez & Barney 2007; McMullen *et al* 2007; Short *et al* 2010). Variable intentions, different ways of relating to circumstance, peculiar modes of action, and the significance of time and occasion are omitted, and interest focused upon how possibilities are lifted from circumstance in the lives of actors themselves cannot be studied. Instead, analyses are still driven to explain performance, why actors respond to opportunities in particular ways, and those who are likely to respond. Yet opportunity recognition implicates an actor or group of actors experiencing the emergence and creation of possibilities from their surroundings, which suggests that, because the ION poses these possibilities as existing distinct from life, animating the experience of opportunity recognition is very difficult. Studies interested in processes of organizational creativity are given new constructs and concepts able to unify the domain, yet if opportunity is iconic of potential organizational creativity then how such possibilities emerge other than through mystical movements of industries and economies is made difficult to study.

Suddenly, potential study is thrown back into a similar impasse Gartner paused upon; either there is an inescapable institutional impress actors are thrown about in and are, therefore, not worth the study, or actors are somehow able to miraculously transcend the experience, travel outside themselves through time, find opportunity as a ready-made form of successful organization, and bring it back, which makes them seem rare inimitable types again. The epistemological assumption is that actors somehow capture information about organizational success that does not yet exist. Business is uncritically engaged with, and practice emerges from immutable and homogeneous motivations and interests shared equally across actors. 'Ends' stay the same through time and hold across all entrepreneurial groups, entrepreneurship merely discovers new paths to the same time old destination. The practical homo economicus engages in withdrawn rationalistic quests for opportunity information, and neutrally processes precise and objective data to retrieve opportunity from logically ordered entrepreneurial environments.

Others have already responded to these issues, leading to division in the field (Berglund 2007; Busenitz *et al* 2003; Dimov 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Hansen *et al* 2011; Plummer *et al* 2007; Short *et al* 2010; Alvarez *et al* 2007; Sarasvathy *et al* 2010) between arguments in the opportunity recognition literature that propose opportunities are discovered (Kirzner 1979, 1997; Shane 2000; Shane & Venkataraman 2000) and arguments that suggest opportunities are created (Hills, Shrader & Lumpkin 1999; Weick 1979; Gartner 1993, 2007; Gartner *et al* 2003; Ardichvili, Cardozo & Ray 2003; Fletcher 2003). In the vein of Gartner and Weick, scholars having opportunities as created suggest analyses of opportunity recognition relate to specific academic and business territories, and suggest that opportunities are iconic of organization-in-creation within the experience of actors themselves. Opportunities are always coupled to social experience through being related to something before and something else 'outside', and whether deemed discovered or created it is "the culture, society and the institutions (of capitalism, family, market, economy, enterprise discourse) in which the are reproduced" that texture them and how actors become entrepreneurial (Fletcher 2004:434). Specific entrepreneurial spaces, actors, practices, times, intentions, and language all shape the phenomena but are shaped by opportunity too (Short *et al* 2010; Busenitz *et al* 2003; Gartner *et al* 2003; Berglund 2011; McMullen *et al* 2007; Alvarez & Barney 2007; Fletcher 2004; Ireland & Webb 2007). In response invitations are issued to study organizational creativity through opportunities that emerge over time during

ordinary practice and can involve multiple ways of relating to commercial setting and inherited practice (Busenitz *et al* 2003; Alvarez & Barney 2007; Dimov 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Gartner *et al* 2003; Gartner 2007, 2011; McMullen *et al* 2007; Short *et al* 2010; Berglund 2007, 2011). There is more than just an opening to reinsert important personal and situational elements often obscured by the normative scholarly gaze here- the invitation being to engage with experiences of opportunity themselves, which are conceived as being embedded in commercial setting yet somehow lifting possibilities for organizational creativity and taking to business to create new organization. In doing so, the heroism of the distinct entrepreneurial self, the fatalism of determination by context, and the problematic notion of opportunity as distinct from experience fall away, and actors are observed working imaginatively with their settings, struggling, and having to connect and articulate their personal visions via a deeply social experience. This maintains the authority of the opportunity construct for entrepreneurial study, but only through intervening in such studies so that rather than simply being an analytical construct entrepreneurial opportunity can be approached and studied as organization-in-creation in the lives of actors themselves.

2.4 Social Construction of Entrepreneurship and Opportunity

Through these readings of the opportunity recognition literature and the conceptual abstractions employed that often distinguish actors from their settings and draw back from organizational creativity as experienced by actors themselves, a theoretical backdrop is coming into frame that can later be removed: social constructionism. A traditional sociologically influenced view of social constructionism (e.g. Schutz 1932; Berger & Luckman 1966; Gergen 1985; Bourdieu 1990) suggests opportunities transcend arguments over their being created endogenously or discovered exogenously because attention is drawn toward learning processes and exchanges via which actors are socialized by historical surroundings yet contribute to them through time. Bourdieu in particular develops the distinction made between actors and their surroundings into a conceptual framework able to engage with the social and personal experiences of actors by retraining attention upon processes through which actors practice established forms of knowledge and routine in their own ways. Social constructionism is posed as a process of knowledge diffusion; actors learning ways of practising social life by inheriting knowledge from

others like them and through doing so embedding societal structures and systems in everyday life, yet also being able to take hold of these inheritances and take them in new directions. He describes actors developing habitus (Bourdieu 1990:54, 129), taking on existing forms of knowledge and routine from their surrounding through a kind of mimetic learning back and forth between self and circumstance. Organizational setting releases abilities to judge, make decisions, and situate being in the world (Bourdieu 1990). Hence at the same time through socialising life recreates external structures it is also afforded ability to re-relate to commonplaces and invent spaces of particular meaning and knowledge that are known by their relation to wider assemblages of practice (Bourdieu 1990:80). This gives a sense of placement of actors by their habitat, as well as an understanding of actors' sense that they are able to place and displace themselves within the social that animates their creativity. The upshot of this is that, rather than presenting experience in a dualistic way, through posing structure and agency always distinct from each, and always immobile, the tension between actors and their settings is shown to be a process by which new possibilities are lifted from circumstance and actors are able to create new organization.

By drawing together self and business, entrepreneurial actors, like ordinary people, then, are not the lone swordsmen their coordination by media, trait theory, RBV and the ION suggests, but nor is their agency a mere simulation. The isolate entrepreneurial actor merely yields a pragmatic unit of analysis that preoccupies us scholars too much (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson 2007; Becker 1984). It is necessary to study how also the creator is created, how creative potential afforded actors is inscribed within the fields they occupy and what the relationship between creation and heritage is (Bourdieu 1996:167). Study is invited toward the many things coming before organization- the generalised 'whats' texturing opportunities, and that are recomposed by entrepreneurial acts, as well as the exchanges that are made between structure and process during opportunity recognition. An intimate relationship emerges between inner and outer worlds and the primacy of either falls away as interest moves toward how the relationship is tendered in creative ways during opportunity recognition.

2.41 Embeddedness & Social Networks

Turning to the opportunity recognition literature again to develop insight into this relationship between actors and their settings, a lot of attention has been placed on the notion of embeddedness (Granovetter 1973, 1985; Anderson & Jack 2002; Uzzi 1996, 1997) to explain the distribution of successful opportunity recognition and exploitation. Yet while the concept of embeddedness focuses attention on social relations and historical circumstance, often studies of entrepreneurial embeddedness are framed by the restricted conceptualisation of opportunity by the ION in the strategic literature, which suggests they omit entrepreneurial agency and variable intentions. Being concerned with how ready-made commercial opportunities are discovered, evaluated and exploited, they look back from the point of successful organization to determine likely demographic forces at play in the unequal distribution of opportunity information, and therefore also withdraw from experience and cannot show organizational creativity from the perspective of actors.

In particular it is the connections actors have with others in social networks that attract much attention, and it is these that can be drawn upon to show how possibilities are elicited from commercial setting. Relations like family and friends, for instance, constitute initial nodes in social networks, and other stakeholders have been shown to influence practice by providing different types of resources and the connections via which opportunities are actualized over time (Anderson *et al* 2005, 2007; Jack & Anderson 2002; Anderson & Miller 2003; Jack *et al* 2008; Greve & Salaff 2003). Studies have focused on how economic, social, geographic, ethnic, and cultural differences encoded amongst historical relations distribute entrepreneurial opportunity and provide tangible and intangible resource sets that are significant within actors' experiences (Anderson & Miller 2003; Anderson *et al* 2005; Anderson *et al* 2007; Granovetter 1973; Diaz-Garcia & Brush 2012; Carswell & Rolland 2004; Aldrich 1980; Storey 1994; Storr and Butkevich 2007; Anderson 2000). Background forces have been shown to configure likely practice, and their arrangement and variation have been shown to matter (Jack & Anderson 2002; Granovetter 1973) because they may constitute hierarchies of incentive and constraint through individual differences in opportunity information are inherited via actors' social status.

Yet entrepreneurial creativity falls away again in these analyses, as actors' agency is still just an illusion afforded by an inescapable institutional impress that jostles actors into recognizing opportunity information it distributes. Though the interest is on different kinds of resources that are drawn from social relations as actors take to business, the intention is still mostly to explain performance from positions of analytic withdrawal. This reproduces the orthodox view of entrepreneurship too, as intentions are homogeneous and immutable across different actors, cultures, spaces, and times, and actors seem to uncritically affirm their business settings by conjuring visions that lead to normative business configurations. No openings are created into understanding how the variable nature of actors and their commercial experiences propel them into organizational creativity. Their practice is posed within logically ordered objective environment only analysts (not actors themselves) can observe and decipher, and the experience of organizational creativity is very difficult to study.

In turn, opportunities remain independent from actors, only operable analytical constructs insofar as they are objectified as commercial spaces by scholarly analyses (Short *et al* 2010; Busenitz *et al* 2003; Alvarez & Barney 2007; McMullen 2007). Opportunity remains just a construct- only able to exist discretely apart from life, and only operable within analyses driven to determine in what ways they can be recognized and for what reasons. The direction of influence is one way, life is configuring entrepreneurial abilities, connections made, and opportunity information, but as still just an analytical construct opportunity as it is currently conceptualised prevents opportunity recognition being coupled with experience in ways that matters to actors themselves. Organizational creativity remains mainly about openings for profit and status that are embedded in markets, and is concerned less with personal or social development. Many social constructionists seem to be looking back from the point of successful organization to speculate how history prior to opportunity discovery determined entrepreneurial performance, and they therefore still make clear distinction between actors and logically ordered circumstances (Bourdieu 1990:80). Exchanges made back to circumstance when, as Gartner suggests, the creation of opportunities is most intense and variable are obscured, and entrepreneurship appears a hegemonic luxury afforded to uncritical actors who are able to access correct information determined by their social status. Movement and life within this nexus are still missing and actors do not seem very entrepreneurial. Organization-in-creation is very difficult to study.

Recalling Gartner's call for movement and attention to experience, a more processual (Gartner 1988) account can extend the influence of embeddedness to capture social networks forming and reforming as entrepreneurial practice chases opportunity and expands and contracts on possibility and necessity over time (Jack *et al* 2008). In these analyses distinct boundaries between self and business fall away as exchanges are shown to be made back and forth with family, friends, stakeholders and wider business connections that come in and out of focus as material or immaterial resource are needed (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson 2007; Jack *et al* 2008). Background settings are highlighted configuring information about the opportunity by being involved in how actors discover, evaluate and exploit opportunity over time, but there is also an interaction between actor and circumstance as actors are posed developing connections, experiencing some of them falling away, others joining, and their practice giving rise to new problems and invitations. The primacy of the institutional impress begins to dissolve as entrepreneurship re-emerges as a social experience in which actors are not simply driven toward identifying information about opportunities they have no choice but to accept but are shown being influenced as well as influencing their settings within their experiences of organizational creativity.

2.5 Learning to become Entrepreneurial: Beyond Constraints and Incentives of Opportunity Information

As a less deterministic conceptualisation of organizational creativity develops in which opportunity matters because it can be coupled with actors experience of recognition and opportunity creation, relationships between circumstance and actors re-emerge within the entrepreneurial processes as a 'dynamic interdependency' (Sarason *et al* 2006: 303). Within this process it is powers of interpretation and imagination that are idiosyncratic to entrepreneurial actors that give circumstances their significance and lead to organizational creativity over time (Gartner 1989; Sarason *et al* 2006; Pitt 1998). The direction of influence becomes multiple as actor, circumstance and opportunity are shown to make no sense apart: they all dissolve into entrepreneurial experience (Sarason *et al* 2006). In this view, resources and abilities afforded by social settings configure entrepreneurial process but are reconfigured as actors act on their settings and practice picks up movement in an ongoing interlocking and sparring between circumstance and self. The assumption that actors passively accept opportunities and enact orthodox practices unimaginatively leading to normative configurations falls away and, they are shown co-evolving with their settings, their creative agency occurring within the social settings created before them and that they contribute to. How dynamic exchanges between actor and opportunity occur over time begins to preoccupy the scholarly imagination, and study is drawn back to interests Gartner surfaced all those years ago.

Here, rather than just a difficult construct to work with, opportunity can be coupled with experience again, and begins to fall back into analyses that implicate actors and how their agency is a central within organizational creativity yet fed by circumstance. The study of opportunity recognition becomes longitudinal and qualitative (Sarason *et al* 2006) because it is shown to occur within the dynamics of imaginative social experience over time. Scholarly attention is trained upon organizational creativity and how opportunity is recognized within experience through pausing on how actors learn to be entrepreneurial (Rae 2000, 2005, 2004a, 2004b; Cope & Watts 2000; Cope 2005). New openings into understanding organizational creativity emerge because opportunities are shown to be the upshot of ongoing dynamic co-evolution. Social constructionist literature suggesting habituation configures actors' practice via their immersion

amidst historical and institutional setting can be approached because interest is retrained on how these exchanges are interpreted in imaginative experiences, and how participation with family, friends, and communities (Rae 2000, 2004a; Anderson & Miller 2003; Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008; Anderson *et al* 2005) develops opportunities that idiosyncratic to these experiences. Invitations are left for qualitative longitudinal research (Sarason *et al* 2006:303) that is able to reveal how preorganization and social structure interact in the imaginative experiences of those pursuing organizational creativity. Such studies are charged with resisting agency melting away into an illusion, and, rather, highlighting actors' creative capacity to reinterpret orthodox incentive and constraint needs so that opportunity recognition *in vivo* comes into relief (Rae 2000; Sarason *et al* 2006; Pitt 1998). Actors do not only act when authorised to do so, but become entrepreneurial through creating their own authorisations and disclosures (Spinosa, Dreyfus & Flores 1999).

Keeping with the play between self and social and it is social identity, as the constructionist literature suggests, that is an immediate constraint and incentive actors have to practice. Social identity is a sociological theme that blends actors with their settings through being both a personal and a public experience that emerges over time. Social identity is created by actors, but also given to them by their surroundings, and they have to operate with the structures and opportunities they imagine to exist in their settings. Embeddedness constructs people as musicians for instance by giving them the resources to be taught or learn how to play musical instruments, and it has them originating from certain estates (council or country), being (under)privileged, finding themselves to be creatives, having talents for artistic production, or perhaps realising they are just musical nobodies. Given powers of interpretation and imagination (Sarason *et al* 2006; Gartner 1993), actors can accept or challenge these constructions imposed upon them by the historical and institutional environment, in doing so being able to elicit possibilities to organize themselves and their surroundings in new ways. Existing practices (Anderson 2000; Bourdieu 1990) are distributed to actors; they learn how to practice being entrepreneurial through commercial procedures that they inherit and find most others share with them and encounter in the same kind of commercial spaces. Conceptualised as a process of co-evolution, in their experiences these settings give way to an agency that uses inheritance and tenders exchanges in creative ways. Actors may encounter constructed ways to practice being

entrepreneurial, but within these constructions they are able to elicit new possibilities for taking to business. Paths to ready-made futures, archetypal representations of self and business and orthodox opportunities and practices, for instance, are happy incentives for some but for others annoying constraints on their personal and social emergence (Rae 2004a). Actors might become frustrated, turn to reinterpret historical circumstance and actively engage in their social construction, and challenge unimaginative choices and opportunities afforded by their settings (Rae 2004a). The immutable causality posed by the strategic and constructionist literature falls away, then, because it is suggested that constraint as well as incentive reveals possibility and invites actors to practice, and material constraint and other subjective life circumstances are shown to open themselves up to other intangible resources and forms of value that elicit new entrepreneurial significance (e.g. restricted folkloric informations, nostalgic memories of tradition and simple culture, the strength of family life to organise business meaningfully; Anderson 2000). Exchanges are shown to be more than one way, and study is able to relinquish the assumed objectivity of opportunity information incentives, fatalistic backgrounds and resource bundles that are thought to exclude those not born entrepreneurial or who are unable to compile their resources quickly enough. Significantly, far from commercial and institutional constructing actors as entrepreneurs through distributing opportunities they have no choice to accept, the dynamics of social experience might propel actors into into organizational creativity.

This experience based view suggests actors may engage in commerce in creative drives to re-adress being-in-business and tensions inherent in fruitful ways. Commercial setting may very well be constraint, but in being so may invite organizational creativity as actors' idiosyncratic powers of interpretation and imagination are able to lift and interact with opportunities. 'Outside' appears less the distinct objective and logically ordered force determining actors' behaviour through forcing them to submit themselves to opportunities distinct from their own making. Instead there is a sense of uncertainty that hangs around the significance of entrepreneurial settings that will be shown through how actors practice and accept or resist the institutional impress through drawing on their powers of interpretation and imagination (Sarason *et al* 2006; Gartner 1993). By posing actors learning, then, creative agency in the nexus of self and business is amplified, and actors are shown becoming entrepreneurial through how they negotiate their practice socially and longitudinally (Rae 2004a).

This is significant because by casting attention on experiences of organizational creativity created is a sense that actors are caught still in their entre-preneurialness; in ongoing spaces of dilemma (Pitt 1998) that exist between self and business, restriction and possibility, and preorganization and new organization. This space is experience itself. Rather than just an analytical construct that is difficult to couple with experience, opportunity re-emerges as inherent to ongoing social experience and the dynamic interplay between actors and their settings (Sarason *et al* 2006) as actors recognize possibilities for organizational creativity via powers of interpretation and imagination turned toward practices and structures they must occupy. Study, moreover, is not restricted by searches for archetypal entrepreneurial figures nor orthodox opportunities. Instead, practice is always on the way to revealing the significance of the pedagogical relation to background and 'outside', possibilities for learning through engaging with social structure in imaginative ways, and it is this uncertainty and mystery to the experience that invites study.

But it is still difficult to talk about opportunities as iconic of organizational creativity and the nature of their recognition if study is only retrospective or interested in opportunities as they are still nascent. Though it may preclude actors' creativity and marginalize many voices, the ION gives study tangible objects to work with (even if they quickly fall from grasp as one turns to the opportunity recognition in vivo). Opportunities need tracing as contemporaries with actors, but rather than scholars trying to deal with impossible constructs that can only be operationalised from an academic height and that leave more proximal research only trivial descriptions of things that do not exist, new entries into their experience are needed. Social constructionism is presented as a longitudinal process of co-evolution between actors and their surroundings, but it must be acquainted with ways that experience can be approached and communicated.

2.6 Interlude: Words, not Numbers

A distinct emphasis has been put on understanding the quality of opportunities and ways in which they can be approached *in vivo* before (if ever) their regularity and performance can be quantified. Rather than an analytical construct that is difficult to work with, if concerned with how the emergence of opportunity can be employed to understand organizational creativity and how this occurs from the perspective of actors themselves, this must be coupled with ways to approach them in experience. To do so through quantitative approaches would be difficult, and at this stage of understanding variables would still be too many for statistical analysis. Moreover, causality, and the direction of exchange and influence, would be difficult to determine, and the particularity of these experiences- reminiscent of how idiosyncratic powers of interpretation and imagination lift possibilities from and interact social setting - would likely be subsumed into general categories. While the nature of opportunities, and in what ways they might be experienced and recognized, therefore remain uncertain, approaches are needed that are able to reveal openings into how they emerge and acquire meaningful status back in the everyday conditions of being-in-business.

Gartner (1988-) legitimizes words as openings into entrepreneurial experience. This experience must not be conceptualised as a black box (Krueger & Day 2003) as if data can be neutrally retrieved in the form of an objective recording of actors' behaviours and market dynamics. If as Gartner (1993) suggests words lead to deeds, then this simultaneity of speech and act (Hjorth & Johanisson 2008) means language and words become vehicles to compose vivid understanding of entrepreneurial mess (Gartner 2007). While numbers deal with calculation, prediction, generals, and predefined exchanges, language and in particular storytelling are immediate means of communication inherent to everyday entrepreneurial practice (Gartner 2007, 2010; Rae 2005; O'Connor 2002; Glynn and Lounsbury 2001). Words articulate opportunities and the entrepreneurial imagination (Gartner 2007) in such ways that stakeholders and scholars can relate to opportunity recognition (Lounsbury & Glynn 2001). Words and language 'do' contextualizing work: entrepreneurial speech and stories make sense of context and self, commonplace and particular, coordinate being in time and space, and put fragments of memory and movement into meaningful structure. Words can only make do with their settings, and have

to alter in relation to time, different spaces, actors, audiences, and purposes. Numbers do not: they aggregate, negate particular difference, install neat lines of determination and response, and omit circumstantial variability in favour of rounding up.

2.61 Text

Gartner (2003, 2007, 2010) and others (e.g. Pitt 1998; O'Connor 2002; Hjorth & Hoskins 2004) since their early forays into writerly spaces have as such suggested reading entrepreneurial practice in a textual form. It is when this occurs that the opportunity construct becomes no longer just a linguistic convention and falls back into experience of organizational creativity that may be approached by academic study. Through reading entrepreneurship as text its ordinary day-to-day creativity comes into relief, as actors are shown dealing with things in their organizational experiences, and instead of falling into presumption, orthodoxy and meaningless isolation analyses are able to highlight how interpretation and imagination elicit possibilities from circumstance. Actors go about storytelling and everyday practice connecting, creating and weaving texture and meaning in language and action. In ordinary commerce they create by negotiating their practice socially with existing textures, ready-made things, and other actors and institutions that they work with.

Text, then, is the corollary of speech, and speech is simultaneous with action. To communicate with others it must make sense of experiential particularity and can therefore elicit how entrepreneurial creations coordinate social forces like constraints and incentives inherited from social, economic and cultural belonging, and how orthodoxies, archetypes, normative assumptions, and existing practices are tendered in creative ways. Text formalises the particularity of these experiences, by theorizing the active speaking body and transcending it in order to connect with wider settings and configurations. In doing so, text reveals ways in which inside and outside, before and time to come are made sense of, and how they are accepted or resisted. Interpretation and imagination are cast against the settings actors must occupy, and organizational creativity is able to emerge within the text itself as actors are followed through time. Transcribed onto the page text stares back at us allowing actors and scholars to read in and out of their experiences (Hjorth and Johanisson 2008).

Surveying the field from a central vantage point (Gartner 2011), Gartner re-authorises his previous invitation to take "day to day observations" (1993: 238) and employ other ethnographic modes to elicit these texts of organization-in-creation. Some entrepreneurial acts can be global and transform whole societies, but they have heritage in prosaic (Steyaert 2004) sometimes first glance "utter crap" (Gartner 2010:15) day-to-dayness before organizational success (Gartner 1989). These approaches can study experience when opportunities are at their most variable and uninstituted, and organization is still in creation, still moving. Proximal qualitative approaches allows chance encounters, brief but timely interactions, curious pauses, and other simple but vital occurrences often brushed over by quantitative analysis as insignificancies ill-fitting pre-defined variables to be understood as integral to the unique nature of the entrepreneurial process. Day-to-day observing of entrepreneurial practice and freestyle storytelling free up actors to coordinate opportunity recognition in their own words and their own time. Normative and orthodox 'whats' are involved, but do not predetermine the nature of how they are used. Instead, via the proximal nature of text based and qualitative study organization is captured in creation against this background and outside actors must make sense of and these texts of organization-in-creation emerge through thick description (Geertz 1973) in which the sensory element is not lost. Historical analyses of the isolate strong willed actor or of an inescapable isomorphic impress are not reimposed, and study does not recreate orthodox opportunities and unimaginative visions. Choosing to become interested only when opportunities have presence as organizational success (Gartner 1989), or working with numbers alone would not do this, and the little things connecting up the more visible triumphs would be obscured.

2.7 Narrative & Story as Entrepreneurial Practice

Other scholars also realised that nothing escapes text, and narrative (Aristotle c. 335 BCE; Ricouer 1990; Bruner 1991), the process by which the raw description of words and stories is appropriated (Boje 2001) for interested audiences, has become a popular means of translating messy entrepreneurial tales into ethnographic text since Gartner's early writerly runs. Beginnings, peaks, troughs, and ends are installed in all our stories, they begin again and new stories emerge, momentary episodes are put into meaningful sequence, and storytellers populate their lifestory with characters who play major and minor roles. Historical and institutional settings are given significance, non-equivocals are conjured from equivocals (and maybe back again), actors' entrepreneurial abilities are given background setting, and inherited orthodoxies, practices, metaphors, cliches, genres and archetypes are accepted or disrupted. By being configured before actors by circumstance narrative conditions are therefore constraint but also incentive that enable communication to make sense socially and reveal an inventive literary capacity that articulates the imagination and shows exchanges between actors and circumstance going both ways. Stories are social accomplishments that emerge over time, coordinating lines of causality, agency and legitmacy, in own lives. History, present, and the projection of future possibilities are made sense of, and inside and outside are coordinated in meaningful ways (Ricouer 1990). Division between life and theory falls away, and structure and agency are shown relating and re-relating to each other.

Examination of entrepreneurial speech and actions suggests they too emplot (put into meaningful sequence) experience in time and space. Existing plots, conventions, and configurations to see opportunities through (e.g. corporate musical business commits to actors a panoply of homogeneous recording practices organized by passive subsidiaries) become immediate relations and structures actors have to work with as they make sense of intertextual phenomena involved in their practice (O'Connor 2002; Hjorth & Hoskins 2004; Anderson 2000; Cope 2011; Pitt 1998). Successful commerce creates meaningful narrative structures that articulate the imagination in the form of personal (i.e. Founding and visionary), generic (i.e. strategy and business plans) and situational (i.e. Historical and conventional) narratives (O'Connor 2002; Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; Gartner 2010; Cope 2011; Rae 2005). Actors use stories and

narratives to dramatize, legitimize and enlist others into their practice (Cope 2005; O'Connor 2002; Glynn & Lounsbury 2001). Knowledge of oneself (e.g. significant personal experience, or childhood memories), the environment, social network, and existing ways of operating and speaking are made sense of. Events happen, time passes, actors learn and interact with others, temporal phases and episodes of situated experience are put into series of self and business, and the emotional side to business is juggled with the more rationalistic side (Cope 2011).

Such stories and narratives are not overly actor-centric; rather, good narrative practice and storytelling is shown to also involve a pedagogical attentiveness to one's settings and possibilities inscribed within fields of practice, actors having to co-author with circumstance (Hjorth & Steyaert 2004). There is a sense of experiences of organizational creativity and how opportunity may be lifted from circumstance depending on an imaginative literary versatility (O'Connor 2002; Gartner 2010; Cope 2011) to re-relate to settings by emplotting them meaningfully during organizational creativity.

Stories and narratives, then, animate entrepreneurial experience in a textual format that is able to reveal creativity and commercial setting coming in and out of focus. Actors are becoming entrepreneurial through relating to commercial setting in creative, imaginative ways, and their speech and actions can be related to in ways that show how this occurs. Stories and narratives imitate the entrepreneurial process (Pitt 1998; Gartner 2007; O'Connor 2002; Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; Hamilton 2006), by coordinating entrepreneurial learning (Rae 2004b; Cope 2003; O'Connor 2002) through emphasising the fictional capacity of entrepreneurial imagination to re-relate to and elicit possibilities from commercial settings (Gartner 2007). In doing so, through being immediate ways in which experience and imagination can be articulated, opportunity may be shown forming and developing social presence over time, from the perspective of actors themselves.

This suggests narratives become ontologically complete (Ricouer 1990; Bruner 1991; Gartner 2007, 2011; Cope 2003), and also question implicit ontological commitments, such as the realism and being of opportunities as presented by strategic literature. Existing entrepreneurial storylines of the isolate or illusionary actor engaged in entrepreneurship for invariable

motivations are also disrupted as attention moves toward idiosyncratic powers of interpretation and imagination as well as the multiplicity of what actors' motivations and incentives might be. Rather than a pre-existing state of successful organization glimpsed before actors have begun to practice (and therefore always existing outside of the experiences of actors themselves), entrepreneurial opportunity is coupled with experiences of organizational creativity and dynamic learning processes negotiated socially in time (Rae 2004a).

This is inviting because a few narrative configurations dominate entrepreneurial practice and ways it has been described. Indeed, the opportunity construct is only just a metaphor (Berglund 2007b) revealing new possibilities as it connects the inner world of business with the outer world and bridges entrepreneurial practice with academic study. Concealed within its orthodox coordination is particular entrepreneurial scenes, modes of action, presumed intentions and configurations, and there is a sense that some strong willed actor is in sovereign control of the narrative.

Scholars have also picked up on plots and metaphors Gartner observed all those years ago. As well as others such as love, romance and parenting that emphasise the passion actors might have for taking to business, a central and commonly mediatized plot for instance coordinates metaphors of heroism (Drakopoulou Dodd 2002), whereby actors transcend their settings and manifest inimitable traits. Lone heroes in the throes of epic 'rags to riches' plots transform tragic circumstance (Hamilton 2002), and break free and break up with entrepreneurial settings by composing authorial trajectories, and making declarations (Rindova *et al* 2009). Invoked is a sense of independence or autonomous creation very few can choose to imitate and that proper examination of the narrative literature shows to be fallacious. Though encountered in their experiences and employed by actors in their stories, these metaphors pose actors who are able to miraculously express distinction from circumstance, and, though themselves drawn from established ways of describing and communicating entrepreneurial experience, obscure the socially negotiated experience of opportunity and entrepreneurial process (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson 1997; Rae 2004a).

Other metaphors are able to capture something of the creative and longitudinal nature of entrepreneurial experiences. They present entrepreneurial practice as building new organization, or a journey (Drakopoulou Dodd 2002) through time, commercial space, and entrepreneurial self. Others capture something of entrepreneurs' entre-preneurial inbetweeness, by coordinating exchanges that are made between self and circumstance and the intensity of potential experiences of opportunity and how actors might struggle in their creativity. These metaphors draw resemblance to war, races, taking others on, making jester like digs at the powers that be (Warren & Anderson 2009), and subversive iconoclasm (Drakopoulou Dodd 2002; Hjorth & Steyaert 2009; Rehn & Taalas 2004). A few clichéd (Down & Warren 2008) characters populate these texts too, such as wealth motivated managerial types, the rational *homo economicus*, stern dragons commonly mediatized by popular television programs, and passionate eccentrics of folkloric myths who disrupt commercial pragmatism in seeking more authentic entrepreneurial experience (O'Neill 2009; Popp & Holt 2012). The orthodoxy encoded in all these plots and metaphors actors may find authorises what they do in the face of judgements from others, or they may begin to resist and subvert them, as their powers of interpretation and imagination are able to lift new possibilities and reasons to practice from the constraints they encounter in commercial narrative. As they take to their own commerce, existing plots distributed by culture and convention that coordinate in what ways they may experience opportunity may act as constraints as well as incentives to practice. It is here that interpretation and imagination matter most. Actors may imagine new possibilities for organizational creativity within these commercial settings and texts they encounter, use them to communicate possibilities for organizational creativity to others as if they exist, and employ them to animate their creativity within entrepreneurship.

Narrative configurations, then, combine in e-tales to say and do something (Hamilton 2001; Rindova *et al* 2009; Drakopoulou Dodd 2002), and often say as much about actors as they do their settings (Holt & Macpherson 2010; Anderson 2005). Narratives and stories animate social forces, and actors' imaginative emplotting of self, business, lifecycle, and purpose, and can be useful for actors and scholars alike to make sense of organizational creativity.

Related into actors' own narratives and stories, opportunities are caught in the making and entrepreneurial experience is articulated in a textual format. Narratives and stories in turn play an

epistemological role by showing how actors learn in creative ways, and revealing it in the play between inheritance and use and the parsing and re-relation of historical settings. Narratives and stories become a science of the imagination (Gartner 2007), able to elicit organizational creativity within the lives of actors themselves and articulate their powers of interpretation and imagination able to elicit possibilities and reasons to practice from commercial circumstance. Study is given openings into the quotidien experience of being-in-business as actors tell stories (to partners round the table, researchers), and, suddenly, stories, texts and conversations in ordinary life become direct insights into opportunity *in vivo*.

2.8 Effectuation

A syntactical bridge between narrative literature and opportunity recognition theory is constructed by Saras Sarasvathy's theory of effectuation (Sarasvathy 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2008). Effectuation takes up the opportunity construct with the aim of destabilising the theoretical groundwork the metaphor of the heroic, well resourced entrepreneurial actor commands from. Opportunities are shown being created within narratives that meld public and private experience as actors take to business to solve problems embedded within historical setting. Effectuation maintains the authority of the opportunity construct within the field of entrepreneurship studies, but only through situating the emergence of opportunity in ordinary experience and following organizational creativity through longitudinal qualitative research. In effectuation, actors take to business creatively, and commerce is an instrument for learned entrepreneurial life.

Effectuation presents the entrepreneurial process as a recursive narrative accomplishment, whereby opportunities, through being means-driven rather that ends-driven, and not having causal authority over actors, re-describe historical and institutional experience. Opportunities are elicited by the entrepreneurial imagination as actors relate to constraints in personal and public life, and are based on multiple intentions that are particular to actor, context, and business life cycle (2008). Opportunities emerge over time, are contemporary with creative actors and their social interactions. In a desire to throw out the heroic actor distinguished by their capacity to capture distant successes, effectuation suggests "opportunities begin where everything of importance in human affairs begins"- in the Jamesean "world of pure experience" (2008: 177). In this experience business is infused with life shaped by the business of others, ethical considerations of good business for self and other, local technological and geographical influences, cultural traditions, institutional harbourings and other habitual mores, as well as the various resources business configurations actors occupy- but significantly opportunity recognition is not determined by them. Effectuation instead describes how grand productions can emerge day-by-day from the range of circumstantial problems and invitations embedded in ordinary life. Actors do not need miraculous abilities to transcend being and observe themselves in business and ask about optimal use of resources and relations, or how to compose the perfect harmony able to seduce even the most stubborn label boss. Practice assumed by the ION

(whereby actors assume withdrawn managerial positions of oversight, calculate and predict optimal configurations of business resource and relation, define their goals unambiguously, and invent finalistic opportunity) is omitted by the means-driven effectual analysis.

"Effectual making is at all times a remaking" (Sarasvathy 2008:177). Actors ask "What else can I do with this or that?" (2008:73) in a desire to change their intimacy with commercial settings and in turn "solve human problems using economic means" (Sarasvathy 2008: 143). Opportunities are conceptualised as being distinguished by creative processes in which actors are constantly involving themselves and their businesses in the "transformation of extant realities into new possibilities" (2008:58). Opportunities blend and resurface in entrepreneurial experience, not existing 'out there' ready to be discovered as finalistic (*ex ante*) entities but "always in the making" (Sarasvathy 2008:177), but instead being concealed in a longitudinal experience of constant problem solving. Practice never quite settles, actors' work is always left unfinished, and more problems, constraints and invitations emerge in momentary presence as things melt into history. Actors create their opportunities with others as seconds pass, practice turns to sediment, others join, say their bit, intentions are reworked, definition is imposed, and suddenly life seems to have somehow become constraint or invitation to reinterpret being-in-business again. As the narrative is worked into meaning and value, opportunity is distinguished from the warp and weft of economic life.

It is the entrepreneurial imagination that effectuation (Sarasvathy 2001b; 2008) suggests elicits these opportunities from their root in historical embeddedness. It is the very experience of feeling constrained by historical circumstance that propels actors to take to their own business-but the register is still quite stern; the imagination presented by effectual theory is restricted to the capacity to invent new means-ends relationships (2001b). Effectuation poses actors who need not to be authorised by information about market openings for commercial venture, pick up orthodox means of practice, and set to business with normative ends. Instead it is they who somehow create their own authorisations to re-describe constraint posed in life as invitations to practice and new goals. Entrepreneurial dispositions reminiscent of the powerful entrepreneurial actor, then, are potentially reproduced, as actors are presented as being hopeful and persistent enough that they should carry on and exploit limitations and difficulties they encounter. They

operate with others and social setting, but they are in control of the narrative, imaginatively emplotting public and private experience to reveal new possibilities (2001b, 2008).

2.81 Beginning in Pure Experience

Yet effectuation helps capture organizational creativity *in vivo* by drawing opportunity recognition back into the lives of actors themselves and suggesting how they might be created. Effectuation's creative perspective to entrepreneurial opportunities distills narrative coordinates that are designed to show how actors compose opportunity over time into viable and practical commercial services. As effectual narratives imitate the entrepreneurial process through showing actors emplotting futuristic possibility with historical circumstance, opportunities are recognised within the ordinary practice of life and the simple problems actors encounter. This is a longitudinal experience of interaction with others and their settings. The effectual narrative has latitudinal strokes too, and these tender the distinction made between entrepreneurial selves and entrepreneurial settings, because actors as they recognize themselves creating opportunities from everyday problems and organize their businesses are "mapping" the two faces together by playing the role of a conscious interface (Sarasvathy 2008).

Starting with their identity as most immediate means, actors "begin with who they are, what they know, and whom they know" (Sarasvathy 2008:78). Actors draw on their social construction, and are able to reconstruct themselves and the settings that influence their lives, relating particular versions of general entrepreneurial settings in authoritative ways. Instead of adapting to teleological ends and adapting at their request, it is their identity that invents preferences and choice that are otherwise absent, and which enables actors to judge the significance of their resources despite environmental ambiguity (Sarasvathy 2008). Life and identity introduces them to others and new things to learn, suggests what practices should configure their business, and 'as if' markets emerge from social networks over time (Sarasvathy 2008).

In ordinary practice opportunities are discussed around coffee tables, meals with friends and family, maybe nights out, and other circles and spaces actors move in. Opportunity unfolds into clearer distinction as others employ their own acumen and imagination, transform original

intentions, commit as stakeholders, pour other resources in that distil the opportunity from the ambiguity of experience, and help seduce other early customers. Incrementally, as unrefined ideas are developed, combined, and invented anew, and early interactions and immediate connections trigger initial market transactions, new problems as well as incentives to practice distinguish themselves folding in and out of personal and situational storylines. Opportunity is coming more and more into distinction as actors work away at experience, solving problems through business, seizing hold of their social negotiation and commanding it to success.

A narrative versatility to fictionalise historical and institutional setting matters to effectuation, but it is perhaps more authoritative than presented by romantic memories of the artist or musician. Echoing O'Connor's (2002) work in a more prescriptive tone, actors are found to fictionalise the certainty of inherited definition, use uncertainty as resource and reason to invent, recompose constraint as invitation, and distinguish opportunity from the ambiguity of pure experience. This ability to fictionalise surroundings afforded by the effectual imagination, presents imagination as the entrepreneurial element omitted from economics (Sarasvathy 2001b). Actors are restricted to still very rationally redesigning opportunity as problems emerge from the fabric of being, reinterpreting shock, surprise and failure as new reasons to practice, and using everyday means most struggle to elicit possibility from to drive their futures into distinction. The mess of day-to-day narrative work Gartner describes as a result becomes reduced to a mechanical interdependence in which unique opportunities and practices emerge, and actors willfully decompose their businesses without identity falling into crisis. Neither do the effectual narratives presented resist entrepreneurship and opportunity staying loose and concerned with human concerns, rather than all out profit and commercial interest. In turn, effectuation and its emphasis on design gives an entrepreneurial freedom to actors that seems to characterise their imagination as a form of authoritative cognition.

Here, opportunity is drawn by effectuation extending to readdress its own heritage, problematic as it is, through relating with others and resources. Possibilities for organizational creativity are projected by the imagination from the constraints of historical experience. But rather than the struggle of dynamic interdependence leaving them with unanswered problems and constraints, actors seem to be seizing hold of their social negotiation (Rae 2004a) in such magnificent ways

that memories of heroic entrepreneurial actors seem to re-emerge. Sometimes the effectual narrative seems to have actors mumbling along, other times they seem to solve their problems quite dramatically, eventually building them into looming global businesses. Actors make history and time-to-come submit to their own desires, and interesting styles of practice are being very instrumentally fabricated from the restricted means actors have at their disposal. Eventually, after trial and tribulation, they become self-aware, picking up on their expertise (that even failure has value, if they can only think how), and measuring their personal triumph through the profits they make.

The recognition of opportunity, in turn, is reduced to the mechanical fitting together of history and future. It is through the conscious interface of actors and their settings that effectuation presents opportunities being created. Though perhaps in reverse to previous analyses of the strategic literature, effectuation suggests path dependencies fall into place (2008:90; 2001b) that determine rational answers to momentary dilemmas, and, therefore, the entrepreneurial imagination is reduced to an errant subset of rational choice that can, finally, be properly explained. Effectuation pauses on actors' experiences of organizational creativity, and begins with ordinary experience by giving insight into how actors lift possibilities from personal and social life. But the entrepreneurial process in the lives of actors themselves is translated into a logical one, possibilities lifted by the imagination merely being the upshot of solutions already concealed within path dependency and identifiable through rational analysis and actors powerful cognitive abilities to design opportunities from circumstantial problems. Identities and circumstances, providing unique path dependence to actors composed of particular constraints, incentives, resources and relations, commit actors to creating unique opportunities over time (themselves with a particular kind of social identity; Sarasvathy 2008). As the imagination formulates new means-ends relationships, the ordinary problems actors have in their lives are dissolved within business, and though they might wrestle and become frustrated with the extant realities of business, commerce is still uncritically engaged with. Effectual actors, then, are still becoming the businesspeople found in trait theory and the strategic literature. Business is always the solution, not a problem, the entrepreneur still an inimitable heroic character outstanding in their social accomplishments.

2.82 Afterthought

Effectuation does seem to, albeit briefly and in a sort of capture (in the sense that actors' imagination is reduced quite literally to the missing logic connecting figures on the economists page), articulate opportunity recognition as a creative experience that is worthwhile and possible to study. Rather than existing at a distance in the offing that actors must always move toward and adapt to, opportunity is contemporary with life, conceived as a longitudinal experience often with humble beginnings but that may result in very large organizations. Constraint and invitation posed in ordinary life are reworked creatively into commercial service over time. Opportunity recognition is shown as a scholarly concern that must begin with scholars studying actors long before organizational success, engaging with organizational creativity at the moments when imagination lifts possibilities and reasons to practice from private and public frustration. But perhaps effectuation is not entrepreneurial enough; the distillment of the 'effectual logic' too sharp and precise to apply to the mud of everyday entrepreneurial experience. The colourful reportage soon becomes very orderly in artificially whitened and unmoving input/output diagrams, beginnings, middles (not human), and ends are plainly visible, and entrepreneurial poetics are lost in, perhaps, even predictable outcomes- "Ah, thank God! Business solved everything!". Effectuation begins with vivid stories and narratives, but conceptual abstraction still occurs as the analysis withdraws to translate imagination and the emergence of organizational creativity into charts, tables, diagrams able to set out effectual strategies for aspiring expert entrepreneurial actors to follow. In these formulas the rich and intense stories that entrepreneurs use to articulate their imagination to others and themselves might become lost, and peculiar meanings can be subsumed into generality and the 'logic' of design.

The result of the analysis, then, is that effectual narratives take an object-like appearance when impressed onto the page, as if they can be held and well defined from above, while experiences that are 'mapped' are always running away. Sarasvathy's Rorty inspired pragmatism still involves valediction of entrepreneurial strong poetising (Holt 2009); the sovereign actor who is able to 'map' (always static, subsuming movement and change) consciousness via the interface of enterprise onto environments and manipulate business to act on life's behalf. 'Origins' are easy to relate to in their everydayness (though only becoming of interest with the presence of business),

but actors' modesty gives way to a rare and often inimitable cognitive ability to blend public with personal. As a result, effectuation quietly re-establishes normative opportunity plots and metaphors proper examination of the narrative process disrupts. Effectuation, then, is too pragmatic, leaving entrepreneurial imagination (Sarasvathy 2001b, 2008) functioning to invent rational answers to momentary dilemmas with a powerful weight behind it (life ultimately soluble in business).

Sarasvathy says as much: effectuation is "practical and instrumental" (2008:59), well reasoned problem solving by strong minded poets. But the fantastic entrepreneurial poetry described seems more than just practical and instrumental problem solving, however incrementally the answers might form. Some historical state of being might be problematic constraint but to conceive some answer is not practical because it suggests other problems are incurred. To ask "What else can I do with [these means]?" (Sarasvath 2008:73) is a problem in itself, problematizing historical being rather than answering it, likely incurring the disruptive emotional states others (Cope 2011) relate to enterprise, and problems of how to begin practising again. Historical setting matters, this much is certain, but the pragmatic scholarly desire to identify new path dependencies (2008:90, 137, 165; 2001b:112) reduces actors' agency to a logic distributed to them by historical circumstance or has them somehow very rationally eliciting from business the answer for life's problems. But the actors effectuation describes seem to be doing more than very instrumentally answering life's problems- they seem to be actively making problems out of current avenues and paths of experience to inquire into possibilities obscured behind imposed hedges. On a conscious level, entrepreneurs likely do a lot more than invent answers to social and personal problems too. Indeed, they often become impractical by intentionally creating problems for themselves as well as competitors, colleagues and institutional settings to deal with, and even desire challenge that is absent from life in normative sequence. They may take to business through being frustrated by the influence it has on their private and public lives, and this may suggest that becoming entrepreneurial occurs not simply through actors dissolving problems in business but also to resist commerce as they know it, struggling with commercial setting, their ethics and intentions. Scholarly attention as it is drawn towards creative actors is simultaneously obliged to understand how problems are continuously by their surroundings and how their imagination is deeply related to and propelled by their circumstance. This seems closer to

organizational creativity, because rather than answering problems, possibilities and reasons to practice might emerge via disequilibrium created from everyday being. The solution to lifelong problems would not need to cohere through powerful cognitive abilities; business life might be the problem as well as the solution, actors able to create opportunities but never able to solve the tension between themselves and their surroundings but instead forced to continue practising, remain imaginative. As they engage in organizational creativity actors need not take on identity of the heroic entrepreneur, nor eventually after an exciting beginning mumble along back to personal equilibrium (those quiet armchair moments of an evening that never seem to be met).

This suggests it is uncertain whether business configurations and normative opportunities are simply repositories of solutions to personal and social problems. For some actors at least, especially in certain contexts and in certain businesses, it might be the nature of commerce, rather than simply commercial problems (a nice cup of coffee, for instance, leading to the largest coffee house in the world), that provoke their imagination to lift new possibilities and drives them into practising. Even when their lives 'outside' of business are mostly unproblematic, business and commerce has been shown to constantly introduce new problems that actors sometimes cannot answer. Potential answers to these problems need not emerge through the powerful cognitive design of actors' narrative capacities; they might never be solved, nor might actors want them to be. Sarasvathy also began her effectual quest (2001a) posing language and lenses as central to scholarly understanding, yet still effectual 'logic' imposes opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003), and treats opportunities as if having immediate presence in language and practice during pre-reflective pure experience.

Though opportunities are shown to emerge over time, then, effectual is still conceptual abstraction from the experience- visions reminiscent of the opportunity construct employed in strategic literature are imposed into entrepreneurial lives which means that it is difficult to relate to in ways that matter to actors themselves. Assembled also are other normative storylines some may wish to disrupt or be unable to ever emplot themselves within, effectuation for instance tracing the steady commercialization of opportunity and subsequent development into commercially oriented, large businesses.

Alas, effectuation, as colourfully textured as the quilts might be, perhaps flattens ordinary entrepreneurial experience into uninteresting maps likely alienating to those actors the theory speaks to. Effectual strategies- for commercial success - feel too neatly defined and authoritatively formatted and seem to leave actors quite uninteresting and overbearing. Despite Sarasvathy making out in the outset of her theory then that the rational and heroic actor will be overturned, then, there is still a propensity to translate and reproduce the rational, strong willed, and practical *homo economicus* able to employ business as an instrument and the imagination as a rational tool for correct cognition. These figures quite miraculously distinguish themselves from anonymity to eventually become wealth interested heroes occupying commercially oriented business configurations.

2.9 Summary

Something (perhaps an opportunity?) is coming into focus here. But though structure keeps configuring new openings into the theorization of opportunity within experiences of organizational creativity, connections linger that express a life more creative and interesting than is disclosed once the analyses have drawn back from successful organization.

At the outset of the study, Gartner issued invitations to study entrepreneurship as organizational creativity through how actors tender unique relationships with commonplace phenomena. By capturing actors who are still entre-preneurial by being in between preorganization and new organization, interest was levelled with experiences of organizational creativity themselves, and how entrepreneurs are able to lift possibilities from their settings over time.

By drawing from the normative definition of entrepreneurship as a field of research, the ION, scholarly interest then condensed upon the construct of entrepreneurial opportunity. The strategic literature suggests the opportunity construct is unique and central to all entrepreneurial studies. But how opportunities emerge from circumstance in the appearances that matter within actors' own lives is negated, the analysis instead being concerned with explaining organizational success from positions of withdrawal. The upshot of this is that due to conceptual abstractions that draw back from experience, studying organizational creativity and the experience of opportunities *in vivo* is very difficult; opportunity just an analytical construct, difficult to relate to in the lives of actors themselves. If opportunities matter in entrepreneurship, the ION installs rare knowing entrepreneurial actors who, in transcending their experience to discover opportunities always located in distant markets, become inimitable heroes. Life and the multiplicity of entrepreneurial visions became lost within the nexus, entrepreneurship is reduced to analyses preoccupied with mechanically fitting together the subjective life circumstances of actors with objective opportunity phenomena. Beginning from the perspective of actors themselves to understand how this occurs within life becomes very difficult, organizational creativity impossible to study as it occurs within entrepreneurial lives.

Some social constructionists are then described who, in taking up Shane's invitation to explain variations in entrepreneurial performance, position demographic forces that construct some people as entrepreneurs through distributing correct opportunity information and abilities to find it. Social, cultural, geographic, economic and other background influences distributing material and immaterial resources are positioned within the nexus between actors and markets, operating as the habitus that socialises actors and enables their practice. But because opportunity is implicitly used as a construct still drawn as immutable spaces at an annexe to experience, their recognition is assumed to be homogeneous across space, time and actor, and no openings are created into entrepreneurial experience itself. Demographic forces are assumed to matter more than how actors interpret and use their settings, and these actors, perhaps quite un-entrepreneurially, are engaged in uncritical practices leading to unimaginative business configurations. The upshot of this is that concerns Gartner (1988) expressed all those years ago still seem very prevalent in entrepreneurial study today- actors are still posed as rare inimitable characters or are invisible inside immovable markets structures and are therefore not worth much scholarly attention. Study gets no closer to the entrepreneurial process, and cannot approach experiences of organizational creativity and the emergence and significance of opportunity within actors' lives.

The study re-relates to these settings as invitation to elicit opportunity recognition *in vivo,* and poses other social constructionists and narrative theorists who, in emphasising narrative creativity within commercial settings, reconcile actor and structure within a dynamic interdependency through which both are created and recreated over time. The literature drew structure as constraint as well as invitation to practice, and presented plots in which actors become entrepreneurial through imaginatively interpreting circumstance and inheritance as incentive and reason to practice. Opportunity is presented being lifted by actors and their settings, the two interacting during the constant emergence of business possibilities. Metaphors able to make sense of the experience from the perspective of actors and scholars alike are presented. Significantly, narratives and stories were shown to be central to everyday entrepreneurial practices, employed by actors to articulate the entrepreneurial imagination to others. Stories and narrative approaches therefore present openings into opportunity *in vivo* because it is within stories that actors are able to enact their unique experience of commonplace

settings. But though a number of entrepreneurial plots, metaphors and other narrative configurations are highlighted as openings into the experience, there still seems a lacunae of narrative based studies engaged with the central plot: opportunities, and how these come about. Narrative and story approaches help to show opportunity being interacted with, developed over time through dynamic learning between actors and their settings, but such approaches seem to begin too late, and still seem unable to show the emergence of opportunity within actors' lives.

Effectuation then operated as a syntactical bridge between narrative studies and opportunity theory, and posed opportunities for business venture extending from problems and invitations embedded in ordinary experience. The creative approach to opportunity recognition of effectuation recalls Gartner's earlier concern with social experiences in which actors imaginatively elicit possibilities for organizational creativity from the warp and weft of private and public life. But normative opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) was still imputed, the practical and instrumental cognitive prowess of strong minded heroic poets able to manipulate environments at will re-emerged, and opportunity plots that still eventually distinguish large commercially oriented businesses were reproduced. Life became invisible as business began to work on its behalf, creativity settling into pure commerce, business always the solution, never the problem. Imagination, though emphasised as central to how opportunity is elicited from historical and circumstantial experience, becomes reduced to an errant subset of rational choice that is able to lift answers from path dependencies. The idea of opportunity is presented as being iconic of imagination and openings for organizational creativity. Yet, though effectuation increases proximity to opportunity recognition *in vivo* and the role of imagination*,* the approach eventually issues syntactical and semantic traits by which to identify expert entrepreneurs.

Invitation, then, still remains to study opportunity in actors' lives but not simply reproduce the same sets of configurations, types of actors, and visions of opportunity that previous study (i.e. Gartner 1988) had disrupted. Actors need to be caught still entre-preneurial, in-between historical circumstance, potential new futures lifted as if they have presence in the immediacy of experience. The scholarly gaze must not draw back from experience, the continuity of life in and out of business, if we are to understand the emergence and role of opportunity in these lives and how the idea of opportunity may be employed to develop understanding of entrepreneurship. The

opportunity construct therefore needs reconfiguring further still if it is to help elicit the life of organizational creativity- it must become an experience. Approaches must be able to show in what ways this experience matters.

2.10 Processual Entrepreneurial Study

While this incentive to capture opportunities in the making is observed (Short *et al* 2010; Alvarez & Barney 2007; McMullen *et al* 2007), normative boundaries defining the possibility of studying opportunity need extending in order to disrupt the valediction of abstract analyses, orthodoxies and practicalities. Taking off from the invitation issued by effectuation, opportunity cannot be treated as just a construct used in conceptual abstractions; instead the idea of opportunity needs to be situated in the lives of actors themselves, as iconic of organizational creativity. There therefore needs to be created ways to engage in the ordinary life of actors, and these must resist presenting actors' lives in ways that negate how opportunity is iconic to them as well as our analyses. Interpretation and imagination have been forwarded as central to understanding the emergence of opportunity within commercial settings, yet to cohere with entrepreneurial experience rather than merely operate within abstract analyses as cognitive tools they must not be presented as an errant subset of rational choice.

Recent work by Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjorth creates new openings by characterising the wider significance of entrepreneurship and opportunity as a kind of social life, and conceiving entrepreneurship and opportunities not as things (nouns) but as verbs- doings, or happenings (Steyaert 2007). By extending the work of Gartner (1993), entrepreneurial practice is presented as a form of social creativity (Hjorth 2004, 2005; Steyaert 2004, 2007; Hjorth & Steyaert 2003, 2006, 2009), folding in and out of commercial setting, and is not restricted to normative commercial interests and configurations alone. Reconfiguring entrepreneurship as a verb displaces the managerial language of the strategic literature, installing in its place the minor language of entrepreneuring (Steyaert 2007). Entrepreneuring emphasises social creativity to be a process that occurs within the social lives of imaginative actors themselves. Neither entrepreneurship, nor the icon of opportunity, can be located purely at the public nor personal level; instead, reminiscent of social constructionism (Bourdieu 1990; Sarason *et al* 2006), they are understood as deeply processual concerns (Steyaert 2007). Such a process cannot be understood if analyses draw back from experience, distinguish actors from the social settings which both constrain and enable their creativity, or give one primacy over the other. If such social creativity and opportunity take hold in the imaginative lives and social settings of practice

over time, approaches must neither begin too late nor too early, and must resist the temptation to make conceptual abstractions that translate these experiences into system and logic (Steyaert 2007).

Turning to engage with social creativity and the icon of opportunity anew, rather than the methodological individualism and the realism suggested by mainstream objectivist approaches such as the ION, entrepreneurship is presented in a relational ontology of 'becoming' influenced by the works of process philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Henri Bergson. In place of the stable and static world the strategic literature bases its conceptual abstractions upon, entrepreneurship is suggested to implicate worlds that are unfinished, always in the making between actors and circumstance (Steyaert 2007:470). By situating entrepreneurship in a creative process view (Sarasvathy 2008; Steyaert 2007), rather than opportunities being discovered or allocated by markets, the causal power of circumstance propelling actors to operate in particular ways, or their own powerful abilities commanding entrepreneurial territories into submission, opportunities are coupled with experiences that suggest movement, travel, change, and uncertainty.

This is significant because at the same time as the geometric and objective worldview falls away, the analysis continues to disrupt ideas of the distinct entrepreneurial self and opportunity, and the heroic storyline of the inimitable actors. The creative entrepreneurial self does not appear as only an illusion- instead actors are presented grappling with circumstance, their imaginative ways to enact (Gartner 1993; Gartner *et al* 2003) particular experiences central to the analysis and how opportunities come about (Hjorth & Johannisson 2008; Steyaert 2007). Actors re-relate relational realities they occupy over time in unique ways (Hjorth 2007; Steyaert 2005), and opportunities express particular ways of being-in-business that are always in the making. Instead of being distinct spaces outside of the experience of those charged with their creation, this has opportunities picking up significance and value as they melt and take form again across different social sites and interlocking relations. Hjorth (2004, 2005) suggests practice emerges well before opportunities have presence in language and action, actors becoming entrepreneurial not by cleverly discovering or creating opportunities that are fully fledged in language and practice. The signs of opportunity instead might be shown as actors create space within the settings they

occupy, and force them to yield new possibilities. This occurs within already commercial, organized settings, yet actors are creative, and their social creativity continuously emerges as they take to business themselves. It is at moments like these that opportunity may be glimpsed, emerging from circumstance as actors turn their powers of interpretation and imagination to seize hold of how such commonplaces matter in their own lives.

The literature has already set up actors in a very general context of commonplace phenomena they relate to in unique ways. They are posed in the territory between preorganization and organization, occupying an in between space (Steyaert 2005; Gartner 1993), and having to work imaginatively with things already up and running (Gartner 1988). Set within these conditions, opportunities are posed expressing the intense experience of going about creating them, showing the signs and scars of public and private life over time. Examining the settings of musical entrepreneurship for instance and there is a panoply of recording and other normative practices constituting orthodox opportunity plots and archetypal representations of the musical entrepreneur that both constrain and invite creative modes of practice. These settings elicit and legitimize actors' choices and behaviours by distributing normative ways to distinguish and actualize commercial opportunities through music. As they work with these settings and the established ways to become entrepreneurial it distributes to them, actors can stylize these relational realities in imaginative ways (Hjorth 2005).

Taking off from the means-driven approach of Sarasvathy, actors work within this 'beforeness' to distinct opportunity, by conjuring spaces (Hjorth 2004, 2005) within dominant orders such as those encountered during musical production. Neither their means nor their ends are predetermined (Sarasvathy 2008; Steyaert 2007:466), as actors are charged with imagining spaces to interweave them anew. Commercial setting draws them in quite easily; early encounters with the musical product for instance always being commercial ones, putting actors at risk that they may also be drawn away from concerns for expression and creativity. Actors are becoming creative through a resistance to their lives being carried away in normative sequence. Social creativity occupies these moments when imagination insinuates and seizes hold of possibilities inscribed in these social settings, blending the means of private and public experiences. Rather than miraculously answering life's problems, actors are creating problems

out of the residue of everyday experience, their creativity not simply taking hold when they begin to act on their problems, but occurring also in these primal moments of imagination. Organizational creativity begins before organization as presence, as actors make these spaces within these settings, occupy them, and imagine. Actors are becoming creative by exploiting gaps in meaning and use, creating problems, not solving them (Hjorth 2007), the practical and instrumental effectual entrepreneur whose powers of cognition make circumstance and constant practice cohere into solution is not implicated. Imagination gives them space to play, consider possibilities inscribed within fields of practice, and they are working within surroundings which are invariably commercial. As they take to business, having to practice and perform their narratives imaginatively, they struggle in their creation, and are unable to immediately seize hold of social life and motivate change (Hjorth 2005; Steyaert 2007). These moments that opportunity may be glimpsed, illuminated briefly as actors communicate imaginative experiences, also cannot be isolated. Instead they too are mobile and unfinished, found within "co-authorship" of the entrepreneurial process as actors make sense of "collective stories, dramatic interactions, generative metaphors, and concurring discourse" in their lives (Steyaert 2007:464).

By building new roads from the work of Gartner (Hjorth & Johannisson 2008) to study entrepreneurship as social creativity, then, the creative process view does not implicate nor need actors who must transcend their experience and step outside of time and space to experience opportunity. Instead, they operate with historical circumstances and create their spaces within unfinished and overflowing stories of social struggle and private coordination. By reminding us that entrepreneurship is a verb, the lone actor able to operate autonomously from circumstance falls away, their agency instead being emphasised through the constraints that they must work with over time. Opportunities are not distinguished in precise language and action, nor held at a distance in the offing of markets. They emerge during social creativity, within the process of doing entrepreneurship itself; rather than merely the product.

In this experience, opportunities also extend toward many unknowable visions that do not recreate the scholarly mimesis (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009). Actors are becoming entrepreneurial not by reproducing normative business storylines, but by potentially struggling with them as well and first making them yield new openings. Social creativity is the process of actors organizing

new worlds, such that commerce is only one aspect of their creativity, the medium through which the public and private blend. Practice emerges for reasons extending toward the desire to play, and express passions- as if actors desire to feel life as a constituent force in and of itself, full of possibility (Hjorth 2005), rather than being bustled along by market dynamics and closing in as they foresee a likelihood imposed from somewhere else. This suggests actors' creativity may emerge as a form of social resistance to what commerce means to actors, entrepreneurs taking to business as they engage in the politics (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009) of organization in their respective territories. What they do might not solve life's problems, and hush it up in the presence of business. Instead, opportunities, as they problematize business, can become openings through which life is expressed, and actors reconnect with possibilities inherent to their own social experience through the medium of commerce. Such approaches do not suggest an antithesis between commerce and creativity; instead, through positioning opportunity within the creative process view it is shown to be a blend of commerce and imaginative experience. Opportunity is shown iconic of actors' unique and creative experiences of their settings, always in the making, constantly emerging and unfinished as actors imagine and co-create their settings anew. Rather than restricted to purely the art of imaginative practice, such types of social creativity and opportunities are also always commercial, because, though creative as well, actors cannot escape their settings, but must work with them through constant commerce.

As the endless possibilities that are lifted constantly throughout imaginative experiences of economic life, opportunity is not just a construct, instead opportunity becomes mobile; a movement through time and space that is characterised by the possibility that actors imagine and inscribe in their settings. Such opportunities become within the unstable and dynamic and uncertain worlds that entrepreneurship exploits over time. Opportunity begins picking up some movement and vitality, and life and entrepreneurship begin imitating each other as the opportunity is conveyed by imaginative narratives of embedded experience. Actors are posed becoming 'other' (Hjorth 2005) from what their histories set up for them, and opportunity, rather than always held outside the experience of actors charged with their creation, takes on an event like presence (Hjorth 2007; Hjorth & Steyaert 2009) that disrupts the normative sequence of historical and relational conditions they are set within. They are not the rigid singular insights (Dimov 2007a) that the strategic literature presents, and neither just an academic construct that is

impossible to work with apart from at an analytic distance. Instead opportunities are starting to appear as longitudinal and relational experiences, iconic of the possibilities imagined in commercial worlds. The semantic boundaries (of what is and is not contained 'inside' opportunity when used as an analytical construct) become difficult to define. Set within and re-relating the everyday conditions of being-in-business, opportunities capture an ongoing social life, in which dominant forces influence their emergence but are subverted in the imagination of new spaces (Hjorth 2004, 2005). A new prosaic (Steyaert 2004) language (e.g. 'possibility', 'ideas', 'feeling', 'passion, 'desire', 'aspiration', 'imagination', 'frustration', 'opening') also begins to populate their stories that is far less formal (Dimov 2011) than the opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) assumed by theorists but uncommonly used by protagonists. Practice remains quite ordinary, opportunities are indistinct from the flow of everyday experience, and actors are engaged in those most everyday of practices like storytelling and conversation while they translate prosaics into commercial viability, make more space, and engage in this constant and mobile co-creation.

By positioning opportunity within the processual approaches to entrepreneurship as organizational creativity forwarded by authors such as Hjorth and Steyaert, then, study begins to resist the system and logic of previous approaches that have cast entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial imagination as an errant subset of rational choice theory. The authority of the opportunity construct, given as it is by the strategic managerial literature, is repeatedly displaced, only to have opportunity emerging again in experience, during those moments when actors communicate and organize their experience creatively with others and the resources at their disposal. Situated within the social process view (Steyaert 2007), opportunities are shown primal icons of organizational creativity, glimpsed always in the making as new possibilities actors imagine for themselves and others from the constraints and practices bestowed to them by commercial setting.

2.11 G.L.S. Shackle: An Entrepreneurial Experience

The entrepreneurial theory of G.L.S. Shackle (1979:2) is significant for studies interested in understanding organizational creativity because it is within his work that entrepreneurial experience is given a proper academic treatment. Shackle does not pull away to an awkward analytical distance that is unable to show how both actors and their settings can matter, and experience is not just a new concept the way it seems to be in effectuation. Instead, embedded experience is a relational resource for entrepreneurship itself, and the very process through organizational creativity occurs. Through his attentiveness to experiences of becoming entrepreneurial Shackle helps extend the creative processual approach developed by Sarasvathy, Hjorth, and Steyaert. Two key elements to a processual perspective on organizational creativity, and the icon of opportunity within entrepreneurial life, are given: 'the scheme of things', and imagination. These elements cannot be isolated; instead it is through their relation in the lives of entrepreneurial actors that Shackle suggests opportunities are created and might be glimpsed as primal moments of organizational creativity. As effectuation and the work of Hjorth and Steyaert suggests, the relation of these elements is an unstable one, and it is this very instability and uncertainty in the lives of business men and women that can matter.

2.112 The Scheme of Things & Imagination

Shackle suggests the 'scheme of things' (1979:18) is the formal character that actors attribute to the settings they encounter and must work with in becoming entrepreneurial. The scheme of things is essentially "what is" (Shackle 1979:2). It is the historical circumstance entrepreneurial actors know and grow up being shaped by and face as they turn to practice. Shackle suggests actors formulate the scheme of things in their own ways depending on their own "experience and education" (Shackle 1979:20). Experience is relational through being constrained within actors' circumstances. Historical experience issues existing forms and "suggests what can come to pass" (1979:59), but, Shackle repeats, does not replicate the extension of path dependence, nor futures that are given and immutable, which would pose actors back within "a world of determinate history" (Shackle 1979:59), such as that involved in analyses of the strategic literature, some constructionists, and the logic of effectuation. Historical circumstance is essentially memory

(Shackle 1979:vii); it stubbornly suggests 'succession' (1979:1), as if the habituation of actors by their settings will propel them into repeating the actions of others, but matters to actors themselves in unique ways. In addition to the significance of historical circumstance being indeterminate, actors face an uncertain future, one which they might fill with their own ideas, through how they are able to contribute their own 'epistemic standing' to what is and how it might matter (Shackle 1979:69). Set in their human predicament of being between preorganization and the new organization they themselves with organize, actors are posed reading 'news' (Shackle 1979:20) from the field (e.g. reports of new promotional practices, opportunity information communicated through the breakup of historical musical industries). As actors make observations of 'what is' by compiling formal descriptions into their scheme of things, they do not do so in order to submit themselves to these in passive obedience (Shackle 1979:12), and the news never stops flowing into their lives. The scheme of things is how actors make sense of embedded experience in ways that connect them with others and historical circumstance, and enables them to judge the range of possibilities for life in time to come.

Historical circumstance, then, is essentially uncertain. It is practically inseparable from the possibilities for new coordination. "There is formalism, and there is poetry...", Shackle (1979:5) goes on, "...[t]he two modes converge and fuse with one another" within experience. Actors are constrained by historical circumstance, yet studies of organizational creativity must be attentive to how business men and women can and want to matter, which charges studies to accept that the imaginative productions of business men and women are not completely foreknown in antecedents that are often posed as logically ordered path dependencies.

'What is' affords possibilities for organizational creativity because actors' lives are essentially defined by transience and change (Shackle 1979). What is, is essentially what is present- in the here and now (Shackle 1979:2). Because experience is mobile, actors' settings afford them space to imagine and play in imaginative ways, to think what they might become. Actors matter, then, in the sense that they are 'uncaused causes' (Shackle 1979:48); they are able to seize hold of their scheme of things and the news they observe of the field to incise events in the run of things by drawing on their powers of interpretation and imagination. As they lift possibilities for what might come to be and time passes, determinism by historical circumstance falls away, and

entrepreneurial actors become the cause of new histories (Shackle 1979). Actors are not presented as the rare inimitable character posed by the strategic literature and effectuation, and they do not need to transcend experience, nor hold powerful cognitive abilities to decipher answers to life's problems. Actors are instead still quite ordinary, it being the mobility of experience that matters because, by being caught within the "indivisible unity of transience" to temporal experience (Shackle 1979:vii), they are only able to compose choices within conditions made before them and are faced with the possibility of what those could become. The uncertainty of time to come afforded by the mobility of experience means there is always possibility for organizational creativity in the scheme of things, always space to imagine and compose opportunities. "[I]magination must observe constraints" (1979:8); but these constraints are bounded by immediate experience, meaning the future always holds possibility for how actors might re-relate to their settings.

The scheme of things, then, projects possibilities in the lives of business men and women. Settings are interpreted imaginatively, as the poet interprets the rigidity of city passages, and are employed as resources to imagine new histories with the flow of experience. Entrepreneurship necessitates a natural human ability to fictionalise the formalism of surroundings, one that is afforded to actors by the fact that they are able to think and imagine the world in unique ways through being attentive that their lives are ongoing (Shackle 1979). Actors can relate and re-relate to what they learn about their wider circumstances within schematic narratives that are always shifting and inviting new coordination, and in doing so they are able to inscribe their own possibilities within fields of practice.

Actors have to be practical in this sense. To "make a difference" (Shackle 1979:7), they can only work with what is knowable to themselves as well as others. The formal character of inheritance and circumstance in actors' scheme of things is like that of the alphabet (Shackle 1979:21); a historical and relational world actors relate to universally, but that is composed of symbols that reveal possibilities to practice, and that are able to be employed and re-related to by entrepreneurial poets in infinite ways. Experience gives actors knowledge of what is accepted (Shackle 1979:12), and history, in turn, rather than being characterised by mechanics and causal

dependence, has only a symbolic presence in the entrepreneurial imagination because it issues ways it might be recomposed in time-to-come.

The scheme of things, then, leaves actors having to work with their settings as everybody else has to, not able to decipher from them the answer to life's problems, and instead having to exploit very ordinary human resources like imagination, and the experience of time, and uncertainty. The scheme of things that Shackle presents is not antithetical to creativity; instead it symbolises potential for creativity in the lives of entrepreneurial actors and the stage on which it will be enacted. The constant social life of opportunity moves in and out of frame, the one minute actors relating to others and generally identifiable relations, the next the symbolic nature of resources and forces giving up possibilities under the impress of the entrepreneurial imagination.

It is the transience of thought and imagination that therefore matters, because actors' experience and embedding, by both being mobile and conjoining in the minds of business men and women, are characterised by uncertainty and instability. Life in business never stops. Rival possibilities displace the symbols actors imagine as if they are being issued by their settings, they may feel that they are forced to start anew, and new symbols of what might come to be will be imagined as experience flows. Symbols seized hold of and acted upon become history, cohere into the scheme of things, and actors are unable to hold onto what they win. They are constantly becoming entrepreneurial through lifting new possibilities from their surroundings.

Actors might, if their practical and instrumental conscience takes a hold of them, stylize time-to-come formally and scientifically (as Shackle suggests most analysts prefer they do; 1979:5). But if governed by futures imposed by themselves or by market dynamics, and the extension of immediate presence so logical and rigid that it could be foreknown, then the possibility for organizational creativity would fall away, practice would become pointless, and the imagination would again be treated as an errant subset of rational choice (which is after all, hardly much choice if actors are predisposed to making optimal decisions). In contrast, being unknowing re-describes the emptiness of time-to-come as invitation to compose futuristic histories, and suggests that, by exploiting uncertainty, the entrepreneurial imagination can only with much difficulty be characterised by practical and instrumental logic. "For enterprise", Shackle

(1979:142) goes on, then, "the void of time is a liberation, a field of play where the rules are not fully given and known from the outset". The mobility of experience invites imaginative departures. Rather than knowing what the future will be like, the picture being complete already, actors somehow miraculously standing outside themselves to capture correct opportunity information, they are able to reinterpret inherent uncertainty as incentive- more space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2004) and decide (Shackle 1979).

2.113 The Opportunity

Shackle therefore defines entrepreneurial practice as "action in pursuit of imagination" (Shackle 1979:138). Actors are always having to operate amidst uncertainty and ambiguity, always in the face of their unknowledge (Shackle 1979). Opportunity can be defined anew, as an icon of their imagination, and how the mobility of embedded experience affords actors possibility for organizational creativity. Opportunity is "the Imagination deemed possible" (Shackle 1979:22, original capitalisation); symbolizing possibilities lifted from the 'what is' commonplaces imaginative actors ascribe epistemic standing in order that they might continue to become entrepreneurial in time to come. Opportunities are 'arrangement possibilities' not given by the field, but 'originated in a strict sense' by actors themselves, as 'new beginnings' (Shackle 1979:48) that redescribe the significance of historical circumstance.

Opportunity, then, can only be known and studied as if present, Shackle suggests, in the here and now of experience. Life is "ever-extensible yet bounded" (Shackle 1979:viii) by the present, opportunities being the possible extension of life manifest by imagination. Opportunities might be glimpsed in these in-between spaces and imaginative moments that actors occupy. The only knowable aspect of human experience is the immediacy of transient presence (Shackle 1979:1), and studying opportunity demands that history, future, and fields of practice pragmatically conceived as being 'outside' experience, are studied as if 'inside' the entrepreneurial imagination that lifts possibilities from commonplace settings. Instead of speaking of the "'future'" or of isolate exogenous opportunities as if they are "'what is to be', as though this was the furniture of another room in our house, existing now but not present until we move there" (1979:49), Shackle is forcing scholarship to study, and keep studying, opportunity recognition *in vivo*- as the

experience of imaginative actors. He is inviting study to resist focusing on how actors decipher information about things that do not yet exist, and instead study knowable aspects of human experience; immediate presence and opportunities symbolising imagination and creativity. Entrepreneurial study condenses upon how practice composes new histories, and "the play of the new on the accepted" (Shackle 1979:12). The clear distinction often made between entrepreneurial selves and their settings is blurred, and studies of organizational creativity elicit "how such takings place... …make a difference to the history that follows them" (Shackle 1979:7).

This captures actors and their creations still entre-preneurial: between preorganization they compile as what is, the symbols they lift from circumstance, and new organization that their entrepreneuring will itself organize. Opportunities, this potential for new beginnings (1979:48) that actors themselves cause, are cutting into social life and marking off history by re-relating to past experience in the moment. Traced by how actors and their creativity are able to make a difference are the spoors of entrepreneurial imagination, and the movement of transient entrepreneurial experience.

This also means that the central plot to entrepreneurial stories, opportunity recognition, remains tricky and elusive (Dimov 2007, 2011; McMullen *et al* 2007). But it is this that matters, Shackle suggests, because opportunities are iconic of creativity within embedded entrepreneurial experience, an experience that is essentially defined by movement, change, uncertainty, and transience. Of actors' "own motion" (Shackle 1979:3) opportunities are created. Wrapped up in a historical becoming, the significance of which will be revealed and re-revealed in time to come, opportunity becomes much less the knowing and knowable space that can be posed at separation from experience, than it is characterised by uncertainty and possibility (Shackle 1979:22). Opportunities, then, symbolise the influence that social life has on actors, but also reveal the influence that imaginative actors might have upon entrepreneurial settings in time to come. 'New beginnings' are showing fresh ways to interpret historical significance, and how the entrepreneurial imagination endlessly re-describes past events into new choices and possibilities. Circumstantial constraints compiled as the scheme of things melt under the impress of imagination within the idea of opportunity. The transience to experience and opportunities limits

the extent to which they can settle into distinct spaces at separation from entrepreneurial life. Opportunities are always in the making as momentary experience passes, concealed in their stead is a genealogy (Hjorth 2007) of their own becoming, and they blur and hover in the relational settings of practice. Rather than being able to be observed in well ordered extension moving backwards from actors through chronological time, Shackle is quite poetic about this. He has opportunities moving like lines in the sand- through being contemporary with actors' experiences they are quickly washing away as time passes and actions taken now write history anew.

Shackle seems to gleefully struggle with the semantic boundaries to the opportunity construct here, challenging our own intuition of entrepreneurship and experience. By being preoccupied with how the ordinary, only knowable aspect of human life, transient experience, somehow, conceals within itself symbols of history that suggest new worlds, he is showing how openings into time to come and the potential to become entrepreneurial are lifted from the constraints of circumstance. He recognises his own and others' scholarly desire to distinguish opportunities and sculpt them into definition, but resists doing so, in the knowledge that it is precisely their uncertainty and ambiguity which makes them entrepreneurial and that matter to actors wishing to create new histories (1979:144).

Opportunities too, then, are mobile, and scholars and actors alike are never able to pin them down long enough to know their quality and quantity entirely- life in business continues. Yet this makes opportunities are all more the more interesting, potent, and entrepreneurial. Moving, mutating, and inherently mysterious, scholars are invited to follow opportunities in the making and remaking through studying entrepreneurial becoming in the territory between preorganization and organization continuously relating and re-relating to background and foreground. By studying how opportunities "make a difference" as actors organize the new organization they imagine, the desire to elicit from actor's lives prescriptive grammatical or orthographic maxims to identify expert entrepreneurs (as effectuation theory does) melts away. Entrepreneurial study gives up explaining the origins of entrepreneurial opportunities, as if they oscillate in hypostasis somewhere in an existent but unreachable history, and instead understand their becoming within human experience. Actors might be studied becoming entrepreneurial

through working with the constraints they face in their circumstances, their creativity not needing to be theorized as being antithetical to commercial settings.

Significantly for studies interested in organizational creativity, and the icon of entrepreneurial opportunity in the lives of those becoming entrepreneurial, there is something else that is coming into focus here. A distinction between the lived intensity of opportunity experience and the formal (Dimov 2011; Shackle 1979: 144), orthodox configuration of the experience by strategic literature such as that of the ION, some social constructionists and effectuation, is coming into focus. Looking back, the ION has opportunities existing exogenously in markets, and distinguished successful entrepreneurial actors by their alertness to correct opportunity information. But ideas and opportunities involved in the analysis were "far too abstracted from any particulars, too general in what they can accommodate, too fundamental, too absolute, to be regarded as descriptions of the field, the *res extensa* supposedly outside the thinking being's thought" (Shackle 1979:144). Evoked was a certain orthodoxy, the metaphor (Berglund 2007a) carrying a particular resonance, and certain isolating mechanisms on who and what is entrepreneurial. Yet the ION posed by the strategic literature is only one particular apparition of opportunity- the scientistic formalising of the experience that Shackle (1979:5) suggests is favoured by the pragmatic academic – but one that fails to render what it is that is entrepreneurial and worthwhile studying about it. In response to what it occludes, invitations are issued to resist our own pragmatic tendencies to isolate opportunities and enact orthodox analyses imposed upon us by our residence in management schools (Hjorth & Johannisson 2008; Steyaert 2007). Within these enlarged definitions exist still many other unknowable forms that do not recreate the scholarly mimesis; these processual scholars more critical to the normative analysis are enlisting study to subvert the opportunity plots that still dominate, and keep the experience human, and possible and worthwhile to study *in vivo*. By capturing entrepreneurial practice more succinctly as a verb; organizational creativity that makes a difference as imaginative experience flows and falls into history, Shackle gives new ways to think about opportunity as being a deeply processual concern (Steyaert 2007; Hjorth & Steyaert 2009; Dimov 2011; Shackle 1979; Gartner 1988, 1989). By revealing openings into how organizational creativity occurs in the lives of those becoming entrepreneurial, and how the icon of opportunity blends imaginative actors with

the settings that they work with, opportunities are not caught in eternal hypostasis. They become concealed, endogenously, within embedded, yet also creative, experience.

2.114 Opportunity as Experienced

Shackle, then, resists straying from experience, and posing it only as a new concept, by instead characterising experience as the central resource to organizational creativity and opportunity to be emblematic of the processual nature of entrepreneurship, the primal moments of creativity. Opportunity becomes an interesting analytical unit because it is within the idea of opportunity that actors are revealed becoming entrepreneurial through creatively organizing their settings. By resisting drawing away from experience, Shackle is able to extend the creative perspective's interest in imagination, and shows how entrepreneurial imagination and the possibility of opportunity are afforded. New openings for studying organizational creativity from the perspective of actors themselves are revealed by Shackle's processual view.

A new 'subject' begins to emerge: opportunity, posed as an icon of creative experience. The experience remains elusive, but all the more interesting and entrepreneurial for being so, and it precludes the identification of an omnitious actor in a position of managerial oversight, or distinction of opportunities as distinct spaces of reason. Life and opportunity begin imitating each other (Hjorth & Johannisson 2004). Experience itself becomes entrepreneurial and is able to make a difference because its creativity is resistant to definition and influences that are applied. Invitations, then, are still issued to study the intersection of self and business in this longitudinal experience of ongoing opportunity, and capture history and time to come re-relating to each other within genealogical narratives (Hjorth 2007) that capture the processual nature of opportunities.

The experience becomes worthwhile and possible to study, because it can be approached at the prosaic level (Steyaert 2007, 2004), *in vivo*, as actors recompose historical experience, rather than working with impossible constructs and overbearing characters. There is an awareness of other forms of entrepreneuring obscured by the normative gaze, the multiplicity of entrepreneurial lives and intentions and how they elicit possibilities from settings that are, in the

most, part commercially organized. An interest in impracticalities emerges too, as actors are working imaginatively with their settings; constraints as well as incentives, making space, losing it, and making and re-making choices and differences to their social settings during ordinary experience.

This creates a narrative frontier where the field has stories and narratives and a dominant order interested in unknown things called entrepreneurial opportunities face each other head on. In turning to study the processual nature of opportunity experience, entrepreneurial prosaics still seem too visible and overwhelming; at one minute intense expressions of becoming, the other intractable everydayness falling into seemingly useless 'utter crap' (Gartner 2010) that slips from scholarly grasp. Mess is a good thing (Gartner 2007); it leaves connectives by which our own entrepreneurial curiosity as scholars might invoke new beginnings that transform the scholarly mimesis (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009), but problems of how begin practising again as scholars of opportunity experience emerge. Something else, then, is needed. Circumstances must be rendered in a way that they can be studied in the lives of imaginative business men and women. This something else must be more attentive to the icon of opportunity in actors' lives. It must not suggest an outside world that is always held at a distance, but remind us of how the relational and processual nature of experience can matter.

2.12 Edith Penrose & Images

A moment has been reached, then, where some or other construct or metaphor is needed to emplot our entrepreneurial curiosity as scholars with the experiences of opportunity we study. It would be useful if it could emplot the relational and processual experience of entrepreneurship; conjoining the beforeness, insides, and outsides of being and business, make sense of the emergence of opportunity in experience, its coordination and recoordination of wider society, and reveal commercial setting and organizational creativity coming in and out of focus. Inventing a minor language (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009) to give notions of opportunity some life before taking full linguistic and practised form and that resists suggesting immediate presence, normative plots, orthodox intentions and configurations, is central to the cause. It would have utility if it captured something of the movement and transiency of the experience, uncertainty, travel, commonplaces lived in particular and imaginative ways, constraints, incentives, revelations, and projectile possibility: in short, experiences of opportunity. Such metaphor would pre-empt opportunity as substantive thing through revealing its process of creation in intense detail, within experience, without escaping into rigid formalist language.

2.121 Beginning Again in Entrepreneurship Studies

Edith Penrose (1959/1995) can help here, but first needs wrestling from her place in management studies to reveal these new spaces and openings. Quite problematically, Penrose is traditionally associated with strategic management (Barney 1991; Peteraf 1993; Shane 2000) and interests in understanding entrepreneurial performance under the control of management and in the midst of functions predefined by assumed roles in economic and social system. The field positions her as a matriarchal guardian (Mahoney & Pandian 1992; Kor & Mahoney 2000; Lockett 2005; Foss *et al* 2006), appointing her responsible for theories questionable in their valid reapplication to experiences of opportunity. This is significant because it is upon Penrosean elements that much strategic management and entrepreneurship bases its restricted interest in the ION.

The (unevidenced) assumption these overly pragmatic theorists have is that Penrose once suggested actors compete against each other via deriving 'rents' from increasingly efficient use of

rival resources (e.g. Kor & Mahoney 2000; Rugman & Verbeke 2002, 2004). Any attention to the social and personal impact of entrepreneurship is fleeting (Rugman & Verbeke 2002; Gorling & Rehn 2008), experiences of opportunity present a problematic variable set, and any epistemological and ontological commitments are obscured behind authoritative (and uninterested/uninteresting) rhetoric. On their reading of Penrose, entrepreneurship becomes just another tool at managers' disposal functioning uncritically to enlarge the strategic gaze (e.g. Alvarez & Barney 2007, 2004; Alvarez & Busenitz 2001; Baker & Pollock 2007; Hitt *et al* 2001; Klein 2008). Practice is orthodox, unimaginative, inherently practical and instrumental, and the actor is void in the analyses due operating rationally at the request of wider economies and industries.

The assumed 'Penrose affect' (e.g. Hay & Morris 1991; Gander 1991; Marris 1964; Orser, Hogarth-Scott and Riding 2000; Shane 1996; Shen 1970; Slater 1980:xi; Thompson 1994), for instance, suggests withdrawn and rationalised fitting together of internal resource configuratons with objective environmental conditions whereby history by being incorporated in these resource configurations determines the presence and viability of discovered opportunity. Central to Penrose's commentary is "imagination and intuition" (1959/1995:34), yet these immediate human resources are formalised to such extent they feel vividly inhuman and detached; cast as an errant subset of rational choice they are conceptually restricted to being means for creating more rent and wealth. The epistemological assumptions of these interpreters of Penrose finds their scholarship identifying existing bundles to act as "cognitive drivers" (Mahoney & Michael 2005:45; Mahoney 1995) driving discoveries of competitive opportunities, and leaving in their wake observable path dependencies (Foss *et al* 2006; Kor & Mahoney 2004; Lockett & Thompson 2005; Lockett 2005; Mahoney & Pandian 1992; Mahoney 1995; Mahoney & Michael 2005). Yet Penrose (1959/1995:9) suggests it is 'whims' as well as 'reason' that orient practice, and that imaginative coordination begins long before the examination of opportunities and "sober calculations" (1959/1995:33), by speculating toward possibilities inherent in constant experience. The actor is an "'economic person'", but "not necessarily the 'economic man'" (1959/1995:9) eschewing their imagination in favour of attempted rational coordination. In contrast to the history these interpreters have made of her work, Penrose establishes early on that actors do not orient toward an 'environment' "independent of their own activities" (Penrose 1959/1995:42), as

if it was "an objective fact discoverable before the event" (1959/1995:41). But little room is given by these readings for the creative self able to make a difference by imaginatively re-relating to constraints and incentives afforded by historical circumstance. Commerce and competition are everything, a critical mind redundant in these analyses, opportunity experience void because of its messy nature. Their readings feel overly managerial (Hjorth 2007), pragmatic, withdrawn, leaving Penrose unobserved in her suggesting "flesh and blood" entrepreneurship and opportunities "may or may not be practical" (Penrose 1959/1995:13), may or may not be interested in normative success, sequence, and separating their business from life.

2.13 Images

Penrose allows study to leave behind this rigid theorization of the strategic literature, and the propensity to characterise entrepreneurial actors as powerful inimitable heroes who lives are immobile and difficult to study. New openings into experiences of opportunity are suggested by her use of a metaphor largely overlooked by scholars: 'images' (Penrose 1959/1995:5). Images situate opportunity in the imaginative experiences that business men and women have of their circumstances. Penrose's (1959/1995:36) interest was not in dramatic Schumpetarian breakthroughs, but in prosaic, everyday experiences of opportunity, and images she suggests articulate organizational creativity and the experience of becoming entrepreneurial from the perspective of actors. She accepts these images are often edged with orthodox interests in wealth creation and managerial necessity, but emphasises their involvement with far more than isolate concerns for rent and profit which are, after all, only pragmatic units of analysis (Penrose 1959/1995:27, 183; Rugman & Verbeke 2004). Penrose suggests business can be human as well as commercial, suggesting it is not in contradistinction to personal and social concerns, and that organizational creativity can be propelled by multiple intentions. Entrepreneurial practice is "life's work" (Penrose 1959/1995: 28-29): she describes how personal and wider social concerns and influences combine with purposeful business venture; the pride people take in their work, the culture developing inside and outside firms, permeating their boundaries, and highly imaginative arrangements of business and physical resource (Penrose 1959/1995). 'Incentives' and 'constraints' on the rate and direction of firm growth are assumed to involve much more human and everyday influences (Penrose 1959/1995:13, 26-30) than usually accounted by mainstream

analyses of inequally distributed opportunity information. Organizational creativity occurs through these human resources lifting possibilities from constrained circumstance with the flow of becoming entrepreneurial. Images allow study to approach actors operating as if historical experience projects possibilities for new organization they themselves with organize.

Like the case study, and its struggle with the language of opportunity (Gartner *et al* 2003), Penrose suggests "the meaning of words" (1959/1995:10) like the 'firm' introduce semantic and practical difficulties when dealing with its growth and the experience of ordinary actors. Rather than seeing a "clear-cut entity" (Penrose 1959/1995:10), the boundaries to opportunity and firms are amorphous and what they actually do difficult to decipher. She used the term 'image' because it does away with such clear-cut entities, and elicits the pedagogical relation between actors and their settings so that what actors and firms actually do can be studied. The metaphor 'image' insinuates space within current understanding of entrepreneurial opportunity by revealing openings into their becoming, in entrepreneurial experience, and not assuming specific modes of practice, intentions, configurations, language or mindsets. Images extend the line of thought that rather than working with pre-existing objective environments it is the entrepreneurial imagination which orients entrepreneurs to being-in-business (1959/1995:5-9). Taking off the established concern with the play between commonplace settings and unique experiences, her work motivates study to engage with "factors affecting the relation between 'image' and 'reality'" (Penrose 1959/1995:42), studying how normative configurations are tendered in unique ways, briefed in the understanding that through doing so ideas of actors engaging with defined opportunities with pre-existing presence (opportunities arising in markets and business configurations) and formalised immutable phenomena fall away.

While current readings of Penrose have imagination as an errant subject of rational choice, and opportunities as pre-existing spaces embedded in markets, this reading amplifies creative processes of social and personal change oriented by endogenous processes of embedded consciousness and imagination. Her idea of the image presents opportunity emerging in the mobile lives of business men and women and presents a way in which organizational creativity can be studied over time and social life. During their lifetimes actors learn by being habituated by their surroundings, developing personal experiences, and physical and non-physical

resources, through an examined attentiveness to being-in-business. Her idea of images draws into some focus everyday parsing and disrupting of the difference between self and business. The past becomes sediment, releases energy, reveals new openings, invites actors to test their luck, and they wake feeling it a new day for becoming entrepreneurial, even turning back to fundamental practices and things business life rests on to develop more meaningful and valuable ways to live.

Images play roles by being configured by, and yet imaginatively re-relating to, the commonplace social conditions actors get thrown into, combining different personal, cultural and business relations, different kinds of knowledge and resources actors inherit together in imaginative, meaningful and valuable ways. Personal stocks of entrepreneurial knowledge and experience developing over time help images make sense of the business world actors encounter. The idea of images clarifies that the scheme of things that actors make of their circumstances is a work of imagination. The image is relational and mobile, and meaningful before logical coordination. Multiple interchanges occur between being and circumstance over time, personal micro-histories of being-in-business insert into the moment and reconfigure market and resource settings, and normative appearances (resources) are redescribed within the image. The image becomes the identity of opportunity and its embodiment within some business arrangement over time. The image makes a difference by animating the constant social life of opportunity experience in unique ways. Images, then, are embroiled with historical and institutional experience, waking up with entrepreneurs everyday, but also being redressed moment to moment. They reveal actors occupying formalised configurations, creating with and from orthodoxies, tendering practicalities, as well as becoming impractical, unable to ever emerge in absolute distinction. Images are always on the move, always extending into new potential worlds, and cannot be simply conceptualised as being located at the personal nor public level.

2.14 Entrepreneurial Settings

By eliciting these openings into opportunity experience as the way in which organizational creativity occurs through the blending of self and business, images express their emergence and heritage in the relational, everyday conditions of being-in-business amidst the various

entrepreneurial settings Penrose describes and which Shackle sets background influence to. No formal description of images and their constituent elements is given by Penrose, because to do so would expose analyses to the rigid, logical withdrawal she (1959/1995:3) urges scholars to resist. The metaphor of conscious images is central to understanding her work and opportunity experience, yet images need to be treated with care and reticence, as they are not logical and distinct orderings, but highly personal and imaginative coordinations of being-in-business that are easily exposed to pragmatic scholarly desires that limit the degree to which how they become personally and socially valuable can be understood. Distinguishing images as "clear-cut entities" would preclude in what ways they make connections with others and how they open up spaces in our own stories. Other theorists have been reluctant to employ images of being in business in their analyses, likely precisely because they restrict the extent to which the actor can be drawn as a rational and knowing figure, or because they limit the extent to which their performance can be measured. Images keep the experience imprecise and uncertain because it is (Penrose 1959/1995:3; Shackle 1979), and all the more human, entrepreneurial and interesting for being so. Boundaries to practice and images are fuzzy, 'influence' to relations 'outside' blurs distinction, and the 'continuity of history' and 'identity' reveal the whole problem of distributing the succession of opportunities into distinct episodes of practice (Penrose 1959/1995:20-22). Penrosean images of being-in-business, then, force scholarship to resist the pragmatic desire to explain the origins and performance of opportunities and actors, and engage instead with the human science's quest to understand experience (Penrose 1959/1995: 26), in a fresh processual way.

Most immediately images consist of resources (actual, exhausted or possible). Penrose suggests these resources "...for the most part, can be defined independently of their use" (1959/1995:25), and, in being counterposed against their 'use', "we find the uniqueness of each individual" experience (1959/1995:25). Such resources consist of: lessons and histories of others' struggles, successes or failures; personal entrepreneurial micro-histories involving families, community and demographic influence; the innumerable variety of material and symbolic things involved in being-in-business. Different business and social relations offer knowledge and resources to inherit on their way and enable actors to develop skeins of immaterial human resources like personal experience. From a close reading of Penrose, the following table pulls together the

settings, experience, and qualities, that twist and cohere into how Penrose felt an image of being in business might come about.

Table 1: Elements of entrepreneurial images of business (from Penrose)

Relations	Laws, patents and business conventions, social values/policies, available services. Markets/market demand, consumer loyalty, competition between firms, other entrepreneurs varying in size, control over business space, centres of finance and technology. Culture, geographic and socio-cultural locations, feelings of belonging, trust, family, friends, and other peers.
Material Resources	Plant, equipment, land, natural resources, raw materials, semi-finished goods, waste and by-products, and unsold stocks of finished goods
Human Resources	Historical personal experience (learning over time and awareness of span), personal values. Available information and labour (clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical) internal cultures, inherited knowledge. 'State of the arts', social networks, mobility. 'Capacity' to transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, 'entrepreneurial judgement' ambition, confidence, versatility, and abilities to create confidence. Expectations influencing experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Practical managerial capacity to bring

	productive opportunities into being.

Here, Penrose allows coordinating points surfaced by constructionists and narrative approaches to fuse into an insightful metaphor able to connect with opportunity experience. Emphasis is put on these only having significance within images as they form and reform in entrepreneurial imagination. There is never "...a complete independence of any external forces" (Penrose 1959/1995:16), but neither are settings assumed determinant and objective, instead allowing themselves be played with imaginatively. They are inheritances, the scheme of actors' circumstances, offering prefigured ways of practising and resource configurations, but also invitations revealing openings and incentive to learn through the possibility of re-relating to physical resources, consumer expectations, and normative business. Entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) reinterprets residue of past events, transcends convention and path dependencies setting in to entrepreneurial trajectories. "History matters" (Penrose 1959/1995:xiii), because opportunity experience is a historical entrepreneurial force, there is a 'continuity to history' that enables invention, play, space making and invites its own transformation, historical experience is poised to insert itself into the transient immediacy of being-in-business. Images in turn come in and out of focus through actors' drawing human resources and social relations together in novel imaginative ways. "Imagination and intuition", immediate human resources, and "flesh and blood" experiences of being-in-business give images their unique identity, and cannot be divorced from more tangible physical things at their disposal and in sight.

2.15 Approaching Methodology: Michel de Certeau and Practices of Everyday Life

The metaphor of the image extends previous literature by forcing scholarship to study, and keep studying, experience of opportunity as the constant life of organizational creativity. The image shows how entrepreneurial life is always in-between and on the way to new worlds, always deeply relational and processual. Now a more rigorous narrative methodology needs assembling to elicit in what ways images, in being made and remade imaginatively, re-relate to wider and more commonplace entrepreneurial settings and may be used to understand how actors become entrepreneurial. Michel de Certeau (1984) and Certeau *et al* (1998) can combine with Shackle and Penrose to develop these openings, as his paen to the everyday resonates with their interest in how 'history matters' in ordinary entrepreneurial experience. It is through developing a processual methodology via the work of Certeau that images of organizational creativity in the lives of business men and women may be studied. Experiences of opportunity can be approached as organizational creativity that is commercial as well as creative, because actors, in following musical pursuits are thrown into commercial worlds and having to be resistant in their creativity. They are unable to escape the constraints of circumstances that are generally organized commercially, but instead make do with them imaginatively.

Certeau mines the depths of everyday obscurity to emancipate from theoretical blindness the 'silent majority' of actors who like unobserved illegitimate entrepreneurs are marginalized by normative representations yet put them to use in imaginative ways. As with Sarason, Pitt, Hjorth, Steyaert, Shackle, and Penrose, everyday relational realities are found to be constraints but also to provoke imagination. Habituation provides actors with lifeless conventions, and enlarged representations of practice and social groups; students, researchers, musicians, and entrepreneurs, for instance, are metaphorized to a few restricted ideal types, and actors have to relate themselves to these commonplaces, and somehow invent personal significance within them. Spaces traced by errant desires and imaginative movements are mapped and formatted by an omnipotent gaze, and people find themselves being thrown into social spaces that are already occupied by powerful forces with panoptic abilities to surveil and divide it, formalise definition, and set up formalised spaces of power that elicit their behaviours. Academic study of these spaces and experiences tally up actors' habitus so that writing presents definitive and certain

reports of the field that level it and allow policies and rights to distributed and causes to be identified. The background (social, economic, cultural, geographic, etc.) to everyday practice, on first glance, therefore seems determinant (e.g. Anderson & Miller 2003), as enlarged definitions hurry to fill the voids left by creative use in the foreground. Yet within and under enlarged and generalised surface appearances, 'underground', and in homes and pubs of ordinary men and women, exciting, dangerous, fabulous, strange, impassioned and witty images of actors making do and composing new ways of being exist.

No heroic edge can characterise the ordinary man in Certeau's writings: an isolate sovereign subject "able to secure independence with respect to circumstance" and create their lives in distinction is to him a misnomer, a fallacious Cartesian dream of managerialism (Certeau 1984:xix). Actors have to make do, engaging in a narrativity of life (Certeau *et al* 1998), by imaginatively parsing and re-relating to sequences of practice, commonly cited plots, orthodox concepts and symbols afforded by society's more powerful forces as they move and exploit experiences of time. A life spent socially over time becomes the only resource actors can keep hold of, and they have to insert memories into occasions of practice to reveal imaginative ways to use their settings. Life in turn spills out of formalised spaces practitioners have made their home in, and the clean streets of orthodox managerial rationality are perforated by things and meaning furnished by a life making do with what it can. Life and personal significance are invented in spaces where they are absent or hidden, and amidst the ghosts of proper definition, function, purpose, and outcome, new uncertainties and lines of flight emerge. People fall in and out of their categorizations appointed by this alien rational power, evade them, invent in them, and subvert them for their own passions and desires. Actors are taking these constrained circumstances, and making do with them, their creativity incompletely foreknown in the range of antecedents but being revealed in the processual nature of everyday life.

A series of useful narrative coordinates are provided by Certeau (1984) to understand the making and remaking of images. Emphasising "the relations between a certain kind of rationality and an imagination" (xxiii, original italics) the latter being issued to actors by experiences of time, Certeau draws out 'strategies' (1984:35-39). Strategies influence who acts and legitimate how and why. They are distributed by 'centres of power'; well defined and formalised spaces "fighting the

erosion of time" (1984:174) by setting up in its flow, exploiting advantage won, knowledge abstracted, and panoptic abilities to wield power over citizens and space. Like the nexus of the ION or the strategic positioning enacted by fleets of Porter's followers, strategies presuppose the localization of a place from which relations can be compiled "with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, "clienteles", "targets", or "objects" of research") (Certeau 1984:xix). As 'outside' is posed at a strategic distance it is ordered geometrically outwards from the nexus, and lines of causality and connection between resource and outcome become as clear as they are on the pages of a map. Strategies defend these spaces and go on the offensive by taking on competitors, targets (i.e. market "segments" distinguished by enlarged demographic categorisation), and delineating other 'objects' against which to leverage an advantage. Formalised spaces like major record labels or, for that matter, any other managerial entity (Certeau 1984:36; Hjorth 2005), for instance, establish these positions of withdrawal and assemble an exteriority between themselves and the wider world, keeping it at a distance, and enabling markets to be observed so that innovative ways of practising can be appropriated, competition moving in to take territory can be fought, and sabotage enacted by subversive bricoleurs and other deviancies can be corrected. By the strategies they distribute presupposing the distinction of a place at separation from experience from which to predict action and calculate response, they therefore exclude those who are unable to set up such bases and compile the correct resource bundles to 'perform' (though cannot preclude what 'other' resources might be exploited). Strategies, then, are formalized ways of operating and representations that are absent of any particular meaning or relation to circumstance and occasion (Certeau 1984). They become formalised spaces objectified insofar as they authorise agency and exist outside of life yet issue orthodox practical and instrumental ways it can be lived.

Significantly, strategies are therefore in the most part identifiable independent of their use. In images they delineate the formal scheme of actors' settings but which they are able to elicit imaginative departures from. Various examples can be given that configure as proper spaces within the relational experiences of those wanting to occupy them somehow: boardrooms of management, recording studios and other material places; archetypal identities like heroic celebrities, managers and clients; procedures like risk auditing, touring logistics, market analyses, and recording practices, the many other formal procedures and formalised

representations of musical practice. The innumerable other connections and symbols related to entrepreneurial practice by social constructionists and narrative theorists also fold down as strategic things actors can accept, work against or try to imaginatively recompose within their own schemeta. Certeau *et al* (1998) emphasise there is always life in these seemingly lifeless abstract, dead things, likewise, ghosts of orthodoxy, formality and instrumentality are always foreshadowing a life lived imaginatively.

Attentive to actors' imaginative re-relation to strategic inheritances afforded by a life lived amongst more powerful formalised spaces of reason, Certeau finds the inventiveness of 'tactics'. Tactics put to use strategic things as bricoleurs, unable to "count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality" (Certeau 1984:xix), insert personal micro-histories into occasions of practice to make them yield new possibilities. Tactics are the processual way in which formalised strategies are imagined in actors' mobile experiences and betray their own subversion. In contrast to proper centres of power where advantage won is guarded through optimal routines, tactics are unable to settle, or be held onto, and relate to the creation of space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979). They make a difference by insinuating new beginnings within dominant orders that are already up and running, the one minute grappling with corporate rationality inherited from 'above' so that it gives up new images, the next using it to evade capture or quietly subvert the dominant order. As a strategy localizes distinct spaces of advantage and panoptic surveillance, then, a tactic on the other hand is either unable or unwilling to distinguish itself as a spatial or institutional locality and pose outside as a visible totality able to be kept at a distance, and instead "depends on time" (Certeau 1984:xix). Unable or unwilling to fight the erosion of time (for timing and actors' experience of time is their most significant resources), tactics exploit infinitesimal wins scored but briefly held while on the run, and play on spontaneity, memory, and timely insertions of chance to play and decide. Tactics emphasise resource concealed within the mobility of imaginative experience and the processual way in which organizational creativity can occur. Insinuated at the right moment, resources and things furnished by memory and history reveal interstices and openings for living a more meaningful and imaginative existence. Heterogeneous elements are combined, syntactical actions emplot the necessary but unconnected, special ingredients are added to cater for particular tastes and temporary quests. In

the analysis actors are not able to separate themselves from the world, and are having to create ways to make their own lives within strategic settings. Though their settings may essentially be commercially organized before actors can work, in the imaginative lives of business men and women they are able to provoke potential for creative lines of flight.

Tactics are employed in speech as well as action (and action speaks and speaking does). Having only the ability to poach from their settings, for instance, actors take 'citations' of the legitimate and believable to authorise themselves and evade capture, and omit significant histories and relations to amplify polemic gestures. By doing so tactical stories are traced by frontiers marking the beforeness of inheritance, the avant-garde, and state of the arts (from coffee makers to recording practices). Boundaries between territories of access, rights and control and those of the underground and weak are temporarily delineated by strategy and are perforated by tacticians as they drift in and out of their categorisations (Certeau 1984: 122-126). The history of recorded music and its strategic opportunity plots are some such formalised spaces musical entrepreneurs have to negotiate. On first appearances, most seem to be playing to the same tune. Yet within these settings many underground spaces exist, actors seize the productions of others as they settle into formalised spaces, and sample them, combine, and insert other musical styles and citations in the invention of new musical tactics. It is through making do that organizational creativity might be imagined and occur.

Animated in the form of stories, tactics gesture to emerging bodies of revelry, meaning, possibility and choice as actors occupy highly formalised commercial settings (Certeau *et al* 1998:141-142). Tactics therefore keep actors' experiences deeply relational, in-between preorganization and the new organization they themselves imagine and will organize via the process of entrepreneuring. Tactics show why this matters, posing actors who, by being unable to keep the world at a distance and transcend to positions of managerial oversight, are having to occupy and re-relate self to society, and self to business, its history and the constraints, incentives and resources it issues (though does not intend to).

In this way stories emplot social and personal creativity by highlighting disequilibrium invented between enlarged representations of formalised space and their tactical occupation (Certeau *et al*

1998). Stories lay out institutionally-bound relations and things by coordinating the kinds of inheritance, norms, conventions, existing plots, orthodoxies, practicalities, policies, well delineated and named figures or institutions into scenes and plots. Stories convey the redescription of history (Sarasvathy 2008) enacted through tactical new beginnings (Shackle 1979:48). They invoke historically bound relations and things by emplotting acts that make a difference against their origins (Certeau 1984; Ricouer 1990, 1977/2003), where things like places, strategies, and ways of emplotting experience are always coming in and out of focus. Thus stories are able to narrate how what is taken from the past elicits the opening up of spaces in time to come and the setting of new beginnings. It is in stories of strategy and tactics, then, as imaginative acts are counterposed against a background painted with common brush strokes that entrepreneurial images can be laid out and imaginative experiences of opportunity can be given form without falling completely back into abstractions.

Table 2: Strategy & Tactic

Strategy	Tactic
Place, positioning, span & influence	Time, timing, memory, movement, serendipity
'Rational'	Imaginative
Command over resources	Occupation & space making
World at a distance	Unable to keep world at a distance
Enlarged & general	Prosaic & particular
Distinct	Anonymous or unnamable

2.16 Research Questions

A series of interests have emerged from the intersection of formal and austere conceptualisations of opportunity recognition as a way to approach organizational creativity by the strategic literature, and the more tactical literature oriented toward opportunity as primal and mobile images. The study takes these on.

- Research Question: What is the nature of opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs who operate in the creative industries of the Mersey basin?

- What is particular about the nature of musical opportunities in relation against the idea of entrepreneurial opportunities presented more generally?

3 Turn to Face Opportunity in Everyday Entrepreneurial Practice

3.1 Mixed-Site Case Study

To study the nature of becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce 5 contrasting mixed-sites (Marcus 1998) are studied. These mixed-sites coordinate a singular case study of becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce in the Mersey basin of North West England in a relational and processual way. Between the interplay of tactical sites and the wider more strategic case of musical entrepreneurship in the Mersey basin images are elicited. Hence, the mixed-site empirical approach interacts with case study to create an analytical way to create and illuminate images, in which organizational creativity is presented against a background painted with common brushstrokes (Certeau 1984). Within the study the idea of entrepreneurial images therefore plays multiple roles. One use of images is empirical, and interacts with the idea of a site, as loose boundaries of opportunity and learning are distinguished and fall away. Each site is also followed over time. Two images are therefore coordinated to show the processual nature of experiences of opportunity through time, how human resources and constraints develop and give way to each other in the creation of new images. Five contrasting sites is deemed to allow for thickness to be built up within each experience, and to develop a thicker case study without presenting pale and superficial lives. To be sensitive to how Shackle and Penrose suggest images might be studied, images are not treated as if they can be simply gathered, and instead are created and allowed to multiply within the study. Images therefore also guide the analytical strategy, and they are shown to be created between the strategic setting of the musical entrepreneurship in North West England and the imaginative lives of musical bricoleurs. This use of images is able to present actors' becoming entrepreneurial through blending commercial setting and make do creativity. The images illuminate unique experiences, yet are also relational and gain their presence amongst the different sites. The images are coordinated can neither be located at the individual level; isolated to the sites themselves, nor at the societal level; created through the rigid interpretation of case study method. They hover in the interplay of tactical sites and strategic case settings, and are related within the process of study itself.

Interpretivist epistemology (Weber 1978/2008; Geertz 1973) has surfaced through emphasis on narrative interpretation and imaginative re-relation to entrepreneurial settings being openings into opportunity experience (Gartner 2007; Sarason *et al* 2006; Anderson 2010; Pitt 1998; Sarasvathy 2008; Hjorth 2007; Penrose 1959/1995). Through attempting to find or create access to the prosaics (Steyaert 2004) of opportunity experience, a loosely ethnographic tendency is expressed in varying intensities across the sites. The study is broadly interested in narrative and storytelling as an engagement with lived experience (Ricouer 1990; Certeau 1984; Cope 2001; Gartner 2007, 2011), one that is able to animate the making and remaking of entrepreneurial images. The study develops previous narrative coordinating points drawn from Certeau (1984) in a way that is sensitive to the way Shackle and Penrose suggest opportunity may be approached. It transcends restricted definitions of induction and deduction (Weick 1989, 1996), and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Charmaz & Mitchell 2001; Strauss & Corbin 1998), through to'ing and fro'ing (Certeau 1984) between deduced strategy and induced tactical occupation. The study extends Penrose's (1959/1995; 1960) own use of mixed method case study, storytelling, and her preoccupation with the processual, everyday nature of entrepreneurial images.

Case study method has a long history in management studies, indeed, with Penrose (1959/1995, 1960) herself utilising the approach. Yet while the literature is peppered with management scholars (e.g. Graebner & Eisenhardt 2004; Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007; Eisenhardt 1989; Van Maanen 1988; Watson 2009; Guercini 2004; Chandler 1962), case study remains an obscure and often overlooked method (Flyvbjerg 2011). Traditional restricted definitions (e.g. Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 1984) has case study as secondary to more powerful (quantitative) analyses because their everyday nature is assumed not rigorous or authoritative enough. A resonant counterproposal however suggests particularly a mixed-site case study allows for the richly textured description and deep understanding not permitted through quantitative nor qualitative efforts for breadth (Flyvbjerg 2011; Gummesson 2007).

Real-life case examples are also central to everyday human learning (Flyvbjerg 2007; Van Manen 1990); people do learning through inserting abstract knowledge into context-dependent occasions of use in creative ways. This chimes with Shackle's and Penrose's suggestion that knowledge and identifiable resources and relations only have significance in moments of

practice, and Certeau's suggestion that images tactically occupy and re-relate to formalised spaces. It suggests our only access to human knowledge is as Socrates found it: through real-life sites (Flyvbjerg 2007). Metaphysical, somehow objective knowledge is strategic, being formalised spaces without relation to lived experience; whereas in contrast, knowledge in use is tactical and emphasises unique images of being-in-business. Between in the most part identifiable commonplace resources and relations and their tactical re-relation organizational creativity and site specific practices are therefore revealed. The idea of a mixed-site case study, then, brings abstract scholarly interests in strategic and identifiable phenomena down to the level of prosaic experience (Van Maanen 1989; Flyvbjerg 2011). A mixed-site case study distinguishes unique spaces, and relates them to wider and more general settings, and the many different interacting sites elicit images. A case study method imitates narratives (Flyvbjerg 2011), and is an opening into the making and remaking of images.

A mixed-site case study approach made up of multiple images does not imitate the rational quest to set up impermeable and immutable boundaries, by instead allowing images to interrelate, forces and influences to move in and out, and understanding to emerge between, as well as within, sites. Yet though well cited case study theorists emphasise the tactical nature of case study research, their prescriptions emerge from the strategic literature (e.g. Eisenhardt 1989, 1991; Graebner & Eisenhardt 2004). Because of this, case studies or sites of case study, though generally put in comparison by analysts, are often treated as distinct spaces occupied by homogeneous populations. Recalling Certeau's note of the danger of strategically submerging actors in enlarged demographic categorisations for the sake of academic parsimony, and Penrose's and Shackle's own struggles with the semantic boundaries to firms and opportunities as they write about influence and influencing dissolving boundaries they had imposed to sites, this suggests that making a strategic distinction of sites as definitive populations reduces the level of insight to be gained into the experience. A mixed-site (Marcus 1998), or trans-local (Hannerz 2003) approach is therefore taken in this study because no isolate research "object" can be identified at separation from others and the boundaries of influence and influencing to opportunity are still unknown to the analysis. Through contrasting and comparing different sites (Eisenhardt 1989, 1991; Flyvbjerg 2011) study narrates relational spaces (Hjorth 2007; Certeau 1984; Gustavson & Cytrynbaum 2003; Marcus 1998), and site boundaries fall into obscurity and

re-emerge as influences and influencing pass in and out. Mixed-site case study method sets actors in discrete bounded contexts animating different ways of configuring entrepreneurial settings and formalised space, but, through not treating them as entitative realities that can be understood in separation, allows them to blur and interrelate with one another. Their contrast and comparison reveal insights into one another, and their voices and different configurations refract as they pass through each other.

A mixed-site case study approach 'thickens' description of life (Geertz 1973) and allows prolonged reflexive collaborative theory building (Flyvbjerg 2011; Simons 2007; Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009), through allowing proximal interaction and ongoing, in-depth study, and multiple methods. A mixed-site case study approach animates things occurring at certain times, over time, in certain spaces (Van Manen 1990; Simons 2007; Stake 1995; Flyvbjerg 2011). A mixed-site case study sets boundaries on longitudinal and relational practice so that the approach becomes simultaneous with storytelling (Simons 2007; Flyvbjerg 2007). Sites define the boundaries to action scenes, plot, and orient characters who deal with strategic commonplaces, events occuring, and other figures (Flyvbjerg 2011:311). Sites present imaginative and unique lives of commonplace things, as openings into the processual and relational presence of images, but also treat study in a relational and processual way as well. The idea of sites therefore intertwines with the idea of how an image might be approached empirically. The idea of site and case is an analytical approach too, as timeless miracles (Gartner 2007) are practised in transient moments, history is re-described through multiple new beginnings, and general appearances are animated in ways that matter to actors. Within the idea of a site and the unique experiences one is characterised by the kinds of human resources and the way in which they coordinate more strategic case settings might be approached to animate the creation of images. By studying how human resources like imagination and personal experience build up over time within sites, how actors are able to relate to strategic case settings anew is shown and images of organizational creativity are coordinated. Sites therefore provide boundaries around entrepreneurial practice, and focus attention on use and processes of change (Graebner & Eisenhardt 2004; Gummesson 2007; Merriam 1998; Flyvbjerg 2011). The formalised settings of Liverpool as a context for musical entrepreneurship are occupied by contrasting images at varying times and at the same time, dominant orders of musical business commonly experienced through a panoply of

practices, procedures and other strategic things are put to use in the mixed-sites making up the case study, and images are shown being created through the determinations set up by scholars (Certeau 1984). A mixed-site approach thickens the case study by allowing figures, voices, texts and contexts to interweave and come in and out of focus so that "the story [can] unfold from the many-sided, complex, and sometimes-conflicting stories" involved in experience (Flyvbjerg 2011: 311). It is in this sense of allowing multiple voices, relations, data types, interpretations and methods to overflow into instances of data creation, and relating together, that mixed-site case study provides thickness (Geertz 1973) description (Atkinson & Delamont 2008). By each being a unique site of a more general case they flesh out the thick relationality of experiences of opportunity and cannot be located individually but must be understood together. The idea of images as a way to situate opportunity in the creative lives of those is therefore approached through using images as an empirical approach, and also an analytical strategy, both of which are sensitive to Shackle's and Penrose's thoughts. In turn, a mixed-site case study approach becomes a particular social science (Flyvbjerg 2011); a 'science of the particular" (Certeau *et al* 1998:138), that is able to engage with the messy quotidian, by revealing agents falsifying in their ordinary practice strategic things inherited from dominant orders and deduced by researchers (Certeau 1984; Flyvbjerg 2011). This makes a mixed-site case study approach useful for capturing the messy (Gartner 2007; Law 2004), longitudinal and relational nature of study encounters and entrepreneurial images in ways that study still matters (Law 2004; Flyvbjerg 2011).

Significantly, a mixed-site case study approach therefore also disabuses scholars of the institutional desire to abstract away from the experience and make generalizations that are independent of space, time and actors (Flyvbjerg 2011). Interest is kept where it matters; with the thickness of ordinary experience, inviting scholars to resist withdrawing to strategic positions of panoptic vision, and generalizing and predicting across other sites. Abstract explanations explaining practices of the many is exchanged for in-depth understanding of a singular case comprised of multiple sites, and theory is created rather than affirmed across sites at the expense of only developing superficial insights. This makes a mixed-site case study approach entrepreneurial (Eisenhardt 1989; Gummesson 2007), precisely because strategic case settings are revealed being practised in tactical ways. A mixed-site case study approach opens up spaces

to understand images in the play between the strategic and tactical as human resources and the generally identifiable entrepreneurial settings Penrose describes interact. Put into some sequence, a mixed-site case study approach elicits different ways to imagine theoretical narratives of opportunity recognition.

The empirical and analytical use of images, then, blends with the relational idea of mixed-site case study. Singular cases cannot be understood in isolation from others, different tactical occupations of the same strategy come into relief, and multiple images, data sources and sites of analysis coalesce in the one (Hannerz 2003), rather than coordinating a nexus designed outwards from a researcher who appears to be neutral (à la grounded theory; Glaser & Strauss 1967), and to stand still (à la Eisenhardt 1989). In contrast with attempts to compare distinct cases as if their relational existence only exists when analysts pull them together, then, through combining multiple sites within one singular case, comparison reveals the irreducibility of images to any one individual site, and coordinates relational spaces of practice and study (Certeau 1984; Gustavson & Cytrybaum 2003) in which sides of researcher and researched (Becker 1967), and territories and boundaries of practice blur and melt together. Rather than the indistinctness of site boundaries being a problem as strategic readings of research methods literature might suggest, this makes the movement and blurring of boundaries and sites a study topic (Silverman 2005) to develop understanding of opportunity as imaginative experience.

The intention here, then, is not an attempt toward very rationally constructing clean cut explanations of opportunities being distinguished as clear-cut spaces that can be applied generally without resort to circumstance, but to hermeneutically understand (Dilthy 1984/1977; Van Maanen 1998; Van Manen 1990) their becoming at the prosaic level through sites of entrepreneurial speech and action that interact and contrast to highlight images emerging. The focus is on eliciting experiences of opportunity through the play between the strategic and the tactical, between different sites of human resources and material resource configurations developed over time, and how these sites relate to wider strategic settings. These experiences can then be re-related back to current strategic manifestations of opportunity recognition and the distinction made between actors and their settings. The interpretation is active and creative, and

an ongoing process which implicates scholars not because they are at a strategic distance of analysis, but because they are also character in the relational narratives of images.

3.2 Sampling

Traditionally case study is suggested having a strong initial theoretical or empirical orientation (Van Manen 1990; Eisenhardt; Yin 1984; Certeau *et al* 1998) to determine a likely sample population (a research "object") and begin recruiting actors. The study was sensitive to this approach by recruiting sites who between them related critically to the idea of opportunity and the antithetical relationship often assumed to exist in the lives of those becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce. Background secondary data collection, analysis (i.e. books, magazines, 'zines, web sites, videos, biographies, products, marketing literature, personal experience) and the pilot study revealed a potential target sample population relating critically to current strategic understanding of entrepreneurship and opportunity recognition.

The sample population remained ambiguous and enlarged: musical entrepreneurs in the Mersey Basin related to restricted notions of independence and tensions inherent to commercial interest and musical opportunities. Awkwardly it existed in the past: the 'second Merseybeat phenomenon' of 1980s Liverpool and members of wider 'Independent' musical business associated with 1970s and 1980s Great Britain. This made it an impossible population to study *in vivo*. However, proponents still practice, memories and metaphors endure, and agents still relate to wider formalised spaces of musical business. This reinforced use of a mixed site approach allowing longitudinal and comparative narration. Hence, it was difficult to define a target population, but possible to sample various sites, archetypes and images composing the relational space of musical opportunity recognition in and around the Mersey basin. Each site is critical (in Flyvbjerg's sense of helping re-imagine theoretical configurations of the 'subject'), and therefore in some disitinction from the other sites, but they each occupy formalised notions of entrepreneurship and opportunity and the various constructs, metaphors, resources and relations that fold in and out and interact within the case. Rather than then being generalizable, the thick narrative coordination enabled by a mixed-site approach reveals new ways to understand the emergence of images and elicit new beginnings.

Sites were recruited initially through make do convenience and tended toward purposive sampling as study developed and theoretical interest came into focus. Going on little adventures into territories of musical entrepreneurship (Fontana & Frey 2008; Van Maanen 1989; Malinowski 1922), magazines and musical products were bought, borrowed, exchanged, downloaded and pirated, gigs, events and music biz conferences were attended, local music shops (the trusty Probe Records) were conversed in, local and national radio was listened to, taxi drivers, gig goers, local music enthusiasts spoken to, historical familial ties to local entrepreneurs were re-made, bars frequented by musicians and populated by myths were socialised in, and ties created through the pilot study were developed. Eventually an overwhelming breadth of possible sites emerged and, though instrumental and strategic, sampling continued searching for sites able to disrupt the valediction of normative analyses. 5 sites was assumed a reasonable number to allow comparison and relational meaning to emerge between a diverse range of images, without falling into triviality or breadth over depth (Flyvbjerg 2011). Making contact was simple: they were emailed.

As contact developed the sites gained character and thickened. Two sites were reasonably well defined by distinct boundaries of practice and membership; another was amorphous and hard to distinguish conceptually, but became a grounding influence around which other sites were oriented; contact and participation with another site kept spiralling and leaving new invitations; another site kept expanding until boundaries of distinction fell away and as a researcher I teetered on 'membership' as my own human resources were absorbed. Many different members and moments of practice came in and out of focus within and between the sites, their boundaries were at times distinct and well defended, but their significance could never be divorced from their role and thickening effect within the wider case.

3.3 Data Creation

If the problem of understanding opportunities as situated within images is that they are relational; existing in the in-between spaces of entrepreneurial actors and constrained commercial settings, and, moreover, that they are mobile with the processual experiences of those becoming

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entrepreneurial, an approach to studying them must sensitive by treating them with reticence and care. Such an approach should not sit back, and try to gather these images; if they are always in motion, and cannot be located at the individual nor societal level, then they must be created with the relational and processual settings of mixed-site case study.

Combined with mixed-site case study, an ethnographic approach seems attentive to how Shackle and Penrose's set up the problem of studying actors' experiences and left fresh openings to engage with images. Ethnographic methods allow for the relational and processual nature of imaginative experiences to emerge, over time, with the mobility of actors' lives, and be coordinated between the researcher and the sites themselves. Moreover, by being there, in the day-to-day of organizational creativity, access is revealed to the thick and prosaic nature of tactics, without withdrawing too quickly, and restricting understanding to only superficial explanation afforded by strategies. Instead, often being there, as actors imagine, and coordinate their stories in their own ways, both through words and actions that are observed and followed and interacted with over time, strategic commonplaces are seen to be lived in unique ways and can build up the relational and processual nature of organizational creativity enacted through imaginative tactics. Images are emerging within study itself, their presence treated as always shifting, always extending into new spaces.

Active & Participatory

Different ethnographic methods are used between the sites. Each site enabled different kinds of access and method, and created different kinds of data, which meant that the kinds of interaction with each of the sites became in some ways a type of data and a way of developing ethnographic understanding. The strategic distinction of site boundaries and attempts to 'forget' the study interest in the hope of discovering 'pure' understanding (à la the mysticism of grounded theory) are done away with through a tactical approach that creates understanding in the relational space of researcher and researched. No one data creation method in particular dominates; the study combined, experimented, absorbed, dismissed, learnt various methods, lenses, approaches, and voices as deemed practical (Chase 2008; Reissman 1993; Certeau 1984). This made study a narrative accomplishment in itself. Study developed through make do bricolage (Certeau 1984),

using brief moments when it could, taking up what methods were at hand, and using multiple sources (primary, secondary, tertiary), and multiple voices speaking over one another as openings into images. The strategy did not intend toward scientistic triangulation (Denzin 1970, 1989; Flick 1998), which would reproduce a static nexus spiralling out from the researcher, assume a singular point of reference and concentrate on sites as discrete objects (Richardson & Adams St. Pierre 2008). The social and relational nature of images meant the sites were messy, and the vagueness of boundaries and territories, changing, unpredictable access, and multiple voices, sources of data, and difficulties in defining who was speaking, who was worth listening to and who was not meant that study was propelled by make do necessity. Practice could not be conveyed through one method alone, isolate actors, nor individual moments. The images could not be located at the individual level, to sites themselves, or as if simply collected from the minds of actors themselves. Images had to be created in the processual and relational setting of study. It is through trying to create images between myself as a researcher and between the contrasting sites, rather than trying to simply collect them, that the study is attentive to how images are processual and relational, always mobile, and impossible to simply pin down.

Hence it seemed more suitable to throw oneself into the territories and see what methods stuck. As Penrose went into factories, and Certeau went into homes and walked city streets, case study here entailed going into contrasting spaces of musical entrepreneurship in and around creative industries of the Mersey basin, and crossing boundaries within and between sites, spending time with different actors involved in the sites, reading up on their histories, hearing them being retold, talking to them as they work, and engaging with multiple openings. Research followed and engaged with these longitudinal experiences of images and becoming entrepreneurial.

Rather than the strategic distinction of researcher and researched (i.e. Becker 1967), a reflexive blending of active and participatory study (Holstein & Gubrium 1995; Freire 2004; Silverman 2005; Foot-Whyte 1991; David 2002) sets background influence to this approach, so too Penrose (1959/995) as it would be fallacious to suggest opportunities to understand entrepreneurial practice can be discovered and gathered without imposition of researcher habits. Action research and active interviews (Holstein & Gubrium 1995; Silverman) have a history in strategic spaces of learning where notions of membership are problematic (because of the relational nature of

understanding), power differentials exist between researched and researched and threaten to obscure tactical invention behind strategic representations (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 2004; Freire 1990; Willis 2000; David 2002; Certeau 1984). Traditional action-oriented approaches emphasise the emancipatory potential of study to amplify marginal voices, develop openings for lesser visible figures, and highlight study as creative and relational accomplishment (Foot-Whyte 1991; Freire 1990; Holstein & Gubrium 1995). It can be defined thus: "[c]ritical study dealing with real-life problems, involving collaboration, dialogue, mutual learning, and producing tangible results" (Denzin & Lincoln 2008:643). Proximity increases and the case thickens as the sites talk back, argue, ask questions of the researcher, challenge bias, and as researchers define background things to be re-described and inserted into sites (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009; Holstein & Gubrium 1995). Different experiences elicited from each of the sites are allowed to thicken the case study. Hence, actors involved in the sites were regularly asked to reflect on data developing, other members and different sites. The study was active because, rather than sitting back as grounded theory approaches might suggest, in varying intensities, I was actively involved in each of the sites, either through participating explicitly in the creation of tactics, or through suggesting strategic commonplaces that the sites would relate to in their own unique and imaginative ways. Through doing so study remains connected to real-life concerns of people effected, rather than top down assumptions of withdrawn policy makers or academics (in the sense that they are calculated from taking a panoptic view of the cases), and becomes iterative and more collective (Stringer 2007; Silverman 2005; Certeau 1984; Certeau *et al* 1998). Problems of representation (Marcus 1998) are reduced through trying to create thick meaning through interaction in the belief that insights into experience are relationally constructed between researcher and researched rather than able to be identified via singular sources and isolate moments (Kvale 1995). By remaining where it matters; in prosaic, everyday conditions, it was assumed an active approach would be entrepreneurial (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009), and have immediate impact (behavioural, contextual, procedural, and discursive).

However, the problematic notion of membership, advocacy and taking sides (Becker 1967; David 2002; Hammersley 2000) did still remain a point of reflection as access and the distinctiveness of boundaries varied betweeen the mixed sites. The boundaries to each site varied in their permeability and this effected proximity and length of study. While also with some sites

participation was invited and their image less visible (i.e. Geoff's Probe Plus seemed somewhat overlooked, a.P.A.t.T. to be purposively outside the canon of normative reference), with others it was not; they needed neither advocacy nor 'speaking up' for, and their commonly mediatized accounts instead needed re-relation with opportunity experience. Some (i.e. Barton and Boots) were also reluctant to be participated with, which meant I remained active only as a reflexive provider of strategic things to be re-related to during the writing up of narrated images (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 2004). Study remained "intellectual and practical", the researcher engaged and active in the sites but not 'one of them' (David 2002:12). Writing was exchanged (Gustavson & Cytrynbaum 2003; Duneier 1999) with and between sites where permitted for reasons of trustworthiness (Bryman 2001), iterative interpretation, ethico-political reasons, thickness was developed through contrasting and comparing sites during interviews, researcher bias and strategic presupposition oriented dialogue, and participation during entrepreneurial practice occurred where possible.

3.31 Inter-views

Certeau suggests speech and act imitate each other and that both can animate imaginative tactics. Interviews describing entrepreneurial practice are therefore an immediate method by which to elicit images in the play between the strategic and tactical. This was processed by interviews being the central means by which to present strategies in a direct way to actors and have them relate their own tactical images. Formal data creation therefore began using the central ethnographic strategy of semi-structured and unstructured one-to-one and group interviews (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 2002; Denzin 1989; Lofland 1971; Fontana & Frey 2008) as the primary focus around which to orient other tactics. Exploratory interviewing of one site (Drummond) by make do convenience pre-empted sampling. Interviews recorded by dictaphone and transcribed verbatim (sometimes weeks, at other times months later once participation and face-to-face interaction slowed) were conducted with all cases, repeatedly, depending on access. Understanding was developed over time through multiple methods and data sources in order to thicken the coordination of each site ordinary practice. Interviews were the central means by which to animate the simultaneity of speech and action (Certeau 1984; Schegloff 1991; Gartner 1993), and elicit trustworthy in-depth narratives.

'Inter-views' were treated as the study topic focusing all data creation (Silverman 2005), and rather than a neutral discovery or funnelling of data they were deemed a creative, and relational process of storytelling inviting multiple methods (Fontana & Frey 2008; Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 2002; Atkinson & Silverman 1997). Interviews intended to generate a "shared imagination" (Marcus 1998:122-123), and seemed to begin before switching the dictaphone on and continue after it was switched off. The idea of an inter-view or shared imagination guided the empirical approach to both sites and how they could thicken the case study. The idea of the inter-view, through being a way to feed the strategic case settings to the sites of unique human resources and material configurations was also central to the analytical approach. This approach mitigated problems of representation, composed more intense and life-like images, and animated images of organizational creativity. Relating researcher to researched and commonplace to particular, active interviews (Holstein & Gubrium 1995; Silverman 2005) captured entrepreneurship in its in-betweeness (Hjorth 2007; Steyaert 2007; Shackle 1979), oscillating between deduced in the most part identifiable formalised spaces (the realm of others, inheritance, history, social, myself as researcher) and particular imaginative use. They treated study as a relational accomplishment in order to compose relational realities (Gustavson & Cytrybaum 2003; Marcus 1998; Certeau 1984) both within the study of each site and the wider case study. Rather than simply attempting to collect images conceived to be problematic because they are relational and processual, by treating inter-views as a way to create a 'shared imagination' within and between the sites images were emerging within the relational process of study itself, being created through methods that treat them with reticence and care by being attentive to their problematic nature. Inter-views, then, are not just an empirical method, but also inherent to interpretation, and therefore able to develop a methodology of the image as a relational and processual presentation of opportunity as a imaginative experience.

The collective and creative way of composing entrepreneurial images via inter-views through face-to-face interaction contrasted between sites depending on varying access to entrepreneurial prosaics. Sites where only few interactions occurred limited rapport and restricted active and reflexive data creation. This lead to wider collection and in-depth analysis of secondary sources

and more liberal narrative reconstruction (Van Manen 1990). In turn, by also employing the idea of an inter-view as an analytical approach, through these contrasts images were animated.

Through taking an active approach that fed strategies to each site each interview focused on entrepreneurial practice and opportunity experience over time, and were oriented around specific moments of emergence, actors' 'beforeness', and how they tactically re-relate to strategic phenomena so that study could elicit opportunity coming in and out of focus with the transition of experience. The analytical strategy was to animate images in the play between the strategic and tactical, using sites as a way to approach human resources and unique physical resource configurations and how they animate images against the play of strategic settings. The interview schedule would intersperse in the most part identifiable strategic what's to orient dialogue (Gubrium & Holstein 1995, 2002; Kvale 1995, 2007, 2008; Silverman 1997, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln 2008; Reissman 1993; Gartner 2007), that participants and other methods coordinated as tactical how's to show how actors' images make a difference. Over time understanding of the sites thickened, and created a denser case study.

More formal interaction would often begin with open-ended (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994; Silverman 2005) questions like "... Can you begin describing the years or months leading up to...." a specific strategy (e.g. recording a single, scheduling a gig, tour, marketing a large festival, musical product, getting signed). Boots for instance was asked to describe her emergence as pop star, use of Youtube in marketing strategies and experience of opportunity within the formalised settings of a large corporate label. Barton was asked to describe the year leading up to the emergence of the nightclub Cream, what personal experiences and relations in Liverpool mattered, and in the second interview how the dance music festival Creamfields and formal practices like operations and marketing strategies developed. The others were engaged with through multiple openings and interview schedules would be designed prior to each encounter or were not employed. In early exploratory interviewing for instance Drummond was asked to describe his experience of independent culture in Liverpool and Britain, and as the interview became more participatory over time the emergence of his current core project, marketing strategies and personal experiences oriented dialogue in a more participatory context. The initiation of the Probe Records shop and specifically Davies' make do versatility in

generating capital and early personal experiences were regularly discussed in initial encounters, but dialogue tended toward eliciting entrepreneurial practice on a day to day basis as rapport grew. With a.P.A.t.T., initial dialogue was focused around the development of a music video, but as access became more proximal an almost overwhelming array of strategic whats were interspersed until a lifestory narrative developed. At other times various strategic props (posters, bags, advertising, mediatized marketing narratives, musical products, recent events) would be directly introduced to focus dialogue with the sites. The generalised settings or scheme of things would be set to be elaborated upon and re-described to create the structural residue common between sites. In turn to sites thickened and tightened the case study over time and images were animated. Tactical episodes of occupying formalised space were put into meaningful sequence, and spaces of play and decision were revealed opening up amidst dominant orders. Strategic spaces were seen to be occupied variously between the sites, entrepreneurship and opportunity to be composed and spoken about in different ways, institutional impress tendered differently, actors more or less subversive and practical. Put in some sequence the case study constantly thickened and new possibilities for the next encounter elicited.

An ethnographic approach also meant that access to thick prosaics of images was enabled with some of the sites. Interviews would flit between lifestory and focused episodes of practice, the two interacting with each other. Daytime routines would be described and would interrupt data creation before they too became insightful, and focus on structured topics would come and go as participants chose how prosaic and in-depth their answers could be, access permitting (Silverman 1997). Sometimes (when deemed pragmatic) participants were allowed to just speak, and interviews would then give way to everyday conversation, small talk, lazy afternoons, evening meals and late night parties, and, sometimes, roles of researcher and researched might even have been forgotten briefly (for Davies and a.P.A.t.T. at least). In these moments, strategy was lost within the thick and tactical everyday images of actors. Sometimes imposing structure was more necessary (at the start of interviewing and developing rapport for instance some focus was needed, with other sites when access and time were restricted imposing strategies increased efficiency). Previous interviews, increasing amounts of background primary, secondary and tertiary (i.e. others outside the site but making up the thickness of the case more generally) data creation and collection, contrasts between sites, personal experience and data from other study

strategies were introduced into conversation as *aide memoire* to orient a more iterative and relational shared imagination. Previous writing, interpretation, conference/journal drafts were discussed where permitted (Duneier 2000; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Voices, texts, storylines (O'Connor 2002) and other strategic things present in some sites or assumed prevalent in the case would be inserted and emplotted, questions would ask why this or that was omitted, minimised, inquire into wider settings and citations to understand how possibility emerges, images are remade, configured, authorised and connected with others 'outside'.

Access permitting participation also blended in the settings of interview as specific tasks oriented dialogue. With Geoff for instance after capturing a lengthy and overwhelming life story account dialogue turned to individual and collaborative practice and the possibility of redesigning the label website began focusing interaction, opening up site boundaries and creating connections between them (i.e. as the experienced General MIDI was invited in by Geoff to help redesign the site). Through doing so strategies and settings common within the case was shown experienced through an array of different tactics between the sites, and therefore thickened understanding of the relational settings of practice. Similarly with a.P.A.t.T. group dialogue over a series of encounters was oriented around the task of recompiling their Wikipedia entry as my own human resource and writing ability was absorbed. As study of a.P.A.t.T. gave way to greater access to a wider milieu of musical entrepreneurs in Liverpool extending out of the site boundaries into thickness of musical entrepreneurship in the Mersey basin, focused interviews were exchanged for make do recordings of meetings and brief encounters, and I played active role in meetings by designing tactical statements to pass authorities. Informal interviews, moments of focused group interaction, throwaway citations and authorisations were recorded by any means possible. The site was thickened by citing the wider case and those not operating within the site but inherent to its significance. As friendship developed with a.P.A.t.T. and Davies, and study gave way to more ordinary encounters, active participation completely limited any ability to retrieve unbiased description. Participation could not be distinguished from naturalistic setting, nor should it have been (Marcus 1998; Denzin & Lincoln 2008).

Conducted over the phone, in the luxurious surroundings of a corporate boardroom, backstage dressing rooms, on the road to gigs, canal towpaths, churches, gigs, parties, events, city parks,

museums, galleries, pubs, make-shift meetings in semi-derelict buildings, round at the shared flat of members of a.P.A.t.T., or the family home of Davies from where he runs Probe Plus, interviews had to make do with the territory and occupied the interstices of time between sites as actors went about their business. With a.P.A.t.T. in particular interviewing was not confined to discrete moments but would continue through chance encounters, and via long chats over Facebook, emails, phone calls, fragmented conversations, and storytelling covering months. As with Davies, particular topics would diverge, participation lead to collaborative entrepreneurial practice, new practice, and even collaborative research proposals that are still to be realised. I was eventually absorbed into a.P.A.t.T. as in-house researcher (hence being 'within' but remaining analytically 'outside') for purposes of compiling an a.P.A.t.T. book and writing other documents, and I also filmed many live performances, music videos, and played leading role in a music video. I worked on merch stalls for Davies and Probe at gigs, briefly promoted events for the label and consulted in the development of new releases and compilations. Likewise, as Drummond appropriated requests for interviews and turned territories of researcher and researched around, active participation occurred as I became a member in his current core project, and helped him organise performances and create illegal graffiti murals. Being embedded in the day to day practice of their becoming entrepreneurial thickened the prosaics to the images created.

With other sites (i.e. Barton and Boots) interviews more or less stayed within formalised settings and involved focused spoken interaction. They were less relational, creative and active, that coming later through combining with other methods, interpretation, and liberal reconstruction. With Boots and Barton, semi-structured interviews were the main data creation strategy and were combined tactically with in-depth secondary data analysis because access became restricted and other strategies non-viable. Thickness came through relating these sites within the wider case study and using the contrast between the sites to distinguish unique experiences.

At times, as with Geoff, a.P.A.t.T., and Drummond, as access developed, interviews were more a means of orienting early data creation and forming rapport before more active data creation began. On other occasions, an 'interview' would be awkwardly formal and restrict access to everyday practice by determining the kind of language life would be conveyed through.

Unfamiliar with how to relate to themselves as entrepreneurs actors would attempt to awkwardly squeeze their experience into orthodox scripts of entrepreneurial practice. At times this was inherent to the analytical approach. Imaginative tactics would play against strategic commonplace, illuminating the creation of images, and in some of the more strategic sites (Boots and Barton for instance), strategic narratives would be cited to develop legitimacy and authority. Yet at other times a formal interview approach would provoke actors to tell stories in ways that seemed alien to their practice. Direct questioning and explicitly relating experience to notions of entrepreneurship and opportunity with some of the sites seemed too strategic. Over time this changed as some sites gained greater understanding into normative ways of conceptualising practice and engaged in the theory developing. Interviews would give way to everyday conversation, small talk, hanging around, sometimes going completely off topic, at other times not being oriented around one but allowing strategic things to come in and out of focus, in depth descriptions and citations to form in ways unlikely with focused questioning. Moreover, while some were prearranged to occur at specific times and places (occurring with all initially, but remaining that way with those that permitted less access), when access was easier they would emerge spontaneously as insight was recognised coming into frame and the dictaphone was switched on. Formalised interviews with Geoff and a.P.A.t.T. in particular were difficult to identify, transcription unable to pinpoint definite beginnings and ends. Instead inter-views were elicited in a stricter sense as the empirical method would overflow into the thickness of everyday life. The study therefore made do, switching on the dictaphone and documenting when and where possible and deemed necessary.

3.32 Observation

Other data creation strategies combined with action interviews and enabled relational understanding, prolonged access, and greater thickness. Though the local music scene is not always a healthy academic environment the most immediate and constant strategy was participant observation (Whyte 1949; Silverman 2000; Angrosino 2008; Atkinson & Hammersley 1994 Lofland 1971). Observation was deemed to marry well with the inter-view as a study topic because data creation and the idea of images as mobile and relational suggests they never really stop being created. Through utilising observation images remained processual and

could not be properly located, instead they extended into my own life through interpretation of others' lives, as if I played the role of some of the foremost market connections or stakeholders to images. Observation allowed for action to be coordinated when actors themselves restrained themselves from comment. As the wider and more strategic case were coordinated by tactical sites, images were elicited.

Perception is the basis of all research methods; study observes and engages with things happening in the world (Adler & Adler 1994:389). But expanded into method it also allows greater intensity and thickness of coordination by comprising an "ethnography of the particular" (Abu-Lughod 1991:154 in Angrosino 2008:177), whereby studies access data otherwise unmentioned or invisible. Significant in understanding narratives performed through action and interaction as well as speech, participant observation enabled access to narrative processes occurring that were not animated through storytelling and interviews. Data creation would also continue when interview as method ceased or as the researcher spent long periods of time in the field without access or ability to use dictaphone (Angrosino 2008; Silverman 2005). In turn observation helped thicken the inter-view as topic. It thickened understanding of the sites by transcending defined boundaries into the wider site, and enabling access to the prosaics of everyday life; I could observe other agents coming and going in the sites, actors having to negotiate different audience members, other actors, families and relationships, the ghosts of convention, dominant orders and multiple voices speaking up or being minimised. Unspoken and unspeakable things became visible during observation that would be more complicated to convey through speech. Emotional states, habitual etiquette unaccustomed to by outsiders, daytime routines, the contexts and micro-situations of interviews, treatment of myself and interview, the settings events (i.e. musical performances and meetings, etc.) occurred in, who was and was not around, who was allowed access, who spoke a lot, who did not, nuances of voicing, body language, tensions, site politics and other aspects of everyday entrepreneurship were observed. Greater contrast and comparison was also enabled between sites to build up the relational thickness of the case, longitudinally, thereby building up connections and structural residue within but also between sites.

Through participant observation speech and action recorded through interview were put into proper context (Angrosino 2008). As Certeau (1984) suggests, discrepancy exists between the formality of writing and the tactical speaking it imitates. The former has the tendency to squeeze tactical inventiveness into strategic grammatical and syntactical form at the expense of understanding imaginative everyday practice. Richly textured cultural cues, rhetoric, sarcasm and other significances invisible to the naked eye reading transcriptions months later become blurred and meanings obscured without being observed in real life. Through documenting and interpreting conditions and interactions as they happen this richness and thickness to tactics is not lost. Through participating, moreover, images were not located at the individual but elicited in a relational way by the process of study itself.

Observation was often quite ordinary, simply being with actors as they went about their everyday lives in business. Observation would occur by simply sitting around at performances, attending meetings, waiting as actors prepared to perform, rehearsed, conversed with others, spoke on the phone, arranged events, coordinated others and resources, filmed music videos, worked at gigs, or otherwise went about their normal practice. Observation filled the spaces between other methods and amplified the details, therefore thickening the understanding of the sites themselves and allowing the wider case to be studied as if within the site even actors did not explicitly comment. Sometimes observation would be ongoing shadowing (McDonald 2005; Czarniawska 2007), and I would follow people round their ordinary daily practice, other times it would be active by blending with ongoing interviewing (Angrosino 2008) to make up the more general inter-view of the case. Observation turned being there but not knowing what questions to ask or what things to say into social scientific method, thickening understanding of the sites, and allowing them to refract with the more strategic case context to animate images.

As Angrosino (2008) notes citing Lofland (1971), though, observation then became difficult to distinguish from participation, as observers have difficulty distinguishing themselves as neutral onlookers from the contexts they investigate. This problem of representation was tactically reinterpreted as another invitation to become active within the territory. Participant observation became active most explicitly, for instance, when I was absorbed into the settings of a.P.A.t.T. for the purpose of hiring an unpaid cameraman to continue their ongoing self-documenting

project. Rather than sitting round redundant as others conversed and practised, active participant observation within the site occurred regularly as I was called upon to film numerous projects. Similarly, when participating with Geoff and Probe Plus through working on merch stalls, promoting online, and through fly postering around Liverpool, and as a strong rapport developed, where study stopped and friendship began was difficult to distinguish. Those less open to participation (i.e. Barton and Boots) were more difficult to observe in practice and interaction was contained within the formalised settings of the interview and hence data relies more on interviewing, other methods, data sources and more liberal reconstruction.

Observation also involved ongoing interaction and interpretation of sites online. I connected or 'made friends' with their avatars via Facebook and other mediums, made regular weekly or monthly sweeps of the online space to coordinate practice longitudinally, and at other times had close and personal online interaction with some of the sites. a.P.A.t.T. and Post Music were observed and interacted with online for a period of two years, tending toward more active participation (i.e. collaborative promotion, personal, far reaching chats) as rapport formed and I was absorbed as human resource. The sites would be observed promoting events, making connections with others, configuring resources, their everyday lives would be conveyed through throwaway citations, and as their online presence was interacted with some insightful or critical observations were uploaded for response. Barton, Cream and Boots heavily use Facebook and other online mediums to promote events, products, broadcast competitions and retrieve market data. They were observed interacting with audiences for a period of one and a half years. The distinct lack of Geoff and Probe Plus's presence online on the other hand lead to questioning and participation as the researcher was invited to redesign the label website with a member of a.P.A.t.T. Products were bought from Drummond's online front, his overwhelming background approached through primary and secondary data collection and analysis, emails were exchanged, and a list of questions answered and posted online in his '100 Questions' project. Online observation was treated as an extension of the methods used offline as the online space was not originally determined as a data source but opened up through ongoing case analysis. Neither was it clear where boundaries of online and offline are distributed. Through observing and interacting with the sites online and offline, and treating them as sites within a wider more strategic case,

unique images of becoming entrepreneurial were presented against the wider commercial settings.

3.33 Field Notes

Because of the varying nature of access to each of the sites, the longitudinal nature of data creation, and processual nature of practice, real time theoretical and personal field notes (Cerwonka and Malkii 2007; Chase 2008) were developed throughout the study. Observation and field notes were constant means of composing the inter-views between the sites and case. They enabled constant comparison between sites (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Eisenhardt 1991), and an iterative (Certeau 1984) to'ing and fro'ing both the tactical sites and more strategic case setting, and between theory and interpretation. Combined with ongoing observation and collection of secondary data they helped compose thicker longitudinal and relational images. Preformatted marketing stories told by some sites (i.e. Barton and Boots), as interviews were treated as they would any other they undertake in their ordinary practice, were extended across different audiences in order to thicken understanding of the site, and omitted episodes or particularly mediatized interpretations could be brought into question. Combining other exploratory methods highlighted different perspectives on their story, and pulled the curtains back to allow backstage unobserved blots on their smooth histories to emerge.

Taken on the fly, at gigs, nights out, at meals, meetings and other encounters, field notes eventually filled 25 small note books and saturated mobile phone memory space. Often throw away but insightful comments were jotted down, returned to later, added to and pondered, and late night theoretical epiphanies were recorded and sometimes relayed to sites. Field notes also allowed my own emotional sensate self to out itself (Cerwonka & Malkii 2007; Chase 2008), therefore not treating images as located at the individual level but allowing them to emerge relationally within the process of study. The frustrating experience of decreasing access and interest in the study as Boots' celebrity expanded, for instance, lead to interview data being combined with ongoing secondary data collection and analysis. A notepad and pen were always present, and enabled study to continue via interpretive description when interviews or participation had stopped. They elicited the longitudinal and relational nature of study, allowing

the sites to be related together more easily, with a greater degree of thickness to their prosaics, and the wider case to be drawn into the sites to illuminate unique experiences of more strategic settings. As with observation, the method became means of participating, and my human resource being absorbed, as at regular meetings of coordinators involved with Don't Drop the Dumbells I took the role of minute keeper. Minutes kept and some observations and field notes were then uploaded and relayed to members of that site. Images were elicited in the play between tactical sites and more strategic case settings, and their coordination thickened over time.

3.4 Interpretation

The familiar linear progression of data collection, interpretation, and relation of sites into a more general representation of the case settings immediately fell away as study undertook early exploratory interviews before initiating sampling, the interpretation of which developed theoretical insight and became a grounding influence for the other sites. Following tenets of action research, interpretation was not imposed one-sidedly by only myself, after data collection had concluded, but attempted to involve actors in developing the thickness of inter-views and images as topic, understanding study as a creative longitudinal and relational accomplishment. Interpretation was ongoing and iterative, to'ing and fro'ing between tactical sites and back to strategic case settings to animate images in which commercial setting and organizational creativity blend in actors' experiences of becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce. Through developing rapport with those sites that permitted greater access insights made were then able to be far more wide ranging and imaginative and were able to open up new ways of actors understanding their lives rather than worrying too much about definitive and forever valid representation (Willis 2000; Thrift 2007; Marcus 1998). Through strong rapport with two sites (a.P.A.t.T. and Geoff) study directly contributed to their practice, and how they understood themselves as entrepreneurial actors and composed images. In summary, images were treated as if being animated in the play between the strategic and tactical.

When restricted access determined how interpretation was enacted, it did then become the traditional withdrawn process of sitting down and highlighting themes and episodes of action within interview and story transcripts. At other times, access permitting, interpretation would be

performed in the context of field notes or through conversation with and between sites, text messages, and questions asking into the significance of this or that strategic relation. Interpretation was make do, depending on access. Of course, it never really stopped either, continuing through the process of writing, right up the very last moment before submission (Richardson & St. Pierre 2008). Hereby the process of study was seen as an iterative, collective and creative accomplishment whereby understanding comes in and out of focus and is used to develop further insight rather than something that is applied to data after it is collected by neutral social scientists.

This constant, iterative approach finds background influence from Certeau (1984), Kvale (1995; 2007), and Richardson & St. Pierre (2008). Certeau suggests the tacking and jibing approach limits the tendency of tactical invention to be subsumed in strategic form, instead allowing the tactic to stand up against a background of normative convention. The use of a mixed-site case approach was useful here because the idea of a case allowed for more strategic relations to be represented in ways that mattered in the imaginative experiences of musical bricoleurs and images of organizational creativity could illuminate a blending of creativity and commerce. Kvale (1995, 2007) extends this, suggesting that trustworthy (Bryman 2001), or authentic (Silverman 2005), interpretation is relationally constructed within and between sites, tending to structural residue coming into focus as interpretation continuously develops and falls away before picking up again through more interaction. Rather than two-dimensional objects with singular points of reference (the colourful but flat, thin quilts of effectuation), images were created that animated varying intensities of pressing influences and reflected researcher imposition (Richardson & St. Pierre 2008). This was seen as a writerly, creative, and imaginative (Willis 2000) process rather than a scientific discovery. Mess was seen as a good thing (if not overwhelming at times), allowing for more intense and interesting images that reveal how connections are made and beginnings open up in more general and identifiable narratives of opportunity experience.

As noted already, interpretation focused on images being made and remade against a background of formalised spaces and was informed by Certeau's tactics and strategies and accompanied by his other narrative coordinating points. It was basic narrative interpretation, whereby strategic

what's gleaned from Penrose, background reading, and personal experience, were re-related to by the sites as tactical how's (Dingwall 1997; Gubrium & Holstein 1995, 2004; Kvale 1995, 2007; Silverman 2000, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln 2008; Ricouer 1990; Reissman 1993; Gartner 1993). Entrepreneurial tactic would be counterposed and related to normative business and ways of conceptualising entrepreneurial opportunity found in the wider case settings. At a broad level this was coupled with an early reading of Boje (2001) who distinguishes between ante-narratives and anti-narratives; the former emphasising stories being always in the making and unfinished, the latter emphasising them sometimes purposively challenging the strategic normative whats and existing configurations that are set up by researchers. Hereby, interpretation began with sampling as sites were purposively chosen with critical edges able to challenge existing narratives of entrepreneurship and ways of conceptualising opportunities. Interpretation then continued throughout the process of data creation through constantly counterposing in images their novelty against a background painted with commonplace brush strokes (Certeau *et al* 1998).

A structure of strategic commonplaces compose the wider case settings the sites relate in their own images and that are related in the process of study. Each of the sites had a few that seemed to orient their practice and be useful for developing the trajectory of the case study. Central is the strategy of recording musical products, which could be imaginatively related to by each of the sites. Some of the sites also organized public events, like musical performances, which distill a few material resources, business configurations, and types of venue, for instance, assumed to be necessary to engage. Promotional videos for recorded products is another central strategy, and some of the sites could be fed a formalised idea of how a promotional video might be released in the inter-view setting, or their practice could be transposed against formalised ideas of promotional videos and the kind of resources and configurations assumed necessary during narrative interpretation. Each of the sites involved multiple strategies, and their tactics would often poach from others, and combine them.

4 Historical and Institutional Settings of Musical Entrepreneurship

Initial description of the historical and institutional case settings and the formalised strategies actors encounter in musical business can prepare them to be re-related to by the sites to coordinate images. Efforts to articulate this narrative heritage the sites negotiate in imaginative ways though encounter a very long beforeness, since musical opportunity has been commercialized for centuries. Narrators must also decide whether to read the symbolic presence to history of musical opportunity strategically or tactically. Narrators who read it strategically might omit some of this beforeness and make more ordinary domestic music making invisible through concentrating on the more dramatic episodes of creative destruction. Rare heroic characters like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in the 18th and 19th centuries might be posed commercialising occupations and passions for live performance that had existed for thousands of years before. Read from a strategic distance, formal boundaries between ordinary musical folk and musical producers might be distinguished, and consumers and aspiring musical actors might seem as if they passively accepted strategic ways of becoming musical by unimaginatively consuming others' compositions distributed by institutions like Tin Pan Alley and reproducing them at home. More tactical readings more attentive to opportunity prosaics and the creativity of ordinary musical folk, on the other, hand might emphasise the proliferation of styles of making do over time as a silent majority of ordinary domestic music makers operating in folkloric myth and in pubs and homes across towns and villages put strategies and plots to imaginative use. In these tactical readings the settings of musical business are not only remembered for a dominant order distributing normative ways of becoming musical but also for the imaginative ways these have been recomposed.

Keeping first at a strategic distance so the generally identifiable settings of musical business can be described, these have been shaped most by how Thomas Eddison's invention of the phonograph around the turn of the 19th century transformed the nature of musical opportunity and developed the existing market for distinct and easily exchanged and traded musical products. Recording the musical product changed in what ways people became musical. Already invited to by sheet music businesses that allowed consumers to reproduce the works of others in home settings, ordinary musical folk were drawn further away from concert halls and public events and

began listening to records produced by others. Meanwhile, aspiring musical actors increasingly turned to the material product to commercialize their practice and have their productions distributed more widely. Yet the scale of material resources required to produce and distribute musical products incurred those without the resource bundles and business configurations to distinguish musical opportunity and distribute musical products in economically viable ways became excluded and powerful centres of power set up composed of those that could. Isolating mechanisms such as costs of recording, production and publishing equipment, expensive studio time, plant availability, copyright regulations, venue types (increasingly for larger crowds), restrictions around necessary resources and knowledge, and ongoing concentration of formalised space around a few very large vertically integrated corporations in turn restricted who and how actors could engage in musical commerce.

Narratives of musical business history are also marked by ordinary culture being absorbed and commercialized, tactical practice being co-opted, strategies being redistributed, and the most popular acts around being brought into existence via global corporations with the necessary clout of material resources (Frith 1986). Those able to wield strategies and resources to record musical products in economically viable ways competed over efficiency savings such as economies of scale produced through very high selling musical products and poured resources into ever more efficient recording and production technologies. Meanwhile, actors making the music consumers bought became isolated from its translation into commercial service and received only a fraction of the wealth created, and boundaries of control and influence defined territories of audience, musical entrepreneur, and musical management. The upshot of this is that strategic opportunity plots emerged that involved aspiring musical actors signing contracts and out-sourcing compositions to the better equipped formalised space, as if opportunity itself was concealed within global corporations or obscure market settings needing to be deciphered to give them up. But aspiring musical actors only got this 'big break' if the larger and more commercially driven firms could predict their musical products could be sold in high enough quantities to return the vast amounts spent on their production. Because these breaks were so rare other plots also emerged in which sometimes quite ordinary entrepreneurs (in the sense that they too emerged from everyday practices of playing gigs around places like Liverpool and singing about quotidian experience) became global pop stars that consumers and other musical actors found

hard to relate to other than as icons and idols. The Beatles, for example, were some of the first characters in this opportunity plot and it was on the back of their popularity, the strategic isolating mechanisms employed by formalised spaces they connected to and the common acceptance of the conditions within which they operated and were experienced that powerful corporations grew larger and drew more authority.

These strategies to record music and capture musical opportunity as distinct thing, associated policies to promote, perform and distribute them as things and services, boundaries between entrepreneurs, audiences and larger businesses historically dependent on the material nature of music constitute the habitualized dominant order many others have had to negotiate. The history of musical opportunity in turn is marked by particular opportunity plots and modes of becoming musical being embedded in musical consciousness through the distribution of commercial strategies and the role of large corporations with the necessary resource bundles to actualize discovered opportunities being amplified.

Music has always played a major role in most people's everyday lives, but up until the emergence of a few tactical images shook the dominant order, the development of these settings and plots meant musical creativity meant it was easy to think those who 'made it' resembled the rare and inimitable supermen associated with entrepreneurial history and that musical practices were largely homogeneous. Yet though aspiring musical actors have been constrained and had to to make do with these commercial settings, they remained versatile and their images have been imaginative and fruitful. Tactical narratives also exist for instance of boundaries of influence moving and refocusing, marginal human resources being revealed, new plots emerging, and versatile images recomposing relations and resources into incentive and style (Frith 1986; Bourdieu 1993; Stratton 1982; Lee 1995).

Narratives of musical history, then, are also emplotted by the successive comings and goings of strategic influence as well as tactical images. Various tactical images could be posed from this symbolic history that recompose it in imaginative ways. There is tactical irony as well as subversion amongst them, strategically defined opportunities, droll humour involved in formalised production, as well as more messy tactical inventions. The dominant order has invited

its own subversion, and actors have been imaginative and found commercial success despite exclusion and strategy. Some have been strategic as well as tactical at the same time. A good example of a figure afforded power and control via the restrictions commonly experienced with recording strategies is Pete Waterman et al's 'hits factory' which during the late 1980s and 1990s employed an 'assembly-line' that divided labour between three withdrawn producers each playing their own strategic role in writing lyrics, composing music, and producing hit records. The factory absorbed current musical and cultural trends like 'Hi-NRG' dance music, took soulified samples, repackaged and commercialized underground sounds for the masses, drew legitimate authority through citing the popular Motown record label, and established all inclusive recording and publishing deals that saw musicians' publishing rights become wrapped up in 'artist development' contracts. The assembly line manufactured the music and lyrics and treated front stage singers as disposable quantities added as the songs neared completion and even replaced them during distribution. Normative opportunity plots suggesting musical entrepreneurs need managing by more strategic business savvy label managers, A&R personnel and other specialised agencies were affirmed and the popstar, though influencing millions, was sometimes posed as a weak icon manipulated by evil commercially driven puppeteers omitted from view. Meanwhile, the factory made many millions of pounds, dominated the charts for a while, and Waterman is still visible on prime time television authorising which aspiring actors have the necessary potential to become pop stars signed to big businesses pouring in large amounts of capital and resources to get chart hits.

This is a particularly interesting historical site because Waterman's *et al's* practice recalls the determinism by market setting and resource bundles and the restricted interest in profit and status the ION and some social constructionist entrepreneurial theorists suggest characterises opportunity recognition. Writing songs for unlikely musical actors like the World Wrestling Federation All Stars (a motley crew of the most popular American wrestlers), and Australian television soap celebrities, Waterman's factory is iconical of a strategic gaze that spies market openings, adsorbs cultural trend, simulates legitimate signifiers, calculates likely hits and installs isolating mechanisms eliciting position affirming behaviours. There is a tactical irony, in that an organized music making machine could turn almost any figure in a desirable commercial object,

but also a strategic gaze in full effect defining opportunities in market settings and making well defined predictions for likely wealth creation.

4.1 Independent Musical Business in Britain 1970-

Other tactical sites have perhaps been more imaginative. The history of musical production is characterised by exchanges that have gone both ways as technologies, practices and symbols have moved between the formalised space and more tactical spaces (Frith 1986; Hesmondalgh 1999, 2007; Stratton 1982; Peterson & Berger 1971; Frasogna & Hetherington; Lee 1995; Montanari & Mizzau 2007). Hits factories have probably always existed (e.g. Tin Pan Alley, Motown) alongside other tactical spaces (e.g. 1950s Skiffle, 1960s Eel Pie Island, Frank Zappa's 63 self-produced albums, R. Stevie Moore's 400 self-produced and distributed albums, Eric's Club in 1970s Liverpool, Pete Namlook's independent ambient record label, and the German ECM label- all of whom sparred and interlocked with more strategic relations), some of whom even became large strategic centres of power (e.g. Island, Virgin, and Factory were early mould breakers).'Others' such as these operated in interstices vacated or ignored, created their own spaces and drew knowledge, meaning and value through tactically re-relating to the dominant order in narratives and images. While the institutional history has not been sympathetic to aspiring artists, then, it has not precluded the emergence of other images of becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce.

Another interesting historical example of these fruits afforded by constraint and the exchanges made between the opposing spaces of production is the so-called independent movement in musical business associated with Britain that was active from the 1970s onwards. It is interesting because of the imaginative way in which the intimacy of cultural creativity and commercial setting was tactically recomposed. Actors are shown becoming entrepreneurial through taking to musical commerce imaginatively. 'Independent' space of style and incentive was created by making do and occupying the strategic order. The movement was less democratically motivated and polemic than the punk rock that preceded it (Hesmondalgh 1999), but the bohemians and small businesses involved still drew cultural legitimacy and symbolic presence through relating to ongoing 'institutional politics' between strategic and tactical spaces (Hesmondalgh 1999:38,

2001, 2007; Stratton 1982; Frith 1986). Images amplified these relational politics to authorise themselves within narratives that pose large, powerful, well-equipped but conservative institutions against young, small and under-resourced actors and businesses. Narratives posed commercial interest in contrast to cultural creativity (Stratton 1982; Frith 1986), global corporations in control of large territories of musical business and more commercially oriented bricoleurs like Waterman emotionally disconnected from the well defined but superficial pop tunes they produced became counterposed against a mass of invisible actors having to make do and invent space. Bricoleurs and their audiences emplotted their practice with 'authentic' ideals (Frith 1986), and revealed their heritage in myths, folklore and Puritan ideals of musical production (Fonnarow 2004) that were amplified by the separation drawn between agents and the more commercially interested strategic order. The tactical space created value and legitimacy via connections to romanticised notions of the independent actor (Becker 1984; Bourdieu 1996:167), as if they were isolated from the 'impure' commerce others encountered their wares through and that set background influence to their practice. Very similar practices and policies were still enacted; songs and albums were recorded for specific formats, performances staged, actors mostly still opted out of manufacturing and distributing their goods (or could not see how to do so themselves), and still distinguished musical opportunity as clear-cut spaces. But it was how the tactic depended on human resources of market expectation and common experiences of becoming musical to authorise itself and how constraint was imaginatively recomposed as incentive and style that mattered. Independence was cited but it depended on formalised spaces and powerful metaphors of musical business and figures involved to become socially valuable. Images recomposed their symbolic history, were versatile enough to disrupt normative opportunity plots by creating opportunities through restless struggle and challenged the role of large corporations. Images of organizational creativity in turn show actors becoming entrepreneurial through negotiating the tensions inherent to musical commerce.

The commercially disorganized punks before the emergence of so-called independent practice were more critical and subversive (though they too by then were becoming absorbed and turned to commercialized simulacra), but commerce was explicitly and tactically engaged with by independent actors (Hesmondalgh 1999). A national distribution network for musical products produced by non-mainstream supported artists and businesses called 'the cartel' was established

between central players in independent business. Picking up on what was happening in written word and graphical publishing elsewhere, a mass of marginalized artists and unconnected independent record shops and businesses joined up shared means and established a complete independent commercial system. Less all or nothing reliance on large corporations was gained (except perhaps in marketing narratives), previously underground musical products were more easily sold through the growing number of small independent record shops, boundaries and territories briefly fell away or became less distinct, marginal human resources were revealed (market expectation and common experiences of becoming musical), and many more picked up opportunity plots in which they are created and constraint becomes imaginatively re-related to as style. Actors previously unlikely to attain celebrity status were consumed in mass quantities (e.g. The Smiths), and as the market expanded a strong independent culture developed. Constraints were embedded in practice through collectivising and lo-fi culture that animated the struggle to onlookers, but organizing it efficiently and meaningfully for all those involved was still problematic.

Tensions remained within this tactical space and the very same practices that had previously alienated actors from their creativity mostly inherited, but by making do with their settings 'independence' became an authorial declaration that personally and social valuable images of being-in-business were being composed. Through re-relating to the historical dominant order, rather than ignoring it, new spaces of tactical practice emerged that audiences found increasingly culturally and commercially valuable.

The assumption that independent entrepreneurs struggled with their role as commodity producers (Frith 1986; Stratton 1982) falls away here because, as Hesmondalgh (1999:41) notes, tensions between cultural creativity and commercial settings did not preclude imaginative tactics but rather became embedded within valuable images as narrative connections to a wider history that authorised the tactic. Actors' versatility posed their settings as constraint and tactically recomposed them as incentives to practice and style. At one moment symbolically omitting the unmissable backdrop of normative musical commerce the next minute actors and audiences re-related to their settings to reveal how more and imaginative commerce could be composed from the cinders of historically more powerful business. Value perceived was a relational one,

revealed by actors occupying an in-between space as their images re-related to the historical and institutional environment and commonplace consumer experiences of musical commerce. The independent movement, then, is one historical example of actors becoming entrepreneurial through the tensions inherent in musical commerce, suggesting early on that organizational creativity and constrained commercial settings are not in antithesis but can provoke creativity.

The distinctiveness of what was independent or not became more fuzzy and uncertain over time as styles of practice were imitated and reproduced as distinct genres, plots, or modes of musical and opportunity experience. Charged with criticism that it 'sold out' (Lee 1995), the separation of labels like Virgin, Creation and Factory Records became concealed. As any resistance became organized and increasingly socially valuable, their institutional presence extended beyond the control of those involved still assumed to be in heroic control of the narrative. During the 1990s narrative declarations of independence made before then became assimilated back into the commercial settings they distinguished themselves from, and independent music stopped signifying independent business tactics and began signifying a musical aesthetic of simulated lo-fi production and jangly guitars non-independent corporations could imitate too. Popular entrepreneurial stars still filled stadiums and reduced teenage girls to tears, indie artists re-signed to major labels, and backstage practices and relationships mattered less to consumers. Tension between cultural and commercial creativity was observed falling away as labels like Creation (Hesmondalgh 1999:42) took bands like Oasis (once, very briefly, assumed the epitome of 'indie style' that had historically been the outcome of imaginative re-relation to circumstantial constraints) to the top of national and international sales charts.

While all this was happening many new tactical spaces were emerging and being heard. Successive waves of developments in recording formats increasingly accessible by less established musical entrepreneurs, dropping costs of necessary technologies, the subsequent reduction in isolating mechanisms and agents' inalienable tactical versatility revealed more spaces to occupy, weaknesses, and valuable narratives to emplot. The formalised space absorbed independent style and commercialized it to the extent that it became just another cultural trend that lost its original significance and potency, but other tactical images like Grunge rock and Jungle emerged and set new beginnings.

Examining these images and narrative declarations of breaking free (Rindova *et al* 2009) to find independence, they are interesting because of how difficult they are to make sense of in the context of opportunity recognition as a way to understand organizational creativity. Recalling the dominant ION perspective (Shane 2000; Shane & Venkataraman 2000), entrepreneurial opportunities are conceptualised strategically as independent spaces that emerge exogenously with objective natures edged with commercial interest. Actors are posed rationally and instrumentally searching for and discovering commercial opportunities rather than creating them from the residue of everyday life and a tendency to emphasise only material resource bundles and economic knowledge is emphasised (Shane 1997; Shane & Venkataraman 2000). Opportunity experience of composing and recomposing images of being-in-business is ignored as the practical and instrumental conscience strategically distinguishes the opportunity as spaces that are independent from the activities of musical actors. Here too though the opportunity is stylized formally; as an independent entity cut free from the institutional history re-related to in the narrative, as if it emerged in market isolation and was discovered with an objective nature. Proper opportunity language (Gartner et al 2003) was used; separation between activity and the environment was stylized, the same sorts of strategies and ways of distinguishing possibility imitated, and as Simon Down (2010:6) suggests (significant because he was one of these independent bricoleurs), all this independence and the sometimes highly critical and aggressively individualist punk rock seemed to reify the strong neo-liberal ideals of autonomous creation that Thatcher and Reagan propagated around the time. Some tried to disrupt or negate their own historical and institutional settings, others emplotted their practice with Puritan ideals of myth and folklore, but relations and resources had significance as images were articulated in narratives that re-related to the more general backdrop. This makes the notion of independence problematic because it defines an economic opportunity strategically by making creativity and opportunity experience pre-empting it invisible and by not revealing the thicker intertextual nature of the entrepreneurial image and its narrative heritage in many different types of value, knowledge and relations. Citing independence is a strong declaration; as a boundary in the narrative it negates the historical and institutional environment (Penrose 1959/1995) it tactically re-relates to and has practice tactically occupying the strategic notion of opportunity, but little insight is given as to

the beforeness and in-betweeness involved in opportunity experiences of composing images and creating social value.

A table can pose some strategic elements of entrepreneurial images of independent musical practice so that they are animated in appearances that might matter to actors and how they emerged and picked up value is revealed.

Table 3: Elements of Entrepreneurial Images of Independent Musical Business 1970-

	Strategy	Tactic
Relations	Recorded musical product and formats (albums, singles, bands, live performance, merchandise). Global corporations and concentration. Territories of producer and consumers. Constraints and exclusions as to who and how actors might engage in musical commerce (opportunity plots). Progression of recording formats. Regulations & copyrights. Family, friends, icons, idols, celebrities, pop music. Contracts, specialist personnel, oriented around material product. London. Radio, music charts, genres, fashion. Previous tactical movements, genres and figures (most immediately Punk Rock music), local and national scenes, audiences, other entrepreneurs, bohemia, punk anarchy. Institutional politics & independent publishing more	Re-distribute boundaries of production and consumption. Accept strategic formats as drivers of versatility. Emphasise opportunity plots of creation. Lo-fi aesthetics related to dominant order. Separation as authentic expression. Resist natural desire in profit and status.

	generally. Disconnected independent record shops, underground and domestic music makers Market interstices vacated or ignored. Romanticised isolate artist, notions of authenticity, Puritan ideals, Neo-liberal culture of autonomous creation	
Material Resources	Constraints and isolating mechanisms of cost of production; decreasing costs of production, plant, equipment, etc.	Re-relate to constraint as incentive and lo-fi style. Lack of material resources as driver of human resources like versatility.
Human Resources	Qualifications and training in musical production practices, personal and social experiences of becoming musical, market expectation and demand, nostalgia. Available labour and information from local and national scenes, power of crowds to mobilize. Knowledge of state of the arts. Entrepreneurial versatility, judgement, imagination.	Frustration, anger, alienation. Power differentials as authorisations of authentic creativity. Exploit decreasing costs of state of the arts recording, versatility to resist pull of state of the arts. Collectives organize production of products, establish national network, connect disconnected businesses and actors, redistribution of boundaries releases labour and human resources like musical passion and desire. Desires new spaces in becoming musical.

4.2 The Territory

Fast forward to today and though much has changed, strategies and boundaries between aspiring musical actors and established industry mostly remain, but seem seriously destabilized by many more cracks and openings revealed through the successive waves of technological development distributing entrepreneurial knowledge and invitations between strategic and tactical spaces of musical production (Frith 1986). Recent digitalization of musical products for instance is enabling for some and problematic for others because by making music invisible it deterritorializes it from historical formats and spaces of consumption that affirmed the position of institutions relying on its material nature. Products actors grew up saving their pocket money for (yet they pirated or otherwise 'stole' musical products) are now often expected to be experienced for free and sales of recorded formats dropped rapidly since Napster emerged around the millennium (down 5.6% to 113.2m in 2011, BPI 2012 'Official Charts Company' figures). Self-sufficient promotion and distribution historically restricting less powerful musical entrepreneurs as to the range of markets they could reach are now more possible via information communication technology affording agents access to online social networks (e.g. Alex Day whose debut single sold 50k through an online digital sales service in a week in 2011, making him reach #4 in the Official Christmas Singles Chart (MusicWeek 2011). Gift economy (Barbrook 1998, 2002) business models have bands giving musical products away for free to exploit the free social labour of cybernetic communities more willing to support them and the greater interest in live performance expected in return; if they don't it gets pirated by a mass of musical consumers more savvy with new technologies. Trailblazing bands like Radiohead exploit historical advantage won via high selling material formats whilst connected to the formalised space to create new entrepreneurial spaces for themselves and others by inviting audiences to choose the commercial worth of their creativity (Morrow 2009). Optimistic theorists speak of new beginnings in narratives of musical history that pose formalised spaces as citations of a historically dominant order whose reason and influence is being increasingly eroded (Kusek & Leonhard 2005). Crowds mobilize through ubiquitous internet technologies and allow individual actors to compete with big business through reduced transaction costs (Shirky 2008). The architecture of online spaces distributes an organizational atmosphere (Borch 2010) that threatens to further undercut the presence of historical relations that helped create it

and makes structures like boundaries and territories difficult to distinguish. Fans promote their own and others' bands, hypertext fills the spaces between disparate global communities isolated by thousands of miles but connected through aesthetic genre and means, localised communities create denser and more efficient rings of communication and exchange (Shirky 2008). Meanwhile, significant musical voices (e.g. Eno 2011 in Morley 2010) suggest recorded music is becoming as worthless and useless as whale blubber did during the 1840s when gas lighting was introduced. Those holding it struggle to find value in its sticky constraints; those chasing the light of new uncertainties reintroduce the excitement back into becoming musical.

Digitalization and these other changes to historical and institutional settings seem to constitute a significant shift in modes of production as the advantage and influence of historical figures is undercut, but it remains to be seen whether the changes will amount to the dramatic Schumpetarian creative destruction of those very institutions charged with designing the new technology but unable to reconfigure their businesses to fully realize its effects. Historically marginal voices are perhaps more amplified but must still compete with much louder voices and more powerful others joining who absorb others' passions into social labour oriented toward their own strategic ends (Hesmondalgh 2010; Coté & Pybus, 2011; Lazzaratto 2001; Terranova 2004; Hardt & Negri 2000). Of course the big four record companies (Sony BMG, Warner Music Group, Universal Music Group, and EMI) and their subsidiaries still also remain, and are still much more able to wield these technologies and engage with much greater numbers of punters. As happened with indie, potential musical opportunities and the social value of make do tactics is being repackaged by powerful forces for mass consumption (it being difficult again to distinguish who is and is not independent or strategic as the boundaries are so frothy). The strategic gaze surveils practice ever more closely, tightens cybernetic webs by tallying behaviours and making calculations to predict and manipulate market response, and still holds control of material resources necessary to distinguish emerging voices from the cacophony of others.

Invitations to practice are perhaps more visible but actors must still imaginatively re-relate to their settings, which remain strictly commercial and are quickly being mapped by the strategic gaze again. The formalised spaces they might seek independence are less distinct and the power

they wield is less visible, but this incurs difficulties in citing independence and authorising connection if one does not know where one is. To whose benefit make do tactics contribute is more difficult to trace as power and control is more distributed around complex webs of social production. Actors have to negotiate how to begin practising again in the midst of digital omnipotence. Those that are still mostly write 3-4 minute long songs minded of how amenable they are to being played on radio (now also digital and purveyed by the thousands) and being compiled into albums, and still play live performances of recorded compositions. Some historical isolating mechanisms regarding material resources and the material object have fallen away but others have been set up (how to get heard). Human relations are also altered to the extent that community is a fuzzy definition; actors give up the historical practice of out-sourcing commercial processes to the formalised space with little control over the end product only to replace it with out-sourcing to disorganized communities and social networks also difficult to control to their own benefit. Meanwhile, though briefly disrupted, the institutional politic still matters and opportunity plots historically oriented around discoverable opportunities and the necessary role of formalised space to support acts are being re-emplotted through prime time television and consumer demand for aspirational but hegemonic stories of ascension to stardom.

While also facing fewer opportunities for remuneration through the material object greater reliance upon the growing popularity of live performance has been observed (Performing Rights Society 2011). Yet to break away from ghostly restrictions had with recorded formats actors have to negotiate an ever more competitive and strategic field of live performance. Licensing for live performance and the usual services (e.g. alcohol) and conditions (troublesome health and safety strictures) expected at live performances put the emerging at an obvious disadvantage (recently recognised through a series of parliamentary discussions around the UK's Live Music Bill drawn up to tackle constraints faced by small and medium sized businesses). Practices and meanings change, so do relations, weaknesses and possibilities, but music mostly remains an experience shaped by previous and existing commercial settings even when experienced for free. The historical order's ghostly remains influence tactics of today. In turn, study is still invited toward how actors tender these relationships and make and remake images in personally and socially valuable ways (Leadbeater & Oakley 1999). This study takes up some of these by being concerned with how a range of musical actors in and around the Mersey basin make and re-make

images of the historical and institutional settings of musical business of the 20th and 21st centuries.

4.3 Liverpool

This is significant because a large sector of the British and local economy depends on producers and consumers negotiating highly commercialized settings in imaginative and musical ways. The recorded music sector contributed £3.9billion directly to the British economy in 2009 (Performing Rights Society 2010), £3.8billion in 2010 (Performing Rights Society 2011). Musical commerce is identified as a major focus of policy makers as late capitalist countries like Britain move toward service economies (DCMS 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007; UNESCO 2000, 2006). A series of policy strategies, reports and initiatives (e.g. 'Creative Economy Programme, 2006; 'Creative Industries Production System'; 'Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy, 2008; 'Staying Ahead: The Economic Performance of the UK's Creative Industries) orient successful creative industries commerce. Yet despite much interest at the macro level in how valuable musical services are composed there is less understanding how actors practice at the micro everyday level in personally and socially valuable ways. Practice must also be meaningful to actors as well as customers which implicates personal and social value extending far beyond economics and suggests musical actors having to grapple with existing formats their practice is oriented toward and more general historical and institutional settings. Hence while much emphasis in public policy is on the "sexiness" of the isolate highly creative artist (Hesmondalgh 2007:179), tensions introduced to their practice by commercial setting and connections and exchanges at play in how they and us relate to them as valuable are definitely considered less. In a less abstract sense how musical actors negotiate their practice in commercial settings is significant because of the role they and musical spaces play in all our lives. Not only would our cities be much poorer and quieter without them, they would be much less meaningful and interesting.

Liverpool in particular is known globally because previous actors composed meaningful and valuable musical business that connected with the private and social lives of millions around the world. They were more or less orthodox, quite practical images of musical entrepreneurship we

still see embedded in narratives of musical production today; they accepted business as it was, and took easily to stardom when they could. Much value is brought into the city on the back of a history of successful musical commerce, and thousands of musical actors in the past went into musical business as commerce in the rest of the city was falling apart under the weight of global redistribution of trade and industry (Cohen 1991). With nearby Manchester, the city of Liverpool has seen 25% of all UK number one hits (Byrne 2006 citing Yahoo! Music study). The city still enjoys this paradox and sees an energetic scene of cultural producers whose practice is counterposed against nearby areas of extreme poverty. As a result of this history, the successful commoditization of global musical memory and the continuing emergence of interesting new forms of practice the city has been branded a cultural and, above all else, musical city (Garcia et al 2009). Today thousands of musical tourists flock to Liverpool to see the commercialized vestiges of a few tired fresh faces while a mass of other musical actors negotiate this history and its effects and affects on their practice and visibility. Musical consumers come to the city to purchase musical services in a range of venues, new and old, ranging in many different sizes, enjoy the breadth of genres, dance at some of the world's largest musical events, and worship here some of the world's biggest musical stars. Numerous festivals happen annually, more or less 'grassroots', unorthodox and commercially oriented, and musical commerce played central role in the bid and realization of Liverpool as European Capital of Culture in 2008. Producers and consumers find something meaningful and valuable in the musical commerce of the city and this makes musical practice central to its continuing cultural and economic viability.

Liverpool was also the site of the earliest national initiatives in creative industry entrepreneurship (e.g. Arts, Culture and Media Enterprise (Merseyside ACME) set up the 1990s), and saw rapid growth in the economic contribution of the sector during the 1990s (29% regional increase 1995-2002 cited by Arts Council England 2008 in Eastwood et al 2009:18). 1970s and 1990s Liverpool also saw quick regeneration of tired inner city and industrial areas through musical commerce finding meaning and value in derelict and economically devalued spaces as others willing to become impractical reinterpreted common limitations and barriers as incentive and style. The impact musical commerce has had especially on the city centre is supported through various initiatives (notably, the Regional Economic Strategy, 2006; Liverpool City Visitor Strategy, the city council's 'Liverpool Draft Cultural Strategy', 2008; collaboration

between ACME and Liverpool Vision, the city's economic development company; a host of smaller initiatives and policies like 'Creative Industry Partnerships' between facultive institutions and businesses, Arts Council England, North West, Music Development Agency, the city council's new city centre investment strategy, and obscure governmental organizations such as Liverpool Music City). Up to 10,000 cultural businesses are currently estimated to be active in the Liverpool city region, ranging in size from the very small sole trader (e.g. Probe Records) to the very large global corporation (e.g. Sony CEE), and to employ 48,000 individuals (acme.com 2011;The Futures Laboratory for JCPR 2007 in Eastwood et al 2009:18). High growth is expected in the coming years (a staggering 46% increase in sector size and 136% increase in output expected before 2015 by Arts Council England; Eastwood et al 2009:18), and pressure mounts on musical actors to see the city through an uncertain period after massive regeneration of the city centre through being awarded the European Capital of Culture in 2008.

Musical actors in and around the city of Liverpool, then, are faced by a long history of initiatives and institutions vying for their attention and profit and a fairly restricted, homogeneous set of strategic practices designed for commercial settings. Romanticised ideals might have them engaged to express their innermost feelings but the settings they operate in are strictly commercial and highly competitive and actors have to make sense of these sometimes conflicting aspects of their practice. Within the range of practitioners only a few are also visibly supported by policy initiatives, usually those large and established enough to predict commercial returns and be spotted from the point of successful (though not necessarily long lasting; e.g. the Contemporary Urban Centre) organization. A much larger majority of emerging and marginal forms of cultural and musical practice is less visible despite contributing the most value (Burns Owen Partnership 2006:12). Actors in this majority have to negotiate a meaningful existence others find commercially and culturally valuable against a backdrop of much larger businesses, much more visible faces, and withdrawn policies reserved for a few and designed with assumed homogeneous use of practices provided for them by large global corporations. It is easy to focus on the grander visions of musical venture in the city but most musical actors in the city are pretty ordinary. Their practices may also seem homogeneous but involve a high level of diversity in how they recognize opportunities and compose a creative commercial experience.

Like the wider settings of British musical business (Hesmondalgh 1999, 2007; Frith 1986; Stratton 1982; Strachan 1999; Lee 1995; Fonarrow 2004), the music industry in and around Liverpool is marked by the interlocking and sparring of formalised spaces and tactical actors looking for a meaningful and valuable existence. It was home to an alternative scene of musical actors occupying the Matthew Street area of the city during the 1970s and 1980s before policy makers realised the value concealed in localised musical memory. Like the wider independent movement in British music that 'scene' drew knowledge, elicited possibilities and symbolic presence from relationships to normative musical practice inside and outside the city and created culturally and commercially valuable musical services. Creative space was made where there was a lack of perceived value and opportunity as actors, resisting normative modes of practice bedding in, turned away from big business and habits others previously had accepted and altered the nature and possibilities of opportunity recognition and musical production. It saw very little, if any, support from the local council or wider cultural initiatives, creating opportunities rather than being supported by more powerful others to discover them, yet today remains more valuable than those that were. Punters still seem to find commercial venture struggling to operate in restrictive settings strangely valuable and worth buying into and musical tourists return to the city today decades later to consume well remembered icons from that period being sanitized and commercialized again (i.e. the newly reopened Eric's Club). This is significant because it suggests that while the intimacy between creativity and commerce in the lives of musical actors might not be antithetical it is also not sympathetic but can directly lead to the emergence of novel forms of musical commerce that retain their value today (Frith 1986; Stratton 1982).

Table 4: Proposed Elements of Entrepreneurial Images of Contemporary Musical Business in Mersey Basin

Relations	Historical domination of musical business by large commercially interested corporations distributing practical knowledge
	Recording Practices; traditional and emerging (Albums, singles, releases & the musical product, all distinguishing musical opportunity and artists)
	Policies to perform and promote musical products via live performance and policies to sell merchandise able to articulate identity or brand
	Subsequent historical territories and boundaries: record labels, varying in size; control of space, finance
	Historical territories and boundaries: distinct spaces of musical artist, musical management, and audiences
	Historical constraints and exclusions as to who and how actors might engage in musical commerce; isolating mechanisms such as access and costs of recording, studio time, equipment, plant, copyright regulations
	Previous tactical movements, genres and figures (most visibly Punk Rock and Indie, but many other underground tactical scenes
	Digitalization of the musical product, reduced remuneration through material products,

	increased reliance on live performance, merchandise and other sources of remuneration
	New listening habits, deteritorialization of the musical product and altered nature and value of music
	Lack of distinctiveness of music and opportunity as strategic things
	Reduced transaction costs, and popularized knowledge and ability to record, promote and distribute from teenage bedrooms
	Easier access to historically restricted knowledge
	Local and national radio, internet radio, playlist sites,
	Disrupted copyright laws
	Trailblazers and significant musical icons announcing new beginnings
	Interstices revealed through the reliance of formalised space on the material product
	Local, national and global musical communities connected through genres and means
	Crowds, online social networks and atmosphere; social networking abilities to connect disparate communities and thicken and quicken interaction of local communities
	Gift economy economics
	Pledge releases and other crowd sourcing strategies and institutions (Kickstarter)

	Free promotion and distribution and wider reach and means of doing so
	Proven commercial value of new tactics themselves able to animate entrepreneurial versatility and creativity
	Popularization of narrative plots in which opportunities are created, self-reliance, but difficulty in distinguishing to whose benefit
	Normalization of the underground and proliferation of Do-it-Yourself practices
	Transformed territories and boundaries of musical actors and audiences
	Popularisation of niche consumption
	Disruption of legitimacy and influence of historical figures and strategies
	Lo fi aesthetics
	Increased interest in vinyl and defunct formats
	New and old institutional politics
	Definite distinctiveness of new and old music (before and after digitalisation, and subsequent relationships between new and old acts more or less reliant on material product)
	Narratives of British pop music, punk, independent publishing and musical entrepreneurial culture
	Endurance of independent businesses, more or less tactical and formal
	Enterprise culture, big society discourse

	Growing market demand for live performance and intimacy
	New strategies, exclusions and constraints: the creep of formalised space and old institutions into online space, difficulties in becoming visibility and gaining publicity
	New dominant order (Facebook, Twitter, Google, Spotify, Youtube)
	Setting in of new strategies (promotion through Youtube, Facebook, et al, distribution through online portals, selling through Bandcamp)
	Difficulties in distinguishing who and what is tactical and independent
	Excitement created by crumbling industry and desire for interesting new ways of becoming musical
	Excitement of illegalism
	Popularisation of desire to engage in musical commerce and apparent democratisation of abilities to create opportunities
	Saturation of online space and subsequent exclusion of who can be heard need for clout of material resources to pose distinctiveness and be heard
	Uncertainty of musical futures and invitations to fill it distributed by new dominant order
	Commercial value of dissolving boundaries and territories and greater intimacy in live performance

	Recent re-popularization of discovery opportunity plots via prime time television shows such as Britain's Got Talent
	Endurance of fascination with celebrity culture and refreshed desire for ascension to stardom
	New uncertainties and ambiguities; potential to create new musical future revealed and marketed
	Decreases as well as increases in entrepreneurial confidence
	360 degree contracts and other panoptics
	Greater control of labels over range of musical practices
	Local markets: students, clubbers, mass of musical consumers, tourists
	Investors, institutions, local policies
	Romantic memories and exclusionary musical narratives of the Mersey basin, domination of a few figures, nostalgia for Merseybeat and endurance of a 'Mersey Sound' propagated by artists with basin haircuts
	Clubbing history of Liverpool and re-emergence of Liverpool as a home for electronic music
	Endurance of Manchester as the proper place of musical business in North West England, London as proper place nationally
	Licensing laws, strategies, exclusion from organization and remuneration through live

	performance due to costs of rent, health and safety and licensing
	Musical memories and their commercialization, even tactical ones (e.g. Eric's Club)
	History of Mathew Street alternative scene
	Probe Records and endurance of tactical images
	Local myths and legends (human or narrative)
	Corporate music business events (e.g. Liverpool Sound City)
	Large organisations (Sony CEE)
	Enduring mass of smaller businesses and collectives
	Corporate music stores
	Grass roots events and festivals (e.g. Liverpool Music Week, many smaller festivals)
	Well known venues for aspiring bands and narratives of beginning (e.g. playing Zanzibar)
	Enduring tactical scene and couch-surfers
	Greater connections with European music, scenes, greater cross over and promotion and touring
	Various policies and initiative, more or less exclusionary and designed for the successful, formal and willing to articulate cultural creativity via commercial modes for success
	Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts

	Masses of bands, subsequent competition and disposability of acts in eyes of venue organizers
	Uncertainties and excitements of current musical space and future
	Popularisation of festival going and live performance
	Disconnected independent record shops
	The social imagination
	Lo fi aesthetics
	Institutional politics
	Local and national scenes
	Do-it-Yourself culture and the popularization of narratives in which musical opportunities are created
	Independent publishing more generally
	Magazines designed specifically to cater for audiences of independent musical business
	Notions of the romanticised isolate artist, notions of authenticity and Puritan ideals
	Established commercial value of alternative musical practice
	Established audiences
	Family and Friends
	Narratives of epic transition and heroic practice
	Icons/idols/iconoclasts/celebrities
	Other musical entrepreneurs and bands
	Neo-liberal culture of autonomous creation
	Successive waves of more efficient means of

	distribution
	Decreasing price of equipment
Material Resources	Computers and mobile phones
	More inexpensive recording and production equipment
	Instruments; inherited, actual, possible, broken, defunct
	Previous unused or reusable material; songs, samples, own or others'
	Rubbish from skips
	Recording and production equipment
	Manufacturing plants for the creation of records and sleeves
	Venues (actual, possible, virtual, derelict)
	Previous musical products; lost, unsold
	Money
Human Resources	Social value of musical products created in the crowd
	difficulty in distinguishing between strategic and tactical musical productions
	Capacity to resist normative opportunity plots
	Puritan ideals
	Consumer and personal experience
	Nostalgia
	Proper training and qualifications in musical business that never previously existed
	Notions of authenticity, folkloric myths, romanticised isolate artists and Puritan ideals
	Personal experience of domination by large

	businesses
	Make do versatility
	Capacity to re-describe constraint as lo fi aesthetics
	Available information and labour (lawyers, promoters, the local and national scene of Do-it-Yourself actors, local and national radio)
	Knowledge of 'state of the arts'
	Musical imagination
	Musical ambition, passion and desire
	Consumer memory, narratives of musical history and audience expectation
	Storytelling capacity and ability to compose relational narratives
	Uncertainty of music as commercial thing
	Childhood experiences of popular figures
	Make do versatility, Do-it-Yourself and independent culture and social value of 'making do'
	Ability of bands, labels and scenes to develop strong culture
	Managerial capacity of bands, labels and scenes to organize
	Consumer memory and expectation
	Narratives of the underdog and underground
	Bohemian culture and punk culture and aesthetics
	Confidence and expectation punters would pick up on potential social value
	Ability to travel and connect with other

	scenes

Looking at the space musical entrepreneurs of today have to deal with, then, some things change while other things remain the same. Though products of today retain some influence from the past and the experience remains essentially commercial agents also have markedly different encounters with these commercial settings and the musical product. Music is more readily available than ever, but now connected to other strategies requiring careful negotiating, and agents still have to find ways to attribute commercial value to their practices. Geography matters less and less, shared resources and aesthetic genres matter more, but problems of how to create, define or utilise a community when it is everywhere and begin again amidst digital omnipotence emerge.

Musical actors still need to make choices within this new space, they still need to make and remake images. Tensions still exist due to the social life of being a musical entrepreneur (Turino 2010), and music still is a commercial service (Frith 2011; Cottrell 2004). This suggests engaging in musical commerce will still provoke actors to become entrepreneurial, and that images will still blend creativity and commerce in fruitful ways. Do agents try to escape, join in, sign up, reinvent or subvert their settings are still questions that need answering. With the organizational forms of this new tactical space still settling practice is also at its most diverse and intense, even while some generalisms are emerging, inviting inquiry as to the many different spaces and images occupying the new order. Musical actors still need to make sense of all these new and old relations in their narratives, they need to engage in commerce to survive, they still need to do so in ways that they and audiences find culturally and commercially valuable. Whose lead they follow and what they inherit is less certain; the dominant order agents historically inherit practices from at times looks back at them to show the lead. As they historically always have been, then, musical actors might still be uncomfortable with existing commerce, commodities and the commercial nature of musical experience and feel invited to subvert it and invent more meaningful and valuable ways to live. This invites inquiry as to what these images might be like and how they are composed.

A map of Liverpool city centre can pose the locations of some of these strategic relations actors encounter and trace the movements and spoors of actors and study.

Fig. 1: Musical Map of Liverpool City Centre

1. Tranmere & Hardstaff	13. Wolstenholme Creative Space	25. Carling Academy
2. Birkenhead & HMHB	14. Cream H.Q. & Nation	26. Walker Art Gallery
3. Echo Arena	15. Mello Mello	27. St. Brides Rehearsal Space
4. Beatles Story	16. The Zanzibar	28. a.P.A.t.T. shared residence
5. Tate Liverpool	17. Parr Street Studios	29. Probe Plus
6. Liver Buildings	18. FACT Centre	30. The Researcher
7. Cavern Club	19. Original Probe Shop	31. a.P.A.t.T. previous shared
8. Former Probe Shop	20. Liverpool Music Week	residence
9. Eric's Club	21. Dumbells	32. Keith's Wine Bar
10. Current Probe Shop	22. Liverpool Philharmonic	33. Sefton Park
11. Bluecoats Centre	23. Management School	34. Penny Lane
12. The Kazimier	24. University Venue	35. To M62, Lee Mavers, Manchester, Preston, Blackpool

5 Meeting the Sites

5.1 Bill Drummond and The17

Whilst attending a 'Free Thinking Festival' organised by BBC Radio 3 at FACT (18 on Map) in Liverpool city centre the first site was unintentionally encountered. Bill Drummond, one of Britain's most successful but troublesome musical entrepreneurs and Mathew Street's most remembered, was giving a talk about his current project. Since the 70s and 80s he has kept coming back to the city to challenge his and other's nostalgic reminiscence. He is often posed as an iconoclast; his main political target often being himself, has operated at community level (the ironically named 'Big in Japan'), managed popular bands for corporate labels (Teardrop Explodes and Echo and the Bunnymen), and started and aborted many musical and cultural enterprises.

At the talk in Liverpool Drummond paused on an interesting reinterpretation of musical history; recorded, commercialized, consumed and worshipped, he suggested music is torn away from body and occasion, and suggested his current project, The17, is an attempt to reconcile this alienation. This made it clear "history matters", to borrow a phrase off Penrose (1959/1995:13). Though paradoxical (in that his suggesting 'history matters' immediately invites questions as to the study's own historical setting) a weak grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967) is referenced here, yet should be prefaced by pilot study (Hartley 2008) that established insight with Certeau (1984) and that Drummond's tactic was interesting only when propped against a backdrop of deduced strategy. Drummond was emailed, participation requested, and a short semi-structured phone interview arranged in October 2009, while the focus and theoretical approach of the study was still uncertain and emerging. He responded unenthusiastically given that the settings of the study is a management school, and likely scorned at being associated with strategic definitions of entrepreneurship and opportunity. This was inviting; his site promised to be entrepreneurial (Eisenhardt 1989) by resisting definition as such and being difficult to define and manage as a distinct site or 'subject'.

Access to Drummond's exploits is easy and overwhelming. Thousands of pages fill the screen as his name is Google searched, but his practice is more elusive and difficult to be engage with.

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Early requests for shadowing or participating were dismissed. Eventually a more general invitation from Drummond was given at short notice: participation 'inside' The17 as a member of the choir, rather than an administrator. This involved travelling up to the isolate, barren lands of the Outer Hebrides, lying in and around a stone circle and experiencing a score written by The17 that happened to employ the unknowing skylarks flying high above as performers, for 17 minutes, at 7am. Drummond conversed with other members of The17 in ordinary dialogue, transported The17 to the stones, and ate and drank with them.

As rapport grew via emails he eventually invited more active participation, this time 'inside' The17 as an administrator, which involved helping paint a large graffiti mural marketing tactic and organising three performances by The17 around Salford city centre in North West England. Drummond read earlier drafts, exchanged views, and we ate, drank and drove around Manchester and Salford in his infamous Land Rover.

5.2 Little Boots

Knowledgeable of the difficulty of defining a population (or uninterested in doing so) and of the entrepreneurial potency of composing a variety of sites and images to compare (Eisenhardt 1989, 1991; Marcus 1998; Flyvbjerg 2011), a strangely convenient site was also invited into study as personal relationship revealed links to rapidly emerging pop star, Little Boots. Boots is an electronic pop music oriented musician from Blackpool in North West England famed for writing her own songs, and was lauded by her marketing as a 'strong independent female' and a(nother) new beginning for crumbling music industry. She agreed to be studied as a site through email.

The two sites were divided by almost 20 years in terms of their active musical entrepreneurship (Drummond insisting he 'left' music business in 1992 when he and Jimmy Cauty deleted the KLF's back catalogue and gunned down music biz heads with blanks at The Brits). They also contrasted: the former seemed more interested in disrupting our assumptions of opportunity experience usually articulated through well defined commercial things and desired to create new beginnings in common narratives of becoming musical; whereas the latter seemed very

comfortable with strategic definitions and to be in the process of being absorbed in formalised space with the intention of inheriting well defined, ready-made opportunities and exploiting powerful resources. This contrast and distance, was useful in the early stages of the research project whilst compiling sites because it established a spectrum of ways of relating to historical and institutional settings common between the images and posed interesting and critical turns (Kvale 2007; Flyvbjerg 2011) on what was assumed to constitute musical opportunity. Still in these early moments of developing study interest a semi-structured interview was conducted with Boots before attending her first concert in Liverpool (25 on map).

Personal relationships suggested active participation inside Boots' practice might be possible. However, the settings she operates in (concealed within corporate business), her schedule, and perhaps in some ways Boots own strong personality, limited the degree of access and participation possible. Neither shadowing, nor other observational techniques were possible- she said so in email. Back then much of Boots' everyday life was spent jetting round, doing media interviews, and having meetings with specialist staff. Professional gatekeepers (i.e. her management agency and large corporate label), she suggested, would disallow access to those most secretive of spaces - valuable knowledge might leak, and so study seemed to be interpreted as a potential risk as her brand identity took on boundaries and fans and press swept the internet for juicy insights into her life. Once it was clear access limited data collection to only 2 semi-structured interviews and another was unlikely, requests for more creative interaction were made. Yet she also refused requests for short poems (memories of her commonly referenced first class degree in cultural studies falling away as she became habituated to structured interview techniques favoured by mainstream music press), and though originally suggesting unused lyrics could be exchanged she chose not to. Boots seemed more comfortable in the normative settings of press interviews even though she constantly complainined of her daily annoyance with them in blog posts (a contradiction that seemed to market her practice at the same time it authorised connections made to others 'outside'). Attention then turned to secondary data in the form of interviews taken from online and offline sources, her general online presence, and press and products distributed.

Meanwhile, from collection and analyses of secondary material (largely narratives of Liverpool music and independent music business) two other well known (but unmentioned) local musical actors were highlighted. One was met through a chance encounter in a drinking spot popular with local bohemians (32 on map), the other through a friend whilst in a pub across the road who was contacted purposively by email. Both seemed awkward sites to develop rapport with, fitting with their mythological status in the city. In the coming year as the study took on character and characters these two were rejected and sampling turned elsewhere. Study could not wait for enlarged egos to be placated, nor hastily composed initial emails (lacking in 'rapport') to be rewritten.

5.3 a.P.A.t.T.

Feeling entrepreneurial desire, theoretical/purposive sampling then began. Attending a local cinema (FACT- 18 on map) the final issue of a free 'zine ('Slacker Sounds'; George 2008) was collected, within which a short interview with local multi-media collective a.P.A.t.T. was printed. Inside members spoke of a manifesto they had scrawled orienting early practice. The 'zine interview discussed their ideas of an indistinct musical movement they called 'a Positive Approach to Totality'. They seemed interesting because by tactically resisting definite boundaries to their practice the normative delineation of bands as distinct spaces was highlighted as being deeply commercial and strategic. The site seemed to pose some separation from formalised spaces of more powerful business and to have definite character in some ways. Yet any definite musical character seemed to fall away completely as pop music hits like those made by Boots are imitated, intellectually and aurally challenging classical composition are composed and nasty Romanian black metal riffs created. Initial study also highlighted an a.P.A.t.T. Orchestra extending from the multimedia collective, thereby limiting the extent it could be defined as a singular site. a.P.A.t.T. were contacted late 2009, and an interview organised round at the shared flat of two members shortly before New Year. Friendship formed quickly (at the suggestion that 'becoming friends' was a suitable way for the study to proceed), and access was easy but somewhat consuming.

After the initial meeting with General MIDI from a.P.A.t.T. interviews gradually digressed into conversation and participatory action. 'Inside' a.P.A.t.T. I began filming gigs, events and music videos (as well as starring in a couple; e.g. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yt46PSVyur8) and became an in-house unpaid cameraman. Site boundaries were constantly shifting and blurring. Study also involved, for instance, going 'outside' and passing into territories of the associated record label Post Music. Problems of becoming 'a member' and advocacy did emerge, yet the extent to which a.P.A.t.T. could be distinguished as a distinct site was also problematic.

For a.P.A.t.T. a more collective inter-view or shared imagination (Marcus 1998) emerged as proximity, regular access and close friendship allowed participants to be more regularly involved in developing the narrative and theoretical insight. Initial interviews involved an interview schedule and were focused around eliciting stories of a.P.A.t.T. relating and re-relating to commonplace strategies (i.e. composing and releasing material and making promotional music videos). They were combined with personal and theoretical field notes taken during and immediately after each interview that set the scene and loose structure for the next encounter. All members (five composing the 'band' at the time of interviews) were involved in these early interviews (often arranged as a meeting to discuss upcoming performances or events), but as the study progressed interviews tended to be conducted with General MIDI and Dorothy Wave at their shared flat or to be taken on the fly during participation elsewhere. Active participation also meant site boundaries shifted as, during other events, a.P.A.t.T. mutated into the a.P.A.t.T. Orchestra, at times composed of up to 45 members). Soon overwhelming amounts of data flowed from inside and outside the site as musical opportunity transcended boundaries of what constitutes 'bands' and a site. Still 'inside', active participation blended with interview method as meetings were organised that were oriented around the specific task of developing their Wikipedia entry. These developed a lifestory narrative, yet also allowed study to pause on particular episodes, and was eventually written up by myself as part of active participation and uploaded online (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/APAtT). Active participation then involved continuing to cross into territories and associated musical spaces and becoming member in a small not-for-profit unincorporated association ran in Liverpool city centre from September 2010 to May 2011 called 'Don't Drop the Dumbells'.

5.4 Geoff Davies, Probe Records, and the Probe Plus record label

Another site was obvious and difficult to ignore: Probe Records (8, 10, 19 on map). One cannot stay in Liverpool long and consume music without hearing or seeing something of this record shop (seemingly as old as Liverpool music itself). Coming to Liverpool for university, many experience buying records there, and the shop's effects and affects transcend distinct boundaries by being influenced by and influencing many others. But the shop's original entrepreneur, Geoff Davies, has long since left for new beginnings, which prompted attention to his current enterprise, the Probe Plus record label which is still based in Liverpool (29 on map). Geoff represents an almost archetypal and mythological site of independent musical entrepreneurship; the anti-businessman disinterested in commercial pragmatism in favour of experiencing life as entrepreneurial; uncertain, exciting, and open to being created, and the Probe Records shop and Probe Plus are difficult to treat as distinct sites as there is a strong sense of historical continuity between them. Geoff and Probe are also well-remembered figures of the Matthew Street scene of the 70s and 80s (8, 9 & vicinity on map) and the loose independent musical movement. Strategically popping in to Probe Records in Liverpool city centre to then buy the odd record contact was made with staff and Geoff's detail obtained. Email, finally, attracted his attention (an early introduction to his mode of practice). Interview was organised in April 2010 at Geoff's house (29 on map), then another, then another, then lots more, then active participation, consulting, and sharing meals and his lazy afternoon style of working. The site seemed critical. Rather than assumed distinct boundaries to the site, musical opportunity seemed messy and motivated by many personal and social experiences and influences that limited the degree it could be held down to one site or moment of practice. Collection and early analysis of secondary data emphasised the lack of distinct boundaries by highlighting the influence of his entrepreneurial activities in independent musical entrepreneurship in Britain generally, not just Liverpool and the Matthew Street scene. Meeting him definitely amplified the independence of this character in contrast to normative images of musical entrepreneurship and opportunity. And yet Geoff is in a business sense 'very' entrepreneurial: he originated Britain's first independent-styled record shop, a feat in part leading to the emergence of an independent distribution network for musical product of Britain and a host of shops modelled on Probe in Liverpool, and continues to manage 1 band at least that has endured in the nation's musical consciousness. Geoff also

seemed entrepreneurial in the settings of the study, saying explicitly during early encounters that he found it "flattering" and "strange" being termed one of Liverpool's and Britain's most 'important' musical entrepreneurs. He had never identified with restricted archetypal entrepreneurial identities, definitive opportunities, nor normative practice, and hence his site seemed entrepreneurial and critical (Flyvbjerg 2011) by promising new understanding of opportunity experience.

As endless interviews were taken with Geoff he became more confident active participation might contribute to the label as the months rolled on. On a cold November night in 2010, study then involved travelling with Geoff and his son to a Half Man Half Biscuit gig in Preston and working on a merchandise stall through the night. This altered the researcher/researched contract and site boundaries as my passion and enthusiasm became absorbed inside Probe Plus as human resource. Geoff started to introduce his own interview schedule as I was invited to his house to help decide which hits from the label's history should be compiled and re-released in a 'Best Of' album, and was invited to consult on other releases and events and to promote them. Active participation 'inside' the site also revealed constraint and exclusions Geoff faces due to restricted knowledge of computing and online business and had direct impact at the level of practice as site boundaries were reconfigured and Geoff invited myself and General MIDI round to discuss transposing the existent poorly designed Probe Plus website into a more manageable blog format. Back at the shared flat of General MIDI and Dorothy Wave one night, the sites contrasting themselves, it also became clear the two sites had very different images of the historical and institutional settings of musical business.

Interviews with Geoff also evolved from semi-structured questions to unstructured mess during a series of 15 interviews (some of which lasted up to 5 hours) that eventually became imperceptible from more everyday encounters. Initially they composed a lifestory narrative, because Geoff was unable to limit the citations he took from background life when describing the emergence of the shop in 1971. Geoff would drift off into obscure memories, criticisms of other local musical actors and musical business more generally, the city and its habits, musical and filmic references, and be interrupted by his everyday life of managing a label from his lounge. Field notes emplotted the spaces between interviews, left threads for the next encounter,

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and study involved constant analysis of secondary data, often in the form of second hand and old interviews uploaded online, as well as musical products and magazine clippings (Geoff gave more than 20 free albums and singles away during the period of data creation and folders of various clippings). Almost overwhelming amounts of data overflowed from the site and its influence on others. Eventually, when a 3 person focus group interview was organised with a significant business relation (Steve Hardstaff) an interview schedule was introduced using musical products and promotional material released and distributed by the shop and the label as aide memoire and interpretive material.

5.5 James Barton & Cream

By this time implicit interests in establishing an 'authentic' (in the Puritan sense) range of sites to disrupt strategic definitions of entrepreneurship and opportunity were settled. 'Legitimate' characters able to authorise the study in management contexts and help it pass in musical ones had been recruited. Attention then turned to another well known site of musical entrepreneurship synonymous with Liverpool music: James Barton and the Cream night club. Barton is a powerful figure in dance music nationally and globally, and has perhaps become the archetype of 'big time' musical entrepreneurship- corporate, powerful, and bloated- suggesting the site promised to be an imaginative turn on the sample. Early second hand comments and background analysis had him as a surly and strong minded entrepreneurial character. Cream became one of the city's most visible brands during the 90s; seen on prime time television and street fashion, the club was ubiquitous even to those who never went. At the time of study Barton was coordinating the world's biggest dance festival and clubbers (vaguely) remember steamy nights of indulgence in perhaps Britain's first (really commercialized) super club after the era of illegal rave parties. His and Cream's entrepreneurial practice has always been highly competitive, seeming to be focused on creating a global brand during the 1990s, becoming a corporation, making money, and enabling Barton escape his well mediatized heritage in the council estates of Everton. Early narration has them beginning as counterproposal to the dominant order of Manchester's Hacienda and Factory Records, but then becoming the space of reason others might seek independence from (vividly demonstrated through a torrent of abuse directed at Barton and Cream by General MIDI and Dorothy Wave late one night at their shared flat).

Access determined participation with Barton and Cream was impossible. Though very welcoming to be interviewed (albeit time was found for only 1 and a half hours in total), requests to attend marketing and operations meetings Barton referenced in the first interview were turned down, so were requests to shadow Barton and use other observational techniques such as free unpaid labour in Cream H.Q. (doing literally anything) or Creamfields, and press passes for the carnage of Creamfields (perhaps luckily) were too quickly snapped up. Certain aspects of practice seemed to be off-limits to non-members; hard fought knowledge, status, and position necessitated defending because it was valuable to competition and risky in the wrong hands, if interpreted the wrong way. The site seemed to want to distinguish its own boundaries and narrate its own story. Study then turned to greater collection of secondary data. Cream and Creamfield's respective Facebook avatars were made friends with and interacted with online, and endless press interviews, magazines articles from the club's prime, newspaper and website articles, fans' comments, locals' memories, biographies, adverts, musical products, downloads, official and unofficial websites, locals' memories, multiple back stage court sites, and the doing of study was all considered 'data'. Cream drew distinct boundaries of access around itself, yet its influence (well broadcast in its marketing literature) flows in and out into the lives and stories of many other actors and sites, which limited the necessity of continuing attempts to define site boundaries and penetrate inside them.

Between these mixed sites (Marcus 1008; Hannerz 2003) of musical entrepreneurship varying images relate and re-relate to the historical and institutional settings of musical business. No one site on its own represents a target population; they compose a relational and longitudinal sample by interacting with each other and emerging at different moments of musical history. Each site is also 'critical' (Flyvbjerg 2011; Eisenhardt 1989) in light of how they may allow opportunity experience to be conceptualized, remaining entrepreneurial (even when they try to manage their own definition) through being composed of many different sites of data collection and resisting the scholarly imposition of strategic boundaries.

6 Geoff Davies and Probe

6.1 Image 1: The Emergence of Probe

Prior to starting the Probe Record shop Geoff was showroom manager at a large carpet manufacturers and travelled the country selling carpets and making contacts. "It was a good job"- relatively secure, not too much like hard work, but drew him away from everything else that was happening in Liverpool, boyhood interests in music and other cultural products. He foresaw an uninteresting career stretching ahead, pre-written by his role in the commerce of others where he had to work to normal business times and uphold normal business etiquette with "Texans" and odd ex-Navy types.

> And they want you to become an area manager, where they go down to Kidderminster, and it's a ladder, and I didn't want to go up this ladder. And I didn't want to leave Liverpool. They started dropping me jobs... ...well I was enjoying myself in Liverpool. This is like 1965, 66, 67- it was a great time just starting... ...I had to do something for one thing, I didn't want to be going to be an area manager, I didn't want to be going up this ladder any more and I wasn't really interested in it (2010a).

During an LSD trip he took up a withdrawn observation of this life in ordinary business. "...So, you start seeing yourself like you can see a plate down there, your life, you grovelling about and all this sort of stuff. So that was the clincher really" (2010d).

Going out regularly, partying all hours, weekends would expand his consciousness, turning him on to marginal forms of musical value, eliciting aspects he had not thought of, and telling of the closing in of circumstance, but Mondays were almost unbearable. He struggled to reconcile life outside of work with ordinary business, dreaming of combining what he loved in life with his need to make money to survive:

But anyway, one of the deciding things was "Look, I can't go on"... ...you've got to be like somebody else. I remember thinking "Well, you're playing two parts here, like this of a day in the week you're this, and you have to be polite to people, which I was always struggling to be, really, and then there was this double life. I saw myself, so anyway, that was the deciding thing. I've got to do something about this... (2001b:10)

I realised that...this ordinary working life, if you like, I was unconsciously 'err-ing', I'm not gonna say about myself 'I now realised that this ordinary working business life is not for me', I never formalised that, but this is what was going on, right. So, the idea of being involved in something that you're really into, I was heavily into music, then.... ...and, having taken acid and listened to stuff on acid and all that sort of thing... ...so this was great, this was 'bloody hell I can get away with this... (2001e: 30)

In the mid to late '60s Geoff was also travelling extensively. He insists on being one of the first hippies to venture off, and spent time travelling around continental Europe, Northern Africa and Asia (before the experience was commoditized by many others following suit). He would spend interviews recalling almost mythical stories of discovering Liverpool band posters and weird enlightenment in Moroccan foothills, regularly selling his own blood to generate funds whilst hopping between between developing countries (until struck down with jaundice), or carrying imitative British-looking cigarettes to sell to unsuspecting Indians. Travel would feed back into practice: "...We went a very long way from England there like that, and then we came back and were more direct" (2010a).

We'd ran out of money by the time we got to India. Well this connects to the shop, right, because there was never any money really in our house, sort of thing, so I was used to making do with very little and when I was away I found this was useful, and I often had enough initiative to [get by] without stealing (2010:e)

Interviews would also be interrupted by him lending out favourite films and music (the grand total of 18 CDs handed over the first day of interview, for free), and retrieving long lost photos and posters (also distributed, returned, but then lost by Geoff). He would pause to describe the excitement he had felt encountering Elvis for the first time, rare family excursions to the cinema, and how he and friends would be "blown away" listening to Fairport Convention for hours.

He describes the impact early encounters with musical products had on him:

> Then there was the music cultural side of things, because I remember when I first heard 'Heart Break Hotel'- I would see it now thinking "Bloody hell! What's going on here?!"... ...you haven't heard anything like this before! Like fucking hell!... ...When you hear something like that you don't realise the significance of it (2010b).

Encounters with the geography of musical business in the city were also catalytic to his emergence. He would confront conservative, "antiquarian" second-hand record shops or mainstream larger chains in Liverpool that sold largely restricted and uninteresting ranges of musical products. Local vendors were mostly grey-haired, disconnected from the Liverpool music scene and not interested in 'other' aspects of life wrapped up in Geoff's musical experience and the commodities they sold. Much of the first interview was spent coordinating images of a "tweed wearing", cigarette-holder smoking shop keeper who repeatedly refused to allow him to listen to records. Geoff would come home excited and hurriedly put a record on, sit down, roll a 'joint', be "blown away", or return frustrated and amazed how disinterested local musical business was in other forms of value concealed within musical products.

> So, I'd had this experience before... ...I remember trying to buy a few records and being frustrated. So, I came away, and I thought "This is fucking ridiculous, really- I wanted to spend this money (2010e)

Geoff was still dreaming, tripping and travelling for work and pleasure. A "posh" house mate then suggested the unlikely possibility that he initiate his own record shop. Though the

commerce of others obscured the nature of his musical experience it had left invitations to create something personally and commercially valuable out of it. His lack of confidence in undertaking such a mighty task was mirrored in the design of the shop itself.

> G: I just had to go into a record shop that I'd dreamed of having everything in that I was interested in and stuff that I'd never seen perhaps before, a friendly atmosphere, you can talk to them about anything, and they play music for you. And the first idea was, because the idea of starting my own business with a record shop seemed to be so formidable, was to just have a second hand record shop, but more alternative second hand record shop, and sell bits of hippy paraphernalia (2010f).

He then began practising, using what little personal savings he had to purchase second hand records oriented by his own personal taste and knowledge of music encountered whilst travelling. But he still envisaged struggling to fill the shelves (even pouring in his own personal collection) and turned to engage with much larger record companies able to provide new musical products. Trying to strike a deal he found they demanded specific shop conditions (clean, windowed and rat-free), wanted references to guarantee extended credit and that he only buy very large quantities of musical products. He turned to his parents' financial savings and friends in securer jobs to generate the £3000 necessary to buy the records. Meetings with label representatives were conducted in the plush surroundings of a large local carpet manufacturer (still his employer), and he sourced references for extended credit via independent carpet retailers he had built rapport with whilst travelling the region for work.

> G: So, we had between us, three hundred pounds savings, and I realised it was very little, and I was approaching record companies and I remember CBS said to me "Well, you can have an account with us if you have a history of extended credit...and you have a proper premises on street level, with a window, and references". So, none of this was feasible., And, this fella said "An opening order for us, for out stock alone, we'd need about a ten thousand pound opening order",

and this threw me. So I ended that call thinking "Oh fucking hell", So I started now to borrow money, my parents', I borrowed all they had (2010a: 12-13).

Configuring a new and second-hand record shop he imagined drawing punters in by resisting price regulations and undercutting the recommended retail price other local businesses sold their products at.

So, then, I thought, well I'd seen a shop in Kensington market, London, and the first time I'd seen it selling records below the standard retail price, it was probably illegal to... ...so I thought "This is very welcome!". I used to buy stuff from them whenever I went to London, and then I thought "Well that's what I'll do- I'll sell them below the retail price". And have it full of stuff that I'm into, which is a vast array of music really... ...You know, it's not good having what you can get down the road. So an awful lot of the stuff would be what I liked... ...It all seemed to fit in a way (2010a: 7-9).

As well as his wide array of previous employment (stock exchange to shop floor) the emergence of Probe was tempered by his unwillingness to be supported by others and acceptance that he did not need much money. He resisted or was unable to define his emergence any more finely.

G: Well I was never offering a service. I was looking to have a pleasanter life! As long as I could get like a similar sort of money on the dole, say, without being on the dole, then I'm doing something I like" (2010e:17)

"So then I found this little place. Tiny little place on Clarence Street...there's a lot of photos of it. Follow me..." (19 on map). It was conveniently close to the city's largest market (students) and regular gigs held at the university.

Probe Records came into focus on the 16th January 1971. In some ways it mirrored his own travels off the beaten path:

...So you learn all that sort of stuff, and there is all this other way of doing it, you know, there is the officially sort of attack, the old cliché of clear, easy, big thick wide path up the mountain here, and then there's this rougher one here and it's a bit scary and you have to go round and you get to the same place but one is a bit harder work and- where was I? (2010e:18)

In the early days of the shop we'd have what you call 'world music', so that was because I'd travelled to all these places- India, North Africa, the Middle East, etc., So I'd heard this music, I knew about it and most people you know hadn't experienced it...turning people on to something (2010f:11)

Locals didn't know what to make of it at first but were drawn in:

...it didn't even look like a shop. You used to get some local people walking in and going "What's that?!?!?!" "It's a shop!., "What is it?! (2010a:14)

6.2 Image 2: Probe Plus Records

Over the next 10 to 15 years 3 Probe shops eventually opened in the city (8, 19, and unknown on map). One began strictly selling "black music" as it picked up on local West Indian and aspiring Rastas' demand, the others "turning people onto stuff" and selling "progressive rock, jazz, folk, blues, rock and roll, reggae and country and well before the term 'world music'" (cited from a hidden 'History Lesson' section of the Probe Records website that often does not function; probeplus.co.uk/history.html). Geoff's musical interests became shelves, releases were imported directly, and staff were enlisted largely from ex-customers or band-members with specialist musical knowledge. A week after Probe opened in Mathew Street in 1976 so did the infamous Eric's Club. "Probe was in a sense the retail arm of the Eric's world." (Cope 1994 cited in Lewis 2010). Eric's club regulars and Probe customers would interact with nationally renowned (e.g. Joe Strummer, Julian Cope, Pete Wylie) and maligned (e.g. Dead or Alive's Pete Burns, Frankie Goes to Hollywood's Paul Rutherford) musical entrepreneurs and local itinerants, and Geoff would employ actors like Bill Drummond to put up fly posters.

"The whole place was loaded with incredible atmosphere – really loaded. The people knew their shit and that made it even more scary cause I was used to weirdoes but not ones so weird, it was fun for me flipping through the vast and seemingly impenetrable record sleeves" (Cope 1994 cited in Lewis 2010). Customers listened to records before buying them, were advised (an equally abused), and aspects of Geoff's musical experience other vendors were disinterested in became reinserted into commerce via selling films, comics, books, Rizla, strange and useless products, and other "hippy paraphernalia". The shop offered the widest range of musical products in Britain. "It was like all sorts. Like LSD", releasing anything that was "great, weird, wonderful" (in Shennan 1987, Liverpool Echo, taken from Davies' own collection).

The previously derelict area around the shop in Mathew Street transformed, and new possibilities opened up:

> ...there was virtually nothing there. And then we attracted all these people, us and
> Eric's. They would come in from Lancashire and North Wales, Isle of Man and
> Ireland... ...So all these types of people hanging around, opportunity sort of thing.
> And then all these other places turned up (2010:d).

Geoff had by then began working closely with Steve Hardstaff. An ex-customer who became shop staff, Hardstaff began designing paper bags, adverts and early releases for the shop. First encountering the shop he had felt a rare excitement at the massive range of items on sale and the unusual consumer experience. In normal working hours he was a fine arts tutor at the local art college but had cut his teeth in the emergence of independent publishing in London and knew money saving printing techniques learnt whilst working as a postcard maker. He would work weeks on end, evenings and weekends for minimal pay or his choice in records from the shop and subsidise himself through his art college salary. Conditions were poor, budgets and deadlines tight, but their close affection formed while working together in the shop and socialising out of hours enabled a "free and easy" understanding and "fluidity and flexibility". "It's all part of the thing", "it would have been impossible without him", "we had a lot of things in common, he can latch onto my character", "it was only natural really". Geoff in return reciprocated by allowing

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Hardstaff to freely associate design-wise and he in turn felt something rare and strangely fruitful working with Geoff: "It enables you to make something that is as much about you as it is for the band, or for Geoff" (2011k:17).

The Probe shop became more visible, larger businesses began to pick up on the changes happening in Liverpool and encroach on market space, "signs of desperation" emerged and the pair were lead into absorbing promotional practices.

> At this time there seemed to be a lot of competition with similar shops, with
> Virgin opening in Liverpool... ...They seemed to threaten me, because they were
> so much bigger... ...I remember thinking "Right, oh God! Bloody hell!... ...So it's
> gets down to pathetic advertising really, to almost signs of desperation...
> (2011k:12).

Hardstaff recalls one Probe bag design in particular that expresses the strange take on promoting the shop they had back then:

> ...It basically said "You're a cowboy!", because there's an expression in
> Liverpool... ...But you see, there wouldn't be an ad like that for a shop anywhere-
> it would do its job (2011k:11)

Fig 2: Probe advert circa 1980

Another bag drew an apocalyptic scene where Probe is represented by a sea monster surging up through city concrete, sending other businesses, musicians and film stars up in the air. Historical musical and filmic figures often not sold in the shop but significant in their own musical and cultural experiences would overflow into most designs. King Kong was drawn tearing down the Liver birds and other local symbols of commercial success, and monsters, iconoclasts and parodies of local heroes and traditions would pepper bags, sleeves and adverts. Promotional campaigns poked fun at other local businesses, emphasised connections made with punters' musical experiences ("The others are just record shops!"), engaged with local humour and the effect all this was happening. They inserted more jokes and weirdness: drawn as Frankenstein's monster slicing Probe staff heads off with an axe Geoff commented on the strange mix of punters affected by the closure of the Clarence Street shop: "Hippies reduced to quivering wrecks...hardened teds break down and cry...tramps panic". With punters then travelling widely to wait on the shop steps (8 on map) for the hottest sounds off the press to arrive, Geoff was collecting deliveries of musical product from couriers before the competition opened in the morning.

Looking back over the bags and adverts Hardstaff comments on the statement one particularly well remembered (perhaps even iconic) newspaper advert might have been making or that punters picked up on. Creation is shown emerging from the destruction of the city by the global redistribution of trade and industry (multiplying the draw of music and introducing new sounds and resources), and references to filmic experience equally convey and obscure the promotional message:

> S: So it's about the destruction of Liverpool, because, you know, I didn't really think about it at the time, but if you like with Probe being so different, innovative if you like, for quite a long period of time, it's effect on Liverpool, is, you know, an apocalypse... ...Immediately you get that strap "Greatest disaster of them all", which again alludes to those bad disaster movies... (2011k:15)

Meanwhile, the "independent style business thing" sparked a series of similar record shops across Britain (local examples being Action Records in Preston and Skeleton Records in Birkenhead, but there are numerous other examples across the country, often run by ex-students who had visited the shop). Taking off from independent graphical and book publishing "Suddenly, people were beginning to realise you didn't have to go through a major company to get stuff published..." (2011k:11)

Another significant player, London's Rough Trade, then spearheaded the development of a national network of musical businesses to distribute musical products independently of corporate record labels ('the cartel'). Geoff connected: "I thought 'Oh God! This is all too business like for me'", but became persuaded anyway. He spent the next few years amassing 95 vendors as the North's biggest wholesaler, travelling widely, and making more connections, but quickly found himself reintroduced to "usual business".

Out of shop hours he was promoting local bands, organising gigs and socialising, while in shop hours he was wholesaling, advising and interacting with local musicians and bands daily. Business had been intimately bound up with his personal life until then, and meeting local musical folk in Liverpool night spots he found some invitations difficult to resist. Adultery led

him to split from his wife (who had taken ownership of the shop) and he moved upstairs above the shop to deal with his wholesaling.

Out and about he would encounter bands outside of work in Eric's and was unable to resist the invitation to "help them out" with press and distribution deals through the cartel, financing releases himself, and following others he observed doing the same. Gradually he was lead into running a record label and left his proprietorship behind. The transition was fuzzy and not the work of an actor manipulating the environment into submission: "It was a natural thing", "there wasn't any decision...", "...you just sort of go along with other people, so it was just done eventually, and became the main thing". "Probe was such an integral part of the local scene that I was constantly coming into contact with bands... … [and] It seemed natural for me to dip my toe" (Quoted in Keoghan 2011).

The Probe Plus label then started coming into focus around '81. "...it was a very special shop, I think, and as I say the label kept that flavour", Hardstaff (2011k:17) notes, emphasising connections between the shop and label made them difficult to distinguish separately. Initial releases were reticent of the perceived risk involved, and Geoff still found himself overworked.

> ...the label thing, hmm, I sort of fell into it really; it's like doing the wholesaling, one tends to lead into the other... ...And the first record, in fact, it was a step in the water... ...I thought I'd just leave it like that [no Probe prefit logo] and see if I can do this, you know, before committing any more. We sold 1000 anyway. But then I was busy all over the place, still with the shop, and doing the wholesaling thing... ...It was a madhouse really. I was doing far too much (2010f:5)

Geoff and Hardstaff still had no money between them. Together they "looked at all sorts of different ways of keeping costs down, but keeping the product looking good" (2011k:17).

The second 7" single (already saving on the manufacturing costs of 12") for instance appropriated a 'wrap-around' paper sleeve design from other bricoleurs that avoided otherwise necessary costs of packaging plants in Liverpool or the costlier London. While nearby Factory

Records in Manchester "just threw loads of money" at bands, "it cost next to nothing". Using "ready-made images" from popular culture resembled an inability or unwillingness to exclude wider personal and cultural influences from permeating their products but also became a way of saving money and time that connected with punters' own musical experiences. Re-examining the sleeve Geoff notes "...not only is it effective and people wanted these kind of records, they were buying them, it was so bloody cheap!" (2011k:13).

The label's biggest success (750,000 material format albums sold and counting...) also cost very little, Geoff disputing with the lead singer of Half Man Half Biscuit (known to their fans as HMHB or the 'Biscuits') whether their first album Back in the DHSS cost £60 or £90 to record and produce. It went onto being the highest selling independent album of 1986, being played in its entirety for weeks on end by John Peel and regularly by other prime time BBC Radio shows.

With other releases they challenged normative practices of bands plastering their faces over albums and singles, and quizzed others' celebrity desires. Likewise, they disrupted local conservatism of Liverpool bands "wallowing in the Merseybeat", nostalgically "looking backwards" or looking upwards to musical commerce as little more than a "way to make it big and get out of your council estate" that was often "the most emphasised thing about Liverpool music". Distaste for local icons was combined with more filmic references. Al Johnson, representative to Geoff of a "bombastic" cut-throat entrepreneurial culture (of "showstoppers" with aggressively independent streaks and declaring "I will survive", I'll do things my way", "I'm great, I don't give a fuck, fuck everybody else" kind) that he often encountered in Liverpool, was another ready-made image used. A stark black and white silhouetted figure beckoning audiences with outstretched hands was juxtaposed against the terrifying image of Dorian Gray on the sleeve reverse (Pete Burns' Nightmares in Wax). Other "rip-offs" were more humorous, HMHB album covers for instance jovially grabbing sleeve notes from a Cliff Richard album and rewriting them ("Some songs are for my bank manager..."), and pasting the perpetually unenthused face of the bands lead-singer over the faces of The Beatles on the album cover of 'Four Lads who shook the Wirral' (CD Probe 48, released 1998).

Looking back Hardstaff comments on the freedom they felt to express their own musical experiences and challenge others as they take to business. Their shared irreverence connected them to independent culture of the time and became expressed through products.

It's basically a rip off, really. But, then the great thing about the independent record scene at that particular time, the 80s, was that sort of Jamie Reid ethic, or un-ethic if you like, where you can take anything. "It's ok". "It's fair game to take something and hijack it...and give it some new resonance out of its original context... ...It was sort of like "We don't care", in a sense rough and ready, anybody could do a record sleeve at that particular time. That was the punk ethic I suppose (2011k:13).

In a sense it's a sort of irreverence... ...and if there's a slight political underbelly in there it's affectionate, it's not malicious... ...It's down to the independent thing, and it's very much down to Geoff, the fact that he would let an advert go out that didn't actually recommend the shop! (2011k:14).

Absorbed more into formalised space by their commercial success new problems emerged. The industry standard of full colour printing for instance demanded outlaying high figures, but they found ways of "getting round" it that could imitate the look of full colour and create significance from the struggle and process of creation. Restrictions inherent in their circumstances provoked their creativity, and they found themselves on the way to establishing a unique style of practice that animated their enterprise:

G: Steve would do sleeves that would give the illusion of full colour, because full colour was the most costly of all... ...which as far as people are concerned is a colour sleeve
S: But that actually gave that sleeve and others a particular resonance... ...they're pretty quick solutions as well, and finding ready-made images... ...But, you know, it did work and it did do some sleeves that I think are quite unique, in some

respects. So the process, as much as the idea, and the actual art work, would make them a bit more special

G: I didn't think it looked not colourful enough, or cheap. You think its a style (2011k:15).

Probe started to become known for the style of its releases, and punters related to images of common musical experience played back to them and the entrepreneurial creativity animated:

...people do [read into it], so from the kids on the top deck of the bus with their second-hand album in their bag, sort of looking, reading into it whatever... (2011k:19).

Still with very little money and finding most businesses able to manufacture their musical products were located around London, they began approaching local printers. They taught the unsure printers Hardstaff's techniques through the trial and error of early attempts, suggested the necessary plant and equipment, and persuaded them to make deals.

S: Well, one had to save money really, you know. We tried everything. We tried to break up the cartel of having to go to London to get everything. Sleeves- there was only 3 record sleeves producers, printers, manufactures in the country. They were all based in the South... ...I mean, it's not rocket science, in terms of manufacture, making it up..." (2011:17).

Money and time were saved and new printing facilities for musical business emerged in Liverpool. Even today Geoff will injure his back spending hours making up releases by hand to save on southern packaging costs (happy to ameliorate the pain and monotony by watching day time films, eating crumpets and drinking cups of tea).

Over the years though Geoff was reabsorbed into the world of 'usual business' he thought he had left, found his energy spread thinly, and debts mounting. Others' success in independent musical business and the popularisation of a particular sound changed everything, and Geoff struggled to

run the business efficiently and administer the wide number of businesses he wholesaled to. Attention turned back to saving money but keeping product quality high.

> So by about '84 I pulled out of that cartel thing cos I was losing a fortune, I owed loads of money to them... ...the business side of things was getting on my nerves. We were having continual meetings, they were all becoming more like major labels. I mean, when The Smiths hit it big it all changed like mad... ...everything was becoming drippy... ...and then they were all starting to talk like major labels and it was all units, figures and targets and all this bloody stuff! I'd gathered 95 shops in the area but they weren't paying me... ...So I was in a right state (2010e:12).

Press and distribution deals via the cartel and a less direct approach to production also often left him dissatisfied and revealed reasons to re-relate to his practice. "...I was nearly always disappointed with the result...". The realisation set in that withdrawn production common in the business was "financial suicide" and "artistically a 'no'" for him. He had some experience in the studio producing bands (formed whilst working with another early independent- 'that bloke from Eric's' label - Pete Fullwell's 'Inevitable') and started more closely managing the production of artists working with the label. The transformation was not determined by the dramatic decision of a powerful entrepreneurial narrator:

> ...So it wasn't a plan or consciously I realise now in hindsight when I packed in the wholesaling thing. The financial mess I got myself in, I didn't then think "Right, I'm going to concentrate on taking more of a hand here. It just sort of happens (2010e:12).

He wanted to "capture the essence" and energy of live performances in recorded format, that feeling he had experienced as a young man, and envisioned combining the folk music of one band he worked with and the punk rock "buzzsaw guitar" of another. "I could just imagine him with punk riffs", but foresaw his struggling to record and mix the track.

For a brief period business seems to have then become more serious. Geoff began ensuring bands turned up and performed, involved himself in production, used his own taste to orient practice, turned to "level headed" friends to help out in the studio, and continued trying to save money but keep quality high. Geoff became known for an enthusiastic "hands-on" approach to production.

> S: So there was numerous ways we were trying to sort it...
>
> G: Again, it connects to starting a record label, especially when you go onto albums, that, I couldn't really afford to do it in the normal method, where the recordings cost thousands of pounds, even in those days... ...So it would be inconceivable with all the costs involved- the recording and that. Say to a band, as I learnt early on, "Go over to the studio and tell me when you've finished", it's like financial suicide... ...especially when the end result is bloody disappointing. So this is why you almost unconsciously start taking over it- "Bloody hell! I'm going to make sure they all turn up on time, there's no messing about, and the finished thing is more to my liking". And that's one reason when I brought Sam in. It was 'Gone to Earth'... ...I thought "This band is so good" and had a sort of vision for them, but didn't have any experience regarding studio mixing and the whole thing, the engineering. But Sam did... ...And he was more level-headed than me. I'd just come up with this idea and didn't have any practical ways of seeing this through... ...and he was a really good balance... ...It would have been impossible- all those records that I've done... ...you couldn't have done it through the normal way of doing things (2011k:13).

The process of change was still subtle and fuzzy (not least for out of hours pastimes):

> G: As I say, I was nearly always disappointed with the result... …I'd at least attended recordings- not contributing much, but I was making sure it was like what I wanted. So, from then on, that was '84, and then that continued... ...bringing in Sam was because of my lack of confidence; we all knew each other anyway, as friends, to carry with this idea of doing stuff that I really liked, in most cases, and I

wanted it to sound as good as I thought it should, at least be representative of that band live... ...the essence... ...to catch it to some extent (2011k:21).

They made "foreigner" deals with expert cutters and spent their savings on high quality 2 inch tape recordings.

Back in interview Hardstaff suggests he also experienced the sense that Geoff felt of being able to transcend usual musical business. He describes a rare experience of being able to express the richness of his own musical experience through Probe designs and feed his "hunger, obsession with music" and incorporate "very personal" images whilst working with Geoff that made up for the poor working conditions and pay. Though having to create amidst restrictions imposed by more powerful businesses they found personal reward and social value.

R: Why do you think other companies do theirs this way, and Probe does theirs differently?
S: I don't know, just because it's freedom really, isn't it. Just being able to do what you want. Not many people I work for... ...would just go "Do what you want Steve (2011k:22).

The pair continued practising. Together they produced the music of Geoff's dreams, even signed a few contracts along the way, and took HMHB to the top of the charts (despite ongoing suppression of independent sales reports and losing money on literally everything else).

6.3 Discussion

Geoff continues practising. He retains his hands on approach, keeps busy organising gigs (still runs the merch stall and argues with venue staff personally), writes letters and press releases by hand, takes weeks to send emails (if at all), phones pluggers, promoters and journalists up personally, and still does all this from the comfort of his front room, watching day time films and eating crumpets. The label still has very little money, still borrows it off family and friends in

between the trusty release of HMHB albums (usually every 2 years), and still seems to be meandering on its own path, away from many other more 'usual' musical businesses in the area.

Looking back at how he "got away with it", Geoff emphasises the importance of HMHB in giving him a steady stream of income that he has consistently then lost with other bands. 140 releases and counting, he has found commercial profit with that one band alone. In time this co-dependence between Probe Plus and HMHB has developed into a family-like relationship in which they accept each other's constraints and limitations. "Thank God for Biscuits!", "I feel lucky to have met them", "Nobody can knock them". Deep connections have been made with the nation's musical consciousness and this keeps their practice valuable (illustrated for instance by a recent poll conducted by BBC Radio 6 Music of listeners' favourite ever song to celebrate their 10th birthday that was topped by Biscuits' 'Joy Division Oven Gloves).

His love for music and cultural products is still also infectious, and the significance of his practice in local musical narratives and lack of distinct boundaries of administrative control still enable free labour to be absorbed (myself briefly becoming web-designer for the label, working merch stalls, and promoting the label and performances online). The Probe shop still stands (still owned by his ex-wife, and ran by staff Geoff employed 20 years ago), nostalgically reminiscing of when record shops were central to musical business, imitating the famous Probe bag style, yet its heritage still meaningful to new generations of consumers and aspiring musical actors 40 years later.

New constraints have also set in. Geoff looks around, observing conditions that seem to him as excluding and uninviting as those he re-related to as incentive to practice all those years ago. Back in mid 2010 he was searching for new "resolve" and/or a "young person" (no other qualifications necessary), uninterested or puzzled engaging with the new dominant order of digital products himself. Lamenting uninviting market conditions, he described a "dead" space where historical figures of independence like the New Musical Express and Q Magazine in the past offering free reviews have become the new disinterested order he faces. As the 'independent' space he helped create becomes absorbed again into formalised space, the online space of musical opportunity seeming to replace it is a threat to those like him too slow or unable to

adapt. The label had not secured radio play for 2 years, releases were few and far between, the label's future was uncertain (and seeming it would not be created). He saw mostly just exclusion: "You couldn't do it now- it's gone more and more just commercial", the frustration he felt encountering the local geography of musical business as a young man spreading to most his interactions with formalised space. "The painful side of it is the contact side, the business", "it's almost like "You're a piece of shit, go away", and efforts to engage with the incestuous back-patting felt like "throwing money away". He was pondering retirement at the tender age of 68, his sons sadly uninterested in inheriting the family business (that wife Anne notes will always be impossibly concealed within "Geoff's head" and entangled amidst his messy social life), his continuing relying heavily on his relationship with Hardstaff and the fun still had on days in the studio. Images seemed to be made much less, lose their connection and potency in the face of digital omnipotence, their social value being product of the label's place in musical memories rather than exciting new beginnings. All these years later he seemed constrained again, not the heroic entrepreneur (Dodd 2002) who having transcended into formalised space distinguishes an exterior environment and marshals it into submission, yet also less willing or able to imagine these constraints as incentives to practice and his frustration as human resource.

But the images remain meaningful and valuable to new and old consumers because they animate entrepreneurial creation of space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) within constraint itself. There is a resistance as well as a reticence that keeps his practice entrepreneurial. While new and aspiring musical entrepreneurs are turning away from historical strategies (Certeau 1984) via online social networks, for instance (and many more historical esoteric labels choosing to occupy the online space), Probe Plus extends very little into online business. The website is dated and mostly goes un-updated (dominated by HMHB releases, even selling that most anachronistic of recording formats the cassette, without irony, Geoff unable to find the individual with the passkey for the server the website is stored on), and he has not taken up chance to make connections with thousands of customers around the world able to enact some of the business he finds the hardest. Many rare back catalogue releases are unavailable online, Geoff's personal favourites are often missing, and releases mostly restricted to a few online vendors he knows little about (being invisible for instance on Spotify, currently the second largest stream of income for labels). Meanwhile the same unsold stock thousands of pounds have

been lost on overflows from upstairs in his house, leaving it half uninhabitable, digital distributors' pull surprises by selling obscure releases he had forgotten about (nor even knew they sold) and bloggers regularly reference his releases far and wide. But he resists beginning the daunting task of digitalizing the back catalogue and compiling endless ISBN codes (too busy spending time in the studio recording and producing, doing what he loves most). "I've gone up a totally different path up the mountain" (aware this path he created brings it own constraints and dependencies as well as allowing him to dismiss normative musical opportunity easily discoverable in the world of online business). He rejects these new strategies (Certeau 1984) setting in to his practice and therefore likely excluding him because he lacks the correct resource bundles, continues working at his own pace, at home, watching films, drinking tea and eating crumpets. It is this that matters to him as well as us as customers; his make do versatility (Certeau 1984; Penrose 1959/1995) to occupy and re-relate to constraint as incentive and style and our reading into his experiences and relating them to our own and the practical and instrumental acceptance of current strategies by most other actors that reveal his enterprise.

New resolve was also found in 2011 with the potential release of exciting new musical products as months of struggle in the studio with labile and hard to manage bands began to pay off. Though happily excluded from online business strategies like promotion and social networking, new connections with formalised space and ways of 'getting round' the dominant order are also being created. Out of 5 planned album releases for 2011 (his most for years) 4 were actualized, HMHB played a staggering 9 successful gigs (not bad when the lead singer generally refuses to stay any nights away from his home in Birkenhead), and played the prestigious Shepherd's Bush Empire Theatre (the critics back, the faithful filling out the stalls, and new audiences picking up on the outfit's role in musical narratives). The band had a full-page review in leading music magazine The Word, and were even reviewed in the difficult Q Magazine. Geoff spent the most he has ever on the band's new album- "You can hear the money, it sounds great!". It created a "deluge at the webstore" to the extent that "it was like a production line making the releases up", Geoff almost "couldn't cope", had to make three trips to the post office daily, and employ (for free, naturally) family and friends as extra hands (even the band's lead singer unexpectedly turning up one day and adding the rare and valuable personal touch of handwritten addresses on sleeves). 7000 record sales were made in a matter of weeks, an extra 900 sold by hand at gigs, a

massive £14,000 returned by the first cheque, £7000 the second, still counting, new and old releases finding prime time radio play again, his wife Anne able to comfortably take time off work, and Geoff seems happy again and excited by these new uncertainties of time to come. Success and reason to practice come back into focus: "I knew it was going to sell but this was the fastest since 1st album, probably faster". "It all became too much like hard work, too much like proper work again", "I even almost got fed up of being in the studio" (phone interview 12.3.2012), he laughs, aware these new openings bring invigoration and fulfilment as well as new and old constraints. New images are also priming the narrative with a sense that something exciting is about to happen again. His current favourite band Lovecraft take the front page of the February 2012 issue of leading magazine The Word, their album even with the faint promise of actually making some money.

As 2011 quickly passed the label could have turned to wallow in its own nostalgic reminiscence (much value and ready-made opportunity is likely concealed in the narrative if it did), but 2011 passed with only quiet celebration (Geoff too modest or unable to find the time to organise anything larger).

While a sense of conservatism seems to have set in as Geoff is unwilling or unable to tackle his exclusion from the online space, then, it is given significance by the working space he has created for himself, still at times unhappy with the business side of things, but having imaginatively combined his boyhood love for strange forms of "musicological study" with employment. A famous HMHB t-shirt proudly declares their "Avoiding Proper Work Since 1986" (the year of the band's first release through the label), but Geoff in contrast has managed to "get away" with proper work for 41 years and counting. In this time he has never formalised a proper set of procedures able to abstract him from the experience, is unwilling or unable to keep the world at a strategic distance and continues struggling to manage his practice ("I can't even manage myself!"). This means Geoff remains close to us, not a heroic narrator in control of our role in his narrative, as if we are positioned outside strategic boundaries distinguishing an exterior market (Certeau 1984), instead part of our flesh and blood, propelled by our musical memories and passion and desire for musical products as well as his.

Looking back at the images and this entrepreneurial emergence begins with imaginative re-description (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2001, 2008) of constraints (Penrose 1959/1995) embedded in ordinary experience as incentives to begin practising. Images of organizational creativity emerge as he takes to business and constraints inherent in commercial setting provoke his imagination. Image 1 conveys his founding story (O'Connor 2002) with unorthodox detail usually effaced by institutional desire for sanitized entrepreneurial narratives in which opportunity can be easily observed unfolding. It coordinates "usual business" in pre-founding (Rae 2004a) experience distributing ready-made ladder-like opportunity that excluded (Certeau 1984) aspects of life he enjoyed (e.g. partying, live music, films) and human resources (Penrose 1959/1995) like musical passion (Cardon 2009; Brewis *et al* 2006; Laaksonen *et al* 2011). Feelings of belonging (Penrose 1959/1995) and his geographical location (Penrose 1959/1995) and urbanite existence mattered; Liverpool was an exciting musical city out of working hours but day time employment drew him away, installed problems (how to recombine life and work), and reduced his authorial ability (Rindova *et al* 2009; O'Connor 2002).

Personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995) of taking acid was significant episode (Cope 2003) where constraint twisted and cohered in his hallucinations as incentive to practice, and he imagined himself ascending a ladder and his choices (Shackle 1979) and future being elicited for him. He imagined chance to break free from his role in other's commercial narratives (Rindova *et al* 2009) and create his future (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008).

Configuring other precursor human resources prepares the narrative for something exciting to happen. Experience of travelling widely combined with childhood memories of making do (Certeau 1959/1995). Growing up occupying constraint provoked his entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995:36), away travelling he realised material resources could weigh him down as well as enable him, and back at home he valued the decision to begin practising more than passivity or inactivity on the dole. In distant lands using literal "flesh and blood" resources (Penrose 1959/1995:13) to get by he was introduced to extant services (Penrose 1959/1995) excluded back home, and returned with transformed entrepreneurial temperament and confidence (Penrose 1959/1995:41) to create something . "You need that if you're going to run [a business] as frustratingly erratic as mine" (quoted in Keoghan 2011). Citations (Certeau 1984) from travel

experience and early memories of through consuming musical products and films pepper the images and set fires in his entrepreneurial imagination (Hjorth 2007) later to be reignited.

Back in Liverpool more constraint (Penrose 1959/1995) and his frustration reified what possibilities were excluded (Certeau 1984). The dominant order (Hjorth 2005) of rude shop owners offering restricted services (Penrose 1959/1995) omitted (Certeau 1984) music he had encountered elsewhere and aspects of his musical experience (travel, films, illicit substances, etc.). They imagined musical opportunity that effaced everything musical apart from the commercial object allowing its distribution, Geoff on the other suggests musical opportunity experience too rich and messy to package up so neatly within strategic boundaries (Certeau 1984) imposed by the efficiency drives of larger businesses. Realising commercial value left over (money still in his pockets, and the human resource of everything excluded potentially also valuable to others), a better materially endowed housemate brings opportunity to initiate business venture and commercialize unused human resources briefly into focus. Geoff's hesitant recollection is telling here, his cautiousness being that his re-entry into commerce should not be narrated in such ways that it poses practical and instrumental decisions of a powerful entrepreneurial narrator. Configuring the Probe shop did re-describe (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979; Ricouer 1990) problems embedded in ordinary life as incentives to practice, yet one of these 'problems' was his feeling life was being co-opted as an instrument for business. His choice to begin practising intercepted (Shackle 1979) in this becoming, kicking away the ladder of preconfigured opportunity, and expressed a desire to become impractical by breaking up (Rindova *et al* 2009) his role in others' narratives rather than dissolve his life within business.

Constraint (Penrose 1959/1995) then becomes embedded in practice itself (Sarasvathy 2008) as Geoff made designs for a second-hand record shop. The image remains informal (Dimov 2011), Geoff unable and unwilling to formalise any commercial opportunity held at a distance from his experience (not least because of what such strategic definition might exclude).

Material resources still constrained he then turned to engage with formalised space but found a dominant order concentrated by large global businesses distributing strategies (Certeau 1984) designed for their own economies of scale, that only authorised shops with normative conditions

(of the kind needing the funds he did not have), and wanted a track record he could not provide. They designed a nexus of distinct opportunity that excluded those without the requisite resource bundles (Shane & Venkataraman 2000), but dilemma (Pitt 1998) gave way to possibility as Geoff's funding ingenuity (Penrose 1959/1995) has his immediate network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) of pre-founding relations (Rae 2004a) providing the funds and authorisations necessary to pass the strategic gaze.

Entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) is then expressed through creating entrepreneurial space (Hjorth 2004, 2005) within a marketplace dominated by others by undercutting rivals' prices and dismissing policies and laws (Penrose 1959/1995) they accepted. Personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995) of other bricoleurs competing by making connections with others like him (Sarasvathy 2008) excited by the prospect of a good musical bargain drew him to imitate the tactic (Certeau 1984). Personal taste and memories of travelling oriented the records he bought and a range of complimentary products, tempered constrained material resources, and differentiated his services.

Choices were made as well as dismissed, "...the officially sort of attack..." he imagined to be another ladder being exchanged for "this rougher one..." along which ready-made and discoverable opportunities fall away and force him to create his narrative imaginatively amidst circumstantial constraint.

The Probe shop struck a polemic (Certeau 1984) chord with market expectation (Penrose 1959/1995) of the nature of record shops. It was untidy and strange in relation to most other local businesses but the image sought coherence (though did not necessarily make much 'sense') through how it related to his and others' musical experience. In some ways it resembled Geoff's previous drug induced trips as much as it did his travels, a messy space overflowing with citations where buying musical product meant much more than simply the exchange of objects.

Table 5: Analysis of Image 1 from Geoff Davies & Probe Records

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Other businesses & entrepreneurs: global corporations (CBS, etc.) larger local businesses put the weak at an obvious disadvantage, local businesses define musical opportunity so distinctly that aspects of musical experience are excluded. Economies of scale, scale of resources, quality of premises:- all distinguishing commercial opportunity and excluding though without requisite resources. "Usual business", normative opportunity plots and ladders; strategic boundaries to musical opportunity and products in region; local conventions and culture of musical shops and businesses; normative boundaries between shop owners and consumers; lack of engagement by vendors. Recommended Retail Price policies and shop regulations. Normative opportunity plots of	Constraints encountered in local geography of musical business re-related to as possibility. Previous employers, family, friends, misfits, the scene, other bricoleurs issue possibility. Musical opportunity as indistinct and overflowing with significance. Ready-made ladders reify the absence of uncertainty and possibility in life, provoke desire to experience uncertainty and potential to create future. Regulations generally ignored. Normative opportunity plots initially accepted then resisted as exclusion is encountered.

	support by corporate business and exclusion otherwise.	
Material Resources	Material resources as driver of productive opportunity. Normative range of musical products to cater for local tastes-what is known rather than what is not. Reliance on the material object.	Parents' savings, money from friends, previous employers enable shop to open, eventually shop sales allow development and more material assets are developed (3 Probe Records shops in total). Premises in poor repair, but constraint re-related to as pure possibility and able to authorise and animate versatility. Material constraint tempered through purchasing musical products from other bricoleurs, using second-hand records and personal collection to fill shelves. Memories and the significance of material musical products.
Human Resources	Accept dependence on larger corporate businesses, playing role in supply chain of musical products produced by corporate business (autonomy as unfavourable, dependence on corporate business as opportunity). Available information and labour (clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical). Internal cultures and knowledge. 'State of the arts', social	Previous employers authorise practice in face of strategic gaze, friends, family, customers, local scene, better endowed friends with entrepreneurial capacity highlight productive opportunity and omit reliance on corporate business. Personal experiences issue possibility:-childhood love for music; excitement for musical products; taking acid; travel and experience of excluded products and services; personal tastes in music; childhood and travel memories of make-do versatility; knowledge of local musical

	networks, mobility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility. Expectations influencing experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Market expectations of what businesses and musical services are like. Market demand: emergence and popularization of independent publishing External culture.	happenings, bands and places. Resists desire to leave Liverpool, feels sense of belonging and possibility in the absence. Excluded and unused aspects of musical experience amplified by their exclusion from strategically defined musical opportunities are commercialized and omit boundaries between consumers and producer. Personal experience of normative business practices begins to issue reasons to resist absorption into usual business. Altered temperament and attitude to money and occupying constraint after travel and childhood memories of occupying constraint. Opportunity unable to be kept at a distance, it absorbs life and others, overflows from practice, draws in the entrepreneurial capacity of others and labour. Versatility expressed through capacity to disrupt normative opportunity plot and strategies and create rather than discover opportunity and capacity to re-relate to constraint as incentive and style. Market expectation creates polemic, poses uniqueness, external culture authorises practice as creative.

Image 2 then describes space made in the city and wider musical business within which others began to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) less influenced but still seeking authorisation (Certeau 1984) via relations to the dominant order. The shop altered strategic opportunity plots by revealing to others their potential to create opportunities tactically and the social value of doing so, and helped establish "a type of business that didn't exist" out of frustrating experiences of encountering that which did. With Eric's, city spaces where other images saw constraint, decay and risk were re-related to as style and incentive to practice. Spaces opened up in which others imitated the "independent style business thing", and Probe started playing a role in musical narratives as a new beginning (Shackle 1979) that introduced new uncertainties as to the symbolic influence of the institutional settings of musical business.

Only able to work imaginatively with the symbolic influence of their settings they had to be practical (Shackle 1979), yet opportunity was never localized in a spatial nor institutional sense and instead overflowed into the surrounding area, theirs' and others' social lives, and boundaries of administrative control (Penrose 1959/1995) remained indistinct, tactical and open to being permeated by others (actualized via the numerous faces that passed through the shop and Mathew Street on their way to success and fame). Geoff's social network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) expanded effectually (Sarasvathy 2008) by absorbing the technical and managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) of customers and shop staff.

Boundaries of administrative control distinguishing a market exterior (Certeau 1984) were loose or omitted but competition drew them to absorb promotional strategies (Certeau 1984). They tactically re-related to convention by turning the strategy on itself ("Greatest disaster of them all!"). The unimaginative instrumental intentions of local competition were amplified and market expectation and culture (Penrose 1959/1995) authorised polemics (Certeau 1984) and jokes ("It basically said 'You're a Cowboy!"). "The rest are just shops!", opponents were reduced to mere commerce, Probe in contrast a complete experience.

Yet as his social network became organized by more powerful actors the pressures and strains of wholesaling renewed constraints of "usual business". Via ordinary working life invitation

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(Sarasvathy 2008) emerged to break free (Rindova *et al* 2009) again and help others and absorb strategies to release musical products. The record shop mutated into a record label, but the continuity of history and identity (Penrose 1959/1995:22) made the transition fuzzy, only marked by a series of even if bets (Sarasvathy 2008).

The pair exploited personal experience (money and time saving tactics) and omitted (Certeau 1984) plant and equipment (Penrose 1959/1995) otherwise acting as isolating mechanisms and excluding them (Certeau 1984). What also emerged as "a tick" or playful unwillingness to prevent citations overflowing and the signs of constraint imaginatively re-related to began to be recognised as a unique style (Hjorth 2005; Certeau 1984) or identity (Penrose 1959/1995), and audiences picked up on products displaying the signs of entrepreneurial creation. Boundaries between musical experience and musical products and their practice dissolved.

The protagonists' own journey of entrepreneurial creation also became mirrored through their re-relating to epic opportunity plots (Hamilton 2006) of distinct heroic entrepreneurial self and opportunity (celebrity entrepreneurs with strategic opportunities) and nostalgic reminiscence. More citations (Certeau 1984) from popular culture and personal experience convey and veiled declarations (Rindova *et al* 2009), assembled new polemics (Certeau 1984) and took on new resonance and authority (Certeau 1984) from the intense and subversive entrepreneurial culture of the time (Penrose 1959/1995). They omitted (Certeau 1984) the necessity of engaging with formalised and concentrated space of manufacturing and publishing around London and taught local businesses. New entrepreneurial space opened.

Back in formalised space performing a strategic role in others' commercial narrative, human resources (time, energy) became exhausted, and material ones excluded by the lack of administrative control (Penrose 1959/1995) mediated to the boundaries (Certeau 1984) of practice. The popularization of other musical products displaying the signs of constraint and creation was a significant episode (Cope 2003): Geoff's social network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) reconfigured itself around 'usual business' strategy, proper, practical and instrumental opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) and left invitations to vacate formalised space.

More confident, Geoff's entrepreneurial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) is shown expanding as he conjures images for new musical genres and develops his own practical theories (Rae 2004b) to negotiate his constraints. His own constrained managerial capacity to actualize these images invited the reconfiguration of his social network (i.e. absorbing Sam inside). Normative boundaries distinguishing record label and musician are redistributed as Geoff works closely with bands, and material resources are saved and exclusion overcome. New images are actualized, personal experience and taste orient practice again, and constraint is embedded in practice (Sarasvathy 2008) as a reputation for hands on production. The transition remains fuzzy, Geoff emphasising repeatedly there being no one formal entrepreneurial decision but a subtle reinterpretation of practice as personal as well as musical and commercial value are observed slipping away. "...there was no plan, I just wanted to get out of that world, I told you- the straight working business world. I had to do something, and the two things I was crazy about were music and films", he repeats himself to make sure the opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) of this 'straight working business world' is not copied into the narrative reproduction: "It wasn't necessarily a plan. It became a plan- no we did it without any plan". Their entrepreneurial versatility enabled them to create music that reignited the fires (Hjorth 2007) early encounters with musical products had set in Geoff's imagination as a young man (but still mostly lost money).

As Hardstaff concludes the narrative referencing what felt like a breaking free (Rindova *et al* 2009) from the dogmatic commerce of others to express the nature of his own musical experience the image closes in but remains with us. Examining image 1 and 2 together a plot connects them in which actors employ common, but marginal, human resources in the form of citations (Certeau 1984) from musical experience. It is this un-used human resource (Penrose 1959/1995) experienced being excluded from musical opportunity and products that lead to images originally being created and that is implicitly cited again when the label is unable to compete via material resources. In turn the tactic (Certeau 1984) helps reveal to us the nature of our own musical experience as something not constrained within the efficiency driving devices of formalised business but instead able to transcend time and space to reach out to far off lands, invoke memories, and spring the social imagination. We buy into it because our own personal

experiences of buying musical products are often quite similar to Geoff's as a young man and in counterposing the tactic against the wider historical and institutional environment (Penrose 1959) together we create space for him to occupy. As this happens normative boundaries (Certeau 1984) between the territories of us as consumers and him as producer historically in place fall away. The prosaics (Steyaert 2004) of being-in-business strike up fires and clear spaces in our imaginations (Hjorth 2007), the images picking up commercial value because they redistribute strategic boundaries of how to define and use commercial products. Geoff's story also stays with us (41 years so far) because the images play double roles (Hjorth 2007:726) as the constant signs of struggling with constraint act as markers that animate an exciting story of opportunity creation. Ellipses open in normative epic plots (Hamilton 2006) of discovery via global corporations and effectual narratives (Sarasvathy 2008) that have practice necessarily concluding in large, strategic and domineering businesses, and we glimpse other ways of engaging in musical business, entrepreneurial and conceiving of opportunity that is not strategically separate from experience and so distinctly instrumental and commercial. Even when success is found practice remains informal (Dimov 2011), playful (Hjorth 2004, 2005), and "ramshackle", perhaps sometimes badly managed Geoff admits, and he reveals an ongoing discomfort with being practical and instrumental, and a tendency to retreat again when it begins to feel too much like "proper work" that keeps him seeming human and the flesh and blood connections with us intact.

Because the images connect with our experiences like this and disallow their own edges and boundaries setting in too quickly the institutional desire to recover the commercial opportunities from the text becomes troublesome. The scholarly appropriation is unable to fully explain the unfolding of opportunity and lay it out in an unmoving nexus; instead it remains concealed within images that force us to try to understand (Penrose 1959/1995: 5,26) opportunity experience and how Probe creates value within our own lives. The narratives are not mistaken, the pull to distribute the shop to one image and the label to the other is a pragmatic one but a desire that would lead to an inaccurate evaluation of why they have so much resonance and value in the first place. Looking back from the point of successful organization it would be easy to distribute and define discrete opportunities but it is because the images are lived, created, tactical and struggled with even when successful that they cannot be so easily severed from the

connections that give them significance. Geoff is unable to distinguish distinct and strategic boundaries to musical opportunity and keep it a distance because his love of music is a central resource he cannot give up. A rich beforeness (Hjorth 2005) to the images we observe today delimits their scholarly appropriation and the connections to our own memories and lives preclude the extent to which they can be strategically defined. They remain entrepreneurial in the settings of case study; scholars have to wrestle with the pull to characterise the protagonists as powerful heroic narrators in control of their narrative, practical and instrumental, rather than the anti-businessman (Boje 2001) Geoff seems to be.

Opportunity remains elusive (Dimov 2011) to both Geoff and us as scholars. The images do not coordinate a historical and institutional environment (Penrose 1959/1995) that is otherwise barren of life and meaning but reveal a complexly interacting set of relations and experiences necessary but not enough alone for opportunity to emerge and find ground. Geoff stays close to us, our images and experiences overlap and seek significance in relation to each other, the rare relation created with the nature of musical opportunity keeping us perceiving value in the images, turning the radio on and buying his records. If Geoff or we as scholars could identify and quantify the opportunity as a distinct commercial space held at a distance then it would lose this significance. We would negate that much of its value is the story of entrepreneurial struggle in the face of ongoing constraint which keeps the opportunity mystical and firmly concealed in ours' as well as Geoff's musical experience. Instead what is revealed by the richly textured qualitative connections is the social value (Penrose 1959/1995) of tactical stories of creation themselves. Strategic narratives of musical entrepreneurship fall away, the images revealing how actors need not be isolate epic entrepreneurial heroes to find success- "anybody could do it" was the feeling he and others picked up on and popularized. Through this one of the most entrenched isolating mechanisms of formal space since the emergence of musical business and bands like The Beatles falls away.

Rather than the jerky mechanics some scholars might like, the images invoke an entrepreneurial desire to not subsume opportunity experience to the priorities of the practical and instrumental conscience by imposing distinct strategic boundaries of administrative control. The experience of being-in-business, manifest through make do versatility and as an enjoyment of inserting

references and making jokes and snipes at environmental figures and icons is not effaced but instead opens up spaces in commonplace stories of musical experience. The boundaries to opportunity and the site, as Penrose found, cannot be so easily defined; the citations and influences are too many and too messy to capture strategically, which keeps them entrepreneurial and interesting; unmanageable by Geoff and study of his life in musical business. Geoff began resisting the pragmatic tendency and how us as scholars now must also resist to animate how images emerge and have influence, rather than subsume his practice into the formal opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) of the normal working business world he left.

Table 6: Analysis of Image 2 from Geoff Davies & Probe Plus

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Concentration of musical manufacturing and publishing in formalised space (London); local manufacturing plant; practices of local competition. Development of independent supply-chain of musical products (Rough Trade, etc., other smaller independents, wholesaling, development and expansion of market for independent musical products. Influx of larger corporate record shops (Virgin, etc.). The New Musical Express as central source of promotion, and reliance upon Q Magazine as well as local and national radio, popularization of indie music as commercial opportunity.	Possibility and authorisation as inherent to constraint and restricted settings (Mathew Street). Mathew Street as a space of opportunity where punters, bands, and promoters etc., from the region and wider meet and combine. Resistance to role in suppy-chain networks, business experienced bodily, issues reasons to vacate. Resists reliance on NME, etc., feels self reintroduced to 'usual business', experiences popularization of indie sound as alienating and process of formalisation that again excludes aspects of musical experience.
Material Resources	Material assets as driver of productive opportunity. Costs of recording, production, manufacture and publishing, normative packaging routines, land and site.	Re-relation to constraint as incentive to practice and style of products, productive opportunity found concealed within constraint able to animate and authorise versatility, space made locally to save, new money saving packaging exploited.

	Records & releases (actual, potential, unsold).	Shop sales, album sales (of specific importance HMHB), staff work for free (or other forms of payment), help from wife. Probe Records shops (3 in total) combine but money consistently lost, unsold stock piles up in personal residence, but accepts loss and continues to practice anyway. Label moves to personal residence (saves, allows organization of ordinary life).
Human Resources	Available information and labour (clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical)- likely assumed deveoped through previous practice and panoptics Internal cultures and knowledge. 'State of the arts', social networks, mobility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility. Expectations influencing experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Label owners assumed to be at a	Childhood love for music; excitement for musical products; taking acid; travel and experience of excluded products and services; personal tastes in music; childhood and travel memories of make-do versatility; deep embedding in local musical happenings issue new possibilities, unused aspects of musical experience amplified by their exclusion from strategically defined musical opportunities sold in shop, boundaries fall away and shop and label are embedded in musical consciousness. Available labour nominates self, works for free, provides information, others' musical passion and desire able to be expressed due to indistinct tactical nature of opportunity, able to be created and brought into others' lives. Learns over time, experiences others' work in studio, imagines more aspects of musical experience at risk of being excluded, feels

	strategic distance from production of bands. Normative opportunity plots of transition to distinct heroic entrepreneurial figure; representation of such plots through album and artwork; subsequent strategic boundaries of producer/consumer; bombastic and strong heroic entrepreneurial culture of music; celebrities, personal and local icons. Institutional politics. Market expectations of what businesses and musical services are like. Role in musical narratives and nostalgia for previous creativity potential resource.	entrepreneurial capacity expand as imagines combining outfits. Re-relates to normative opportunity plots by citing and subverting them through packaging designs, resists proper space of manufacture and state of arts due to financial constraint, insinuates space within local industry, constraint re-related to as incentive and style and consumers pick up on it animating versatility. Time, and ability to get up early. Reputation, public approval and identity of Probe shop overflows into label, creates interesting story of creation. Lo-fi aesthetics authorise versatility and creativity. Dismisses commercializing others' or own nostalgia or playing up role in narratives, remains anonymous, close relation with consumers and inability or unwillingness to keep musical opportunity at a distance more important, love of music everything. Never able to identify distinct self and opportunity, it remains elusive and indistinct but constantly issues new reasons to practice, finds self alone up a mountain not of own making.

7 James Barton, Cream and Creamfields

At the time of writing James Barton was the head of Cream- one of the world's best known dance music clubs which originated from Liverpool and managed the large global dance music festival Creamfields. 2 interviews were taken with Barton; one in the luxurious surroundings of a corporate boardroom at Cream headquarters in Liverpool city centre, the via phone call. The first image draws largely from the first interview and is peppered with citations from secondary data, the second image draws from both interviews.

7.1 Image 1: The Emergence of Cream

Interview drew some loose boundaries to Barton's practice by asking him to describe the year leading up to Cream's emergence. The organization of a club was treated as a formal strategy that might elicit particular modes of behaviour. For him and marketing literature distributed by Cream though the image instead begins not with the years leading up to Cream's emergence but with childhood memories that he replays to "square the circle" with the corporate success of today.

Attending gigs was a weekly, nightly occurrence spent with close friends, on school nights, where Barton learnt what he liked, didn't like, and had his entrepreneurial desire stimulated.

> First and foremost, the weird thing about me is that live music was my first
> passion. So when I was a young kid, me and my best mates, we used to spend as
> many nights as we could in The Empire or in the Royal Court or wherever
> watching bands. So I've seen everybody and I think I have to explain that to try
> and square the circle with Cream, because, I didn't realise, but looking back now,
> my broad taste in music and my broad awareness of live music and everything
> else comes from just going to see everything and anything (2010a).

He occupied constrained settings growing up back then, but they outlined what else there could be. Liverpool offered few interesting job prospects, industrial decline had set in, traditional

employment was lacking and associated social problems consuming some he grew up with by finding them a life of crime and addiction. Consumption of musical products was a way to escape these circumstances, Barton posing himself in the interview as an émigré whose early love for live music had him transcending his council estate and travelling the city. A burning desire mounted to do something, waiting to be exploited and which he feels differentiated him from others less aware or consumed by their surroundings.

> Liverpool in the mid 80's was a tough city. Politically it was a nightmare, drugs were rife, unemployment was huge...it was a completely different place. It was a very bleak place really for somebody like me who was sort of very aware of their surroundings. I really felt as though I had a burning feeling in my stomach that my friends didn't have and at that time I didn't really understand... (2010a).

As Barton was reaching his late teens other well referenced periods of musical entrepreneurship in the city were settling down and inviting others to challenge their persistence. The second so-called Merseybeat era of the 1970s and 1980s associated with Mathew Street consumed his brothers and in its passing revealed a space inviting filling somehow. Some acts that were popular back then Barton minimises to prepare the city for his own and he notes how other outfits that he found interesting by bypassing Liverpool for the regional centre of music business (Manchester) drew him away and left invitations to practice. Other early encounters with "cool music" (new blends of post-punk rock, electronica) came from his brothers.

> So, for me, the way out, or the hobby or the passion I had was going to get in to see as many bands as I could, and I saw lots of cool bands and lots of really shit bands as well. But I saw everybody (2010a).

Barton left school without formal qualifications, just cheeky self confidence (put to the test on busy paper rounds and family market stalls). "I knew I had what is now described as 'entrepreneurial ability', so I was a little ducker and diver... ...I had the knack for turning £10 into 20 or £50... ...I then discovered that I could actually go and watch as many bands as I liked by buying tickets in advance and... ...acting as a ticket tout" (2010a). Travelling Europe in his teens

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"seeing amazing bands in amazing cites" he learnt how major musical acts operated, and observed and occupied the spaces left behind by more powerful business.

> ...everything was about London then. In the mid 80s, yeah Liverpool had a good scene but I was too young for Eric's... So, as it happens, Liverpool wasn't really doing a lot, and also I was travelling loads... So I was getting access and seeing how all these different cities did it and Liverpool back then, as I said, was a pretty bleak place. There wasn't really a lot to stay here for (2010a).

On his return in 1988 acid house was hitting British streets. Dancing and travelling to rave clubs like The Trip in London Barton found his imagination stimulated again, and glimpsed the chance of separating from previous musical influences. "This was different": it felt like the start of something new and exciting. "Don't forget, after punk, acid house was the next really cool thing to drop". Barton began touting at raves and underground clubs he travelled to. Rave culture absorbed his musical passion into its sweaty hedonistic settings, and combined his need to survive with the need to live and have fun. "...[T]he idea of making some money and going out clubbing all night was perfect" (2010a).

> ...and it sort of changed me, like most people involved in dance music...heard this sound, saw what was going on and fell in love with it basically... ...which just opened my eyes and dance music was it for me... ...yeah, I think even then I knew "This was different... ...Something my brothers didn't know about... ...I knew it was modern and cool. Acid house and house music and techno were something that I thought "This is the future" (2010a).

Not much had changed on his return to Liverpool, the music that excited him still mostly restricted to purchase or pirate radio only. He sat at home watching television, frustration mounting. The Hacienda (the mediatized home of British acid house) was drawing him and others in, spreading the word (though not making much money it seems), and Tony Wilson of Factory Records promoted that city down the M62 as the regional centre of musical opportunity

on his weekly television show. This internecine ethnic rivalry amid civic neighbours amplified his own enterprise and spurred him on:

> I used to say this a lot- what got me into this in the first place is me sitting at
> home, frankly frustrated with what was going on around me, seeing Tony Wilson
> on TV every Friday night... ...telling us how amazing Manchester was and
> promoting his own record label and his own nightclub. But, actually, doing it
> really fucking well, and sitting here thinking "Fucking Mancs!" (2010a)

Between all this possibility of transforming Liverpool as a setting for something "cool and modern" able to excite him and others comes into relief.

Returning to Liverpool in September 1988 at the age of 20 Barton then initiated his own acid house music night called Daisy at the State Ballroom in Liverpool. He occupied an otherwise unused week night, utilised makeshift promotional practices (fly posting, word of mouth), and relied on family and friends to fill out the numbers. His biography on outlar.com has it that hundreds turned up, wore smiley face t-shirts to celebrate acid house's arrival, danced non-stop, and claims the night eventually became a victim of its own success, overrun with red faced punters. Others struggled to manage him and Barton turned to initiate a second night club in the city (Underground). Local celebrities danced through the night, Barton immersed himself in the city's emergent dance music culture, played and promoted other local nights and forged close relationships.

Connections were made with formalised space too. Barton was employed in the world's third largest record company Bertelsman Music Group (BMG) of the time (since divided and sold to Sony BMG and Universal Music Publishing Group) for five years as a band manager. Life was exciting; he managed bands closely, travelled, and inherited knowledge of formalised practice but experienced life on others' terms. "I've seen the inside of a record company. The problem with that is you're not working for yourself. I think people like me, they like control...for me, somebody as determined, a determination bordering on aggression, it's quite easy to become frustrated". It felt like "they control my destiny", "it's like being on the end of a leash, wanting to

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go, but somebody holding you back. I felt let down". He left, more sure of his entrepreneurial ability; "I was fantastic at business, at doing the deals...[but] I wanted my success to depend on how good I was", more willing to make bets on his own; "there is comfort in knowing that win or lose at least you made a fucking decision", happy to face the consequences; "I can deal with the disappointments, as long as they're my own", "if the shit hits the fan, as long as it's my fan I don't mind" (2010a).

Eventually he vacated formalised space. On his return electronic music was no longer underground, but filled the airwaves. In his absence the raids of Castle Morton Common and moral panic amplified the visibility of rave culture (the ravers being described by Home Secretart Douglas Hurd as "nothing more than a band of medieval brigands who have no respect for the law or the rights of others"; Carey 2012). The BBC had prime time acid house programs (Def2, fronted by the energised presenter 'Normski'), and S'Express and Bill Drummond and Jimmy Cauty's KLF had crossed over and scored number ones around the world. Dance music had entered popular culture.

> The turning point for dance music has got to be Radio One. It's got to be. I mean the fact that, to connect to the pockets, the scene if you like, and then push it into everybody's house, everybody's car and move it over ground- I mean, I remember Radio One, even in 1988... ...was playing dance records (2010a).

Liverpool had made up for lost time too. The mild illegality of outdoor raving was being replaced with indoor partying as acid house became commercialized, and Crowds flocked to Quadrant Park in Bootle (the nation's first legal all night megaclub, closed in 1992). Relationships with other promoters and DJs created whilst dancing were extended, and invited collaboration, Barton forged new ones whilst playing and dancing, and observed the city's market for dance music expand as thousands travelled there.

With the same acquaintances and DJ's he met elsewhere in 1992 Barton then initiated a more serious venture backed by better resourced others in an "unfashionable, derelict part of Liverpool" (Official Cream Podcast 2011) (14 on map). Named Cream it struggled to fill the

Nation venue initially, but free entry and word of mouth invited more punters. A cleaner version of the rave culture and American and European dance music it emerged from was offered. Barton and others imitated what others musical émigrés (i.e. The Beatles) had done before them: "We repackaged it and sold it back, we sold it to America and we sold it to the rest of the world" (2010a). He and Hughes were optimistic their entrepreneurial zeal would create the connections and openings for the club in Liverpool.

> I think entrepreneurs are like that- they're very aware of what's going on around them, and what they know. This is what I used to say about Cream in the early days: "Cream was about mine and Darren Hughes' taste in music and graphic design", right, and we just hoped that 1000 people shared that taste, then 2000, then 5000, then 10,000 (2010a).

Back at home they took reference from other popular practice, styled the Cream brand on rap music record label Def Jam, and imagined Cream too could be a "lifestyle brand" and represent a way of being culturally and commercially valuable to others. ""So come on, who does Cream want to be?"", he recalls being asked by press, "Do you want to be Virgin?" and would answer "No, we want to be Def Jam... ...Virgin is great, but Def Jam is a massive life style brand in America", from music, to TV to clothes. It does everything. If you're black and you live in America, you're fucking into Def Jam"" (2010a). Cream could imitate that relationship he thought, transcend the bricks, mortar and vinyl and embed the brand in people's everyday lives.

Marketing literature distributed and music press then began referencing Barton's own humble roots to differentiate Cream from competitors. Another club that opened the year before Cream did was The Ministry of Sound from London. As he had done watching Wilson on television, Barton seems to have felt the competition with Ministry viscerally, their success affronting his own and posing them as opponents to overcome. His and Hughes' background contrasted against their southern adversaries so much better educated and resourced and their passionate managerial style enthused with the energy of dance music limited the degree of separation between them and punters. "We were on the dance floor most of the time", "we had DJs in that not only our audience liked but we liked", "we would be leading the audience at the front going "This guy is

fucking amazing!"". Some affinity was felt with those who like them were previously anonymous, filling club floors. Cream was marketed as a "people's club" (2010a).

> We put ourselves on the side of the punters, because we were punters. We said "We're with them". We were always seen as, as somebody said in an interview: "The difference between Ministry and Cream is that the Ministry is run by some Eton toff and Cream is run by two kids from council estates living out their dream. And we just wound them up with that. They hated us for it. We were just like "We're better than you, but you've got more money and you're more educated than us" (2010a).

> We got away with that because we were only 21 or 22 ourselves. So we set ourselves up as the people's club, so to speak. "Yeah, we make money off you, but actually we don't fleece you" (2010a).

Over the next five years Cream became one of the world's biggest clubs, and staged the world's biggest dance acts. It transformed Liverpool again as a setting for musical opportunity, making it a national hot spot for electronic music, and attracting funding and punters (a mythical poll by John Moores University in 1994 cited by the Cream podcast (2011) and variously elsewhere but invisible through scholarly searches and allegedly made up by another local entrepreneur, Jayne Casey, claims 70% of students applying to the university chose it because of the club). The forgotten industrial area around the venue slowly mutated into an area of the night time economy, and the brand became a coffee table name with close competitor The Ministry of Sound. The two clubs were everywhere during the late 1990s, large marketing campaigns saw them advertise on prime time television the superstar DJ's the cult of which they helped create, and they spent the next few years competing for market space via synonymous releases. They were ubiquitous even to those who never went. BBC Radio 1 regularly broadcast live club events, people bought their bomber jackets, got tattoos of the "highly coveted swirl" logo, and purchased compilations of their favourite club floor fillers (Cream Live released through Barton's old employer BMG UK in 1995 sold upwards of 300,000, 60,000 in its first week, remained in the top 10 albums for 4 months) (2010a). Cream bought out Nation and the venue's

capacity quickly multiplied from the initial 400 to 3000 eventually, was voted 'Club of the Year' for 1995, 1996 and 1997 by leading dance music magazines (Muzik and Mixmag), and Barton convened with local council and police and involved lawyers to orient his enterprise. Two years later Cream sprung up in Ibiza's biggest venue as the island's main musical attraction. In 1996 Cream was then incorporated into Cream Holdings Group, others invested and shares were sold (Barton remaining managing executive). In 1998 Virgin Records began supporting more releases of club music compilations (20 released since, upwards of 4 million units sold, podcast), and more nights (e.g. Bugged Out!) and special events were added under the venue's belt.

Barton too noticed the effect all this was happening.

> We were being talked about as one of the most influential brands in music, in culture, I was voted one of the most influential people in the country... ...at home people were talking about us as one of the companies that had helped rebuild Liverpool (2010a).

He had been taken quite a way from his humble beginnings. He won awards, spoke with politicians (not bad for a boy from the council estates of Everton), conversed with his old heroes and became friends with adversaries (e.g. Wilson) at music biz events. Looking back at all this he recalls his childhood awareness, grafting it on to the club to 'square the circle' again, as if trying to explain to himself this success amongst so many constraints.

> We definitely felt like we were changing Liverpool, and it was because of our creativity, if you like- we were very aware... For ten years Cream was the centre, or one of a couple of companies or organisations who just seemed to be pulling all the strings musically... ...I think there is a lot to be said for being the first or one of the first... ...which is not true, but the other companies have now disappeared (2010a).

Today Cream's official podcast still distributes this valuable spiel of being the "alternative", the club's humble roots and originality and counterposes it against the global corporatism of today to

animate the meteoric rise to global success story. Cream markets itself on a valuable heritage few others can claim:

> Reasserting Liverpool's dominance as the home of many a musical genre, Cream burst onto the 90s Northern clubbing scene with a swagger of sophisticated cool, making house music history and cementing the highly coveted swirl [logo] as the chosen figure head of the clubbing phenomenon of a generation (Official Cream Podcast 2011)

> [Nobody] imagined that 18 years on from starting the alternative to what was happening down the M62 that Cream would be a multi-million pound music and media company with a huge impact on global club and youth culture. Cream's is a story that has touched millions... ...Over the last [18] years the company has built it's reputation on delivering innovative, creative and popular appeal to youth audiences (Official Cream Podcast).

But good things never last. A sea change in the popularity of electronic music occurred around the millennium as a new wave of indie bands emerged and consumers became less interested in collective abandonment than individualist shoegazing. "...There was definitely a switch off from dance music". In its wake a new space emerged characterised by collapse, loss, death, deflation, trauma, and sober realisations things had to change. "We'd got to the point where we thought "We can stick this logo on anything and it will work"" (2010a). The transformation is divided up by Barton the powerful managerial narrator as he looks back and poses his emergence in episodes of phased growth:

> ...then you hit the first period where maybe the business is going through its traumatic stage. Suddenly, things weren't as easy as they had been throughout the 90s. I think 2000 was when the bubble was punctured and by 2002 it had deflated... ...suddenly things started to drop off a cliff. The marketplace changed. There was definitely a period of about 2 or 3 years when dance music was on life support... ...So then the challenges came. What came from that I think was that

suddenly the competition between the organisations and the pettiness that used to
exist suddenly stopped. A realisation kicked in that we had to first of all look at
our own business inside. We all had to change budgets, we all had to suddenly
get serious about trying to run it as a proper business. We were fortunate because
we had just raised quite a lot of money. We'd just took quite a lot of investment
through, so that sort of kept us afloat, kept us in cash. But we had 2 years where
our combined losses were £1.5m... ...We had to reorganise and we had to find a
way of building from there. We were lucky because we had an international
business... ...I think what we did very cleverly after the millennium downturn
was we focused in on the products. We put the brand to one side... (2010a).

7.2 Image 2: The Formalisation of Space - Creamfields

The Cream nightclub in Liverpool city centre closed in 2002 amidst struggles to cover overhead
cost with decreasing audiences (superstar DJ's, the cult of which they helped create, eventually
demanding superstar fees). Word has it that at the time of closure the nations favourite club was
School Disco, a costume oriented cheap drinks student orgy.

Significantly, "buoyed by the growth of the brand the company decided to attack the outdoor
event business" (Podcast), having already been invited by powerful events organising group
Mean Fiddler (subsidiary of HMV's massive MAMA Group) to initiate a large outdoor electronic
music festival back in 1998. The Creamfields Festival then became the group's core service as
the nightclub closed. It too took reference from formalised spaces, almost "slagging off an
institution like Glastonbury" in the marketing literature it distributed, and using the relation to
design inimitable services. Efforts began to secure the distinctive positioning of Creamfields'
services in the market: "We were like "We're about one day, we're about the kids, we're about
modern music, you don't need a tent, you don't need wellies"". "And even today, Creamfields is
the cheapest festival of its kind. Even today. And we absolutely do that on purpose. We look at
what everybody else is charging and we knock a fiver or a tenner off. We are really aware".
What made the club special was replayed as Creamfields imitated the 'people's club' relationship
created at Cream: "We put ourselves on the side of the punters, because we were punters. We

said "We're with them"" (2010a), "After all, it's YOUR festival!" (creamfields.com). Creamfields emerged as one nights worth of dance music mayhem staged in the quiet suburbs of Liverpool and Cheshire.

> You need something anti, exactly... ...we were out there telling everybody that Glastonbury was finished... ...We basically put a whole fucking list of things together to try and differentiate ourselves from what else was going on... ...we basically said "We're different. We're a new type of festival from what you have got now"... ...even then we were trying to differentiate ourselves between the old and the new. So you need a reference point and you do need something to stand up for and to put your flag in the ground about (2001a).

The regional Creamfields puts on 10 stages of the world's most popular dance music each year, gets rolled out to 17 different global locations, global corporate sponsors (e.g. Strongbow, Virgin, Smirnoff) fill out the stalls and host their own stages, offer financial backing, and Venture Capital Trust Ingenious Ventures pours in funding (£1.7m in 2009). The brand is still highly visible in Liverpool, and broadcasts large scale online and offline promotional campaigns exclaiming "It's what bank holidays are made for!" and that "the best just got better!" (creamfields.com). Audiences multiplied from 35,000 in 1998 to 60,000+ in 2011, the festival was voted Festival of 2009 by the UK Festival Awards for the 3rd time, and was even invited by the Argentine government to help kick off new year celebrations in Buenas Aires back in 2001.

Barton and Cream resist plunging resources into uncertain or risky ventures (a lesson explicitly learnt after the ironically titled Cream Collect album word of mouth has sold a measly 2000 copies). 13 years later Barton and Cream are confident enough to try and beat old favourites at their own game, competing in 2011 against Glastonbury by offering a full 3 days of carnage, and camping to boot. Barton is able to properly distinguish what it is audiences respond to:

> We always ask ourselves "What are we famous for?" The answer is the original, biggest and best festival for electronic music. That begins with securing a killer line up- that's where our main focus and investment goes... (virtualfestivals.com)

...I think Creamfields' iconic status has developed over the twelve years of being in existence, and I suppose the iconic status pulls on the heritage, the quality of the festival... ...I mean, you know, it's marketing speak... ...you wont hear the word 'icon' coming out my mouth... ...But I feel it's because we deliver the best product of its kind and we have done on a regular basis for 12 years, it's a monster of dance festivals, really, it's very well known and very popular (2010b)

After brief foray into the music that ousted the Cream audience Creamfields today targets well delineated markets, no longer just hoping to create them via affinity with punters. "We're quite comfortable sitting very much where we are in terms of audience- we're a youth festival – we like that", "[we've] probably reinforced and strengthened our position as the number one dance festival in the last few years- we've sort of resisted the temptation to put on acts outside that genre". As it stays still new spaces seem to opening around it again: "It's a whole new generation now", "I think there is definitely a feeling that electronic and dance music is back, I think we got a whiff of that before anyone else... ...and the last 2 years delivered a very strong dance show" (2010a).

But issues remain, Creamfields 2010 scoring only 8.8 on Barton's tally, the perfect festival still to come. As an outside forms affinity with ordinary clubbers falls away and his paranoia of what might extradite him back to anonymity is animated through hackneyed entrepreneurial sayings: "I try not to get complacent", "you can't sit back and rest on your laurels", "there's always a lot of competition out there which are always out to nobble you, so we need to sort of keep our feet on the ground and keep working hard" (2010a).

Back in interview he recalls a long itinerary of formulaic practice rolled out each year beginning months prior to the festival, involving regular operations meetings and marketing meetings "monitoring ticket sales" and justifying decisions with reams of research. Meanwhile social networking allows rapid exchanges of information (promotion, competitions, new acts, line ups) to vast amounts of people (223,000 people are signed up to their Facebook page in 2011, 100,000 up on 2010), and reveals who is responding and how and why.

Through observation of audience behaviour market space is divided geographically, demographically (by age, capital), and longitudinally, day in day out, and feeds back into practice. "...obviously we're able to compare ticket sales in each city, in each region, right across the country, year on year", "...so we were able to have some flexibility in our marketing plan", "make decisions quickly". Barton identifies "the age of Facebook" as the "battleground" (2010b).

> I suppose the main focus has been the marketing and monitoring of sales for Creamfields here... ...Two meetings per week regarding different aspects of the festival. One is an operations meeting and the other a marketing meeting. There will be a marketing plan, and a marketing budget attached to that activity... ...Post the announcement there is regular meetings, regular discussions, and also a lot of monitoring of the activity. So if we've got say a week of radio planned for Liverpool or Manchester we will analyse ticket sales from that location during that period... ...build in the ticket sales into our thinking... ...obviously we're able to compare ticket sales in each city, in each region, right across the country, year on year... (2010b).

> ...And, obviously, in the age of Facebook and online networking and the internet... ...that's the battleground, sort of in a way, as we move forward. Whilst we've got the vast majority of our audience as members of our Facebook, interacting with us on a daily basis, to news that we release, it's an amazing marketing tool really, it's also a really strong researching tool as well... ...So we can also sort of find out pretty quickly why people have bought tickets, where they have bought them from, but also what drove them to buy the tickets, whether it was a poster on the wall, an ad in Mixmag... (2010b).

Attention pauses on the threat 'outside' poses now it has been distinguished and ways of mitigating the risk:

I think today is different because it's how you can access that risk. You know, I've got twenty years worth of experience now that goes into all of that and then on top of that I've got access to databases and I've got access to reams and reams of research. But back then, I didn't even have a mobile phone (2010b).

I follow quite traditional guidelines. My business has got no debt. I've reinvested time and time again the profits that we make and we don't take on a project unless we can suffer the risk (2010b).

A new image of Cream emerges; pragmatic, sensible, instrumental, justified, mature, and less driven by personal vendettas: "proper business" oriented toward well delineated markets and established commercial value. Organization settles, intentions refocus, and Barton in his well-pressed Fred Perry shirt poses a managerial identity the leather and tie-die clad hoards of medieval looking ravers his practice took off from might have posed their practice against. "We're not new age hippies here... ...we're here very much thinking about customer service and it's about keeping them customers". "At the end of the day, we're businessmen" (undated Liverpool Echo article cited in brandfailures.blogspot.com), the excitement of entrepreneurial creation giving away to the bland instrumentality of corporate business with hard won advantage to defend.

It's more steady, it's definitely much more business oriented, it's definitely managed so much better than it used to be in the glory days when decisions were made by the seat of our pants. The decisions were usually, were sometimes based on getting one over on your competitor, even if it cost you thirty thousand quid, we just wanted to look better than them... ...I've spent 20 years building the brand, the brand takes care of itself now and what I didn't realise now that actually the most beneficial thing to the name Cream is success, just sticking around long enough builds the brand, not spending millions on marketing, which is what we did, which helped. But just the fact that we're still here today is probably the most successful thing we've done (2010b).

Through this change is revealed a conservative edge setting in, the festival promoting itself as a historical icon and on mainstream popularity, the chance to differentiate oneself but also bathe in anonymity amongst thousands of like-minded souls. At the same time he realises advantage won and resources spent are worth guarding (even if the 'glory' of creation falls away and can only be remembered and replayed to audiences), and Barton feels himself getting older and vulnerable the more he moves away from childhood settings that kept him one of 'the people': "...when you're 22 you don't really care about your personal circumstances... ...you're thinking to yourself in the back of your mind "If this fails tomorrow I'll either start again or I'll get a job". But.. [] 'it's all or nothing now'. You have more to lose". The assumption "the odds are stacked against you" replaces previous optimism; "I always sit there and think "Well what am I going to lose?" Worse case scenario. And work it out" (2010b).

A backwards looking evaluation of the club's historical significance is animated. He is aware he occupies the kind of settings that before frustrated him: "there's probably kids out there now in their bedroom probably sitting there thinking 'I fucking hate Cream, I wanna knock those fuckers of their perch and do this and do that" (2010b).

And problems remain to be solved. Barton, as much as he is drawn to formalised spaces, is still frustrated by them. "We're like moths to a flame, we will always want to go and see what it is like and then work out we don't like it and retreat again" (2010b).

Back in interview a decision making process involving a sponsorship deal suggested by a specialised agency Creamfields collaborates with is described. The difference in his practice to when Cream was emerging is stark:

> We did get approached last year by a sponsor that wanted to provide short term
> loans to people at the show, with ridiculous interest rates... ...I just thought my
> customers are going to be, you know, drunk for a lot of the weekend... ...we've
> got students and quite a lot of young people... ...there's a lot of kids there that are
> not that well off... ...and I just thought it smacked of, sort of, you know,
> profiteering, really... …there is a personal aspect there as well, because I'm really

lone... ...I've seen what debt can do to people... We relate to them as human beings but then we also relate to them as customers- we want them to keep coming back and spending their money. We're not new age hippies here, we're here very much thinking about customer service and it's about keeping them customers. And I think we're very aware of the age group and the demograpy in which we operate. It's a very young demographic, and we remember when we were 19 or 20... ...It's just not the right environment as well... ...It's the type of thing that would cause a negative... ...cos, look, there's a lot of people out there who like to criticise even when the sun is shining... ...this is the same audience that 20 years ago was criticising promoters for dealing with the likes of Coca Cola... ...And look, as I said, it's a personal thing... ...So I just thought "That's not worth the aggravation (2010b).

7.3 Discussion

At the time of the initial write-up, Barton was still busy, his practice was still developing, taking ground won, making new connections and revealing new spaces for Cream and others. He was collaborating with younger less well-resourced actors by supporting grass roots indoor music festival Liverpool Music Week each year (to what extent is unclear, and his looming figure allegedly obscuring these 'authentic' roots), had recently launched the London Electronic and Dance Festival (LED), was still staging Cream weekly in Ibiza's biggest club as the island's favourite, bringing it home 4 times a year for special events (e.g. Birthday parties, Easter Specials), and regularly staging other popular local nights at Nation. Cream HQ remained above the Nation venue, by then centre of a transformed officially 'cultural' area tarted up by strange psychedelic sculptures, and Barton was there most days working closely with his dedicated team (his brother still booking acts). As well as the festival being staged at numerous global locations annually, growing each year, the regional Creamfields of 2011 sold out for the 3rd year consecutively, and tickets for 2012 were on sale immediately as the 2011 festival closed. Meanwhile, other exciting newcomers (e.g. The Kazimier) occupy the space of musical opportunity created around the Nation venue, again attracting hoards from inside and outside the city, and like the teenage Barton punters occupy interstices through ticket touting via the official

Creamfields Facebook page. Issues were still prompting reinterpretation of practice, success still not entirely found (a series of smaller Baby Cream restaurants for instance was terminated), and boundaries to Barton's practice were hard to draw as radio and television production were experimented with, Cream partnered with Littlewoods for merchandising, and Barton initiated his own ventures separate from the main body of Cream (e.g. LED festival). The boy from the council estates of Everton had become one of Britain's most recognised electronic music entrepreneurs, travelling the country speaking to young entrepreneurs (who like he once was are still anonymous and dreaming in their bedrooms) at initiatives like Bedroom Britain (NWDA 2004) and Red Bull (2002).

Looking back at the images and the entrepreneurial edge Barton cites from a young age can be witnessed forming as his pre-founding experience (Rae 2004a) feeds into his founding story (O'Connor 2002). Early personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995) had him realising the personal significance of normative strategies and policies (Certeau 1984; Penrose 1959/1995) to perform music live, the excited feeling it gave him and others, and he emphasises how important learning widely (Anderson & Jack 2002; Granovetter 1973) when young has been throughout his practice.

He grew up observing his brothers (Greve and Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) and inheriting handed-down musical waste and by-products (Penrose 1959/1995). Set amidst the nowhere space (Certeau 1984) he characterises Liverpool as, exclusion (Certeau 1984) and constraint (Penrose 1959/1995; Sarasvathy 2008) drew him to begin practising by amplifying the potency of personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995), and provoking his imagination of what might become. He cites (Certeau 1984) our own strategic language as entrepreneurial scholars (i.e. Kirzner's discourse of 'alertness'), describing an acute awareness of his surroundings, and how he imagined in them problems and invitations (Sarasvathy 2008; Hjorth 2007) that others seemed to accept or not notice. As flesh and blood human resources (Penrose 1959/1995) like entrepreneurial passion (Cardon *et al* 2009; Brewis *et al* 2006; Hjorth & Steyaert 2009; Laaksonen 2011) and personal taste for musical products were prevented from igniting market connections (Hjorth 2007) they instead built up, burning within Barton as frustration and desire that were visceral reminders to his entrepreneurial potency. Looking back from the point of successful organization, any uncertainty that he would break up (Rindova *et al* 2009) his social construction (defined as a

potential life of crime and addiction) and derail the constraints of material endowment some constructionists (e.g. Anderson & Miller 2003) suggest might predetermine his entrepreneurial performance falls away and in moves a powerful entrepreneurial narrator about to reconfigure settings others had to passively accept.

Barton then configured his practice, effectuation (Sarasvathy 2008) combining who he was, what he knew, and who he knew to create space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) amidst the constraints. Human resources (e.g. entrepreneurial experience gained from working on his father's market stall, entrepreneurial confidence; Penrose 1959/1995, passion for live music, pre-founding experience of enjoying bands) elicited chance to occupy interstices (Penrose 1959/1995) via ticket touting across Europe. Away from home touting his knowledge of interesting extant services (Penrose 1959/1995) excluded (Certeau 1984) back home expanded, and he learnt widely following around successful global acts (rare for somebody still in their mid-teens) and occupying their strategies (Certeau 1984).

The emergence of acid house then marks a significant episode (Cope 2003) in his narrative that felt like a new beginning (Shackle 1979) revealing chance to author his own trajectory and an exciting musical future (Rindova *et al* 2009; Certeau 1984). Barton coordinates an image with relations to family influences and previous movements he sought independence from and suggests the exclusion of acid house from Liverpool and the fullness of the period of time before it outlined an empty occasion (Certeau 1984). Occupying this middle space (Shackle 1979; Hjorth 2007; Steyaert 2007; Pitt 1998) he sets up polemics (Certeau 1984) with more powerful figures populating the dominant order (Hjorth 2005, 2007) of musical opportunity back then in Manchester and primes the narrative with the sense something exciting is about to happen. By becoming both inspired and frustrated with the normative reality of musical business the polemic in turn authorises (Certeau 1984) the space emerging as culturally legitimate (Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; Lavoie 1991; Dodd 2002). Constraint and problems embedded in ordinary life (Sarasvathy 2008) play a double role in the images (Hjorth 2007:26), first amplifying the potency of his most immediate human resources and the chance to break free (Rindova *et al* 2009), Barton feeling his entrepreneurial relations viscerally, then being embedded back in practice (Sarasvathy 2008) as authorising "reference points".

Image 1 then captures a long history (Hjorth 2005) of struggle and tactical ingenuity (Certeau 1984) in Barton's opportunity experience. Entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) has him overcoming more local constraints by initiating his first club, concealing human resources (prior experience, passion, frustration), connecting entrepreneurial relations (e.g. family and friends; Penrose 1959/1995) and making space (Hjorth 2004, 2005) to emplot dance music with Liverpool. In the smoke machine fog of the clubs his immediate social network expands to absorb like-minded entrepreneurs (Greve and Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) and brings about new invitations and choices (Shackle 1979). Acid house comes to Liverpool.

Making connections with formalised space though Barton found space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) be omitted (Certeau 1984) as constraints fell into place and he had to negotiate the strategies and dependencies of an unwieldy corporation, imagining his future closing in. Working in BMG developed human resources (entrepreneurial confidence, personal experience of strategies and normative corporate policy; Certeau 1984; Penrose 1959/1995), but he desired to re-experience life as entrepreneurial (Hjorth & Johanisson 2004), viewing risk, loss and potential failure as elements of learning and a meaningful entrepreneurial existence. As constraint gives way to invitation under the impress of entrepreneurial imagination and reveals choice (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979; Penrose 1959/1995; Pitt 1998) and authorial potential (Rindova *et al* 2009; Certeau 1984) Barton vacates formalised space.

In the midst of all this entrepreneurial relations (Penrose 1959/1995; Hjorth 2007) held with institutions of musical business and moral panic re-described (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008) the significance of his settings and experiences by popularizing dance music. Suddenly relations like Radio 1 seemed to invite him to create something more serious and commercially oriented and back in Liverpool new openings emerged as punters were enticed by other early dance music clubs.

Barton's entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) then has him re-relating to city spaces that to most others seemed derelict of opportunity, imagining incentive and style where other images had industrial collapse and risk. His social network reconfigured itself (Jack *et al* 2008;

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Sarasvathy 2008) as better resourced others picked up on the commercial viability of the venture and offered material resources (Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; Aldrich & Fiol 1994). Part of the scene, learning first hand the changes, and knowing what they liked and others like them valued created hope (Penrose 1959/1995; Sarasvathy 2008) market connections would be made. The market and opportunity expands effectually in the narrative (Sarasvathy 2008), first his brothers and their friends, then like-minded entrepreneurs, before other locals he felt affinity with picked up on his practice, better resourced others, national press, and, then, the world.

As Cream grew rapidly and absorbed material resources and conventional practice (Penrose 1959/1995) in the form of advertising strategies, citations (Certeau 1984) drawn from other culturally and commercially successful practice (I.e Def Jam) stylized the club authoritatively (Certeau 1984). He and Hughes imagined imitating the relationship observed at Def Jam and insinuating the brand identity they were creating in punters' prosaic experience. Clubbing at Cream marketing strategies would suggest is much more than a night of care free indulgence and dancing but a way of being that can be culturally and commercially valuable to others.

More cultural legitimacy (Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; Lavoie 1991; Penrose 1959/1995) for the venture was created by tactically citing (Certeau 1984) pre-founding (Rae 2004a) experience amidst constraint, restricted material resource and a lack of formal education to emphasise in marketing stories (O'Connor 2002) Cream's versatile creativity and the affinity between theirs' and punters' personal experiences. The citation distinguished them from competitors yet also omitted (Certeau 1984) normative boundaries delineating discrete territories (Certeau 1984) of producer/consumer embedded in opponents' practice and the history of musical commerce. An outside was beginning to form and relations to be identified but the tactic minimised visible formalisation of opportunity (Dimov 2011; Shackle 1979:93) as Cream grew rapidly.

Cream did imaginatively re-describe (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979) Liverpool as a context for musical opportunity and create space away from the dominant order of Manchester (Hjorth 2005, 2007). The club was always a formalisation of Barton's previous ventures and the tactics of less business savvy ravers, originating a new beginning (Shackle 1979) for superclubbing (number 24 in the Guardian's list of the most important episodes in British dance music; The Guardian

Newspaper, 2011). Liverpool became known not only for a few tired fresh faces and those Barton minimised and found uninteresting, but also as a national epicentre for more exciting dance music. Marketing stories (O'Connor 2002) in turn began citing this social creativity (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009; Sarasvathy 2008) and the inimitable ability to characterise oneself as an original player to temper the progressive formalisation of commerce and strategically differentiate itself from competitors and the old and the new. They too cite constraint, formalised spaces and problems of how to begin practising, embedding them in the narrative (Sarasvathy 2008) as symbolic resources that animate opportunity creation. They have the club flitting about, at one moment sitting alongside its punters, omitting boundaries delineating the opposing territories, being affronted, taking on regional adversaries, and using its creative heritage to authorise today's commerce, the next absorbing strategy, rising up as a global corporation using its size and success to validate its value.

The club in time began resembling the dominant order it took citation from in the past to build human resource and authorise itself, but remained oriented by the impassioned flesh and blood (Penrose 1956/1995:) hunches, dreams, complexes of class belonging, polemic attacks, and Barton's feeling that they were still young and foolish. The human experience of being-in-business mattered; emotional, still unable to transcend the experience, Cream would switch between retaliations imitating competitor's releases, and absorbing more conventional practice and policies (Penrose 1959/1995). As it grew and settled, more strategy was absorbed as marketplace connections were exploited by compiling club favourites into musical products for release, staging special events, and using advantage gained (material resource, market positioning, connections with well-resourced others) to innovate a large outdoor festival able to exploit the mass popularity of dance music. Albums were released until market demand (Penrose 1959/1995) was exhausted and punters looked elsewhere for exciting music.

Another significant episode (Cope) then called for reinterpretation of practice as marketplace demand (Penrose 1959/1995) shifted. Learning (Penrose 1959/1995; Rae 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Cope & Watts 2000; Cope 2003) from dealing with the intertextualities (O'Connor 2002) of this new beginning (Shackle 1979) attention turns 'inside' (to borrow both Barton's and Penrose's

term), inviting a more product minded approach to replace countering opponents with flesh and blood polemics.

Table 7: Analysis of Image 1 from James Barton & Cream

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Path dependence of material constraint and dearth of opportunities 'outside' construct self as criminal or addict.	Constrant in ordinary re-related to as possibility, able to reveal 'entrepreneurial ability', opportunity develops bodily as frustration and desire to break up inertia.
	Manchester and London as proper places of musical production, other entrepreneurial figures dominate field and impact who and what is visible, Liverpool as a musical city full of opportunity due to Mathew Street movement and history of Merseybeat.	Absence experienced as pure possibility, inviting practice to emplot acid house with Liverpool, exclusion from proper place re-related to as invitation to practice and symbolic relation to pose versatility against, Liverpool experienced as restrictive musically re-related to as invitation to practice.
	Normative opportunity plots (e.g. epic transition from rags to riches and music and business as way out); proper opportunity language (awareness); clichés of institutionalized entrepreneurial visions.	Normative opportunity plots accepted and slowly absorbed into practice, initially through lack of separation and boundaries between producers and consumers, cliches used in hindsight as authorising cues.
	Unoccupied interstices.	Unoccupied interstices seized and used to develop experience.
	Media and political reception of acid house and dance music culture defines it as mildly illegal and risky.	Media and political reception of emerging musical culture re-related to as indication of exciting new future and opportunity to sanitize and commercialise dance music for the masses.
	Competitive positioning of brand.	
	Emergence of new forms of consumer behaviour propel response.	Citations and authorisations taken from musical experience, more powerful

	Develop brand through calculated use of promotion and strategies for remuneration.	figures coordinate authorising narrative position, boundaries between producers and consumers are left indistinct, authorising the progressive formalisation of practice. Emerging forms of consumer behaviour reorient attention inside rather than outside, practice formalises, slows, becomes more calculated. A nexus slowly forms and the Cream brand is cascaded around global markets likely to respond as remuneration is retrieved through release of material objects.
Material Resources	Venue assumed, necessary equipment puts actor as disadvantage. Remuneration through ticket sales, sale of merchandise, etc. Material assets as driver of productive opportunity.	Musical inheritances, waste and by-products of brothers' musical consumption, material constraint tempered by human resources. Unoccupied interstices exploited via unused clubnights, equipment borrowed from established nights, eventually constraint inherent to location of the Nation venue is re-related to as authorising and animating versatility. Initially remuneration given up until visible, then ticket sales, album sales, sponsorship, investment and international business draw remuneration and enable advance. Material constraint re-related to as able to

		authorise practice and animate versatility against better endowed others, opportunity found to be inherent within constraint and absence. Slowly, material resources re-related to as driver of productive opportunity.
Human Resources	Available information and labour (Clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical), knowledge of 'state of the arts', conventions and strategies; available labour; and practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Market as exogenous from experience and needing to be discovered. Business as rationalization of life, mature and knowing. Public approval as central asset, brand as central asset excluding others and identifying a space of reason to defend and fight the erosion of time. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility.	Information and awareness from early personal experience of becoming music, travel, encounters elsewhere, and concealed within absence, available labour drawn from family and friends, becoming more specialised as Cream expands and attention turns to fighting the erosion of time on advantage that has been won. Barton still young, still clubbing, still unwilling to keep market at a distance and therefore more able to access information about likely opportunities. Frustration and inertia as pure possibility. Citations and Authorisations via clichés (high risk propensity, desire for sovereignty, etc.,), symbolic resource of constraints, more powerful entrepreneurs, lifestyle brands, rivalry & belonging, creative heritage and social creativity, notions of being alternative, original, first mover, etc. Initial market connections as endogenous to experience, but becoming more

		exogenous and practice formalises and attention turns to keeping world at a strategic distance so it can be measured and plans calculated.
		Feelings of being young, foolish, care free temper the progressive formalisation of practice before being re-related to as risky.
		Brand formally distinguished as public approval of social change is emphasised. Practice slows, increasingly authorised by previous practice, logos and figureheads are defended from others, but self experiences opportunity as endogenous, cannot give up feelings of risk and keep opportunity at a distance, moves on.

As a new market space emerged with normative characteristics of collapse, decreasing audience size, new forms of competition and decay, material resources and strategic reach rather than flesh and blood human resources (Penrose 1959/1995) and tactical ingenuity (Certeau 1984) move centre stage in image 2. The boundary between the two images marks a point of formalisation (Dimov 2011) and a literal and metaphorical expansion of vision as commercial opportunity is properly distinguished and a market exterior (Certeau 1984) is delineated able to be used as an instrument to design internal activities and services. Image 2 begins with Barton turning to fight the erosion of advantage won and energy spent by time and the actions of others, he holds out, observes from a degree of withdrawal as market place conditions change all around him, sets up an outside, identifies a nexus of relations and relies on international business and investment to emplot the different market spaces held at a distance.

With new focus on "proper business", image of opportunity being created (Penrose 1959/1995; Sarasvathy 2008) is here exchanged for one showing Barton searching for opportunity information in the nexus between self and market (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). Creamfields, as such, was an opportunity deciphered in market settings and based on having the correct resource bundles and connections to actualize it almost immediately, effacing the long and creative beforeness (Hjorth 2005) that lead to the image having resonance. By relating itself in marketing strategies to the normative face of festival commerce the image insinuates another new beginning (Shackle 1979) able to 'differentiate the old and the new'. The continuity of history and identity (Penrose 1959/1995) connects the images and blurs strategic management of distinct opportunity boundaries ("Afterall, it's YOUR festival!"), and public approval (Penrose 1959/1995) of the club's creative heritage and survival quickly becomes its most significant human resource as it enables Barton to temper formal discovery of commercial opportunity. The plot omits and inserts the same boundaries of producer/consumer inside one another, exploiting the presence of the first image as it conveyed the exciting experience of creating opportunity. The opportunity is localized in a spatial and institutional sense (Certeau 1984:xxiii) and an epic (Hamilton 2006) entrepreneurial narrative coordinates the heroic (Dodd 2002) Barton being lifted away, driving marketing stories to take more and more citations (Certeau 1984) to renew connections with punters still 'below' and 'outside'. Yet as this exterior (Certeau 1984) forms Barton's vulnerability to those 'outside' and much weaker is highlighted and his switching from modes of creation to discovery reduces the extent to which his future seems open to be created rather than managed.

Now comprising the core (Anderson 2000) of British dance music festivals more conventional practices (sponsorships, advertising, releases of musical product) and material resources (investment) are absorbed, managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) expands as specialised agents are drawn in, reams of research accrue, and spin off festivals are staged in locations determined by strategic analyses of global markets.

Image 2 then has Barton articulating more illustrations of today's formal practice. A set of formulaic strategies (Certeau 1984) unaffected by the march of time are repeated each year, and panoptics (Certeau 1984) divide the market geographically, demographically and longitudinally,

and monitor exchanges between boundaries of producer/consumer. Opportunity information feeds back from the distinct exterior market into practice and enables calculations and predictions that elicit market behaviour. Previous effectual hope their experiences were commonplace in turn gives way to state of the arts (Penrose 1959/1995) technologies (social networking mediums like Facebook), databases of research, and Barton's 20 years in the game. As a result the historical and institutional environment occupied mutates over time in the narrative (Busenitz *et al* 2003; Dimov 2007b) and begins to appear a well ordered geometric pattern in which more opportunity can be deciphered.

Embedding a decision making process regarding an unscrupulous sponsorship deal, his attention is no longer forward looking, optimistic, nor creative, and Barton no longer seems 'in between' and on the way to something new and exciting. Intentions refocus instrumentally on commercial remuneration as strategies and dependencies set in, and organization settles (Gartner 1988) into a stance that requires he carefully negotiates perceived intertextualities (O'Connor 2002) of wider culture (Penrose 1959/1995), risk of revealing an over active interest in remuneration at the expense of punters' experiences, and threats to the hard won market position Cream enjoys and the marketing story's credibility and public approval (Penrose 1959/1995). Childhood awareness of his own creative abilities gives way to an awareness of competition that is fierce and abiding its time to step in to any space left unoccupied, the realisation that advantage won is worth guarding, that material resources developed are the source of much opportunity and jealousy and that more commerce is necessary. Choice is embedded in pragmatic managerial regimes, dull even if bets (Sarasvathy 2008) based on analyses of worse case scenarios and careful budgeting staged amidst big business formal conventions like regular boardroom marketing and operations meetings. Barton seems less entrepreneurially versatile (Penrose 1959/1995), picking up effectual pragmatism as time progresses and he is less able to re-relate to his settings, as if hampered by all the weighty additions of success, and is happier to accept them.

As he suggests, then, the formal practice of image 2 is drastically different to the optimistic and exciting creativity of image 1 as Cream went about introducing exciting new sounds to Liverpool and composing opportunity out of constraint and re-relating to path dependency. Image 2 animates a practical and instrumental conscience dismissing the unknowledgeable (Shackle

1979) experience of creating opportunity, strategically targeting instead well delineated markets, market interest in dance music, and exploiting material endowment and powerful analyses. The dilettante Barton, wandering the earth, learning widely, is replaced by the centralized "radar" of a sober manager standing at the edge of the party sweeping commercial openings and competitive threats in the exterior market and mapping them out as an unmoving nexus. Entrepreneurial relations employed are not impassioned human responses to the experience of being-in-business but logically positioned competitive opponents and established markets betwixt which opportunity is distinguished, localized can be discovered.

Today the "factors affecting the relation between 'image' and 'reality'" (Penrose 1959/1995:42) seem to have contracted, as Barton seems to constitute the dominant order others might seek to occupy. He remembers what he was like as a frustrated young man, understands the role he now plays in other entrepreneurial images that might seek to challenge his persistence. Practice is no longer an exciting socially creative legend available to be cited, Barton no longer dreams of changing his and others' musical horizons, and risk, potential loss and failure that Barton previously viewed as aspects of learning and a meaningful entrepreneurial experience are omitted.

Yet while they convey radically different opportunity experiences the two images remain intimately connected, the narrative conveying Barton and marketing strategies playing the two images off one another, the creative heritage of image 1 being used to authorise but also reveal the opportunity discovered in image 2. The continuity (Penrose 1959/1995:22) goes both ways, exchanges passing back and forth between the images, image 2 citing the founding story of image 1 as marketing story able to elicit public approval for musical and social creativity over commercial intent, yet remaining connected by a progressive formalisation of practice. The two images interact with one another, the first issuing cultural legitimacy for the commercial discovery in image 2, the second looking back from the point of successful organization, forgetful or wary of prior creativity as Barton's practical and instrumental conscience goes full tilt. As he looks back to image 1 from the point of successful organization Barton also seems to be trying to answer his own questions about the emergence of opportunity. The informality (Dimov 2011) of his practice back then as he goes about creating space stealing barrels of beer

and relying on his most immediate social network is striking, but he seems determined to retrospectively formalise (Dimov 2011) the opportunity before its being created. Along with all the citations of Kirznerian alertness he has picked up along the way, the clichés (Down & Warren 2008; Certeau 1984) of proper institutionalized visions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs he repeatedly cites articulate an instrumental use and acceptance of formalised identities and spaces he previously authored his practice against. This creates a tension throughout the narrative between modes of opportunity creation and discovery, the emplotting of the former finding cultural and commercial value but seeming to remind Barton of his vulnerability and the threat of becoming anonymous again.

The inverse of this, of course, is that now that organization settles formalised spaces (his own as well as others) still frustrate him, emphasise the feelings and ability he had as a child, and keep him restless. Barton reminds us for instance of his genetic entrepreneurial make up that differentiated him amidst constraint and his prior creative spirit through more clichéd citations taken from the orthodox institutional appearance of others like him: "There will always be a small part of people like me that lacks a bit of content. I've got this, but I want that, you know. That's the drive, exactly, that's the drive...", "...the very nature of an entrepreneur is you like the risk, you get a buzz out of it. You get a kick. You like the adrenaline. You like the gamble", "...and you can't be in this business or any business unless you're prepared to use your imagination". Despite all the formality, those feelings and human resources Barton had as a young man still emerge, he finds constraints as well as invitation in the formalised space he has created (old habits die hard), and still imagines choices and makes and remakes images. Recalling the decision regarding an unscrupulous sponsorship deal intuitive flesh and blood resources like "imagination and intuition" (Penrose 1959/1995:34) still matter, Barton combining the withdrawn logical and causal analyses of market settings with his childhood memories of debt and dancing among the people (though ultimately it is the chance to exploit them as customers rather than business ethics and corporate responsibility that orient his decision). Yet it is perhaps these creative urges he has felt throughout life and that have almost concluded his authorship in the past that keep him feeling vulnerable and turning back to formal strategy. At the time of the final narration for instance news had just hit Liverpool that Ingenious Media Active Capital Ltd. (the venture capital company with shares in the brand) had sold up Cream

Holdings Group to the world's largest concert promoter, the US based Live Nation for £13.93million and that Barton would be taking up the position of president in Live Nation Electronic Music. Older, more vulnerable, he seems to have made the instrumental decision to exit (despite him talking of Cream as his life's work) while the going was still good (Cream Holdings Group assets calculated to be worth £7.8million in 2011, with £1.42million apparently already made in 2012; Cauchi 2012), as if memories of childhood constraint cannot be forgotten, Barton despite posing himself as a heroic entrepreneur whose awareness has lifted him away is aware he too will eventually be forgotten or destroyed.

Drawing back from the images and Barton seems to be suggesting to us the opportunities composed find ground first in childhood as early personal experiences form. The images capture his opportunity experience as a lengthy story of struggle and success. Image 1 has him contemporary with the opportunity (Sarasvathy 2008), having to create it; image 2 in contrast reveals how the discovery of well delineated opportunity as it is kept at a distance from experience and others must be related to in plots of opportunity creation to authorise its value. Revealed is a rare insight into the experience of creating a global corporation that has "touched millions". Between them opportunity experience traces its own line of formalisation, Barton switching between modes of creation and discovery, playing them off one another when it matters, never quite able or aware of how he might secure his future from an outside world that threatens to appropriate his authorial capacity.

Table 8: Analysis of Image 2 from James Barton & Creamfields.

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Social network formalises over time. The city of Liverpool as a formalised space of musical practice. Changing consumer behaviour as risk to established practice. Opportunity as exogenous and identified from a distance, markets as exogenous to experience. Competitive positioning of brand.	Formalisation of social network occurs, better endowed others are absorbed and help identify opportunities that are kept at a distance from experience, markets do not emerge from ordinary experience, increasingly geometric and measured demographically and longitudinally. The city of Liverpool as a formalised space of musical practice accepted as the role of Cream in its transformation authorises formalisation of business and distinguishes brand. Fights the erosion of time through emphasising role of brand in musical narratives and abiding time before market attention turns back to electronic music, attention settles on proven value. New awareness to competition and less powerful others employing Cream as symbolic relation to overturn. Opportunity identified at a distance through collaboration with better endowed others who offer opportunity information, unoccupied interstices in festival business defined and exploited before nexus is identified and Creamfields is cascaded around global markets.

		Brand positioned in relation to more powerful historical others, revealing new futuristic spaces, less individual figures but Barton still seems to feel competition viscerally and be unable to keep it at a distance.
Material Resources	Superstar DJ's demand high wages. Technology as driver of productive opportunity, digitalization and social networking increases the value and demand of live performance and festival. Material assets as driver of productive opportunity. Observed drop in sales of material object. Command over resources.	Cream Nightclub closes due to systemic inefficiencies, attention focuses on Creamfields festival able to exploit increased demand for live performance and cybernetic communities. Material assets drive the identification of productive opportunity, exclude those who lack them from rivalry, greater focus on the material assets rather than immaterial assets of brand to fight the erosion of time. Less attention on material objects and merchandise, more emphasis on expansion of festival and ticket sales.
Human Resources	Available information and labour (Clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical), knowledge of 'state of the arts', conventions and strategies; available labour; and practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Internal culture as organizer of	Information retrieved from better endowed others with knowledge of the field, panoptics of market behaviour and response identify opportunity and keep it at a distance, personal Experience via 20 years in the game, labour is recruited rather than emerging from immediate social network. Increasingly organised through

	opportunity. Brand as space of reason others cannot imitate. Impact of expectations on experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility.	formalised practice like boardroom meetings. Citations and Authorisations: symbolic resource of larger businesses & "anti-references"; normative plots and transitions (epic and heroic); the clichéd entrepreneurial self; memories of affinity with punters affirm brand position. Expectations shift from optimistic to adversity to risk expressed via even if bets. Continuity of Identity and History: public approval; worldwide brand; creative heritage; reputation; 'iconic status'; local visibility; punters' memories of clubbing at Cream. Changing temperament: shift to high risk adversity; conservatism; feelings of vulnerability & fear; feelings of getting older, finds self looking elsewhere, unable to keep opportunity at a distance and dislocate it from bodily feeling, information about new opportunities still emerge from inside as well as outside, less able to re-relate to frustration as resource. As practice slows and outside becomes formalised actor seems to desire life and movement and turns elsewhere.

8 Little Boots – A Strong Independent Female Artist: Making Connections and Occupying Formalised Space

Little Boots is a "synth geek" pop star who is currently signed to a subsidiary of the world's biggest and most powerful record label. She plays electropop, synthpop and Eurodance influenced music. Her enterprise grew rapidly via apparently intense activity in the "blogosphere" during 2008 and "huge commercial anticipation" (Petridis 2009:18) gathered as she was acclaimed the 'Sound of 2009' by an annual BBC poll of "industry insiders", nominated for BRIT and Mercury awards, and described as "this year's Lilly Allen... …a Heat Magazine championed pop star (DJ Steve Lamacq quoted in Petridis 2009:19)". Her visibility continued to grow as she was lauded as a strong independent female role model by press, and cited as a new era of female pop (technologically and self aware) (Sawyer, 2009), an icon of the future for pop music (and its business) (Petridis 2009:18), and as a highly talented potential with the rare ability to actually play instruments and write material. For some others her practice was just another co-optation of "underground" electro music culture and Do-It-Yourself practice and music symbolism by powerful corporate business. Her promo track (quite literally "Stuck on Repeat" as backstage actors plugged her) was unavoidable, and was released, remixed and re-released until audiences responded. Before any official release of musical product the "hype machine" surrounding her amassed her celebrity through constant shows, global touring, promotion and appearances on shows like Jules Holland's 'Later' (the only unreleased artist to perform twice), and her face was plastered across mainstream magazine and newspaper double page spreads and covers (naturally spread eagle and on horse back). Her campaign's occupation of airwaves and wireless networks made her songs ubiquitous for a while; she was front page news, prime time advertising muzak, and quickly became a teenage hero. Three singles were quickly released (Remedy, reached number 6 in UK charts, Meddle peaked at 97, and New in Town the ominous number 13), and her album Hands reached number 5 in the UK charts and went gold in 2010 (selling over 100,000 in the UK).

Yet three years after this whirlwind emergence her practice is less visible. She returned in late 2011 after a period of retreat and sporadic blog posts to renew connections with consumers and send out messages over online mediums again (though clearly now written not by her, but by

Warner Music in disguise). She tweeted guilty messages of lost direction, reminisced nostalgically of the conditions of enterprise when she emerged that afforded choice so more readily, and promised her second album is imminent.

Boots became a case study 'subject' through unlikely convenience- a friend having personal ties outside of enterprise. Still the formalised settings she occupies quickly determined data collection as her busy schedule of regular appearances of television, radio play, releases, tours and shows, and growing media attention meant little time was reserved for contact or interviews (usually enduring numerous each day already). Requests for shadowing were unsurprisingly dismissed, and active participation with her or dedicated teams was impossible (their boundaries impermeable). One hour long semi-structured interview was then recorded in October 2009 prior to attending a performance in the large capacity Liverpool Carling Academy venue (25 on map), and another much more informal semi-structured interview conducted over a lunch in a Liverpool city centre restaurant in May 2010 was recorded by field notes between evading paparazzi and sampling another of her large capacity shows. Face-to-face interaction became increasingly difficult during the course of study, and inquiry then turned to her Youtube page (http://www.youtube.com/user/littlebootsvideos), observing tweets, connecting with her official Facebook page, collecting blog posts and joining mailing lists and fan clubs. Personal emails became less regular, mailing list emails as they increasingly revealed authorial change also suggested Boots' practice was becoming more formal as her campaign took to global scale, and requests for more 'creative' methods of data collection (handwritten stories of practice, unused lyrics, poems, twitterings) were rejected. Perhaps unsurprisingly she treated academic interview as another opportunity to coordinate her marketing spiel, and her speech seemed guarded and wary of the risk case study analysis might pose to her formative public image. This limited what data were visible and how they could be used, and ethical approval ("if it's a proper legal document") was only agreed with her "manager/lawyer", who also reserved license to publish the study findings. Contact concluded as she went underground to pen and produce her second album.

The images draw largely from transcript of the first semi-structured interview, and are peppered with citations from the second, as well as secondary sources pondering the value of her enterprise, other field notes, memory, bloggings, tweets and sampled output.

8.1 Image 1: The Emergence of Little Boots & Getting Connected

Boots became visible as a solo artist in "the blogosphere" after "secretive" tracks were posted on Myspace and a series of videos of pop song covers and scaled down versions of her own songs were uploaded to the social broadcasting platform YouTube from January 2008 (Official Little Boots YouTube) as her management agency "leaked" her promo to powerful blogs (e.g. popjustice.com).

The initial interview picked up on this practice, using it as a strategic 'what' to orient dialogue, because it seemed it was the videos that attracted her most public attention and that they were a central line of inquiry in press interviews she was doing around the time. As clever promotional device the series of videos appeared to bridge previous enterprise with global corporate business, act as powerful means of communicating with audiences and harnessing their labour, and to pose a potent combination of common resources in the face of apparent constraint. Even the BBC 10 O'Clock News discussed them, pondering on images flickering between grounded but aspiring musician and celebrity "diva" as her practice became lost in the symbols and stories it composed. The videos juxtaposed these spaces and positioned Boots' and other's enterprise, out of which it created a historical order and suggested a new musical future. Rather than the looming figure of a global pop star on the rise they also positioned Boots close to her audience, still quite ordinary and easy to relate to.

In the videos themselves, jocular reinterpretations of popular all girls pop group Girls Aloud, travel and tour documentary (some with 'younger 'bro'), drunken bedroom collaborations, "defining moments" at inspirational gigs, handwritten web plugs and single promotion, Mtv 'quality' music videos (simultaneously produced trans-Atlantically), and, eventually, dull iPhone app tutorials (for her 'personal' Boots remixer, designed with Nokia), were all interspersed with images of a pyjama wearing Boots playing keyboard and piano reinterpretations of popular and

obscure 80's classics (Human League, Madonna). Occasionally the videos would be interrupted by phone calls, "dogs barking" and other imperfections, and she would make reference to iconic electro and disco music frontiersmen and women. These performances were staged in her parents' home (the kitchen, that most personal spaces of performance, the bedroom), and were decorated with an ever present waving Chinese cat and teddy bears, and Boots would wear costumes and during the succession of videos began to employ increasingly expensive gadgetry that bore witness to the creep of powerful sponsors (some of which even became stage partner and music video character).

Audiences seemed to be drawn inside these intimate settings as they requested reinterpretations of their own popular and obscure favourites, and their collective searches, queries, blogging, tweets, 'likes' and embedding of videos amplified her visibility, connected her to others infinitesimally and lifted her away. Meanwhile, powerful musical institutions promoted her as well, Boots for instance being plugged by Radio 1 as somebody who "makes proper pop music, but with the heart and soul of someone who is really interested in making it. It has a real honest excitement about it" (DJ Steve Lamacq, quoted in Petridis 2009). She was cited as a refreshing change to manufactured pop acts (e.g. Girls Aloud, though Boots' band too was fabricated around her, and remains disposable), and continuously hailed as emblematic of what was good about pop music and its industry, and more props, more videos, more gadgets and more response ensued.

Appearing on television, radio and internet she would also speak candidly about becoming a pop star celebrity and her opportunity experience. Magazines interviewed her in Blackpool cafes as she argued with her mother in between jetting off to LA to record her album with "big producers" (Greg Kurstin, producer of the likes of Lilly Allen and Kylie). To mainstream press this seemed to suggest her being "keen to demystify the process by which songs are written and people become pop stars, hence the Youtube clips" (Petridis 2009:21), as if her videos revealed to them her productivity laid bare in its most natural settings. Over time this meant that a strange mix of symbolism, ploy and spaces emerged- "I want to make music people in the local shop will buy" (cited in Discodust.com 2008), "cosmic Coronation Street!", or "DIY epic", part mix of the pop hers ousted, the grounded male indie band music she found boring, her background in

"white trash" Blackpool and the dizzying heights of Hollywood production companies she signed up to and prime time celebrity dreams. By counterposing a celebrity pop star with a space within which millions of ordinary people imagine their own enterprise a superstar boudoir was furnished and via the medium of information communication technology it was as if those ordinary people could rub shoulders with her.

Yet with Boots increasingly visible and her grounded background undercutting itself with the weight of her celebrity sitting atop, the videos' success gave way to parody months later ("...it's become such a thing") (2009a) and were jibed at on prime time television. Other bloggers (e.g. Naylor 2009) berated her for simulating a new wave of female electro artists who chose to remain 'underground' (e.g. Fever Ray), and probed at the videos being part of "marketing strategy" (Discodust.com 2008). In the interview she seemed to have difficulty relating the effect the videos had on developing her enterprise with these interpretations: "they were "partly to get pure reactions to the song without prejudice" (cited in Discodust.com 2008), she said, "people like that, it's a bit more real" (2009a), and would then quickly emphasise their spontaneity and innocence, claiming "I'd hate people to think it's some calculated thing", "It's real silly because I never thought of it as a marketing strategy. Definitely nothing that planned. Everything comes from my silly imagination. It's horrible that people think it's a strategy" (cited in Discodust.com 2008).

Reinterpretations and symbolic references to historical icons eventually gave way to faceless reviews of sponsors' gadgetry, and Boots official website emerged as the active front of the Little Boots "brand" (funded by Warner Music UK Ltd. and managed by management agency This is Sound). The usual mailing lists, special access, limited edition product bundles, competitions, and iPhone applications were distributed. Audiences migrated away from her Youtube channel, or were herded over through promise of reward, and Boots' personal rants and descriptions of entrepreneurial life moved to Twitter and Tumblr, helping her keep up with her appearance as technological "whiz kid".

Back in the interview Boots describes inventing the videos as "a joke"; a playful jibe at all female pop group Girls Aloud, who she felt were becoming dull and historical. Elsewhere in an

important formative interview she said "I love Girls Aloud and Sugababes, but they've got no character" (OMM 10.2008). Through them she also marked a breaking in the tide of male indie bands and their Myspace escapades and delineated a market opening: "It was obvious to me that indie was getting boring, and things were going to go more pop" (cited in Wolfson 2008:25). These previous 'eras' of gendered popular musicianship in turn became situated in the past as reminders to apparently 'inauthentic' musical commerce Boots took off from.

Still trying to make sense of the video's effect, she limited her own agency in their progression by describing how the videos developed their own momentum as fans increasingly responded, and how between them they stylized her practice and reacted to each other's calls for more "random" songs and "gadgets". Audiences she said "dared" her to take risks, and suggested they picked up on a sense of freedom signified through her ostensibly spontaneous acts. Any mesmerism of management agency activities and pluggers behind the scenes promoting her to powerful mainstream blogs (2 of note) was effaced from public view. Others picked up on her configuration of ubiquitous technology, humour at the expense of others, the story concealed and their own response.

As the videos also animated a transition from bedroom stargazer to celebrity pop star they related her to musical culture of the time and popular talent shows (e.g. Pop Idol, from which she had been previously rejected at age 16, judged as lacking the required human resource). They seemed to reinforce a commonplace obsession with transcendence from everyday routine via celebrity, yet to also reinforce separation of musician and audience. At the same time as they positioned one in the other by enabling audiences to get "closer" to such popular enterprise than they ever had before and play their own role in the exciting economic growth of a popular heroine, or imagine "Oh, that could be me" (2009a), they obscured back stage actors who were significant in the creation of her brand and the retrieval of opportunity information.

On the stage "DIY epic" also animated the socio-cultural distance travelled between Blackpool cafe and Los Angeles "big producers". Boots suggested audiences picked up on this space travelled and coordinated their own narratives as they observed her brand coming into focus: "People just paint this picture they want to hear" (2009a), audiences feeling Boots' practice was

somehow different to the clever marketing ploys of other musicians (those explicitly manufactured, unable to write their own material, unoriginal, and only riding the waves of musical commerce, not making them), sensing the same "honesty" and "genuine" expression of creative impulse those citing her demystification had. The aesthetic was a symbolic one that grounded her celebrity: "I've always had a more honest, down to earth and friendly vibe or something", "...the whole thing is that it is meant to be quite real" (2009a).

> It was just a joke...it was literally just a joke...me and my friend were bored one night... ...and I was like trying to write but hadn't played for ages and was getting a bit, you know, and we were just arsing around and "Lets do a song, it will be funny" and I was like "Lets film it, it'll be funny", we did Girls Aloud, and then we got loads of replies to it and so we'll do another one and then she was away so I did another one and then people were like sending me requests so I started doing requests and then I did one of my own songs and then I just kept doing them and then just started doing them with really random keyboards I had and then I found different stuff to play and different gadgets and... ...just random songs I thought would be funny and then someone just dared me, just really genuinely, and I think that's why people like them., the point was that there was always mistakes in them, like dogs barking and phones going off and, suddenly someone rings, that's the whole point..Like they were really real and I would literally just hear a song and just play it and I wouldn't sit and rehearse it or anything, I would just press go and that spontaneity and honesty I think people really sensed in it... (2009a).

Images of a young female artist unawares as to the potency of her acts in the eyes of others were invoked, and Boots began to pick up on her public image looking back at her in the faces of onlookers, in the interview for instance then speaking about herself in the third person: "everybody reads it as this story of this little girl in her pyjamas doing covers on Youtube and then a record label came along and made her a big star" (2009a). Yet as Boots admits, though the videos posed her combining commonplaces audiences shared with her, inserted her in a commonplace (the everyday settings of Youtube, Myspace and her bedroom) and limited the

visibility of backstage actors, such images of some "little girl" unawares of powerful figures, their devices, and the grown up world of music business was "not like at all the case- I already had a record deal and was perfectly aware of the music industry and was already writing songs in Los Angeles with big producers" (2009a). Behind the powerful bedroom imagery she was "tied in the deal" via contract with her management agency "just in case" connection was made with mass appeal and meanwhile she collaborated with expert marketers to forge connections and read "reactions". In the interview she asserted how necessary those ties in creating this rise to celebrity were: "You need the marketing spend. And they just have the clout" (2009a). They helped her get around "industry backhanders" and "industry incestual shit"

> Everyone just thinks I was this little girl playing songs at home and then someone found me and made me into this singer'. Actually it's not true at all. I was in a band before, I've been making music my whole life and I was actually doing that when I was writing the album because I was just trying to do something else to just stop getting cabin fever and like all the songs I was playing on there are my own (2009a).

The presence of powerful backstage relations were precursor to the videos' creation, yet, significantly, they were also at such a distance that she had space to compose and was not yet worried about reciprocation. She had left previous enterprise with Dead Disco to venture as a solo musician with her management agency (an episode shrouded by various accounts), and occupied an in-between space that she characterises through the ability it gave her to conjure possibility. Though uncertain as how 'success' might reconfigure it, the management agency and the more powerful label were still unwilling to fully admit her and plunge in more resources, in turn creating a space where "Me and my A&R man were just scheming" (2009a), seeking connections but unworried about recourse to the most visible and practical promotional devices (days of British male indie bands' Myspace ventures were over, YouTube just being co-opted). "Without that [connection] I wouldn't have had that time". She could still spend most her time at home, left "alone to [her] own devices at the start" (2009a), away from formalised space and it's "contrived viral marketing campaigns", but was supported to create her own "because record labels want people with ideas... ...they don't have ideas", "...most labels marketing ideas are

fucking awful and they couldn't have thought of that Youtube thing" (2009a). Boredom and unused potential reached "cabin fever" heights, inviting itself to be reused or avoided somehow, overheads and debt were low, some control over income was had she had via DJ performances (a string in her bow suggested by her management agency, despite no knowledge), enough money came in to keep her comfortable and life was less busy and more affording of choice. "It wasn't like "Oh, I need to get signed, I've got no money to live on" (2009a). Instead "[u]nlimited time to just sit and write" rendered her chance to invent dérive in virtual space, her previous enterprise fed her likely passages and bolstered her confidence, and Boots "was perfectly aware" of her situation and its possibilities (2009a).

The videos, then, combined together simple things from everyday experience and its conditions: ready access to the internet and social networking platforms, daily routine, her friends and their shared experiences of musical business, figures heard and disparaged daily, spare time and previous time in entrepreneurship, desires for and of formalised business, and the lives and symbols of others. They brought into visibility that most intimate of spaces of performance, the bedroom, hallowed turf of aspiring musician and pop star alike, and invited audiences into those settings to join her enterprise, and revel in symbolic presence revealed through the instable dependency between pop star and bedroom dreamer.

> I mean I guess I got tied in the deal but people weren't really sure if I was going to do anything or not so they kinda just kept me on as a safety in case I did something... ...Me and my A&R man were just scheming. But yeah I was already like, in January of that year when I started putting the covers up I was in LA writing songs with a big producer so... (2009a)

> I'd learnt a lot in the band going through the system, even though it was on a lot smaller scale, I actually learnt a lot from that...about how things worked so I knew what I was doing.. ...and I was kinda left to my own devices so it wasn't like I was trying really hard to get signed,... ..in that time I was just at home writing and doing stupid videos and stuff I wasn't under this pressure to try and get signed, I was just arsing around so, I think that was the good thing about it really (2009a).

8.2 Image 2: Making the Nexus Work

The videos did make new connections with formalised space. Boots was "re-signed" (or existing "ties" formalised) and given a publishing deal up front (a £250,000 - £500,000 advance suggested) in a 360° deal with 679 Records (a subsidiary of Warner Music UK Ltd) where "everything is all tied up in the deal" of "50/50" "business partnership with the label" (2009a). She moved to the centre of British music business (London), purchased a London town house with the publishing advance, started receiving a daily allowance ("pocket money") from her management agency (who take 20% of everything), and experienced all remuneration appropriated in the deal until resources poured in are reciprocated. The label took "charge [of] producing the record, A&Ring, financing the thing, marketing, making merch", and spending "40 grand a week on advertising", and putting "50 grand a week" into "TV spend", while the management agency continued to "manage the whole campaign and all the boring stuff I don't want to know about" (2009a), and take it to markets identified, distributors, designers and sponsors.

"[T]he whole package" of normative procedure in her ilk of pop star was then installed: "There's a lot of different things that I do and each one is an extension of my personality. I have the blog, the music, Myspace, mix tapes, Djing, live shows. It's my own little world" (Discodust.com 2008). They were stylized accordingly: "I have a creative team and we try to make it like a whole little fantasy world filled with crystals, unicorns, lasers, and kittens" (Discodust.com 2008). Between them they filled out the remainder of her imagery, took more symbolic reference, and used audience "reactions" gleaned from the YouTube piloted songs and videos to orient decisions.

Back in the interview, she marks a shift (2009a) when the videos started "getting on blogs" and with "everyone [] watching" that then drew the powerful record label to insist jibes at other acts must be omitted and the videos sanitized: "They started telling me off... ...any time I was negative or said that I was ran down or said that I didn't want to do stuff", "they just want you to be like "Everything is amazing!" (2009a). Bedroom incantations and drunken collaborations became exchanged for faceless reviews of sponsors' gadgets or iPhone app tutorials. Contact

with eager fans gave way to music videos of a glamorous Boots, dolled up with gold necklace bling and a sequin dress dancing around itinerants and lamenting on being 'New in Town', lost and stricken but still entrepreneurial: "I don't have a lot of money but we'll be fine...No, I don't have a penny but I'll show you a real good time..." (her high volume selling (but not high enough) high definition and highly sexualised 3rd release filmed on temporarily closed Hollywood streets). The videos rendered a style of practice that needed affirming: "I kinda made this image at the start and then the label is like "We really like this. Now we really need to hammer this home"", "...you can't move from that so you need to be consistent and make people know you" (2009a).

> It's just like everybody now wants this all round package now. All the
> management wants, remixes, producers, remixes [someone shouts sarcastically
> in background "Oh you're an artist!"]... ...And then in the end its like 'God! I
> can't even do my hair differently because... ...if I all of a sudden want to wear
> black lipstick then they're probably going to be like "What are you doing?
> (2009a).

Her futuristic iconography developed to the point of cliché (opening itself to parody again, which it received), audiences of excited industry insiders were exchanged for 13 year old girls and their parents watching Boots play on stage in her dressing gown and pyjamas (parodying her own parodies) in between electro power ballads and her nightly performances of each track destined for album release ("every one [of which] sounds suspiciously like a hit single"; Petridis 2009).

Connections made were researched, opportunities identified and measured and her imagery and practice finalised (until the next release). Boots then started playing what the industry calls "intimate gigs" that are popular with similar acts juxtaposing their quotidian origins with the formalised space they operate within (she names Lilly Allen, but also male acts like The Kooks play them regularly). As a suitable homage to her earlier videos (and their strange mixture of spaces) their ready-made nature reveals Boots' connections to formalised space and the space left behind of myth and musical folklore. Intimate gigs involve a bespoke service in close and personal settings; small trendy pubs most often, and when Boots plays them she surrounds

herself again with props that remind her audience of their informal nature (candles, beer bottles), and plays acoustic versions of lesser heard ditties without her band (as if onlookers finally have audience in her bedroom, or close enough). In turn the gigs allow performance without paying the full band, or when others cannot travel, thereby enabling the advance of her "touring and promotion run" (2009a). This pragmatism reciprocates audiences' (especially "psycho fans") obsession with pop star narratives, their desire to get much "closer" than normally possible (as they had via computer screen), and relate her to the climate of digitalization and social networking they encountered her through: "Like everyone wants to get closer to everyone now. The closer they can get the better, you know... ...and it's just this whole culture of how close you can get to people, and the same with people wanting blogs and Twitter... ...And I think the intimate gigs are a little like that" (2009a). But the gigs also play on people's insecurities with other entrepreneurial practice as they awaken notions of commercial authenticity, and play an instrumental role by differentiating her from others as well as familiarising her by setting her against resemblances (e.g. Lilly Allen, La Roux, even "untouchable" Lady Gaga):

> ...I guess, on the other side, people just want something more real and if you're looking at this tiny figure on the stage that you cant really see with some magic outfit and loads of make up on it feels like a fake thing and, you know, when you watch Lady Gaga on telly, its like 'is it even real? ...So I think it's people just wanting some kind of honesty and truth (2009a).

Take a step back from the excitement of close quarters with a global celebrity and the intimate gigs also reveal the sedimentation and application of market analyses as her practice fermented with previous audiences is "hammered" repeatedly. They take the juxtaposition of celebrity and bedroom to a level at which remuneration is possible. "Anything you start getting reactions on means you've made a connection" (Discodust.com), and the intimate gigs coordinate her own response to audience reaction tallied, market research gleaned by the YouTube pilots, and her and the label moving in to take the market ground that has been won and develop the campaign. Opportunity comes into relief, the image focuses on a brand articulated through normative procedures and designed to provoke well delineated markets to respond again and make her new connections.

It's a lot smaller. You can see the artist and get up close. And generally when I
do them I just do acoustic gigs so I just play piano and it's very personal. I'll play
songs that I don't normally play and covers and stuff. It's quite chatty and
informal and for fans it's really nice because they can get really close to you. It's
a lot different really. It's just really like everybody is just standing round. I did
one in this little bar and I was just playing piano with lots of candles on it and the
audience just stood around and this close to me which, for the psycho fans, that's
like their dream, they can nearly touch me. It's just really informal and really
personal (2009a)

But connections made or remade also introduced constraints into Boots' everyday experience. By
altering the conditions of her practice her ability to compose and possibility inherent to the space
occupied fell away. Life became wound up with the busy schedule of a global pop star tied to a
powerful label: "You think it's going to solve all your problems", but (re)signing and,
significantly, the type of deal brokered, meant experience itself became less affording of
possibility, choice and motivation: "They're a fucking nightmare!", "...it just makes you not
want to do it" (2009a).

Despite the "phenomenal" scale of resources involved, the mythical dreams of celebrity
musicianship, visages of unrestricted creativity sold by Pop Idol, then, she characterises the
settings she took on as restrictive, and lacking in any certainty as to their change. Contractual
release is delayed until she "breaks even" which is only likely after a successful third album. Her
enterprise is founded on the agreement she operates with decaying histories of remuneration
through discrete material objects of exchange and there is no certainty as to how they will sell (or
if they will sell at all, rather than be 'illegally' downloaded). She knows "[t]here's no way to add
up the sums and for the sums to come out right at the minute" (2009a), and is forced to accept
constant loss through live performances in order that they promote singles and albums. Somehow
the capacity to change these settings and invent possibility within is lacking: "It just seems
impossible" (check), "I don't understand", "to recoup your advance just feels like an
unachievable height" (2009a). The panoramic range of the contract is stark example of the space

she occupies: predisposed to co-opt all creativity its design manifests the insecurity Boots deals with on a daily basis and positions Boots at the centre of a floundering but unmissable record industry.

Losing all remuneration sources depressed Boots' desire and will to combine practice and compose possibility, instead finding herself caught up reciprocating others' prestation. "I don't see any money from it, so I just don't feel motivated to do many [DJ] gigs". Daily routine previously so affording of possibility became disrupted with a life spent living on a tour bus, in the studio, or at nightly gigs. "...I'm so tired now. If someone says to me "On your day off, you can go and do a DJ set for 20 grand"... ...Why should I on my day off?... ...you're absolutely shattered from working 24 hours a day" (2009a). She found herself "manically busy" and unwilling to play for no immediate monetary reward, and hence DJ slots became less regular, remixes were put on hold, and Boots became increasingly guarding of her spare time being inserted into the machine: "every free hour matters", "so it's like this constant battle of creative space and my time" (2009a). Time itself became occupied by alien interests, its contents defined by the more powerful record label, and Boots having to negotiate it or borrow it in between the machinations of corporate business: "...time is precious and time money and time is profile". "You can't have a week" (the label says so) (2009a).

No longer are resources she so readily combined in the past so immediate, ubiquitous and easy to reinterpret and configure in the formalised settings she now occupies, and instead each decision making process regarding the release of musical products and her public image (now existing 'outside' Boots) is negotiated through consultation with dedicated teams of specialists. She must always endeavour to make good bets, and target identified markets (not least because through establishing further connections she will be disengaged from 360degree contract and finally "make some money"). Moreover, even "at this level", financial resources remain constrained (until remuneration is certain, the label assured, risks allayed) and ill affording of the possible designs and images she conjures: "You're losing 12 grand on this tour, you can't even afford a monitor" (2009a). "Everything must be epic!", she hopes to be "massive, massive, massive!", but is repeatedly dragged back down to earth and forced to accept constraint inherent in formalised settings and in her daily life.

...with the creative stuff its hard because the more people you get involved the
more ways it starts getting pulled and it gets very difficult because everybody
has a different view point and I'm always diplomatic and I can't just rely on me,
you know, I've got to try and be objective which is really difficult and you have
to take in other people's opinions, people you trust and it gets really hard...
(2009a).

Other resources more immediate begin to go unused again, building up but leaking inefficiency:
"It's so frustrating to be sitting on all this music and not being able to share any of it. What's the
point in writing songs if no one else can hear them?" (Boots, April 7, 2011,
<http://littlebootsblog.tumblr.com/page/4>). Lessons learnt and observations made evaporate:
"I'm still learning all the time" (2009a). She finds moments of creative inspiration and her ability
to orient her practice are defined for her: "I've got control, but it's within certain boundaries"
(2009a). Frustration multiplies, she begins to question her intentions, which part of the process
exactly promises satisfaction, if and when she will ever "break even", be content with the little
remuneration she receives (a daily "pocket money" account) and experience true celebration of
her celebrity.

Back in the interview, she describes feeling the weight of the powerful partners she works with
bearing down on her and their own uncertain futures having visceral effect on her immediate
experience: "I don't know, I've started worrying a lot more about money..." (2009a). Today,
looking down as her celebrity jets above her enterprise is only able to insinuate itself by making
negative statements about her now properly managed practice and inserting witty metaphors
written on her second, more personal blog (Boots 2011) that evades the gaze of the powerful
label:

I ran up a lot hills last week, when you can see the top it's fine you can push
yourself to that point, the problem is when you can't see the top you start
thinking about giving up. Think that's what's keeping me awake, can't see where

I'm trying to get to (Boots, April 13, 2011,
<http://littlebootsblog.tumblr.com/page/3>).

Today Boots is established pop star material, markets are identified, and promise of reciprocating funding and resource ploughed in through hit releases still remains (even though responses to her new videos and posts are quickly decreasing in Britain). Experience may be less affording of possibility, and efficiency may be leaking, but contracting to the world's biggest and most powerful record label affords her chance to pause and take recess from her touring and promotion run, go and concentrate on penning her second album in the knowledge that a market place has been established around her stylized practice, and that her "brand" has been burnt into audience consciousness. 2009 is history, the smiling face of the Little Boots brand previously inescapable is invisible in magazines, bloggings and sales charts, and her videos and music seem dated and to have been subsumed by pop music progress (other female solo artists took her place as the sound of 2010 and 2011 who still dominate the charts).

But such is opportunity experience in the formalised settings she occupies and via theorems she inherits: "I'm hoping that I've built this up now, then I can go away and write and then come back and people will still give a shit, so that's the theory", "...you're hoping it's promoting the album and selling more albums" (2009a). She learns to abide with time, work to the pace of the powerful relation, plan more thoroughly, take that objective view of practice and observe reactions. She pauses, aware that the characters creating these conditions may alter of their own will, and that to remain in play she must still concentrate on developing connections spiralling out from her current imagery: "It's more just about making sure that your brand (and it's horrible to talk about it like a brand, but that's just a name), that it's OK and is doing well and is in a good place" (2009a).

Boots is currently reforming connections with audiences in preparation for the release of her second album and her new single saw its radio debut in November 2011 (yet only 1 free copy was downloaded in a month of 41099 plays from online music site Soundcloud (<http://soundcloud.com/littleboots>) linked from the New Musical Express (her partner's employer)).

8.3 Discussion

Boots remains in enterprise. She became invisible for a while as she went back 'underground' to pen her second album, but has re-emerged with her management agency beginning to promote its imminent release and her metamorphosis by 'teasing' audiences (now largely scattered around the world rather than concentrated in the large buying markets of Britain or America) with snippets of new singles (that lead them to complain about how she treats them). On her return she has continued to appropriate commonplaces like the ubiquitous social networking technology of Twitter (<http://www.twitter.com/iamlittleboots>) and the blogging platform Tumblr (http://littlebootsblog.tumblr.com). Through them she still regularly cites personal experience, pauses on her entrepreneurial life, and details books she is reading, fashion and clothes she buys, food, drink and music she enjoys, jokes shared between friends, her health and her spring cleaning routine. These citations are still interspersed (old habits die hard) with Boots making the odd self promotion, plugging other acts and making links to associated sites (and regular tweets fly back and forth between her and popjustice.com, the blog that broke her). During brief moments between flying around the world on her 'promotion and touring run' and playing to hoards of screaming teenage girls she still laments nostalgically on settings that were previously so affording of possibility and her first album making number 5 in the UK charts 2 years ago "feeling like a really big deal". She says "[n]ow I couldn't feel further away from that" and wishes "it was as simple as just following my heart and making the 'difficult second album'" (2009a). Despite all the clout the material resources of the formalised space offer her (though for much longer they will trust her to bring reciprocation and can fund the actualization of her grand futuristic images are uncertain) she suggests she finds her brand's advance being cut short as she struggles to imagine what "to do these days to keep up with the ridiculous pace of this "digital age"". The further her face drifts from public gaze the more impossible remuneration seems and the more she is forced to keep tirelessly working. The upshot of this is that the virtual connections she has with audiences through Twitter and Tumblr are now quickly becoming mediums through which she placate herself: "I guess it's just difficult when you are trying so hard to do something but ultimately feel pretty powerless over it", and reminds herself that she has "the best job in the world" and that at least prosaics still hold her some personal satisfaction: "...this week I will possibly have the best coffee and bagels too. Yum. X" (Boots, June 6, 2011,

). Through doing so the process by which global celebrity brands are created, at least ostensibly, still seems to be demystified and audiences (at least in the distant Euro and Latin American countries her initial YouTube performances jokily took authorising citation from) seem for the time being still mesmerised by her pop star image becoming stripped down to just the daily routine (as if she walks among 'us'). But revealed are prosaics that are much less affording of choice and possibility and a popstar having to reanimate entrepreneurial creativity through citations of previous practice.

The two images, one more historical, the other more immediate, animate this entrepreneurial distinction coming into focus as they emplot Boots' mutation from anonymity to celebrity. They 'begin' with her practice citing (Certeau 1984) prosaic opportunity experience in ordinary bedroom settings and priming her narrative for epic (Hamilton 2006) entrepreneurial distinction. Between the images the YouTube marketing tactic (Certeau 1984) takes effect by emplotting her with the formalised settings of a large record label, and has affect on the hearts and minds of consumers. Yet as entrepreneurial relations tighten playful geniality gives way to perfunctory commerce and space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) is squeezed out, and visages of prior enterprise are employed as strategic reminders of musical creativity.

The first image coordinates her entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) as she re-relates to marketing strategy (Certeau 1984). Ready access to the Internet, ubiquitous social networking and broadcasting technologies and personal experience gained through "going through the system" interact with inherited knowledge of "the state of the arts" (Penrose 1959/1995) and she imaginatively combines immediately available labour via friends (Greve and Salaff 2003, Jack *et al* 2008), "cabin fever" formed through growing frustration and inertness and spare time to elicit market openings. Though the opportunity remains loose and informal (Dimov 2011), some distinction is found as the narrative progresses and Boots describes imagining that Indie music was becoming boring and "things were going more pop". She keeps this strategic positioning of her brand prefaced through her own disaffecting flesh and blood experience of other actors (Penrose 1959/1995) and authorises the polemic (Certeau 1984) as "just as joke" when revealed as marketing strategy. Almost immediately her brand emerges citing its own breaking up

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(Rindova *et al* 2009) of the dull musical history it narrates and setting of new beginnings (Shackle 1979) for a floundering music business (citing her independence, yet presenting an artist willing to submit herself to corporate panoptics and reawakening vague memories of universal domination of musical experience by large companies). She became known as a technological 'whiz kid' who took charge of wider technological changes (Penrose 1959/1995) and was attentive to new styles of consumer behaviour (not least because she still seemed ordinary herself).

Initially this bricolage blurred boundaries (Certeau 1984) distinguishing prior enterprise and corporate business and obscured exchanges between the two. The syntactical actions (Certeau 1984) of more powerful backstage relations whose presence afforded her space to play and decide and the historical dependence of large corporate labels upon the entrepreneurial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) of emerging artists like Boots to create opportunity (Frith 1986) and Boots' own dependence on their managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) to actualize her images for global celebrity are minimised. In their place intimate settings normally excluded from view and citations from bedroom life act as symbolic references that authorise (Certeau 1984) her practice, situate it in a historical context and animate her rapid rise.

Audiences found they had the rare opportunity to engage with a heroic (Dodd 2002) entrepreneurial celebrity in the making and become engaged in her practice as it set a new beginning for musical business. Miraculously, it was this act of reconfiguring boundaries of distinction between territories (Certeau 1984) of performer and audience that have historically characterised the entrepreneurial settings of her competition and the institutional history of musical business that marked Boots' new beginning. The tactic (Certeau 1984) is a powerful marketing story (O'Connor 2002) (not least because it markets Boots on altering conditions of musical enterprise before the vision has been actualized); flesh and blood interaction gives way to virtual intimacy in a space characterised by imagination, possibility and dreams, and strategic intentions in delineating distinct boundaries to opportunity and distinguishing a market exterior (Certeau 1984) are minimised by discourse of spontaneity and playfulness that encouraged audiences to interpret her practice as truthful, honest, and authentic (Frith 1986; O'Neill 2009; Clarke and Holt 2010).

The tactic was also potent because available labour and human resource (Penrose 1959/1995) (in the form of popular cultural references, memories of 80s frontiersmen and women, tweets, likes and embeddings, even verbal communication) were absorbed as audiences were invited in to respond. Seeming to be attracted as their role in her epic (Hamilton 2006) entrepreneurial distinction is revealed to them and they glimpsed the possibility of attaining their own dreams or even swapping places with Boots, audiences were drawn into her viability (Lavoie 1991; Aldrich & Fiol 1994; Glynn & Lounsbury 2001; O'Connor 2002), bought her products and kept on responding.

Other observers also noticed how the videos operated strategically (Certeau 1984) by piloting songs, gauging reactions and feeding valuable information able to be used in the future. Paradoxically, at the same time as their collective labour developed the opportunity and distinguished social value (positioning themselves more and more as exterior to Boots and setting themselves up in a static nexus as they had the brief experience of being 'inside') audiences' experience of getting much 'closer' and being able to stylize the products they bought through a convivial technology authorised (Certeau 1984) Boots' use of their labour.

The first image hence concludes with Boots' brand gradually coming into focus on the back of tallies of audience response. It keeps opportunity still quite informal (Dimov 2011) and open to reconfiguration as panoptic knowledge pours in, others offer their own citations and human resource and invite reinterpretation. In time this constructs a unique entrepreneurial style (Penrose 1959/1995; Hjorth 2005; Certeau 1984) of "DIY epic" or "cosmic Coronation Street" imagery that imitates the YouTube tactic and the wider cultural stories of transcendence and epic distinction it connects to. The imagery is difficult to define; throughout the narrative Boots seems to be slowing as her image absorbs connections and the signs of movement and creativity to be expressed only by narrative distinction from rags to riches that her marketing story (O'Connor 2002) very instrumentally emplots.

Table 9: Analysis of Image 1 from Little Boots

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Norrmative opportunity plots of discoverable opportunity via support from corporate business and management by agency. Authenticity as lack of reliance on technology and corporate business. Gift economy economics as potential to absorb consumers into productive activity. Heroic and epic narratives trace social creativity, distribute boundaries and territories The recorded product and the system; plugging & promotion; marketing campaigns; artist blogging and networking with fans; mailing lists, special access, limited edition product bundles, competitions, etc.; live performance; industry backhanders and incestual shit; dependency between corporate labels and emerging artists; sales charts. Emergence and disruption of institutional history by social networking and digitalization;	Authorisation of commercial self and distinct opportunity via citations of celebrity entrepreneurship, other bricoleurs. Exploits emerging technologies as means of distribution and promotion; panoptic devices able to pilot songs and measure response; providing increased sense of honesty, truth and demystification. Practice emplots normative opportunity plot of rags to riches ascension, boundaries fall away as consumers respond; movement between Blackpool and Los Angelesarticulate transformation and mobility. Self marketed as issuing clarity and opening new futuristic spaces in musical climate of uncertainty and ambiguity. Other entrepreneurs as symbolic relation that pose her versatility. Obscures reasons for leaving previous outfit, powerful backstage actors, A&R men, pluggers, sponsors, etc. Early practice used to pilot brand, tally response, distinguish potential nexus, preparing market information able to be exploited via touring and promotion campaigns.

	climatic uncertainty. Centres of Finance: Record labels Other Entrepreneurs, Businesses & Others: Identification and positioning of distinct entrepreneurial self and opportunity, setting up nexuses. Strategic positioning of self in relation to competition.	
Material Resources	Corporate business as place of power holding control over financial means to produce musical self. Decreasing reliance on material object Electronic production potentially brings multiple tasks together. Sponsorship; publishing advance; corporate marketing spend & clout.	Pop song covers & scaled down versions operate as pilots that reduce financial risk of release of material objects. Gadgets, teddy bears, waving Chinese cats, other bedroom props; parents' home; 'random keyboards'; computers & phones act as citations that temper formalisation of practice.
Human Resources	Available information and labour (Clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical), knowledge of 'state of the arts', conventions and strategies; available labour; and practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being.	Personal Experience: learning from going through system; market response and research, state of the arts enacted through prosaic technologies. Social labour of audiences via social networking; radio, television and other press; pluggers; social imagination; managerial capacity of label, management agency & specialist teams; entrepreneurial

	Time as risk and uncertainty; history as issuer of possibility. Entrepreneurial Versatility to re-relate to strategy. Expectations impacting experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility.	capacity of creative team. Citations & authorisations via previous divas, frontiersmen & women, other entrepreneurs less versatile; common musical experience; prosaic experience; common images of Blackpool; market culture. Exploitation of ordinary time and space between practice for creation as well as authorisation. New marketing tactics revealed. Cabin fever and frustration- versatility as bodily response to inactivity and time. Expectations closely related to space and time to play and decide.

By image 2 the spaces, citations and stylizations of inheritances and conventional practice emplotted by actions undertaken during image 1 have been formalised (Dimov 2011) and the opportunity takes shape as panoptic knowledge gleaned through the YouTube pilots assures connections have been made. Boots' narrative distinction to proper managed space is epitomized by her release 'New in Town', the lyrics of which- "I don't have a lot of money but we'll be fine, no I don't have a penny but I'll show you a real good time..." - are apt for these times and imitate the YouTube tactic by posing the celebrity Boots walking amongst the downtrodden and homeless yet remaining entrepreneurial. But Boots still seems to be slowing, more and more an object designed through the strategic machinations of a corporate label, less and less a figure conjuring new possibilities for musical history.

Her connections are formalised through her taking on the 360° contract (setting her up in a nexus she cannot escape as well), boundaries delineating the division of labour between her and territories of the management agency and the label are installed, and she experiences the label's

panoptic gaze co-opt all remuneration for the sake of the material resources (financial, equipment, plant) ploughed in and the technical and managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) bestowed to her. In conjunction with teams of dedicated specialists (29 active individuals are listed on the liner notes to her Hands album) offering the managerial and technical capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) and clout of material resources necessary for a global campaign, market response is observed and tallied and repeatedly stylizes conventional strategies (Penrose 1959/1995; Certeau 1984) to develop her brand. An exterior market (Certeau 1984) forms outside Boots as she occupies a space of reason and her specialised agencies observe market response.

As they turn to secure remuneration numerous strategies (Certeau 1984) and normative corporate policies (Penrose 1959/1995) become installed (her website and personal blog promotes her, sells products, live shows travel to established markets and forge new space, competitions introduce sponsors and attract punters, limited edition bundles create the visage of scarcity, and special releases offer bespoke experiences). In turn her practice becomes emplotted with a wider cultural movement (Penrose 1959/1995) of similar female musical entrepreneurs all sharing similar practice and stories, setting up a distinct space to familiarise as well as differentiate her creativity. The images have her breaking away (Rindova *et al* 2009) from the old dominant order, but only to situate herself comfortably within another popular musical regime configuring similar enterprise (and, alas, creating space for others who she is unable to prevent taking her place in the charts today).

In image 2 a boundary is then marked in her narrative (Certeau 1984) over which the powerful corporate figure moves from back stage obscurity and requests her entrepreneurial identity and practice is also formalised by her omitting polemics and jibes at other figures (Certeau 1984), assuring audiences of her happy ascension to pop star. What began as "just a joke" develops into a global marketing, promotion and touring campaign followed by a quick succession of releases where different market places identified through corporate informatics are repeatedly 'hammered' by her and the label as they strategically cascade the brand confabulated between them and audiences around the world.

Boots' entrepreneurial identity (Penrose 1959/1995) then re-emerges, this time 'outside' and looking back at her through the eyes of her onlookers and critics as another entrepreneurial relation that frustrates and constrains her. The unique style of practice created in the first image begins to lay out her path dependence; rather than versatile and able to re-relate to herself and her settings she begins playing intimate gigs, and her practice seems to slow even more, stop being so creative and interesting as it turns to recover the costs poured in. The gigs' intimacy veil behind them Boots' ability to manipulate audience response and elicit behaviour from formalised settings and the tightening of entrepreneurial relations. They still cite the style of practice manufactured in the first image by contrasting the settings of Do-It-Yourself performance with an epic celebrity hero, but Boots struggles to find personal reward as a creative artist amidst prosaics of opportunity experience mutating within the settings of a large corporate label much less affording of choice. A pop star returns to sit alongside the people, chat, sing some songs, take requests (and the money of 13 year old girls and their parents), but these actions are unmistakably strategic in form and oriented toward properly delineated commercial opportunities and exterior markets distinguished by the practical and instrumental conscience of a corporate label expressing a need to recuperate expensive gifts bestowed to Boots in the past. At the same time as space to play and decide falls away, then, so too does entrepreneurial creativity, and it seems to be only the citations made to previous practice and epic narrative distinction imitated by the intimate gigs that animate creativity and movement. There is a zero-sum game here; the more she becomes defined as an object able to entice the alienated tribal needs of her punters the more she becomes just a spectre of her previous entrepreneurial self and struggles to conjure new images. The more the opportunity is localized in a spatial and institutional sense the less uncertain it becomes and less affording of possibilities to create.

As the space she occupies becomes more and more managed her most immediate human resources (Penrose 1959/1995) (spare time, time spent in prior enterprise, knowledge accrued, feeling space to conjure possibility, her imagination) are excluded (Certeau 1984), and technical and managerial capacity poured in incurs her own entrepreneurial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) is reduced as it becomes marginal to diplomatic and objective managerial calculations and strategic reasoning based on corporate informatics. She finds the material resources and entrepreneurial relations that replaced previous flesh and blood human resources and friends she

could playfully joke about with are less decomposable (Sarasvathy 2008) and much more difficult to combine through entrepreneurial bricolage than they were in the past. Forced to make dull 'even if' bets (Sarasvathy 2008), her entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) is weighed down with the pressures put on her to secure remuneration and travel constantly to take ground that has been won and time, those most important of human resources for the bricoleur, time and imagination (Certeau 1984; Penrose 1959; Shackle 1979), become lost within the machine of corporate business: "...like the worse thing at the minute, like where it comes from, all success comes from, is good songs, and at the minute I've gotta write new songs for the American release, and I don't have time and I can't write".

Positioned "in a corner" and "forced" to agree to contract based on a panoptic ability to co-opt all remuneration, her relationship to her enterprise is determined by others fighting the decay of anachronistic strategies that she resists (or is unable to imagine) challenging. Trapped in a nexus partially of her own making she becomes less and less versatile and able to re-relate to her settings, now seeming to passively accept that rather than uncertainty being invitation to create interesting new musical futures (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979) she must wait and somehow, anyhow, and write those songs and manufacture the second album.

Together her and the powerful backstage relation continue trying to elicit market behaviour but are forced to exploit advantage won to "fight the erosion of time" (Certeau 1984:174) by retreating to a withdrawn position of observation where Boots can pause to pen her 2nd album and plan courses of action. Without choice, having to create new images when she can (though deeply constrained by the path dependence of the images she has made) it is now her prosaic opportunity experience that begins to matter again, not because it is rich with possibility but because jetting above us and starring on stage in front of thousands of worshipping fans she can only find satisfaction through good coffee and bagels.

The disequilibrium created in image 1 as Boots marketing story proposed it's setting new beginnings for musical history falls away here as her and the powerful label struggle to bring equilibrium by exploiting advantage won and marshalling market ground won to give up remuneration. Yet the new beginning she promised quickly seems just another part of her

marketing story before she could ever break up dull gendered musical business. Now a footnote in the ongoing progression of artists who like her use the sedimentation of spaces of reason as polemics to elicit new imaginative tactics, her days of bedroom dreaming are over, and she longs for that space characterised by the richness of possibility and choice. The Little Boots brand seems to have stopped moving all together, and the creation of her second album before it has even emerged to be a bland and instrumental attempt at keeping up with the apparently incredible pace of the digital age that rushes past those to slow or stubborn to adapt or create space within it.

Table 10: Analysis of Image 2 from Little Boots

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Increasingly efficient organisation of relations. Corporate business promotes and formalises brand into distinction. Greater reliance on live performance. Altered consumer behaviour and demand. Boundaries and territories distribute producers, resources, market, etc., Branded self kept at a distance from life. Normative Opportunity Plots: the happy celebrity. Opportunity abstracts from experience and becomes propelled through efficient use of resources, prosaics less important. Use brand to fight erosion of time and progression of pop music.	Little Boots brand is organised around specialist personnel opportunities identified with 360º scope. Big budget advertising; marketing campaigns, touring and promotion runs; Dj'ing, mix tapes, live performance; artist blogging, etc.; music videos; remixes; intimate gigs; the recorded product all develop distinct branded self and exploit tallied market response. Playing gigs major source of promotion and promises potential remuneration; intimate gigs save on costs of gigging. Boundaries and territories re-emerge as contact with fans falls away and brand develops momentum but is tempered by movement back and forth between origins and proper place. Cannot keep branded self at a distance, finds branded self alienating and restrictive. Prosaics less affording of possibility, corporate machine struggles to exploit opportunity successfully. Finds self swallowed into progression of pop music.
Material	Balance material resources poured	Debts and costs looming alters personal

Resources	in through remuneration through live performance and sales. Sponsorship; publishing advance; corporate marketing spend & clout allow development of brand. Material object as major source of remuneration.	experience, feels weighty and pressuring. Clout of corporate business enables access to production system; rent of pubs and spaces for performance; studios; more quotidian props; tour buses; instruments, PA, costumes, rig, etc.; The material object experienced as constraint.
Human Resources	Time as risk and uncertainty. Opportunity as presence, distinguished by practice and panoptics. Brand as place of power. Available information and labour (Clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical). Internal cultures and knowledge. 'State of the arts', social networks, mobility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence and versatility. Expectations influencing experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Capacity and willingness to identify distinct spaces of self and opportunity and practical capacity	Time as risk and uncertainty, feels self slowing and becoming constrained, reminds self of impact of expectations, history as issuer of productive opportunity partially inaccessible and constraint she feels unable to re-relate to. Opportunity still ambiguous, uncertain and presence not felt. Brand allows retreat, planning and identification of market opportunities. Large scale panoptics continue, previous practice used as pilot study. Public approval begins to shift as Boots retreats, critique arises, connections with consumers and potential social labour falls away, greater reliance on corporate informatics. Frustration & lack of motivation develops in formalised settings but lacks versatility to re-relate to them as resources. Previous creativity and epic narratives of entrepreneurial distinction able to animate

	to bring productive opportunities into being. Satisfaction found through worship by consumers and status.	lack of movement and creativity, memories of the ordinary Boots, other Divas temper formalisation of practice, struggles to identify new opportunities other than further reliance on material object, lacks managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Little satisfaction found in formalised space, retreats to prosaics.

9 a.P.A.t.T.

a.P.A.t.T. emerged late 1997. 'Inside' a mix of "merry pranksters" and "serious artists" (who see these roles interchangeably) create strange and unsettling performances and on occasion even beautiful compositions. Members come and go, definition between inside and outside focuses and then blurs, and musical opportunity and the site multiplies. Activities are split between a band-like outfit that over time has come to concentrate on the creation of songs and releases, and an orchestra of no fixed size consisting of many other local actors (with performances of up to 40 players). Between them they play in some of the city's darkest and dankest venues, as well as some of the grandest. "We are a joke!" they say, their albums express slapstick humour, anger, anxiety, take cross-genre references, steal and repackage common memories, and the Orchestra has audiences walking round the city in processions interpreting incarceration in public transport as musical experience, and asks city park walkers to observe curiously as Echo newspapers are shaken and rustled. A few years ago they defined themselves as "a completely original bewildering 2-7 piece band using all the genres possible to create a daft yet beautiful mess. Running all over stage whilst swapping instruments. Eclectic..pah!... ...a.P.A.t.T. sound like the best bits of eveything you've ever heard. File next to ABBA / Zappa" (a.P.A.t.T. 2010, vimeo.com/apatt). This definition is one of the few things they have allowed to stick. The rest of the time new musical visions are created out the definitions that are given and encountered to them by 'outside', and everything is looped back into practice.

Contact was made 2 years ago after collecting the final issue of free Do-It-Yourself 'zine 'Slacker Sounds' from FACT in Liverpool (18 on Map) that contained a short interview discussing their emergence and early 'manifesto'. Multiple sessions over a 2 year period were then spent with a.P.A.t.T. for study purposes with the intention of involvement becoming more active over time. This was prefaced by the belief 'becoming friends' promised rich data and was sensitive to themes discussed in the 'zine.

Round at the shared flat of central members Dorothy Wave (D.W.) and General MIDI (G.M) members would be busy editing video sections, discussing upcoming performances, making up flyers, drinking cups of tea and coffee, and smoking (various substances) late into the night.

Unstructured in-depth narrative group interviews were conducted between 4 out of the 5 members during initial encounters, but these encounters would meld imperceptibly with everyday dialogue and a.P.A.t.T. managing their day-to-day running. Eventually friendship started to form and my own resources (i.e. time, energy and enthusiasm) were absorbed 'inside'. Informal agreement was made that I should film live performances as it was likely to be mutually beneficial. It became hard to determine where study began and friendship stopped (and how exclusive the two were, and why) and resist being drawn further in or away from academic study of the 'subject'. As study progressed it also became increasingly difficult to distinguish boundaries to the site and musical opportunity, and it was decided to keep the study entrepreneurial through studying mixed sites within or around the site rather than struggling to manage an elusive 'subject' always on the move.

As study progressed multiple live performances and events at local venues around the city were recorded, and music videos were actively engaged in and observed (e.g. performances by a.P.A.t.T. at The Kazimier, performances by a.P.A.t.T. Orchestra at the Walker Gallery and World Museum, 'You had me at 'Hello'', an Eastern European styled death metal music video staged in a local church filmed almost entirely by myself, and central role was taken in the video 'Yves St. Laurent' in a church rehearsal space; 27 on map). Increasing amounts of time were spent outside formal study meetings (mostly with G.M. And D.W.) at clubs and performances, in the pub or, alas, in the Krazy House after events, and more collaboration ensued. As absorption gradually occurred (first within a.P.A.t.T., then as opportunity re-emerged within the settings of Do-It-Yourself creative space Don't Drop the Dumbells) I was invited to become member and don a moniker for public use (I operated under a few different names until 'The Researcher' stuck). Ritual initiation occurred at a performance in August 2010 as I was kidnapped from the audience and trapped in a potato sack for the final song.

Field notes were taken to the point of saturation or anxious obsession, and a.P.A.t.T., recognising semblance to their own project, would try to absorb the study by repeatedly suggesting the two year long period and findings be incorporated in their ongoing 'archiving' work. Other than hearing of them on the grapevine and the odd (but unacknowledged) encounter in the past, insight is also taken from secondary sources (newspapers, magazine articles, online and offline

reviews, even friend's experiences of performances), and all available releases and output (consisting of musical sources like 'e.p.', 'fr(e.p.)', 'l.p.', 'Black and White Mass', and their current album 'Ogidimma', 'Paul the Record', etc.; as well as lesser or 'non-musical' sources like the a.P.A.t.T. film, their rockumentary). Regular trawls of online space also revealed the growing intensity of a.P.A.t.T. online and offered many Youtube videos and other output to muse. A total 26.5 hours of interview and meetings were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Lengthy out of hours contact and participation helped by tempering insight gained via more formal methods with richly textured qualitative description. Data creation and membership 'inside' a.P.A.t.T. continues to develop today.

Image 1 draws from a series of meetings organised between myself and a.P.A.t.T. for the purpose of rewriting the a.P.A.t.T wikipedia entry. G.M. mostly takes the role of band spokesman but the image is also peppered with citations from secondary sources and personal experience during the study. The wiki format was a convenient way to coordinate their emergence and development up to the present day. It has them focusing on specific episodes of practice defined by changing activities and using normative practice to orient their imaginative recomposition. Seeming as if they could not resist re-relating to the highly structured and dull linearity of this format, G.M. and D.W. subverted the entry by pasting in lengthy stories and tangents and inserting "links galore!", impossible past tenses and nonsensical grammatical errors. After 6 months of meetings I began writing the wikipedia entry and managing its updating. Struck by their subversion disgruntled wiki users firstly threatened the page be removed, and then deleted it a few weeks later. A more conventional version was drafted and is still used today (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/APAtT).

The second image departs from a.P.A.t.T. as opportunity is taken up elsewhere to focus on two (or three if my own absorption is accepted) of it's members in the settings of 'Don't Drop the Dumbells' as participatory study develops. It describes collaboration whilst organising an alternative 'creative space' in Liverpool city through the 'Post-Music' record label and many other outfits and actors. The images are discrete in that they describe two separate periods of time and involve different characters but emplot continuing themes and issues members face and capture

something of musical opportunity by keeping it entrepreneurial through not restricting it to just one space or set of actors.

9.1 Image 1: The Emergence of a.P.A.t.T and Post Music

G.M., D.W., Master Fader (M.F.) and Field Marshall Stack (F.M.S.) coordinated their emergence back in 1997/1998.

Before a.P.A.t.T. initial members (G.M. & F.M.S. being the two remaining original members) were fragmented across bands playing a range of musical genres (G.M. played in 3 bands including a death metal outfit and played with F.M.S. in 'Pants'). They shared a daily experience of feeling limited by other band members' affection for restricted definitions of 'bands' and 'songs' and found material they composed was judged unsuitable. "Long drawn out passages", "odd textures" and "bookends of noise" gathered dust but carried the possibility of re-use sometime in the future, and so invited them to begin practising. As frustration mounted it elicited desire to transcend the musical practice they had become used to. "We were in whatever frame of mind and we wanted to just be the opposite of it" (G.M. 2010e:4).

> "This is the rub you see- we all played in other bands and all played in each
> other's bands and we had lots projects running kind of covering different areas.
> Standard stuff. Unsatisfied with the boundaries of one's own musical
> shortcomings and output at the time..." (G.M. 2010g:4).

From compensation from an assault a member (unnamed for ethical reasons) bought a mini-disc multi-track digital machine. It invited them to create something from leftover material in "beautiful, clear, crisp digital" sound and engage more closely in their musical production. They agreed to combine activities.

These formative times are significant because a particular style of using this multi-track equipment and the limitations it imposed then started developing. "So, this digital machine appears and when a good song appears you go "Well what do I do with that? I've got to empty

the machine..." [and so] ...through this came, not so much the material that was good, but more the process". They accepted its own inbuilt preconceptions on the nature of music and composition on the basis it also enabled new ways of operating.

> I was unemployed and I was spending the day in the dark fiddling with the machine or something like that, and learning the process- and not learning the process- discovering processes of how to work, like changing the way I had worked with Ben before (G.M. 2010g:5).

They smoked and drank into the early hours at their parents' homes, "learning things inside out", "just trying things differently really", and "fiddling things around and enjoying [themselves]- fun shit, and not playing the guitar". The process of becoming entrepreneurial was looped back into practice. "Essentially you're making projects out of learning the machine... ...It was mainly just us twatting around and trying not to have a rock beat behind it. If I am honest it was everything we were not doing". They tried to learn the extent of their equipment's capabilities and then extend those limits: "...if you've got a piece of equipment then you learn it inside out and use it in an innovative way. That's what's always pushed whatever equipment we've had at the time, that principle" (2010b:3). Meanwhile G.M. made a phone call to well known icon of Liverpool music Geoff Davies from Probe Plus to ask for advice on becoming entrepreneurial.

As they looped whatever they learnt back into their compositions previous bookends of noise and other left over material rather than riffing otherwise unimaginative practice became the music itself. They recomposed the use and definition of instruments and equipment (purposefully breaking or hacking things to elicit new sounds and significance), combined household utensils with defunct technology, made new equipment, and enjoyed the strange noises created and the angry response of awoken neighbours. Under G.M.'s bed a £1.99 microphone recorded "musical memes" (M.S. 2010d:7), "collated" influences and memories, added "sprinkles", and built up "layers and layers of drivel and sounds, or tones, or aesthetics, kooky instruments, or piles of stuff- and maybe even millions of ideas" (G.M. 2010d:3).

Limitation and frustration had revealed new openings into becoming entrepreneurial. "Because of the types of instruments we were trying to use, the types of instruments we were trying not to use, and more importantly [our aim] to not be a band about it... ...and do everything we were not doing" (G.M. 2010g:3). The digital machine quickly started to resemble a musical archive of their becoming entrepreneurial.

> ...it wasn't decided to start a.P.A.t.T.- this digital machine appears and the point of it is, in my mind, and probably still is this machine takes in [what] you record and whoever is there at a time. And we just grew that into the live format as well, and more recently into the ensemble format (G.M 2010e:2).

By turning the experience of becoming entrepreneurial in on itself possibility, uncertainty and surprise re-emerged:

> So this is what is formed a.P.A.t.T.'s nonsense, because, someone would arrive, i.e. usually bloody Ben, and we would have a few little stupid instruments out and we'd make a canvas of material and then mess around, literally. Because that's all it is. That's the truest form of experimentation. You're just trying some things. And that's what we'd do with that- cut it, loop it... (G.M. 2010e:3).

Imposed limitation and definition seduced their practice but did not preconfigure it. "... it was really the birth of this way of working that we've ended up doing...". Disclosed was "an ability to dip your toe into [everything else]" that had lead them into becoming entrepreneurial:

> Bizarrely, the minute we got going with it we immediately incorporated all the other stuff that we'd been doing anyway- i.e. like pop songs! Because you can't help it- again it was trying to be honest to what our concept was, which was trying to do everything... (G.M. 2010e:7).

In turn they started seeing their practice as "documenting and archiving" projects. The allure of dissecting these projects into discrete 'things' became irresistible, C90 cassette tapes were filled

and re-recorded, and the words 'a Positive Approach to Totality' were written on one as adage to their compositional experience. The attraction of donning a public name also became overwhelming and the a.P.A.t.T. moniker stuck. "But that doesn't matter any more" F.M.S. reiterates (a.P.A.t.T. Documentary 2006): it references an irrepressible identity "subject to change at any minute" that makes music through recomposing itself and looping everything back into practice.

> The point of a.P.A.t.T. is to absorb whatever it's on, like a little parasite (G.M. 2010g:4).

For 2 years they developed their practice. Material and desire to be judged again against the norm grew and they acquiesced to performing live. The performance neighbours had previously been awoken by was repeated:

> The very first show we did was in a place called The Vic in New Brighton, a pub or some shite... ...and we knew it would be a dead cert that there would be a room full of a certain type of people [who] wouldn't necessarily appreciate the material we were producing at the time... ...And the idea, our first aim was to go out and be obtusive and not pleasing, that was the objective. Absolutely guarantee that the first idea was to just annoy the people we were playing to (G.M. 2010e:3).

They embedded audience reaction in their practice by quickly lashing together a "public front" of sellotaped mini-cereal boxes and kaftans alluding to the distance felt between themselves and their observers. "Loud", "discordant", "nasty" and "odd" 'music', and "a bit of hostility and strangeness, [and] an element of unpredictability" "annoyed" and "confused" most onlookers. "They actually looked shocked- worried" (G.M. 2010f:1). Yet juxtaposing what they considered the polar opposite of their audience's desire revealed market value. By treating the performance space as an aspect of their practice rather than simply the means by which to articulate commercial products as other acts seemed to new commercial possibilities were revealed:

[Two] lads followed us in and were like "What the fuck was that?!"... ...essentially what they did that night was the same reaction we still get now, by anyone- they're confused... ...And it seemed to work for them... …I was like "Ohhh, OK...". We genuinely saw like "OK- some people might like this, a small quantity might be interested (G.M. 2010e:9).

The experience stuck with them and invited them to continue practising. "We still relish in that" (G.M. 2010e:10)".

More confident others were watching a manifesto declared their subversive intentions, unlimited membership and critical reflection on becoming entrepreneurial and suggested toward new forms of value being unveiled. Each member donned monikers for public use to inhibit their natural desire for power and celebrity. Through novel orderings of self and business they reflected a life amidst musical business yet did not passively echo the spectacles created by others.

The original manifesto was subsumed somewhere inside their archiving project but another political statement read:

> anechoic reflections of all things at once.
> This can?shoulD help to dream And create Savage Attacks On Sonatas, your so
> used too?
> eat the imagE and Find All, but True stuff n' stuff
> PleaSe Accept ouR Humble ApoloGies...........
> All terms and conditions apply as planned
> Please watch and listen with the view to explore and join.
> love you.
> (a.P.A.t.T., 2003 from
> http://web.archive.org/web/20030412212651/http://www.geocities.com/itsapatt/manifesto)

During more live performance they continued to inhibit their celebrity and challenge others by wearing white 'school PE kit style' bibs and civvies. "Indie bands look shit, metal bands look shit, everyone looks shit!..." (G.M), "...It's just fashion obsession, and that shouldn't be involved in music" (D.W.) they thought (2010j:3). New powers were revealed by their outfits:

> It's all wrong! It's really awkward, we don't look good! Why are they doing that?! Et cetera. It fucking does it [commercial success] right in, right. It could be the bain, it could be the thing that releases us to be able to do what we do... ...it's kind of this binding thing that you're in work and you've got to do this thing this way, and I swear if we weren't dressed like that we couldn't act the way we act. If we were all wearing cool clothes and hoodies it would fucking reek man! You're playing to the wrong adoration, and this definitely inhibits us from anything of merit to an awful lot of people... ...I've heard people talking in toilets, I've seen the disgust on women's faces! But I swear it sets us free, it allows us to come into one... (G.M. 2010e:18).

Cheaper means of manufacturing musical product invited them to "eat" more normative terms and conditions and they released an extended play (simply called e.P). Posed as an "archive" it "collated and documented" their experience of becoming entrepreneurial as "a collection of other people's materials, samples, mashed up, twisted lyrics from books... ...rhythms, vocals and anything that could be borrowed and twisted on itself again" (G.M. 2010e:6). Unable to master their instruments or the musical genres they encountered they instead continued mastering their own process of composition by extending their original concept. New players moved 'inside'.

Unwilling to give up the means of their own production and able to cheaply manufacture musical product via recordable CDs an in-house record label was configured to release the record, in doing so striking up new connections:

> The point is, these all came into happening because of CDrs. As much as the minidisc thing enabled you to record in a good way, once the CDr format was out-when you could get onto a computer that burnt them, it was like a new medium to

use, and it was good quality. So that changed. That was what e.P. was- we formed
our own little label together so we could self release our own thing. So 2002 was
the first release on Cdr with hand made shit covers. And we took it to Probe
Records and made them take copies of it, and we put it in HMV (G.M. 2010f:6-7).

They believed "things stand stronger in unity when there's a lot" (2010f:20) and others would
join. Based only in their imagination no separation was drawn between band and label but
reactions of fellow artists pressed them to "please" convention and redraw the lines by naming it
'aPehAt'. Normative practice was absorbed into the totality but in being so imposed lines of
definition that began to assimilate their practice.

Here is the dilemma: when we first started and did our first ep I wanted aPehAt, it
was supposed to be everything and it [a.P.A.t.T.] should have been the label name
as well, it really should have been, but it would have been so confusing to try to
get across- it just wouldn't have been accepted (G.M. 2010f:20).

Releasing musical products (the next "flagpole" in their wiki) and live performance lent reason
to develop their practice and imagery:

Any rigid structure was probably repositioned in 2002 because that's when the
first release was. That's when the label was formed, that was when the names were
given, that's when the look was defined, that was when we were characterising our
imagery I suppose... ...I suppose we were trying to create a thing, some kind of
look in a way, and it was just using whatever tools were available (G.M.
2010f:23).

They reconnected with normative commercial narratives by staging monthly shows called
'a.P.A.t.T Island' upstairs at Zanzibar (16 on map) and effectively sharing a monthly club-night
with friends. The island had presence in the sense that an ocean of difference seemed to separate
them from the "nobheads" and "pillheads" populating other more usual nights. "It was
ridiculous. You just got to act like a tit!" (G.M. 2010e:9). It was a like an "Amsterdam coffee

shop" or a "walk in centre" that had "a lot more relaxed" environment to learn, "mess around", smoke various substances, improvise, play, get feedback (both negative and positive valuable in their own way), and develop unfinished work. The night got good press (they even read about themselves in an Easy Jet in-flight magazine), members left, others joined (met through the night, Probe Records and their lives 'outside' a.P.A.t.T. in education at the local community college), more archived material was dumped, and a.P.A.t.T. set themselves up online (<http://web.archive.org/web/20030412054511/http://www.geocities.com/itsapatt/>).

New connections and invitations were brought but also new problems. "We were playing a lot and were hanging around the Zanzibar a lot and consequently we were getting quite a good live band... ...we were moving on to the next project because we'd just found self-sufficiency in our minds; people were buying the things... ...and [we were] sowing seeds for a potential liaison". "We were planning to do e.P.b, if you like this next low budget 'secret music' kind of thing, but then all of a sudden someone said "Look, here's your money, do you want to do a real album?"". Limitation drew them to connect: "...because we didn't have any PR or any knowledge of it, or anything like that, and the label, we teamed up with a London label" (G.M. 2010f:22).

The e.P. series was quickly binned and a long player called 'l.P' (still only lettering displaying subtle but imaginative play on the norm) rushed into production. It was a "landmark" album in their eyes, "the first time all our ideas got thrown in the pot" (G.M. 2010h:7), but was released with poor quality graphics (the inexperienced G.M. using a slow basic PC to create a crude and badly printed black and white cover). Accepting imposed means of articulating music meant problems of how to package the product and find market entry ensued and they found themselves struggling to compete and realized the promoter's label too neither had the funds nor connections to attract the attention deemed possible. They turned back to traditional make-shift promoting practices (fly postering in the rain).

The weaknesses also revealed new definition and purpose. "It was a blessing in disguise really... ...That changed what we were doing... ...it became a different thing, and we were not ready" (G.M. 2010h:4).

The L.P., was released in 2004, on aPehAt, and Lowesley Sounds. And the second, almost, after we released it, I was still pushing it the same way we were pushing e.p., which was going round doing posters on your own, in town in the rain, and things like that. And it didn't suit the kind of thing we were supposed to be, so after it, we- I know I felt well annoyed because it just hadn't been pushed properly and it wasn't enough (2010e:9).

Operating alone again some success was found and 900 out of 1000 products manufactured were sold (at £6 each). But as quickly as it formed any "direction" slipped away. Flirtation with usual business revealed limitations inherent in their abilities "to do everything".

Others invited to join aPehAt also remained 'outside' and unconnected. Reconfiguring lines of agency involved in musical production and inhibiting their celebrity seemed to divert others from the totality at risk of being consumed into anonymity.

Because who is going to give a shit about a band- the boundaries are too stuck and fast between other people's minds, whether I think and the rest of the band think so is irrelevant. It wouldn't have picked up enough people (2010h:1).

Meanwhile, though the label struggled their strange mix of practice did make connections and they played local and national radio and television (the latter few minutes of fame in the back of a taxi wearing their civvies and bibs at the surprise and anger of some of Liverpool's leading musical entrepreneurs). More live performances followed (some of which were "semi-conceptual" live performances and strange and aggressive forays into 'indeterminate' composition like 'Quartet'), more archival material was dumped, teenage ties reformed as collaboration occurred, and they travelled outside the city and found themselves referenced as members of the national avant garde multimedia art scene. Their archiving and documenting project and definitions of themselves as only a musical entity were extended by filming their own auto-documentary (2006) and feature film (released 5 years later by special showing after much reinterpretation in 2011).

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Yet they still needed to manage their production and distribution. They observed themselves embedded amidst a rich and growing mixture of acts sharing similar but mostly disassociated resource bundles and turned back to everything else still 'outside' a.P.A.t.T.

Relationships and barriers characterising musical history were also being reconfigured by the increased invisibility of musical products. Sites of commerce like Probe Records dependent on music's visibility were "going down" via ubiquitous decentralized promotional tools like Myspace and Facebook but many other acts "were becoming more able to take hold of [their] own shit" (2010e:7).

Ordinary employment also schooled G.M. in emerging practices. Working as a copywriter at a local small chain of instrument retailers he poached material from marketing websites, music biz documents and social media reports to write articles for the retailer's blog. "And then I'd see things that I liked, and I'd extract that, and then I started writing from my own point of view in the articles because I knew I'd steal it later and put it on my own blog. And then the blog came". Life overflowed into commerce: "...it's [the label] another thing that didn't actually start, I just naturally started writing more shite on the internet about other things. It was because my job- I was hanging around on a computer a lot, and I was writing..." (G.M. 2010k:13).

A new moniker- 'Post Music' - was appointed (postmusic.info), performance plugs, releases, merchandise, events, how-to's and nonsense filled out the content, and a free online social forum platform (that became postmusicclub.co.uk) was quickly connected.

> I wanted it to be something that was interesting to read, not something blowing constant shit about bands... ...but meanwhile I was looking at trying to do a social network site, as a depot. There's a lot of people who do things and everybody seems to want their own little empires and I was dead into having a place (G.M. 2010k: 12).

The depot combined localized resources, helped develop "plans, schematics, ideas", and sheer numbers and enthusiasm tempered the distinct lack of assets. 'Post Music' also in the sense that

they felt themselves being lifted away and recomposing musical experience they could only do so by accepting the usual terms and conditions.

Yet resources remained incompletely unified across "empires" mostly still intact. Others' preconceptions of the distribution of bands and labels had lead them to differentiate a.P.A.t.T. and the label but still others envisaged becoming lost within a.P.A.t.T.

> ...It's meant to be an all encompassing thing. Because, when a.P.A.t.T. was designed, it wasn't a band. It really wasn't. It was meant to be a thing. It was a Positive Approach to Totality. But, then, as you start then performing, all of a sudden you are in a band because people see that imagery, and therefore it seems strange, like, to have the label as your band name. Because, I wanted to be able to work with other things and channel other creativity through, and you can't have a label as your own band name to do that (2010k:1).

> Things stand stronger in unity when there's a lot. You know. And that's why the act was meant to be like that, never mind the label. But its too much to communicate and probably not worth it. But the original was better, and the original idea was to design something that was completely self sufficient, using basic or whatever medium is available... (2010h:11).

9.2 Image 2: Don't Drop the Dumbells

Image 2 coordinates continuing participatory study within another site in and around that of a.P.A.t.T.- a small not-for-profit unincorporated association ran from October 2010 to May 2011 in Liverpool city centre by members of Post Music and other small local labels and friends (who had remained 'outside' a.P.A.t.T.). 'Membership' inside a.P.A.t.T. (though a problematic methodological construct) was becoming confirmed: "You've got to come up with a name now!", more and more time was spent at the shared flat of GM and DW, and dialogue veered away from the original 'subject'. Interviews were exchanged for the role of in-house policy researcher and minute keeper (taken by hand and recorded by dictaphone). Citation is also taken

from meetings, observation, Facebook chats, out of hours conversation and memories. Field notes of day-to-day running and sample events (often recorded hurriedly during nights of indulgence) take the place of transcribed life story.

The many new connections made between the images lead to fresh invitations to practise. The year previously Post Music had occupied an abandoned derelict cinema on the outskirts of Toxteth and ties made there with shady developers offered Jacobia Stig (J.S., a founding member of Post Music with heritage inside a.P.A.t.T. but who remains 'outside' in many respects) another derelict space in Liverpool city centre to rent for an indeterminate time period. Informal handshake was made, and Post Music accepted responsibility to clean, maintain and manage the space. It was theirs to do what they wanted (at least they thought) until Tesco and Costa Coffee moved in (the proposed threats already on the horizon).

Space was offered in the old derelict Flying Picket venue on the corner of Hardman St and Hope St (21 on map). "The amazing stone building visible from Hardman St" is a large ex-blind school with charitable status (no water rates or council tax required), rich heritage in Liverpool music (1000s of bands playing and recording there), and a history of institutional entrepreneurship (e.g. trade unionism, CND, unemployed community centre). The building's history issued invitations and suggested narratives to connect to: "All this history and we're not part of it" (G.M. field notes).

Inside were of 2 large "secret" old gymnasium rooms quickly identified as suitable live performance venues, a "hub and zombie corridor" where exhibitions could be installed, as well as disused studios, innumerable offices and storage rooms (one quickly occupied by the homeless J.S.). Everybody was "in it together and [were] pooling" (J.S. 2010L:3), "we don't need money- we just need skills" (J.L. 2011a:1). Seven like-minded individuals spiralled out from immediate connections and became the main 'coordinators'. The space was cleaned, soundproofed and divided.

Imaginations ran unchecked in the early weeks. People would giggle excitedly during first encounters and there was a sense of connecting with memories of ground breaking venues like

Eric's Club from the 1970s (now being re-franchised). a.P.A.t.T. desperately needed rehearsal space, and J.S. envisaged staging multiple shows with other local promoters. More generally it offered another city centre island "where you can genuinely have a meeting of minds, and where amazing things can happen... ...an opportunity to come up with something new" (G.M. cited in Sevenstreets 2011). The space was also private so people could redistribute rule making abilities (though very few, if any, rules were ever created for those once inside).

Prior skills and experience determined the division of roles and duties (G.M. took studio engineer, D.W. treasurer, and J.S. main promoter), existing equipment furnished what started to look like a musical venue, and the ubiquitous stage and bar area and "umpteeeeen dividing walls and more" were constructed from waste material gleaned from a local theatre's skip.

A loose business model then started focusing in which revenue from bands "with no money and no address" renting rehearsal and studio space, mid-week gigs staged by less established acts and more popular weekend shows (all with mandatory entry donation) covered rent. Any potential profit would be distributed between members and Post Music (a planned 20%). The "ultimate plan" was to use profit to release musical products through Post Music. Dumbells emerged as the cheapest rehearsal space in town, the space was quickly snapped up, but a.P.A.t.T. lost out to other bands also desperate to rehearse.

Fig 3: The empty Dumbells, prior to opening

Post a "mega cleaning process" and "within 3 days of having the keys to basically a damp, rank unused building we put on our first audience with a friend of ours BOB CORN. Sept 25th 2010" (www.dontdropthedumbells.co.uk 2011). A private Facebook account and blog diary quickly set up connected the different "empires" involved. The moniker 'Don't Drop the Dumbells' detailing gym etiquette for previous occupiers was appointed as the coordinators were uncertain what their practice was (a bar? A venue? A private studio and rehearsal space? A charity? An enterprise? All the above or something else?) but certain laws were likely being broken. The neutral name limited visibility and liability of established practice, but in turn inhibited the label's promotion (which had designated the building its H.Q.).

Friend's bands rented space, amateurish art exhibitions were installed, and nights were given over for video releases, film viewings, raves, rap battle videos, drunken punk rock, stoner metal, zombie rock, and children's choirs. Word of mouth, limited promotion via Facebook and restricted postering (to reduce visibility of illegal activities) filled the space (70-80 max). Punters

found it despite the attention grabbing Flying Picket address steeped in valuable heritage being exchanged for the more anonymous 'Big Green Gates'.

Lack of formal contract with unscrupulous building owners (read: "shady", "aggressive", "dangerous" "gangsters") quickly suggested establishing an "Evolution Control Committee" to define "what it is, and what it isn't, and what we can say we're doing and why we can say we're doing it" (J.S. 2011a:1). All those still outside but looking in needed "a believable lie". Worse still, the very same developers offering space on the basis it was for use by non-commercially oriented creative types would suddenly appear on busy nights, barge their way round (TR struggling to man the doors) clearly angered at opportunity for wealth creation going astray.

At another meeting Dumbells was officially named a 'creative space' for artists and weirdoes.

> [The meeting is convened] to get this established- what it is and what it isn't. And what we can say we're doing and why we can say we're doing it. And everything else. As far as the owner knows- there's bands rehearsing here- it's a group of creative people- which he likes creative people... as an overall thing we rehearse and make music films. He doesn't really understand the ins and outs of that! (J.S 2011a:1).

By allowing outside prompt redefinition of practice the significance of what was happening inside remained fresh. Stepping inside Dumbells in turn was a strange experience where normal rules, regulations and expectations lost relevance at the door (except for their issuing what commerce could or should be like). It felt temporary (it really was occupying time between better endowed agents), secret (for everything that was going on inside it often had to be), and almost forbidden (laws were being broken but it seemed it was the unmanaged creativity that was proscribed by other ventures). People were 'in' on something if they knew about it (due to a lack of proper promotion) and were warned to not make "much of a big deal of all the awesome events and strange/awesome/gross uses the space hosted". The public front successfully diverted attention and capacity was tested in the first few weeks (mostly by weekend carnage).

Yet the necessary revenue to cover rent was not being generated from rehearsal and entrance takings alone and reliance on the illegal bar steadily increased. Being temporary ("not much time for things to go wrong"), with little control over when re-appropriation might occur and restricted funds the viability of installing "the bits round [licensing] like the fire exits, the health and safety stuff" (G.M. 2011a:5) was limited. The threat posed to previous practice grew. "I will be very, very good at getting out of it, as much as possible, but we will not get out of it" (G.M. 2011a:6).

At another meeting a believable lie came into focus:

> S: It's imperative that every event isn't an event- it's a party, it is a gathering, anything that is coming in is donation based, the booze is donation based, if there is a small profit it isn't a profit it just goes back into the next event, which is filming. Everything that we're doing is an event behind- non-public event. It's a party. [G.M. 2011a:6]

A manifesto posted on the blog was directed toward developers, punters and external authorities potentially planning a raid (highly likely). New emphasis is put on what was and was not happening:

Fig 4: Dumbells' Manifesto

> Our Original Manifesto and announcment in September 2010:
>
> 'DONT DROP THE DUMBELLS'
>
> ... is a yellowed hand stenciled sign taped to the wall of a disused gym where future D.I.Y. happenings will be hosted, by invite. This is the invite.
>
> We don't run a bar; we are a members-only club with open membership

WE ARE NOT OCCUPYING THE OLD PICKET VENUE OR PINBALL
STUDIO ILLEGALLY, COMMERCIALLY OR OTHERWISE.
AND WE ARE NOT A VENUE.
WE DO NOT RUN A BAR.

The established Do-It-Yourself trick of employing raffle tickets to exchange money (even Post Music currency was suggested) and evade tax evasion was proposed. By becoming "almost illegal" the bar remained open, and "an interesting, bizarre buzz... ...some village fete kind of mood" (G.M. 2011a:6) was created (bar the medieval mendicants who were making Dumbells their home). New members laughed and raised eyebrows at the novel consumer experience, and though being a "health and safety defying tomb" (Guy 2011) they trusted Dumbells' intentions, and took care not to be bitten by rats or catch infection from the toilets. By becoming members they also accepted responsibility to manage themselves and "get involved" (though most were more interested in inebriated revelry).

Fig 5: Dumbells' indigenous tribe

Weekend "private parties" in reality open to everybody presenting no aggression (experienced first hand during initial weeks on the door and behind the bar) steadily became more popular, and as the island became more visible a strange indigenous tribe multiplied itself and outsiders turned up. Yet so did new worries about the set up:

> S: Right now we've got this system where we think it might or might not work, we could do with looking at the ins and outs of it, but it's still a system that's showing that we're responsible in some way. So, if the police do come in they're going to say "Blah, blah" and we're going to go "But, look! We've got these raffle tickets", and then they'll be some kind of communication for a few weeks and then we'll have to go to that stage and then we'll apply for that license [G.M. 2011c:1]

Collective paranoia mounted: "I know they're outside watching us" (J.S. field notes). The raffle ticket system was also inefficient, and the unused studios remained derelict. As practice was reconfigured to ameliorate the unenviable task of servicing new year's aptly named 'Pull the Shutters Down and get Fucked' party Dumbells became strictly bring your own booze (BYOB). A licensing representative turned up, asked questions, accepted the "believable lie", and left bemused no illegal practices had been observed (at least in his remit). Nobody was arrested, the night of reckless abandonment continued into the next day, and the 'venue' wasn't shut. Revenue was reduced but corkage on BYOB helped cover overhead costs. Dumbells became strictly BYOB.

Yet while it was easy to become lost in the heady excitement of a private space and caught up in the celebrity of managing an "almost illegal" venue some (i.e. G.M.) began worrying intentions to establish much more than a bar/venue were being forgotten. Though many new faces came 'inside' a lack of policies to distribute tasks fairly and efficiently and the unwillingness of some to assume managerial roles incurred a few faced increasing amounts of hard labour in poor conditions. Many simply treated Dumbells as they would any other venue- disrespectfully (as if it wasn't 'theirs') and did not clean up (and even completely destroyed the unisex toilet designated for number 2's).

Occupying time between the movements of better endowed actors also began to level more problems. Plans were being made for the coming months but threats on the horizon remained ever present. After a struggle, contract was then secured for 2 years (which reduced the worry of squatting accusations- "...that's why I always have that piece of paper..."; J.S. field notes), possible legal descriptors were researched (mostly by D.W. and The Researcher) and Dumbells was named a private membership unincorporated association.

With new lawful status but still unwilling to install licensing the subsequent risk faced became embedded in practice, as illustrated by a set of guidelines for hiring Dumbells penned:

Fig 6: Dumbells' Guidelines

With any promotion (such as flyers, Facebook, posters, anything) please only use the words to refer to our whereabouts:

You can add 22 Hardman St, big green gates.
At any point in the two weeks leading up to your activity, maybe use some descriptive stuff or a map if you like.
But please DO NOT:
- fly post on anything belonging to the council. i.e lamp posts, bins, phone boxes, etc etc.
In fact, ONLY fly post in private places such as cafes, shops, schools, colleges... Nowhere anyone can complain about it. Please. It's important.
- Do NOT use the word or words Old Flying Picket.
- basically be subtle and know your audience.
This whole project is a film shoot for the ongoing episodes we broadcast, so anyone attending your show and everyone involved first off, has to be cool with that.

('How to Book a Gig at DDTDB document cited from Dumbells Facebook page
and distributed to members)

A constitution recycled the "usual bullshit" of not-for-profit creative discourse, vaguely outlined collective purpose, and used dubious charitable status to veil opportunity for wealth creation:

Fig 7: Dumbells' Aims and Objectives

Aims and objectives:

To develop & maintain our members' existing involvement within Liverpool's thriving underground creative arts community.

To promote and connect our members' creative output locally, nationally and internationally using profile-raising activities such as public concerts/ exhibitions/and documentary audio/visual media for such purposes as shall be exclusively charitable as the trustees may decide.

Don't Drop the Dumbells will continue to encourage and support this development within local community related activities.

(Constitution cited from Dumbells Facebook page and distributed to members)

The blog also concealed commercial venture within the ongoing documenting project: "We are making a diy film about the use of empty spaces and how music and art grow in these otherwise unused buildings...", and "...[we are] making, distributing and promoting footage/ recorded material of DDTDB" with the aim to "produce a full documentative website" (Dumbells Coordinators 2010). Some of which was true.

Invitation for likely incomers to perceive the same value that excited others during early encounters played on previous occupiers and the building's history. The scene was set for Dumbells "to bring some life back":

DDTDB would firstly like to tip it's hat to people who inhabited this building
from it's completion and opening as a blind school, through its crucial years of

T.U.C. unemployment peoples center, work with C.N.D., independent advice hub, and more recently as a community minded venue and recording studio until the decision to sell the building in October 2003 led to years of it sitting empty until Sept 2010 when we began bringing some life back back to this small portion of what is an amazing and enormee beautiful building.

Under its current condition most of the amazing stone building visible from Hardman St is undergoing long long long overdue attention. Without many clues to it's future.

Dumbells held more successful shows (including larger acts from around the globe), the business model drew in revenue, and the circle of coordinators grew from the original 7 to around 30 tagged in a Facebook photo. Weekly videos of happenings inside were finally posted online, Post Music even saw some promotion, and Dumbells was written about in local magazines, websites, and had it's coordinators interviewed. As it became organized the creative space began to feel like a commercial venture that might last (or be inserted into folkloric myth) and new images for expansion and even installing licensing emerged. Yet it was still mostly managed by seat of the pants decisions and those that turned up still remained mostly 'outside'.

After taking steps back from data creation in April 2010 rumours then began circulating that Hope Street Hotel (Liverpool's most expensive hotel awkwardly situated within shouting distance behind Dumbells) requested to buy the entire building from developers despite legal contract being agreed for 2 years. The blog confirmed the news:

Dont Drop The Dumbells Sept 2010 - May 2011.
Rip.
Stay Skatty.
As of Sunday 15th May 2011 the disused gym and kung fu / dance studio turned creative space on Hardman Street Liverpool that for the last 8 months has been referred to as Dont Drop The Dumbells will close.

(Dumbells Coordinators 2011)

Members decided against ensuing legal battle (mostly because of cost) and petitioning seemed futile.

Back on the blog people lamented Dumbells. Eulogies and poems were written, messages were left, and final parties were planned. But the policy was "No sad faces" as it was clear the happenings were "the stuff of idle chat in the future" and would elicit new images. Some also suggested its short life span made the memories that more special, and prevented Dumbells becoming the overly commercialized and well-managed venue it drew presence and value against.

Meanwhile inside a.P.A.t.T. and G.M. and D.W. though saddened by the incursion of outside forces into the island did not turn to nostalgic reminiscence and instead described feeling increasingly exhausted and inhibited. While others excitedly described their involvement the shine of Dumbells had been becoming lost amidst an a.P.A.t.T. shaken by the departure of a member and constant fatigue as they took central role, worked day jobs and tried to release an album. "I'm sick of 2010 and its stifling creativity. On paper it's been eventful. In practice I've been herding cats. Waste of a year" (G.M. personal Facebook chat 28.12.2011). Though more visibly associated with Dumbells and releasing documentary episodes via Youtube transforming the bar into BYOB directed most revenue back into Dumbells for day-to-day running (including keeping J.S. fed, warm and intoxicated) and Post Music received very little. The business model enabled no releases of musical products, mid-week gigs and weekend shows (often to 5-6am the next morning) reduced studio time, and a.P.A.t.T. still lacked rehearsal space and composed and played less and less (not even gracing the Dumbells stage).

9.3 Discussion

Dumbells did lead onto many new collaborations outside its walls and 2011 stifled creativity less. a.P.A.t.T.'s new album Ogidimma was released with a high quality colour cover designed by close friends and music videos were produced for each one of the 14 tracks (with myself filming one and playing central role in another). a.P.A.t.T. supported one of G.M.'s favourite

bands on tour around Europe for 6 weeks (also planned to be repeated late 2012), and the a.P.A.t.T. Orchestra (emerging somewhere between the images) staged successful events around the city (having the honour of being the first performance at Sefton Park bandstand for decades, playing both World Museum and Walker Gallery, and even occupying Lutyen's Crypt at the Roman Catholic Cathedral). Revealed also is new desire for formalised practice as individual members with proper institutional connections and teaching draw authority from experimental composers and overpower audiences with obscure references to the problematic notion of indeterminate composition (finally willing to subsume themselves into a genre but potentially risking what originally made them so entrepreneurial). Inside there is still space to make playful quips and take reference from the experience of becoming entrepreneurial, and their new album is still composed of difficult annoying music and the odd beautiful masterpiece.

More issues have also emerged. Come 2012 and a.P.A.t.T. is shook with the difficult end to a relationship between two central members (G.M. & D.W.), but personal investment and tendency to make do and absorb constraint and problems suggests exciting new images will be created. Meanwhile, still at his shared flat, surrounded by expensive computers, mixing desks, equipment and instruments, G.M. busies himself with Post Music, looks to other small outfits he has become member of (the totality unable to absorb everything), and is elated as well as frustrated with Ogadimma's sales performance and the popularity of online videos. a.P.A.t.T. has become one of the city's best known weirdo 'bands' and is still able to stun and frighten audiences as well as please them on occasion (now also a self-sufficient earner but still struggling to find serious remuneration). Participatory study is on pause but promises to be picked up again in the future, and even result in the formation of new business and study venture.

Founding story (O'Connor 2002) coordinated in image 1 emplots a.P.A.t.T. breaking free (Rindova *et al* 2009) from members' pre-founding (Rae 2004a) personal experience and the roles prefigured for them in normative opportunity plots. Bands they were member of passively accepted strategic (Certeau 1984) definition of musical opportunity by inheriting policies (Penrose 1959/1995) that restricted them to discrete musical genres G.M. and F.M.S. felt their musical experience transcended. Musical opportunity was being defined for them and held at a

distance as others dissected their creativity into discrete commercial objects, but constraint and redundant un-used (Penrose 1959/1995) compositions left invitations to practice.

As a friend in their immediate social network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) and a significant episode (Cope 2003) of state of the arts technological change (Penrose 1959/1995) revealed possibility they combined their varied practice. Constraint (Penrose 1959/1995) in that they were being oriented toward particular modes of practice their entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) re-described (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008) these relations to the dominant order (Hjorth 2005) as incentive to practice and entrepreneurial relation to counterpose value to. As strategic boundaries (Certeau 1984) to their practice dissolved musical opportunity began to mean more than just bands and songs, and new distinction emerged between them and previous outfits less versatile or willing to recompose.

Embedded within the same technology affording this space were new constraints and preconceptions on the nature of musical opportunity which they accepted as more ways to elicit their entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995). Time to record was delineated by the technology itself but as boundaries were omitted (Certeau 1984) determining who could and could not play the machine became an omphalus in which they concealed everything they imagined musical. Their practice extended effectually (Sarasvathy 2008), drawing inside more human resource via their immediate social network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) and embedding their many connections and influences and looping personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995) of becoming entrepreneurial back into their practice. Suddenly everything became a resource or relation able to be imaginatively re-related to (their concept of "all things at once" and "doing everything"), and as musical opportunity opened up again and anything could be recomposed musically the outside world was not totalised and held from a position of panoptic withdrawal but became characterised by possibility inherent to their imagination.

By resisting predisposition toward existing musical spaces or the usual formalised make-up of ensembles a unique style (Penrose 1959/1995; Certeau 1984) came into focus in which ongoing constraint and limitations were embedded (Sarasvathy 2008) and looped back into practice to reveal their experience of becoming entrepreneurial.

a.P.A.t.T. emerged as a chimera of embedded entrepreneurial learning (Penrose 1959/1995; Cope & Watts 2000; Cope 2003; Rae 2004a; Hjorth & Johanisson 2004), part self, part reference to business at large and previous personal experience. Like "a parasite" it ate the images of normative practice and created life through citations (Certeau 1984) from flesh and blood (Penrose 1959/1995) experience of others and the terms and conditions imposed by formalised space. Inside a.P.A.t.T. space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979) emerged, uncertainty and possibility mattered, and life felt entrepreneurial again (Hjorth & Johanisson 2004).

Unable to be judged or find market connections within a.P.A.t.T. they engaged with formalised space, inherited policies (Penrose 1959/1995) to dissect their practice into discrete things able to articulate musical opportunity, and boundaries of definition set in as a.P.A.t.T. named themselves like most other bands. 'Outside' a.P.A.t.T. playing their first live performance normative market expectation (Penrose 1959/1995) became absorbed as human resource that amplified their creativity against the unimaginative practice of other bands, and they declared their polemic (Certeau 1984) via manifesto.

Another episode (Cope 2003) of state of the arts technological advancement (Penrose 1959/1995) invited them further into formalised space as entrepreneurial relations with increasingly efficient means of articulating musical product (CDrs) incurred plant and equipment (Penrose 1959/1995) usually excluding (Certeau 1984) them from their own production became accessible. Resisting choice (Shackle 1979) to accept normative commercial policy they redistributed territories (Certeau 1984) of band and label.

But encountering normative commercial narratives contained within the expectation (Penrose 1959/1995) of other artists they struggled to extend the label and as their narrative was judged mostly unviable (Glynn and Lounsbury 2001; O'Connor 2002; Aldrich and Fiol 1994) re-installed definition between band and label (though only by letters) to vaguely localize opportunity in an institutional sense. By not resisting others expectations constraint became embedded in practice as a resource and relation that propelled their versatility and honed their

style (which kept developing for instance as they hid from their audience). This keeps them tactical (Certeau 1984) in a raw sense, without committing to resources they have won nor delineating a distinct space of reason to defend the entrepreneurial relation with outside keeps them moving. They need not secure independence from the institutional impress; instead as it is turned on itself they give up the necessity of controlling their resources and base and the experience of becoming entrepreneurial itself and struggling to remain creative within settings predisposed to elicit their behaviour for them becomes the only resource they need (which is, moreover, inalienable and non-rival).

As their social network (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) then reconfigured itself around better endowed actors spiralling out from space to play and decide found at Useless they found themselves inserted back into normative opportunity plots but felt excluded (Certeau 1984) and turned back to making do. Opportunity was kept informal (Dimov 2011); strategic boundaries were not imposed defining who or what they were (exemplified for instance through their expansion into multimedia), but the alienated tribal desire (or perhaps plain commercial pragmatism) of others outside branded them as avant garde artists and outsiders' were less than imaginative in their response to their redistribution of territories of musical production.

New choices then focused (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979) as outside another episode (Cope 2003) of state of the arts technological advancement (Penrose 1959/1995) elicited openings into formalised spaces of promotion and distribution via social networks. They occupied strategy (Certeau 1984) as effectuation (Sarasvathy 2008) combined personal experience (Penrose 1959/1995) and empires in their social network. But outsiders still lacked their versatility, saw their bricolage as incompatible with historical and institutional narratives (Penrose 1959/1995; Anderson), and remained outside.

Table 11: Analysis of Image 1 from a.P.A.t.T.

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Definitive boundaries to musical practice (genres; bands; songs; musical opportunity; band names; conventional distribution of territories between bands and labels, bands and audiences) Live performance:- bands as fashion icons, entertainment as pleasant and agreeable. Normative opportunity plots of heroic distinction of self and opportunity. Technology as driver of musical production, but inauthentic. Normative practice of keeping opportunity at a distance.	Boundaries to practice left indistinct and overflowing with citations from experience that are replayed in practice. Institutional impress accepted as resource, possibility imagined as inherent to constraint. Selves are anonymous, creates separation through subversion. Technology employed as resource that propels practice, but is subverted to reveal versatility and new spaces. Unable or unwilling to keep opportunity at a distance, unable to identify the world as a visible totality to control it they accept strategy in an awareness of the momentum it gives.
Material Resources	Costs of production and publishing. Constraint within technologies.	Friends provide material resources, material constraint becomes expression of versatility, cited in practice, previous practice issues unused material for songs, rubbish and household materials combined, parents' homes used, financial constraint omitted or tempered by others. Constraints and assumptions inherent to technology re-related to and animates versatility.
Human	Available information and labour	Personal experience of constraint within

Resources	(clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical), knowledge of 'state of the arts', conventions and strategies; available labour; and practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Time as risk and uncertainty, impact of expectations on experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility. Heroic celebrity status.	normative practice issues new possibility, everyday life and friends offer information about productive opportunities concealed within the technical organization of practice, experience suggests figures to connect to, highlights disconnected empires of human resource, social network develops through ordinary practice. Market expectation used a symbolic relation to pose versatility and reveal new spaces. Uncertainty re-related to as invitation to create, outcome matters less as process of absorbing the experience of becoming entrepreneurial becomes central resource. Hide themselves within practice, anonymous, they are unwilling to name themselves or opportunity and it remains indistinct.

Image 1 emplots with image 2 as effectuation (Sarasvathy 2008) re-relates to problems of how to connect entrepreneurial relations similarly entangled amongst strategy and constraint. New entries into formalised space emerge from previous experience (Sarasvathy 2008; Rae 2004a; Penrose 1959) as their social network reforms around better endowed (Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) agents luring them into interstices of time.

Occupying these interstices, while other images saw no discoverable commercial opportunity (only willing to give the space to others able to create it) members were versatile and re-described (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008) the dereliction as incentive and style and exposed more space to play (Hjorth 2004, 2005) and decide (Shackle 1979). Waste materials and gathered

equipment (Penrose 1959/1995) equipped the space, and a team of coordinators assembled and divided itself effectually (Sarasvathy 2008) via immediate entrepreneurial relations (Penrose 1959/1995; Greve & Salaff 2003; Jack *et al* 2008) and established knowledge and personal experience. As a bar and stage were quickly assembled and the generic narrative of a business plan (O'Connor 2002) formally written the building began to resemble normative venues but the space remained tactical by using human resource (Penrose 1959/1995) revealed within memories and narratives of the building itself in which previous occupiers take on the dominant order (Hjorth 2005) to authorise (Certeau 1984) mildly illegal activities occurring inside. Administrative control over boundaries (Penrose 1959/1995) to the opportunity was also tactically relinquished; a distinct lack of material resources needed tempering by the strength of social networks to muster managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995), but by keeping the organization loosely defined uncertainty and ambiguity also became resources (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008) to imagine exciting new musical futures.

Occupying licensing strategy (Certeau 1984) but unable and unwilling to install conditions defined by formalised space risk to existing practice emerged but was imaginatively re-related to (Sarasvathy 2008) and embedded in practice. Dumbells remained tactical by resisting happenings inside being defined, and instead posing against others' proper opportunity language (Gartner *et al* 2003) of discoverable commercial opportunities citations (Certeau 1984) from discourse of musical creation and deceptively naming the space to pass the strategic gaze. By also limiting promotion and market connections and trusting them to emerge effectually (Sarasvathy 2008) from coordinators' social network visibility remained low.

As some success was tasted in the initial months with it came increased visibility and better endowed agents attracted by the whiff of opportunities for wealth creation. The risk of managerial capacity (Penrose 1959/1995) being reduced by incursions into the space lead to more residue of normative practice being absorbed as a committee was organised to control the space's 'evolution' and compile believable lies.

Faced with risk of becoming excluded (Certeau 1984) from formalised space as they resisted enacting behaviour elicited by licensing strategy, personal experience in other Do-It-Yourself

entrepreneurial spaces and culture (Penrose 1959/1995) suggested new tactical manoeuvres (Certeau 1984) and a raffle ticket system created space within the exchange of currency. New members perceived value in the particular style (Penrose 1959/1995) animated and authorised (Certeau 1984) by members' entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) to subvert the dominant order. Though commercial, imaginative recomposition emphasised the space really was creative, and Dumbells did not betray the stipulation that "Post Music isn't allowed to make money; it enables" (GM, field notes).

Yet as practice began to formalise around the commercial opportunity (Dimov 2011) of running an almost illegal bar the raffle ticket system in its wake exhausted human resources (Penrose 1959/1995) and ongoing constraint imposed from outside drew practice away from actualizing founding images. Paranoid new images emerged in which external laws and policies (Penrose 1959/1995) and their protagonists outside issued reasons to reinterpret practice and the bar became BYOB (just in time).

Risk of fine or imprisonment avoided, Dumbells re-entered formalised space by engaging in promotion strategies (Certeau 1984). Practice took on more definition, but remained tactical by "code-switching" through taking citation (Certeau 1984) directly from what outsiders wanted to hear (citing their own language and the formalised attire of an unincorporated association), and using marketing stories (O'Connor 2002) that cited the building's history to reveal new openings into urban regeneration and social value.

Yet by removing normative boundaries of who could become member, not installing managerial policies to distribute labour efficiently managerial capacity (Penrose 1959) became overstretched and administrative control (Penrose 1959) around the boundaries of opportunity was lost completely (vividly illustrated through the mysterious late night destruction of the toilets and G.M.'s reference to "herding cats"). Success and increased visibility seduced better endowed agents, and because the opportunity could not be strategically localized in a spatial nor institutional sense to defend it the space was stolen.

Remaining entrepreneurial rather than defending the island from outsiders, memories of Dumbells were immediately interpreted as potential human resource that would elicit new images. The tactic occupied ground only briefly and was unfairly appropriated, but it was felt it would live on through the influence it could have in folkloric myths and narratives of Do-It-Yourself culture that other bricoleurs might pick up on in the future. Neither the opportunity nor the set of resources that had been gathered needed defending; by staying uncommitted they retained their elusiveness and could not be appropriated by others but would endure in musical memory. Despite all the expensive equipmet GM has acquired this then keeps them light and fleet of foot and able to more easily begin again when they want or have to.

The two images, one historical, the other more immediate, emplot opportunity coming in and out of focus as formalised definitions to musical practice dissolve, get subverted, become reimposed by 'outside' and lead to new choices (Shackle 1979) and constraints before being looped back into practice. Constraint (Penrose 1959/1995) inherent in human and material resources (Penrose 1959/1995) and formalised spaces they seem unable to resist repeatedly lends itself to eliciting entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995). Met by presupposition of the technology they use, the path dependence of normative opportunity plots of how theirs' should be actualized, and unable and uninterested in discovering funding sources, administrative control (Penrose 1959/1995) over opportunity is tactically given up first by a.P.A.t.T. itself then by Dumbells and restriction is met with overflowing, everyday human resources usually omitted or obscured and an impractical willingness to give over opportunity to others. Rather than distinguishing the strategic boundaries to their opportunity, as others they had encountered in the past had, it is the tactical potency of ordinary flesh and blood resources they have no need to control and defend that elicit new images and animate their value.

In doing so, musical opportunity is re-described (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008) from strategic definitions articulated through discrete commercial objects of songs, genres, bands and venues, boundaries to a.P.A.t.T. dissolve, historical territories (Certeau 1984) of audience/producer are consumed inside, competition falls away (unable to rival resources of which they are part), and new musical resources are revealed (not least within inventive recomposition of the process of becoming entrepreneurial itself).

Entrepreneurial relations (Penrose 1959/1995) in turn come and go as images of formalised practice are eaten to reveal imaginative act and versatility and citations are taken from outside to create authoritative (Certeau 1984) images (Penrose 1959/1995). a.P.A.t.T. develops through an effectual (Sarasvathy 2008) propensity to imaginatively re-relate to the path dependence of former learning and practice within new compositions, turning the notion of opportunity inside-out and then outside-in as the agents become almost anonymous within their practice and they remain positive to outside by not posing it as a visible totality and instead using its forces as resources and invitations to practice. Songs are created from the experience of creating songs, a 'band' emerges from the experience of becoming a band, the products are not always the fruits they desired but the process continues and cannot be stopped ("I don't like it now, but I know why it's there, and it'll stay there..." (G.M. field notes)). Experience itself becomes the only resource they need; it cannot be controlled by them nor by outside, but members keep moving, their creativity is real and potent and their images exciting and enduring (if only in theirs' and our memories).

The images, then, emplot a narrative revealing the tense intimacy between desire (Cardon *et al* 2009; Brewis *et al* 2006; Laaksonen *et al* 2011) for new images and the commercial means at hand to realise them. In creating opportunity they have to struggle with commercial definition imposing in what ways it can be actualized, and in time this struggle revealed by the narrative becomes valuable resource (Glyn & Lounsbury 2001; Aldrich & Fiol 1994). As soon as their practice is commercialized by themselves or outside and takes definition, it moves on, escapes identification as merely commercial, what can and cannot be musical, where new beginnings begin, and where ownership is had. The well-referenced dichotomy between commerce and creativity (Frith 1986; Stratton 1982) falls away; through absorbing the experience of becoming entrepreneurial within their musical practice the tension is revealed to lead to new forms of creativity rather than to exist only in stark contradiction, and opportunity by being shown to be impossible to manage through isolating mechanisms imposed on weaker actors remains tactical and entrepreneurial as it exists within constraint itself.

This has the images animating a playful and fruitful dissonance, part catharsis of imposed definition and meaning, part revelation of new musical opportunity and how it should, if at all, be defined. There is a literal sense of confusion as witnessed by early audiences in which "all things at once" and inside and outside are fused together, and it becomes difficult to identify where a.P.A.t.T. (the case study 'subject') ends and where market connections and influences begin. For this reason distinguishing boundaries to the site and to musical opportunity needs to be treated with reticence- there is an inside populated by imaginative actors, but also an outside the experience of which is drawn inside first as resource and then as relation. The parasite is a tactic (Certeau 1984) that creates its life through eating inherited images from the historical and institutional environment (Penrose 1959/1995) of musical business, and in doing so it is both constrained and given new incentive to practice. Metaphors of the heroic entrepreneur (Dodd 2002) able to marshal the historical and institutional environment into submission or control the opportunity lose connection in the analysis, there are weaknesses as well as strengths animated, and the actors are only able to become entrepreneurial through occupation and resistance and even then their efforts do not build epic entrepreneurial plots (Hamilton 2006) and localize in the spatial nor institutional sense but result in the opportunity they had been creating eventually being discovered by much better endowed agents (though the opportunity plot leads elsewhere, images are still made and re-made directly out of this experience). Their practice continuously delimits to what extent it can be defined as commercial and to what height of heroism or celebrity they can attain (brought down dramatically through their success inhibiting outfits and actors' almost anonymity). Strategies (Certeau 1984) need to be in place for tactical spaces of opportunity to emerge but this entrepreneurial relation to the dominant order means a.P.A.t.T. are never able to truly break free, they have to accept their limitations and that it is not only them propelling the narrative, that some things cannot or will not be absorbed, and that there will always be something outside to issue problems as well as invitations. There are break ups (Rindova *et al* 2009) and new beginnings (Shackle 1979), but there are also endings imposed from outside conveyed by the images, the tactic cannot be sustained by a.P.A.t.T. alone, the parasite needs a stronger body of practice to give it presence as well as restrict it, and it has to absorb us as onlookers within itself, connect with our memories as observers, and accept more constraint and problems to gain new choices (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008). Opportunity moves on, remains entrepreneurial as it comes in and out of focus and inside and outside blur,

and its boundaries are too fuzzy to be contained or held on to, instead being spread across many different actors and concealed in unreachable and inalienable spaces like memory itself. a.P.A.t.T. work away at their productive base (Penrose 1959/1995), their original concept gains and loses significance, and opportunity rather than being abstracted from the experience, laid out and observed for optimization, remains endogenous, concealed within actors' and the social imagination. The totality is not one of totalitarian command over a space or set of material resources, but of the symbolic presence historical circumstance has within the image and the influence the opportunity might have in time to come. As the social experience of opportunity, the totality is therefore imaginary and defined by possibility, and it cannot be touched and always slips away to new beginnings when it is approached. This breaks up Penrose's usual strategic reading in which command over the internal resources of firms is everything; the distinction between inside and outside falls away as the usual strategic separation of life from business is shown to preclude the lived significance of opportunity. Instead it is movement created by the comings and goings of self and business that is animated by the images, and a.P.A.t.T. ride this experience out, never able to control the opportunity (it is experience itself), but never having to define it and therefore restrict themselves as to who or what it might become.

This makes focused identification of entrepreneurial opportunity by scholars problematic, but significantly, also entrepreneurial (Hjorth & Steyaert 2009) because during the struggle to show how space for play and decision is created through omitting strategic boundaries defining it scholars have to resist the institutional desire to represent opportunity as a distinct spatial and institutional nexus. We have to accept opportunity, as Penrose suggests we should, muddled within images that neither we nor a.P.A.t.T. can fully decipher, but in doing so we glimpse why it is this commerce takes on value, and we are drawn into the images as we try to make sense of them, able to experience opportunity as the influence it has on us as scholars, and are forced to join the actors in a playful re-description of what was probably expected.

Table 12: Analysis of Image 2 from a.P.A.t.T.

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Definitive boundaries to musical practice (genres; bands; songs; musical opportunity; band names; conventional distribution of territories between bands and labels, bands and audiences) Live performance:- bands as fashion icons, entertainment as pleasant and agreeable. Normative opportunity plots of heroic distinction of self and opportunity. Technology as driver of musical production, but inauthentic. Normative practice of keeping opportunity at a distance.	Boundaries to practice left indistinct and overflowing with citations from experience that are replayed in practice. Institutional impress accepted as resource, possibility imagined as inherent to constraint. Selves are anonymous, creates separation through subversion. Technology employed as resource that propels practice, but is subverted to reveal versatility and new spaces. Unable or unwilling to keep opportunity at a distance, unable to identify the world as a visible totality to control it they accept strategy in an awareness of the momentum it gives.
Material Resources	Costs of production and publishing. Constraint within technologies.	Friends provide material resources, material constraint becomes expression of versatility, cited in practice, previous practice issues unused material for songs, rubbish and household materials combined, parents' homes used, financial constraint omitted or tempered by others. Constraints and assumptions inherent to technology re-related to and animates versatility.

| Human Resources | Available information and labour (clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical), knowledge of 'state of the arts', conventions and strategies; available labour; and practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being. Time as risk and uncertainty, impact of expectations on experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Capacity of transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement, ambition. Confidence, and versatility. Heroic celebrity status. | Personal experience of constraint within normative practice issues new possibility, everyday life and friends offer information about productive opportunities concealed within the technical organization of practice, experience suggests figures to connect to, highlights disconnected empires of human resource, social network develops through ordinary practice. Market expectation used a symbolic relation to pose versatility and reveal new spaces. Uncertainty re-related to as invitation to create, outcome matters less as process of absorbing musical experience and life in musical business becomes central resource. Hide themselves within practice, anonymous, they are unwilling to name themselves or opportunity and it remains indistinct. |

10 Drummond and The17

The17 is a choir that records nothing, performs for nobody, never broadcasts, and makes what Drummond sometimes calls "year zero music". To experience the choir "you must become a member".

Today, Drummond prefers not to talk about his career in the music business (that he says lasted between 1977 to 1992). Briefly though, by way of gesture beyond his preference, his career has involved: working for a major record company; managing world touring and 'genre' shaping bands from Liverpool (Echo and the Bunnymen, Teardrop Explodes); starting a record label (The Zoo) that wanted to change the world; being part of Liverpool's (second most?) significant era of pop music; simultaneous number one hits in 18 different countries with the KLF, one of his many 'bands'; officially being the world's biggest band in 1991; Christmas hits; girl pop; bricolaging one of the first 'chill out' albums with samples of train journeys, sounds from Mexican villages, and sheep noises; co-authoring a book describing how to get number one hits; writing an autobiography; tour routes tracing the outline of a rabbit's head; and … Throughout, this practice has been configured through stunts, success, revelations, failure, trips (of different sorts), contradictions, darkness, serious and stupid manifestos, multiple guises and made-up organisations, imaginary bands, community service, wit, silliness, confrontation, and Drummond's realisation in 1988 that the parameters of accepted musical business can be subverted imaginatively.

He 'retired' from music business in 1992 because he felt restricted by who he and what music were meant to be. He marked this boundary to his space of time in the proper music business by deleting back catalogues and any other sources of remuneration from previous work, in doing so forcing himself to begin again. With one time musical partner Jimmy Cauty he took the remaining funds of the K-Foundation (about £1million, which at the time was being used, in the wake of disbanding his most enduring group the KLF, for the broadly conceived strategic aim of 'the advancement of kreation') and burnt it.

Though hard to resist these colourful constraints of history, notably the moniker: 'That man who burnt a million pounds', Drummond actively resists, wanting his current enterprise to speak by itself. He still asks questions of what other ways of experiencing music there might be: 'What is music for?', 'Why do we listen to it the way we do?', 'What would it be like if … ?', 'Why do I want it to exist in some other sort of way than it already does?' (Drummond quoted in Walsh Independent, July 25, 2005). The17 is one such reply.

Two sessions were spent with Drummond and The17 for research purposes. The first was a three-day trip to the barren and distant Outer Hebrides to become a 'member' of The17 and to take part in a performance at 7am on June 19th 2010 ('Score 8: Take'). This involved lying down around the sacred and proper space of Callinish stones on Lewes, listening to skylarks climb high above singing (or warning of human incursion into 'their' space) and members imagining that being their first experience of something called 'music'. In addition came field notes taken during the trip, notes of a presentation given by Drummond about the emergence and personal significance of The17 at An Lanntir, an arts centre in Stornoway, a semi-structured interview conducted with Drummond at short notice, and everyday dialogue with Drummond and members of The17. The second was three days (1st-3rd October 2010) working with Drummond, in Salford, helping him organise three performances by The17 around marginal spaces in the city. This active participation involved observation, shadowing, and talking with Drummond on a less contrived, less structured basis, in more everyday settings, as we drove around, waited and ate in cafés, bought equipment, and 'marketed' The17 by painting a large illegal graffiti mural under an old bridge along the edgelands of the city:
(http://www.the17.org/images/graffiti_thumbnails/1286207787.jpg).

As historical context to these two encounters, contact with Drummond had been made some 3 years ago at a public discussion convened by BBC Radio 3 in Liverpool, since which regular emails have been exchanged with Drummond, amounting to an online interviewing project ('100', Penkilnburn 2012). In addition, secondary sources (newspapers, music press, his own books written at ages 33 and 45 (77 to come)) provide background on Drummond's career as a musician from the 1970's onwards.

Two related images are narrated. The first, which concerns the emergence of The17, draws from the talk convened at An Lanntir that Drummond gave to accompany the performance by The17. Drummond eschews recordings of these talks, so the calligram relies heavily on field notes and memory, but also draws from Drummond's book '17', secondary sources, and is peppered with various citations. The second image focuses on active participation in The17- becoming a 'member' at Callanish.

10.1 Image 1: The Emergence of The17

At the talk at An Lanntir, Drummond set The17 against a background of musical memories, painting an intimate portrayal of his listening to Radio Caroline in 1967 wanting to buy Penny Lane by The Beatles. He described how listening to the record he felt both intellectual and corporeal response; not being sure whether to sit down and think, or jump about and dance. He listened for hours. Then turned the record over. 'Let me take you down...' sang the Beatles on the B side, '… Strawberry Fields'. He found in this musical encounter an early opening up of something significant that he recalled from the distance of Stornoway as a still resonant invitation to becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce. This engaged the Hebridean audience, bringing them 'inside' The17 by referencing memories people warm to. His recollections foreshadow the emergence of The17 today, by invoking possibilities sidelined by normative modes of musical commerce. Whilst these early experiences of listening invoke inherited knowledge about the marketplace, and common consumer experiences, they also trace feelings of wonder felt at a younger, more innocent age, but which can be preserved in spite of the industry. His looking back expresses something of the draw to practice amidst the circumstantial constraints of today.

> I'd let them take me anywhere. It was like nothing I had heard before. A door was opening in my mind I had never been into (Drummond 2010a).

Other catalysing early personal memories found Drummond "being recognised as having a good voice", and being asked to join a choir, singing until his voice broke, and, then, questioning why he was asked to leave. This was an early experience of being limited by others' definition of his

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practice, being enticed and then found wanting for reasons he resists. The experience of encountering the institutional settings of musical practice stuck with him and revealed both new entries into experiencing music as well as its frustrations.

> Something from then stayed with me... …every time I heard choral music, something would draw me in (Drummond 2010a).

In being ousted by his biology Drummond poses alternative forms of experiencing music. These memories evoke personal values associated with ways of musical experience through commerce and provide common connections with the audience, through which Drummond exposes 'other' possibilities, hitherto unthought.

In his talk, as in his book, Drummond drew definition around his musical career, suggesting The17 is beyond the business of music and so outside of a 'career' per se. Fast forward, and this feeling of ambivalence with the material conditions and normative standards of musical business is felt again today. Drummond recalled for example having "3000 records staring at him" at home, 100,000 in HMV on Oxford Street in London, and still not knowing which to listen to or buy, thinking:

> …by the time I get home, it will not be what I wanted. It wont open that door in my head. So I didn't buy it or go into [HMV]. But I could still imagine those faces in the shop staring at me... (Drummond 2010a).

> ...it was the fact that... ...I could be listening to any piece of music that has ever been recorded within 60 seconds with just a few clicks [that] left me with an empty feeling (Drummond 2008:13).

> ...no matter what the genre...it prevents the exploration of time, place, and occasion (Drummond 2010b).

I went up to the attic of our house and found... ...Strawberry Fields Forever... ... I plugged in the record player... ...'Let me take you down, Cause I'm going...' ... and the tears welled up... ...I sneer at nostalgia in others, hate the way nostalgia is exploited by the marketplace... ...The urge to play the record again was resisted. Instead I took it off the turntable and picked up a pair of pinking sheers... ...and cut the record into as many pieces as I could... ...Maybe there would be more doors to open, more rooms to enter, more strange and weird paintings to look at (Drummond 2008: 14-15).

Drummond finds himself being thrown into the products of musical business, enticed by records and yet resistant enough to destroy his most cherished. This is an expression of early disaffection that itself yields possibility, more rooms to enter. Though he is still drawn to musical commerce, he refuses to consume it unthinkingly. Drummond begins to develop his own logic regarding the current state of musical technologies. Consider the impact of digitalization on the value of music today, and this recollected experience is timely. Despite seismic shifts in productive and distribution capacity apparently brought about because of the growing invisibility of music making objects, and the possibilities in wrenching influence back from powerful business places, Drummond suggests overwhelming choice bewilders us, "empties" us of the bodily response, feelings, and intellectual connection he experienced when younger and which he witnessed as 'at risk' in that now anachronistic place, the record shop. The ability to transfer music across space and time has severed as well as made connections; the physical elements dissolving in immaterial prosthesis.

The17 is thrown into and extends beyond this commonplace experience. Suspicious of nostalgia – it constrains, is backward and inward looking, conservative, and hence without artistic merit – how do you begin again in the midst of digital omnipotence? Between memories of how musical commerce felt when he was younger, and the limitations imposed by technological and consumer relations today, possibility emerges:

At 52, something happened. In my Landrover, with no radio, I'm listening to the engine, it's nice rumble. I focus in … I started hearing these voices … in harmony

… building up, like a hundred Vikings. And then angelic voices, to the wind -it was fantastic. Then, two weeks later, the same happened again. It was better than anything on the radio, anywhere. But it's just in my imagination (Drummond 2010a).

Something is coming into focus here, between the frustrations of history, contemporary circumstance, and the invitations of memory of positive personal experience, new openings into musical commerce again emerge in Drummond's imagination. He insinuates possibility where it is excluded, and imagines a primitive, primal musical experience as he attends to being incarcerated in a moving vehicle; the lack of anything traditionally musical set against his imaginary music - a choir made up of nobody. The choir he imagines, a human equivalent of a Landrover tearing down the M62, breaks up and recomposes the vestiges of musical experience, and emplots distant spaces and memories in novel coordination, recalling a memory of somewhere, a syntactical journey, and a new beginning. It is related to space, to the body, and is a novel, memorable experience, and recomposes everyday experiences as some other strange kind of way of experiencing music, recapturing some of the "magic" Drummond remembers by defenestrating those very memories, relations, and resource bundles considered conventionally necessary.

Yet being-in-business remains with him, there is still a need to connect to others: "...who in their right mind is going to buy that?" (Drummond, 2010a). Who indeed? So he became "deluded" with releasing musical products, organising tour dates, transposing inherited ways of practising and conventions over to The17. Pursuing the new entries, he encountered others less willing to challenge their own assumptions about the distribution of he as producer and they as consumers. The opportunity was becoming steeped with commonplace ways of being musical that meant he was presumed to perform, record, and distribute The17 in a competitive marketplace.

Having an audience it changed from being a purely communal experience... ...to becoming some form of entertainment where audience satisfaction had to be taken into consideration... …"What the fuck must they be thinking of this racket?" (Drummond 2008:32).

Drummond begins to resist the imposition, demonstrating a willingness to become impractical by not recording and not passively installing the normal distribution of musical roles (i.e. distinguishing producer and consumer). "The best art is always unfunded" (Drummond 2010b). "The real rock and roll is getting it done. Not hanging on, waiting" (Drummond 2010b). For Drummond the ways of operating that he resists through The17 constrain individuals to a fate of passive consumption or contribution to the machine of musical business. Musical history -110 years and counting since the capturing of sound in the phonograph - "sucked" everything into it's vacuum.

> This chorus thing should never be recorded. You have to be in it. Then I wanted a year zero, instead of seeing the history of music ... which seemed like everything wanted to be sucked into recording, as something that can be consumed ... ... that people bow down to the genius of others, sit there and do nothing ... the only music that was allowed to evolve was recorded music. I saw many other ways. I realise it's totally pretentious, but I still go along with that (Drummond 2010a).

Emerging in the face of these circumstantial forces, The17 draws "a line in the sand"- a frontier in Drummond's narrative of what music has become. "It's got rid of the music business... ...No promise of stardom that we grew up with... ...or to create more commodity" (Drummond 2010b). This emergence of The17 in 2003 is recounted in his book (Drummond 2008: 22-23), when he imagines:

> All recorded music has run its course.
> It has all been consumed, traded, downloaded,
> Understood, heard before, sampled, learned,
> Revised, judged, found wanting.
> Dispense with all previous forms of music and
> Music-making and start again.
> Year zero now.

Yet this year zero from where novel possibilities emerge, this new opening, still constitutes an expression of becomig musical that is set within the everyday market assumptions of established industry; zero's mark something off, they are an incision into something already there. Assumed resources, knowledge, and marketplace demands give his practice presence, out of view, but there in ours and his memories.

> I like it when things change, especially when it makes me feel uncomfortable. It means something is going to happen (Drummond 2010b).

10.2 Image 2: Callanish Stones - A New Beginning

Fig 8: Score 8 - Take

> Score 8: Take
> In June
> Take 17 people to a place
> Where the Skylarks Climb
> High into the sky
> Request The17 to lie on their backs
> On the grass and listen
> To the Skylarks as they climb high into the sky
> (Score 8: Take recorded by field notes from An Lanntir Arts Centre)

Conveying the experience of 'becoming member' and performing with The17 is difficult. Drummond's actions purposively disrupt common ways of expressing musical experience to create novel images and ways of engaging in musical commerce. Rather than a rational decision making process, likely leading backwards from the demands of performance, forwards to the venue, time, and so on, Drummond instead attends to "being part of a bigger whole" (Drummond 2010b), and the score composes this experience. The evening before, Drummond concluded the talk with the invitation to "Imagine waking up and all music has disappeared"- to attempt to 'forget' music as we know it and to respond to the experience and imagine new uncertainties in

musical experience and the nature of its commerce. The performance is then inexorably bound up with the space of performance. The score, Take, is about taking people to this strange, awkward musical space and occasion, and emphasising the spatial and corporeal experience of music current technologies he suggests makes easy to forget. Drummond explained that deciding upon the 'space' (in stark contrast to normative musical venues) recomposed his memories of going to the stones when he was young, later going there with a band he managed, and the significance of those experiences in his life. He evoked a kind of recovered or created aura to the stones, strengthened through comparison with the lack of such aura in orthodox musical experience, meaning they became cathedral-like in his memory, a more significant space because of this separation, as they undoubtedly were to their builders who dwelt there thousands of years before. He wanted to share these memories with The17, as well as the skylarks he remembered flying and singing there, and the prospect of 'new beginnings'.

Here Drummond is enlisting his own marginal resources to encourage others into the project's viability, yet he remains entrepreneurial, for example recomposing expectations and assumptions about the timing of performances by hitting on a strange and impractical 7am in the morning, and constantly dismissing "waiting on" for established market places (also exemplified by the impracticality of graffiti murals sprayed in marginal spaces). Aside from pragmatic reasons, the morning is a time of awakening, of moving from a passive resting position, preparing, and imagining the day ahead, and Drummond suggested it would make for a more visceral musical experience. Members who performed were made up of locals who attended, most likely because of the novelty of the performance, Drummond's partner, and 'fans' of The17 who wanted to join.

Recording practices, and other taken for granted ways of musical operation were invisible during the performance. The normative distribution of producer and consumer was not marked out. The performance was a coming together, another episode of creative destruction and out-pouring of experience, rather than a passive consumption and worship of products issued from above. Traditional material resources; the need for a venue - a permitted musical 'place' for instance - are lost with The17. It can perform anywhere, anytime, with anyone. Occupation and control over lands and the means of production are neither necessary. No plant is needed to record the music; no distribution network to articulate it; no marketing network (just Drummond, in 'K2'

work overalls produced by the K Foundation, precariously writing graffiti, in boats, and under motorway bridges); no system for playing the music; nor any other specialist equipment involved in the history of music-making: just people. The only time he questions charging 'membership' is when people fail to show and performances are cancelled, as happened twice in Salford. Like digital music it does not exist long enough to hold onto, protect, possess, but remains un-digitized, there in 'flesh and blood'.

Fig 9: Callanish Stones on the Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

(From wikicommons, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Callanish-circle.jpg).

Performers needed no knowledge of anything musical; no need of specialist training to perform or appreciate the music made. The performance was able to transcend the constraints of geography, and socioeconomic and cultural difference. All that was necessary were basic resources common to all but obscured by musical business that decides whose is valid-

imagination and memory - exclusive resources and relations otherwise predetermining ways of being musical, were gone. Performers were to lie down, imagine, and "respond to the light" of this novel musical experience. It was a short experience - 17 minutes - that quickly passed away. Performers did not then become 'followers' of something or someone; we became The17. No potentially alienating market place emerged; just a fleetingly shared musical experience. Performers left, invigorated, and awakened for the day ahead. Music meant something different, became less certain, and surprise, chance, and possibility were reinserted into musical experience in commercial settings. Some took photos, the rest remains in memory. Everybody went their separate ways. And this is what counts. Recalling what Drummond says about the fifth citation of The 17, the performance concerns a novel form of value that others will relate to; value that is de-emphasised with experiences of material forms of musical product. It is the value of memory itself:

> It just contains the soul of everybody that takes part ... ...It's just not what you'd think of music. It's something about memory. Five, six years later -it stays with you much more than a piece of recorded music (Drummond 2010a).

10.3 Discussion

The17 does not stand alone in Drummond's entrepreneurial life; the images are in and out of focus. Since 'leaving' the industry, Drummond has been busy writing more books, producing, destroying, buying, and selling art work, travelling, composing, imagining, dreaming, and asking "Is God a Cunt?" at Liverpool Anglican Cathedral. He is on constant world tour, being reluctant to sit down, pause, and return to market places or previous works. He runs, and hides behind, Penkiln Burn, his own publishing firm, through which press, distribution, and marketing are administrated for a range of novel, awkward, and strange art projects. Posters get printed with bold red font, pamphlets and books get published. Soup gets made, fake signs are put up. Cakes get given to random people. The17 performs the score 'No Music Day' in different global locations (silencing the city of Linz in Switzerland completely apart from one stubborn shop keeper), once a year, for 5 years. He also talks about his love for pop music, his need to make art,

and, alas: "It's a business as well. I have a mortgage. I have kids to feed" (Drummond 2010b). He remains in enterprise.

Yet The17 is what matters, for now. The two related images of the 17, one historical, the other more immediate and momentary, suggest why. They recompose the idea of musical commerce, setting new beginnings (Shackle 1979) from within the "historical and institutional" (Penrose 1959/1995) circumstances of music business and musical experience. By casting them as images the idea of being-in-business receives the attention of an academic language that condenses and abstracts from the experience itself. By using stories that Drummond tells this abstraction remains grounded in the appearances that matter to him; the significance is not entirely of an academic's framing, and his wish to remain "unthoughtful" is not formalised as knowledgeable opportunity (Dimov 2011). In betraying the particularity of their expression, the images suggest what we might go on to conceptualize (academically) as the relations and resources by which Drummond continues to 'be' entrepreneurial.

Historical and institutional relations (recording contracts, labels), material resources (venues, recording studios, products) and human resources (both those of others such as band members, and his own abilities, such as writing pop songs) that have constrained Drummond in the past become concealed in The17. In their stead is revealed a concern with involving and absorbing others' (often latent) creativity in communal and often fleeting settings, and concentrating on personal human resources such as memory. Marketplace demand, the wider context of technology, his and others' personal musical experiences, and the significance of geographical and socioeconomic spaces (Penrose 1959/1995), are challenged, releasing incentive and possibility. He readily invokes memories of personal experience people can relate to (Glynn and Lounsbury 2001; Aldrich and Fiol 1994; Lavoie 1991). These are his most direct human resource, and they enlist others directly. He tells his audience how destruction in his distant past created a 'new beginning' (Shackle, 1979) affording him access to new ways of becoming entrepreneurial, moving over the 'frontier' (Certeau 1984) determined by the steady progression of increasingly efficient means of distributing musical products. The17 is another such moment of destruction. The tactic (Certeau 1984) is to disabuse people of their natural enthusiasm for new technologies, to remind them of experiencing music unmediated by the means of its

transmission, and hence of the value of music being something other than a produced object. What matters is what is heard, bodily as much as aurally. Significantly, Drummond does not imagine and compose with much awareness of likely effects. There is a disruption of fate here, "a line in the sand" to use Drummond's term across which we might guess at what can happen, but never with any certainty. Revealed are openings into becoming entrepreneurial and experiencing music in which path dependence of imposed means of how this can happen cannot prefigure how this might occur, existing instead only in memory as reminders of what practice could be like and how versatile the tactic is. These preferences in the images of The17 are immediate ones. Certeau (1984: 42) talks of the image as "the phantom of the expert, but mute, body", and the preferences in Drummond's images are akin to this sense of a mute body struggling for expression.

These tactics create a new musical space (Hjorth 2004, 2005), and so create value by explicitly omitting the established strategies (Certeau 1984) of commercial music making. Drummond's tactical recomposition of musical commerce 'breaks free' from normative images of music, and 'breaks up' (Rindova *et al* 2009) marketplace conventions; he is revealing a different way of experiencing music in which uncertainty is resourceful (Shackle 1979; Sarasvathy 2008), because it elicits a sense of being creative in which surprise re-emerges, musical experience exists entrepreneurially (Hjorth & Johanisson 2004), and there is chance to set our own new beginnings. Performances by The17 create spaces of multiplicity (Hjorth 2005), where boundaries between territories (Certeau 1984) involved in being musical are dissolved, and people as they are motivated to engage their own imagination rather than have it stimulated for them undergo a process of equalisation with Drummond through which potential to worship 'that bloke who burnt a million quid' falls away and they experience a dislocating sense of contributing to their own pleasure. By redistributing the territories via which celebrity producers like Drummond often assume an heroic entrepreneurial identity (Dodd 2002) observers and potential insiders are unable to emplot his practice into epic narratives (Hamilton 2006); we lie next to him, join in his practice, and will likely be the ones who continue it (Drummond assuring us he will begin again at age 60, already finding constraints in his practice).

Through this created 'opportunity' comes the potential to compose new ways of experiencing music, the image is becoming more focused, more significant, rather than closing in at the formal exploitation of a foreseen likelihood. There is a conscious of breaking free from the deterministic history of musical business, one that is being fed by a strong sense of conscience. As Penrose suggests, entrepreneurial endeavour blends conscious and conscientious endeavour in ways that force institutionally grounded habits to stand out and become themselves self-conscious: "Why do we make music this way?" The reply by definition gives rise to the possibility of new values.

The value created by Drummond's musical entrepreneurship remains exclusive (it is a zero sum in that the settings demand that whilst some experience it others, by that fact, cannot), but it is not possessive (it cannot be owned nor traded) and so assumed modes of consumption, likely performance formats, the strategic boundaries between performer, audience and owner, all become blurred and opportunity is never strategically located in a spatial nor institutional sense. The17 reintroduces the messiness, uncertainty, surprise, and 'magic' people have felt or might feel, and, irascibly, the medium for doing this is the humble and hallowed vehicle of the choir. His stories animate a much deeper, richer, and messier image of musical commerce than that currently associated with successful musicians. The music business remains but it occupies a strategic space constantly and consciously avoided by an array of tactics, there is a sense of opportunity to the image, but it cannot yet be defined by imposed opportunity plots, we have to join with him and practice ourselves to experience it. His entrepreneurial versatility (Penrose 1959/1995) depends on his memories of personal experience of embedded experience, his willingness to become impractical, and the social imagination to confabulate novel, strange, and awkward images of musical commerce and what music might be like. The emergence of possibility in imagination is only one significant episode (Cope 2003) in this more processual narration of entrepreneuring (Steyaert 2007); an embedded emergency amidst much richer narrated images of being-in-business.

Somewhere in these images there is possibility - a messiness and contradictory set of tactics that emerge in respect to historical and relational circumstantial constraints and the potency of human resources and imagination away from normative markets. A holding on to what has gone, what is absent, in memory; Drummond's most immediate human resource, is able to confabulate new

images of ways of engaging in musical commerce when played against the contemporary "historical and institutional" (Penrose 1959/1995:6) circumstances of musical business. Drummond's images show how possibility emerge at the messy intersecting, and con-fusing of human and material resources in relation to wider business patterns. So opportunity is shown inherent in constraint (Sarasvathy 2008; Shackle 1979; Certeau 1984), as Drummond attends to the absence he remembers from when he was young. It depends upon his human ability to turn away from pragmatism and practicalities and to attend to and compose more profound and impractical images of musical experience.

Through the images of Drummond, then, we have found an apparent wrecklessness unlikely outside of cultural industry (and somewhat notorious within it). His enterprise, such as it is, takes being impractical to such reaches that his stories might be difficult to translate to the proper spaces of standard entrepreneurial practice. Yet Drummond is one of world's most successful musical entrepreneurs, and images of him in business, intense and contentious as they are, are suggestive of the way that opportunities are far from isolated, separate entities held at a distance from experience, and far more so the residue of active, restless engagement. There is a trajectory to the path he is taking, but rather than a historical dependence in which Drummond or us as potential insiders are caught and cannot escape, constraints imposed by history invite their own subversion (Shackle 1979), his space is prefigured for him but in doing so he is given resources via which new beginnings are set and versatility is elicited and amplified. Strategies matter, but only in the sense that they set up a background rationality against which to understand Drummond's imaginative practice, understand some of the value he is issuing, and find ourselves enlisted into this new beginning.

Drummond helps scholarly practice intervene into its own unimaginative pragmatism, refusing researchers the chance to define the opportunity, and highlighting the impracticality Penrose suggests defines the entrepreneurial imagination yet which is often omitted by strategic readings of her work. Revealed is the messiness of entrepreneurial that Penrose coordinates; we are re-connected to the humanity of entrepreneurial practice as Drummond elicits new connections to body and to place that strategic analyses of his practice might want to omit (but in doing so passing everything that gives his practice presence and value). There is more invitation to not

struggle with our attempts to make clear the opportunity and locate it in a spatial and institutional sense, catch it in a static nexus, and regret that the image disallows this, but to cherish the uncertainty that it reveals, the possibilities unveiled by his impracticalities, leaving the image fuzzy at the edges, exposing them to interpretation and reinterpretation, as others come into frame and as time flows. Opportunities reference only partially the significance of entrepreneurial images in people's lives, and remain indebted to the interplay of settings that are constraints as much incentives. Drummond's image animates being-in-business as something mattering much more than the usual resources, motivations and configurations scholars like to work with, there are valuable and inimitable memories but also ones that connect with our own of experiences of experiencing music from a young age, a knowledge of how we all feel as consumers as well as how he feels as a shy superstar. In this sense, though ephemeral as bird flight, Drummond's images redound with a force that shows why entrepreneurial life can matter. The images prevent this entrepreneurial life from being so easily omitted by quests to identify commercial opportunity and forces us to capture opportunity recognition in vivo.

Table 13: Analysis of Image 1 & 2 from Drummond.

	Strategies	Tactics
Relations	Copyright laws, royalty system, taxation structures, distribution networks (supply chains) of producers, retailers, record companies/labels. Fan-base, symbolic capital of name/group, 'rival' musicians/labels, Independent (Indie) music market, related markets associated with dance/rave culture. Rise of digitization. City of Liverpool, managed bands and music making partners.	Creates own label, global advance through regional intensity. Breaking down producer/consumer relations. Succession of identities, refusal to locate presence using one moniker (KLF, Timelords, Justified Ancients of Mu Mu, The17), this mercurial identity gathers its own symbolic presence. Deletes back catalogue. Activity bleeds in art market through K-Foundation, happenings and pulling stunts to disrupt idea of art piece, culminating in burning of £1m. Charges for lectures prefacing The17, and books, other output source funding. Liverpool and Mathew St. reconfigured briefly. Scores recompose spaces of belonging, disrupts significance of sociocultural locations, and communality. Omits necessity of distribution network. Ignores established market places. Seeks new market space.
Material Resources	Electronic reproduction potentially brings multiple tasks together.	Abandons 'material' output, and then recording.

	Changing use of raw material skewed to packaging rather than format and content. Money/debt.	Bodily experience/presence as resource. Ridding himself of financial security, and dependence on plant and equipment.
Human Resources	Values autonomy. Available information and labour (clerical, administrative, financial, legal, and technical) internal cultures, inherited knowledge. 'State of the arts', social networks, mobility. Capacity' to transcend constraints, comprising: funding ingenuity, entrepreneurial judgement' ambition, confidence, and versatility. Expectations influencing experiences of uncertainty and possibility. Practical managerial capacity to bring productive opportunities into being	Autonomy becomes something experienced in movement rather than preservation 'against'. Versatility paramount. Participation of others in the moment and through memory. 'State of the arts' omitted and reified. Dialogic space with ex KLF member Jimmy Cauty, *et al.* Expectant of nothing; open to value of uncertainty. Infinite performance space, market space. The17 embedded amongst other remuneration strategies, enacted by close established network and volunteers. Value in leaving things unfinished, open to change and others.

11 Discussion

Looking back and the central line of inquiry in the study concerned the nature of opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs in the creative industries in and around the Mersey basin. Musical entrepreneurship is a special case for understanding entrepreneurial practice, because within the lives of those who operate within the creative industries distinction is often made between the potential for creativity and constrained commercial settings. The study engaged with musical entrepreneurship through the idea of entrepreneurial opportunity, because opportunity has been conceptualised as a space in which circumstance interacts with actors' lives. The inquiry can contribute to entrepreneurial theory, as well as regional policy concerns. Liverpool is a musical name to millions around the world, and great emphasis is put on understanding entrepreneurial opportunities in the lives of musical entrepreneurs, because how opportunities emerge matters in the future cultural and economic viability of the Merseyside region. By engaging with those becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce, studying the idea of opportunity has shown that constrained commercial settings provoke organizational creativity. Rather than being antithetical, the study has shown that commerce and creativity blend in the imaginative experiences of those becoming entrepreneurial. The study develops new openings into studying the lives of business men and women, ones that do not pull away from their experiences, but show how they can matter.

11.1 The Distinctiveness of Entrepreneurial Self & Opportunity

The study began with the early processual ideas of Bill Gartner. Gartner was posed as an early proponent of a processual approach that engaged with opportunity as an icon of organizational creativity from the perspective of actors themselves. The study developed Gartner's ideas through a sensitivity that kept actors entre-preneurial, retraining interest on experience itself, and situating actors within a space between preorganization and the new organization that they themselves will organize through working with their settings in imaginative ways. Throughout the study, the role of unique and imaginative experiences of commonplace experiences was emphasised, so that, rather than actor and circumstances existing in stark contrast to each other, it is their instable interrelation which is shown to propel organizational change over time. Scholarly

interest condensed on how possibilities for organizational creativity emerge as if having presence in this mobile space; within the embedded experiences of business men and women, and the idea of opportunity was posed as a way to approach these experiences in which actor and circumstance blend in the creation of new business futures.

Interest in the nature of opportunity as an opening to understand the entrepreneurial process was presented as a boundary marker that distinguishes the 'domain' of entrepreneurship studies. More recent literature distributed a dominant idea of opportunity attempting to map the strategic 'fit' between actors and circumstance. The domain of entrepreneurship studies was shown to tighten around the analytical abstraction of the individual-opportunity nexus. But because opportunities are formalised as distinct entitative spaces existing exogenously in the markets that institutions relate themselves to, the idea of entrepreneurial opportunity therefore seems to distinguish actors by their miraculous abilities to discover things that do not yet exist. This strategic manifestation of the experience has the movements of industries and markets eliciting opportunities with presumed objective natures, and the path dependence of entrepreneurial traits and business configurations determining who can discover and exploit opportunities successfully. Rather than settle debates over the primacy of actors or entrepreneurial settings, the approach came into question, because it presents actors who flicker between, the one minute, anonymous nobodies with no agency at all, and the next, inimitable heroes on quests to miraculously discovery opportunity. The nature of opportunity as experienced remains difficult to study from the perspective of actors themselves, because, being posed as only an analytical construct, opportunities somehow exist outside of actors' experiences. Moreover, by the strategic literature restricting opportunities to interests in profit and status, the domain's boundaries seem to exclude some potential entrepreneurs and make opportunities so distinct and commercial that the ways in which they might matter to actors, like musical entrepreneurs, and us as consumers, become obscured. This suggested that, while the domain might be tightening around a universal concept, there is still space to re-relate to how the nature opportunity as experienced by actors themselves might be significant for understanding entrepreneurship as an experience of organizational creativity.

The nature of opportunity as experienced within the entrepreneurial process was therefore brought into question, because scholars have made clear distinction between actors and their circumstances. While this has enabled the literature to 'explain' opportunity recognition, and the exploitation of such, on the one hand, by peculiar entrepreneurial characteristics assumed to be concealed 'inside' actors and businesses, it has also meant that the utility of opportunity to understand organizational creativity in the lives of business men and women was uncertain. The individual opportunity nexus approach recalled previous interest around distinct entrepreneurial traits, and internal business configurations with strategic clout. Created was the impression that heroic actors with epic potential, and commonly mediatized dragons seen on television, somehow, secure distinction or independence from commercial settings. Yet the literature also suggests that life is embedded in commercial circumstance, and that those who practice, like musical entrepreneurs, operate within constrained settings, and often have desires to express themselves creatively. Invitations were left to understand how actors become entrepreneurial through making do and working with their circumstances in creative ways.

The study took off from the isolated entrepreneurial actor to engage with unique experiences of circumstance within the entrepreneurial process. Drawing from a sociological heritage, attention was trained upon pedagogical relationships between actors and their settings and how, through being habituated by their settings, actors' lives reproduce existing social structures. Emphasis was put on the process of habituation being one that affords actors space to judge and relate to their settings in creative ways, rather than one that forces them to passively reproduce the constraints of history. Yet as the study examined constructionist approaches in the entrepreneurial studies literatures, the causal force of entrepreneurial circumstances was overemphasised, and actors appeared to be unknowable black boxes through which industries and economies drive their own development (as if actors simply process economic data and are forced to retrieve opportunities within). Social constructionist perspectives retrained attention on the possibility of explaining the performance of entrepreneurs and opportunities from positions of analytic withdrawal. The upshot of such abstractions, of course, is that social structures are posed as being determining forces that actors passively submit themselves to, rather than also lending actors the potential for unique experiences. Entrepreneurial lives seem less human, less the transient mobilities able to make a difference. In such approaches the idea of the entrepreneur

is just an analytic variable that can be employed to explain the operation of opportunities and organizational change. Strategic analyses posing enlarged definitions of practice, opportunity and socio-cultural setting, and assuming actors' habitus predetermines entrepreneurial 'performance' by affording economic men and women the feeling their practice makes a difference, were reapplied throughout the study in a way that matters in the creative experiences of actors themselves. Rather than opportunities, and how they come about, appearing to be immutable across actor, space, time, purpose, and audience, and actors' authorial agency being deadened within an inescapable and unmissable historical and institutional environment, the study has been able to show that such constraints often provoke creativity. Embedded experience can matter, and the study has suggested that entrepreneurial agency within organizational creativity is afforded by imaginative lives set within constrained commercial circumstances.

The study has therefore been able to critically develop some theoretical approaches that are central to entrepreneurial study. It began again with processual approaches leading from social constructionism, such as the work of Sarason, who, in the vein of Gartner, suggests it is powers of interpretation and imagination that afford actors unique experiences of commonplace phenomena, and that it is the processual interaction of actors and circumstance that constantly develops opportunity as an early glimpse of new organization. The study then took narrative coordinates of entrepreneurial practice and ideas from scholars interested in the role of storytelling in the entrepreneurial process to develop the processual approach. Commonplace metaphors and plots useful for making sense of entrepreneurial experience and setting up some of the commonplace 'whats' that actors might relate to in imaginative ways were introduced. Entrepreneurial opportunity was posed being extended through day-to-day social interaction with others. Continuing to characterise the idea of opportunity as being emblematic of the imaginative experiences of business men and women, and develop the suggestion that entrepreneurial imagination affords actors unique experiences of commonplace phenomena they may go on to create new organization from, the literature then drew from Sarasvathy's logic of effectuation.

What is the nature of opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs who operate in the creative industries of the Mersey basin?

11.2 Practical & Instrumental Economic Man

Sarasvathy's theory of effectuation reinvigorated the idea of entrepreneurial opportunity by extending the processual approach to understanding how experience matters in organizational creativity. The theory of effectuation was useful because, as a creative perspective to how opportunity comes about, scholarly attention was drawn to how entrepreneurial imaginations are able to lift possibilities for new organization from circumstantial constraints. Yet, still, studying the experience of actors themselves seemed problematic, as the idea of imagination as a way to approach opportunity is reduced to an errant subset of rational choice. The logic seemed to have inherited strategic ways to narrate imaginative experience, as previous analytical abstractions away from experiences of organizational creativity, and how opportunity is an icon of new organization to come, seem to implicitly authorise the entrepreneurial figure as inherently practical and instrumental individual inevitably drawn to profit and to status. Effectuation emphasised actors' creativity, yet restricted it to often inimitable instrumental command over entrepreneurial narratives. Opportunities emerged with instant presence in language and practice, took from anonymity to become looming and distinct spaces of reason, and actors, as they dissolve problems by making sure, well-reasoned bets via commerce posed as a repository of solutions, seem drawn to comfortable equilibrium. Entrepreneurial life seemed far less restless, and less creative, than the lives of those who seem to exist in unanswerable disequilibrium. Hence, even though effectuation poses itself as a new beginning for studying opportunity as an experience through which actors imaginatively re-describe historical experience of their settings, the abstraction still seems too smooth and strategic. Effectuation appeared a restrictive concept, one that might exclude who and what is entrepreneurial via a logic that can be reduced to a few expert strategies. The vivid colours and connectives of entrepreneurial patchwork fell away, and effectual narratives thinned out as strategic distillations surface and entrepreneurial imagination and intuition were treated as an errant subset of rational choice. Uncertainty emerged as to whether the nature of musical opportunities, contentious and tactical as some of them are, then, easily relates to seemingly unimaginative and orthodox writing such as that of the opportunity embodied in Sarasvathy's effectuation. Another related theme the study brought out in the literature therefore concerns the strategic mode of narration scholars use to narrate entrepreneurial stories.

Turning these literatures to make them face each other, the study found actors who are still entrepreneurial: trapped in a conscious middle space, always on the move, neither inimitable heroes of practical flare and instrumental will, nor tragically defeated nobodies. Clearly the literature shows actors operating in uncertain settings, ones where the primacy of either actors or their settings is obscured, and, clearly, actors do matter, and want to matter, in more ways than just very instrumentally desiring profit and status. A more sensory recollection of the recognition of musical opportunities in and around the Mersey basin and the wider settings of practice found invitations issued to take up a broader conception of opportunity where entrepreneurial settings and actors matter, and opportunities are not distinguished as unimaginative spaces of reason.

Taking off from Gartner's work around how entrepreneurial opportunity can be employed as an icon of new organization, in which commercial constraints dissolve in the imaginative experiences of business men and women, Sarason's processual approach to social constructionism in which powers of interpretation and imagination afford actors unique experiences of commonplace phenomena, and scholars interested in narrative and storytelling approaches as opening into the entrepreneurial process, the study took on the special case of musical entrepreneurship. The authority of the idea of entrepreneurial opportunity has been partially maintained, but only through a sensitivity to the lives of business men and women, and how in particular territories, such as the creative industries of North West England, actors are becoming entrepreneurial through imaginatively relating to constrained commercial circumstance. Rather than making clear distinction between actors and their settings, the study engages with how, in the lives of musical entrepreneurs especially, the emergence of opportunity is iconic of how circumstance provokes the imagination of new organization organized through a kind of entrepreneurial resistance. It contributes to how the idea of opportunity can be employed to understand entrepreneurship as organizational creativity from the perspective of actors themselves.

What is particular about the nature of musical opportunities in relation against the idea of entrepreneurial opportunities presented more generally?

11.3 Images, Money, Music: More than Business, Less than Autonomous Self

Fresh approaches to theorizing and studying entrepreneurship and the idea of opportunity through a processual lens have developed the ideas of authors such as Hjorth and Steyaert. Building on the idea that entrepreneurship is the process by which actors imagine new organization that they go on to co-author with circumstanace, the study has continued to remind scholarship that entrepreneurship is a verb, a doing, and that opportunity might be related to as a happening, or becoming. The study has developed the processual idea of entrepreneuring forwarded by Steyaert (2007), and critical European approaches questioning the logic and rationality imposed by the strategic literature and approaches such as effectuation. Whereas previous approaches have failed to situate entrepreneurship in a world that actors could work with, new ways to approach the entrepreneurial process, and the icon of opportunity as an early glimpse of organizational creativity, have been created through posing entrepreneurship in a world defined by inherent uncertainty and stability. Extending these authors' sensitivity to the creative perspective of effectuation, and how opportunity might be experienced by actors themselves, attention was retrained on how actors are able to imaginatively inscribe possibilities for new organization as if they have presence in their worlds. The imposition of rigid constructs like opportunity into the unknown experiences of business men and women was disrupted. New potential for studying organizational creativity, and the nature of opportunity through the interactive processes of circumstance and the lives of business men and women were revealed. Rather than just an analytical construct, and rather than presenting experience and imagination as an errant subset of rational choice, they became uncertain, mobile, and entrepreneurial within study. Opportunity became a way to approach the space of experience itself, in between preorganization and the new organization that actors themselves will organize, and how possibilities are continuously lifted from constraint.

Extending Sarasvathy's idea of effectuation, and the processual idea of entrepreneuring, through readings of Shackle, entrepreneurial imagination began to preclude the extent to which entrepreneurial selves and opportunities can be defined as distinct spaces, and the extent to which entrepreneurial actors can be characterised as inherently practical and instrumental by being drawn to profit and status. Shackle reminds us that, in the lives of business men and

women, the symbolic presence of historical circumstance overflows into the moment, and, in doing so, both inspires practice and acts as relation. Shackle's idea of the scheme of things and the coordination of the normative context in the imaginations of business men and women developed the processual engagement with experience, one in which, even if deeply commercial and constraining how actors might practice, context provokes actor to become entrepreneurial through imagining possibilities as if they are present in their surroundings. Shackle gave new ways to develop effectuation by suggesting that, as futuristic histories become projected into time-to-come, they break out of the strategic boundaries scholars or businessmen impose upon entrepreneurial selves and opportunities. Developing effectual ideas of the entrepreneurial process being a processual one through which historical and institutional circumstance are imaginatively re-related, Shackle remained sensitive to how experience matters through emphasising life to be mobile and afforded space to imagine and organize by the flow of time. The entrepreneurial process was not defined via an imagination treated as an errant subset of rational choice, but situated in the lives of business men women characterised by inherent uncertainty and instability.

Edith Penrose's metaphor of the image enlarged the notion of opportunity, and provided an entrepreneurial take on issues founding the inquiry, by embedding opportunities in the mobile experiences of actors situated in uncertain circumstances. Penrose's idea of the image was a way to coordinate how human resources, like imagination and personal experience, re-relate to historical and institutional settings in the creation of new organization. Penrose's idea of images is deeply processual, one that enables study of opportunity as imaginative experience, and that enables understanding of the unique significance of circumstances in in organizational creativity. She too struggles with semantics. Firms, and their boundaries of inheritance and influence, she finds makes their distinction as definite spaces difficult, and she reminds us that the interlocking of firms and circumstances in the imaginations of business men and women is central to firm growth. In her desire to understand, rather than explain firm growth and opportunity recognition through rigid concepts, Penrose helps study to disrupt the neat strategic distinction of actors and entrepreneurial settings. Developing the established interest with ordinary entrepreneurial experience, rather than the heroics of the strategic literature, images enabled study of day-to-day experiences of opportunity. External forces of historical and institutional settings pressure

economic men and women in her writings, but she does not have them giving up, instead she finds them becoming creative through imagining new ways to relate to their circumstances. Of course 'history matters'; actors do not have the capacity to break free from their paths completely, and neither do they have the freedom to pose themselves in absolute distinction from context. Instead Penrose supported study to engage with the relation, and imaginative re-relation, of actors and 'reality' as human resources elicit possibilities from circumstance. Images have been able to conceptualise how creativity, and constrained commercial circumstance, then, are not antithetical to each other, but, rather, interact over time in the entrepreneurial process. Her idea of the image enabled study to engage with these unique experiences of commonplace business phenomena afforded by the flow of time and imagination. Study began to look back at how possibilities for new organization emerge in ways that matter to actors themselves.

The image became a deeply relational and processual idea, one which actors and circumstance provoke each other time in the creation of possibilities for new organization that actors themselves will organize. By situating the idea of entrepreneurial opportunity within images, opportunities are presented as a social experience that disabuses scholars of locating them either at the individual or purely spatial level, annexed from experience, and instead must follow their constant creation over time, as entrepreneurial imaginations constantly lift new possibilities from constrained commercial settings. Attention turned back to studying the nature of opportunity in the imaginative lives of musical entrepreneurs operating within the creative industries of North West England, with a keener interest in how experience can matter.

11.4 Strategies & Tactics

Penrose needed re-reading and re-relating to in order to break her out from current strategic readings of her work so that study can engage with, and in, the making and remaking of images. Penrose, and others like Shackle, took study 'down' to entrepreneurial experience (in Certeau's sense of vacating the skyscrapers of panoptic observation as manifest by most of Penrose's strategic interpretors), but a way to actually study images needed creating.

The interplay of the strategic and tactical in the lives of ordinary men and women posed by Michel de Certeau has actors relating and re-relating to formalised settings in imaginative ways, and is alive to the symbolic presence of 'outside' during experience, yet does not allow it completely overshadow the feeling of making a difference. The interplay of strategies with the imaginative lives of tactical bricoleurs over time provided a way to approach images in a way that is sensitive to the idea of Penrose and Shackle, one which had them being related in the process of study itself. Actors poach from their circumstances in Certeu's writing- only able to operate with what dominant orders elicit for them, they make do in versatile ways through imaginatively stylizing commonplaces with their own personal experience. Tactical actors are unwilling or unable to localize advantage spatially or institutionally, or distinguish 'outside' and keep it at a distance as a visible totality within which opportunity can be deciphered. Certeau's lucid introduction to the strategies and tactics of everyday life in well plotted settings, in turn, elicits a processual methodology that captures images in the making and re-making, and suggests tensions between strategic settings and entrepreneurial actors are negotiated fruitfully during the tactical make do creativity of opportunity experience. The constant interplay of strategy and tactics in the imaginative lives of bricoeurs is a deeply processual idea that makes sense of how embedded experience matters and creativity can be afforded by constraint and the flow of time. Entrepreneurial creativity starts appearing in the play between strategic rationality and tactical imagination, highlighting actors' inheritances and influences, and enabling scholars to observe and customers to relate to actors as their creations linger in memory. Through Certeau's processual methodology, images are not located at the individual level, as if isolated to actors themselves, and neither are they to be found annexed from actors' experiences. Instead they emerge within the process of study itself, as strategic case settings are fed to the sites of imaginative tactical bricolage.

This is significant because the influence these tactical readings have upon the strategic settings of studies of opportunity means the study itself becomes entrepreneurial. Combined with the strategic case settings of the creative industries, the normative manifestation of opportunities by the strategic literature becomes a general formalised backdrop against which to appreciate the peculiarity of musical opportunities. The influence opportunities have is allowed to transcend site boundaries case study imposes on them (the same way the influence of firms and

opportunities did during Penrose and Shackle's own struggles with semantics), and as the sites multiply and expand of their own free will they force scholarship to re-read the literature in tactical ways. As the study makes a reply back to the literature, new ways to conceptualise entrepreneurship as the process of organizational creativity through the idea of an image emerge. Rather than existing in stark contradistinction, organizational creativity is shown to occur through processes of co-authorship between the imaginative lives of actors as they relate to commonplace settings over time. Images, as a way to situate the idea of opportunity in the mobile experiences of imaginative men and women, becomes shown through the processual interplay of the strategic and tactical.

11.5 'Outside' as Resource & Relation

Contrasted, compared and related into some sequence, the images articulate sites that have a cinematic presence; there exists narrative connections and exchanges between them, yet they are unique coordinations of the wider case of musical entrepreneurship in the Mersey Basin, and are able to stylize our own formalised understandings of opportunity as experienced. Their musicality invites a longer and more interesting narrative about becoming entrepreneurial, and of the experience of opportunity set within the creative industries in and around the Mersey basin. Presence is gained as they relate and re-relate to these more general images of the relational and longitudinal circumstances of musical opportunity, and they disclose a desire to set new beginnings into the well plotted settings of entrepreneurial study. Actors are shown becoming entrepreneurial, through imaginatively relating to constraints inherent in the idea of musical commerce.

Each site reveals that tensions between the strategic and tactical are fruitful and lead to new images of entrepreneurial practice in the lives of those taking to musical commerce in the creative industries of North West England. Immediately it also becomes clear that, as proper examination of narrative literature suggests, the distinction of self and opportunity is a strategic narration of ongoing personal and social struggle and that, like all narrative plots, it is a relational and longitudinal accomplishment. Commercial settings are not antithetical to creativity, but nor are they sympathetic; actors have to make do, and struggle with constrained commercial settings,

connect with others, re-describe and reinterpret constraint, make new spaces within formalised space, and it is against their settings that versatile tactics become valuable and gain authority. By situating the idea of opportunity in experience the images show how the impress of historical and institutional environments is a necessary backdrop that illuminates how the relationship is tendered in unique ways, and how outside coordinates, but is also imaginatively re-related to within actors' own images. The images show that musical entrepreneurs can only make do with entrepreneurial settings, and as punters we have to relate to their experiences, doing so through attentiveness to our own musical experiences. Tensions inherent in musical commerce and ongoing personal experiences of commercial constraint are shown to provoke organizational creativity. This suggests entrepreneurial settings are resource and relation in the making and remaking of images, and can be employed to co-author them in empirical study as well. Using Penrose's metaphor of images, in turn, embeds opportunity in ordinary experience of organizational creativity, an experience in which the primacy of either actor or circumstance falls away into make do creativity animated through the processual interplay between the strategic and tactical.

By situating opportunity within the imaginative experiences of business men and women through the idea of images organizational creativity is presented as deeply processual and relational. The sites convey this vividly. Inheritances and exchanges to and fro' between self and business over time as the narratives articulate images of opportunity as experience situated in the space between preorganization and the new organization that they themselves will organize. Actors draw directly from circumstance to pose their images, elicit possibility, and remake them. Citations of circumstance keep connections to market space and punters' lives outside fresh, even while actors may be transcending into celebrity, and they bring others inside and animate the play between external forces and the human resource of entrepreneurial imagination. None secure independence; the images are articulated by relational and longitudinal narratives as actors make do and imaginatively recompose constraint and circumstance as incentive and style. By using images as an empirical approach, as well as a conceptual one, they are able to elicit how experience matters and opportunities are inherently relational and longitudinal.

11.6 Creation of Distinct Entrepreneurial Self & Opportunity

Contrasting, comparing and relating the images into some order, more or less strategic or tactical engagements with entrepreneurial settings are revealed. Related into the makings of a case study, the mixed-sites interact, and the relational nature of images is illuminated within the study itself. By the images also forcing scholars to resist our own strategic tendencies to distinguish entrepreneurial selves and opportunities, they display how distinction is created or emerges as it is imposed by an 'outside' trying to manage actors' creativity. This therefore disrupted the analytical distinction made between actors and their settings by foundational studies in the literature, which is then reproduced by the strategic approach of the individual-opportunity nexus. By situating opportunity in the imaginative experiences of actors over time the study is able to disrupt strategic ways of narrating the entrepreneurial process. The images can never be properly located, neither individually, nor spatially as a conceptual approach, and neither empirically, as being the makings of actors themselves or of the study. They remain mobile and entrepreneurial, always in the creation.

Barton's images in particular strikingly demonstrate distinctive entrepreneurial self and opportunity being longitudinally and relationally accomplished, emerging over time through making do with circumstance rather than breaking free entirely. He and the Cream marketing narrative directly emplot their practice under the rubric of heroic, epic and distinct self and opportunity. Yet the images have Barton struggling with circumstance again and again, and his success is inexplicably indebted not to a rare and inimitably 'alert' character, nor opportunity 'squaring the circle' from a young age, but to embedded constraints that reveal possibilities, elicit his versatility, authorise his practice, draw others in, and animate his story. They have him profoundly unheroic as a young man, embroiled amidst constrained settings and anonymous among many others like him. On the way to successful organization he has to connect to very many different relations, pick up resources from outside, counterpose practice against other better endowed heroes and constraints to authorise his efforts as entrepreneurial, and distinguish his creation. His practice picks up value and definition in relation to the wider historical and institutional environment recomposed in the images, and they propel him along and invite him to keep on practising. At first, his images are anonymous and indistinct like him, developing their

presence relationally in the process of organizational of creativity as his struggle is situated in relation to more powerful figures. Rarely does he assume the distinct awareness he suggests he does (only able to manifest the panoptics of a strategic gaze after years of hard graft, accumulation of resources and the formalising of space after a dramatic episode).

Barton's images illustrate how entrepreneurial settings and strategies become resource and relation that suggest in what ways actors have tendered the historical and institutional environment over time. He is shown becoming entrepreneurial through being provoked by constraints inherent in commercial setting and ideas of musical commerce, and the significance of his practice being relational and mutating over time. Imaginative tactics are set against background contexts (geographic, economic, cultural) they make spaces and set new beginnings within, punters are brought inside the images as they relate to their own within Barton's, and boundaries between him and others outside fall away (only recreated through the pragmatic desire to formalise space for Cream, set up an outside able to be observed, and elicit behaviours likely to retrieve remuneration). Barton and Cream in time emerge as distinct epic heroes in the re-description of inner city Liverpool, eventually able to keep the world at a strategic distance, and Barton is drawn giving up images motivated by the flesh and blood experience of being-in-business to formulate distinct commercial opportunities through rigorous panoptics and powerful strategies. But the opportunity, once it is lifted from experience, and tightened by strategic analyses that reproduce those of the individual-opportunity nexus perspective, remains intimately bound up with images of his make do versatility imaginatively recomposing constraint and circumstance as incentive and style. Though now the formalised space of reason others seek to disrupt, the images remain grounded in historical and institutional settings made do with over time. Our own memories of clubbing in Cream break down the strategic boundaries the firm constructs, the opportunity Creamfields and Barton imagine as if existing outside of experience only having significance within the relational and historical nature of images. Employing the idea of images as a methodological approach to study opportunity within the experiences of business men and women show how this occurs, so that even when annexed from the mobility of life, and actors see themselves standing still, we understand them as icons of ongoing organizational creativity.

In contrast to Barton's long struggle, Boots almost immediately installs the heroic storyline of entrepreneurial distinction via an epic rapid ascension to celebrity, seemingly on the back of her musical practice alone. Better endowed relations give her the clout of material resources and ability to engage in powerful marketing strategies, she breaks free from ordinary experience, and formalises space as a distinctly 'new' breed of 'independent' female artists setting new beginnings for pop music history. She too employs constraint (ubiquitous bedroom settings, little resources, no connections, more powerful and established acts) as resource and relation to authorise her practice as entrepreneurial, and articulate her story, and employs 'DIY-epic' styles that trace narrative distinction from ordinary consumer to celebrity and formalised opportunity. But as an exterior forms allowing markets to be observed and managed, and valuable stories of creation and connections with ordinary punters in turn fall away, she struggles to re-connect as she returns as a distinct musical brand.

She jets around above us, looks down able to identify opportunities for wealth creation via the panoptic vision of powerful connections, but independence is never secured; Boots depends on entrepreneurial settings to reveal, authorise, keep her story moving, and still has to keep connections with punters. As with Barton, the more their identities and opportunities become distinct and commercial spaces of reason and life and movement is sucked out of the nexus, the more they resituate their practice amidst images articulated by valuable stories animating their heritage in the restless struggle of opportunity experience. This is telling in the context of the creative industries. It suggests that practice is only valid enterprise if able to reveal via images the tactical make do of actors as they work imaginatively with entrepreneurial settings over time. Their creativity must be shown in the play between the strategic and the tactical. Images of Barton and Boots in turn illustrate distinction of entrepreneurial self and opportunity articulated via versatile re-description of resources and relations of embedded experience over time. By using images the idea of opportunities as distinct spaces formalised and annexed from experience still remain inherent in experiences of organizational creativity. By using images, study shows how strategic actors also make do, just as the other sites do, but do so in unique styles and with different effects.

11.7 Resistance & Indistinct Entrepreneurial Selves & Opportunities

Three sets of images, Geoff, a.P.A.t.T., and Drummond, on the other hand either cannot name a space of their own or actively resist the distinctiveness of entrepreneurial self and opportunity, by keeping practice firmly rooted in images of make do versatility. Cited as being 'independent' musical actors (a paradox that simultaneously poses political declaration as well leaving reminders of what else musical practice can be like), they are able to keep their entre-preneurial in-betweeness and a sense they are always on the way to something exciting. Their versatile tactics insinuate space to play and decide that is at a symbolic separation from others' unimaginative acceptance of imposed definition of practice and distinction of self and opportunity. Barton and Boots seem to settle into distinct spaces of reason and always to be slowing, but boundaries to do not set in to these 'other' images and it is this, paradoxically, that distinguishes them from sites which are more strategic. By not proscribing the messiness of opportunity experience before the product reaches market, we in turn are able to relate to them and their opportunities not only as a personal experiences but also social ones in which we too are implicated and reasons to practice extend far beyond the products we buy and interests in profit and status. It is this indistinctness to the images that seems to matter to them and us as consumers- they reveal to us forces that have shaped their own personal experiences as well as ours, bringing us inside as human resource and memorial relation to pose their versatility against. Related back to the literature, they seem at odds to the heroic quest to command entrepreneurial settings into submission, and their creativity to emerge as, in becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce, they are faced with a world of circumstantial constraint. Deeply commercialized settings are not antithetical to their creativity, but provoke it, and human resources like personal experience and imagination are central resources. Whereas the strategic literature suggests entrepreneurs rationally fit together with their circumstances, these entrepreneurs' resistance is one that makes do and questions their fit with established historical and institutional settings, in doing so revealing possibilities for new organization that they will co-author with their settings over time.

Drummond in particular has made a highly successful career by consistently disrupting his own distinction from environments and ascension into celebrity. The study shows how his current

project, The17, disallows him to transcend away from punters, formalise spaces of distinct opportunity and self, marvel at his celebrity, and evokes a desire to remain ordinary and indistinct from other members. By redistributing territories of producer and consumer his celebrity is hidden somewhere within images occupied by the ordinary, anonymous people he once was. Strategies to record the musical product are omitted, and The17 does not perform or make commercial exchange. He could exploit his reputation as one of the world's best known and prolific musical entrepreneurs, yet as soon as distinction forms around identity or opportunity he starts again, desiring each effort to stand on its own (therefore in relief, but not contributing to a distinct 'Drummond brand'). In doing so his images lose some of the distinct commercial viability Barton's and Boots' might have, he is less willing or able to define them and control their actualization as commercial success, and they remain unique images of make do versatility created over a long period of time. Opportunity becomes less easy to decipher from the informal images, and as it hangs in uncertainty connections to the nation's musical consciousness remain fresh and are excited, and new forms of value emerge. Unable to escape his own history or wider circumstances of musical production, negotiating an outside that distinguishes itself and defines him and his practice anyway, and unwilling or unable to keep hold of what he wins, Drummond never stops, always begins again, and therefore remains tactical.

a.P.A.t.T. also help challenge assumptions inherited by the over-bearing strategic literature that actors seek and are able to formalise spaces of distinct identity and opportunity in independence from entrepreneurial settings. They actively challenge their own natural desire for power and celebrity and limit the extent to which opportunities can become distinguished from more personally valuable and interesting images of making do. The strategic distinction of self and opportunity is reversed so that they become almost anonymous within their practice, their musical productions neither artefacts of their own making nor of an inescapable institutional impress. Entrepreneurial identities and opportunities become hidden amidst images of all things at once, and they continuously resist their practice being formalised into discrete commercial spaces (songs, genres, bands, labels, venues, ventures) as they engage with their settings but are always forced to accept orthodox definitions being imposed anyway. No distinct heroic actor can be identified because no actor is visible; civvies disrupt their ascension into commercial success

and obscure their celebrity, layers and loops referencing their becoming entrepreneurial within a historical and institutional environment they can neither control nor escape obscure their opportunity, and resist it formalising in separation from embedded experience they find so resourceful. This suggests that they are unable or unwilling to keep the world at a strategic distance and distinguish a borderline that poses 'outside' as a visible totality, and instead they remain positive to how the play between the strategic and the tactical helps them to create rather than defending advantage won. Definition is imposed repeatedly from inside and outside, but as soon as they see themselves reflected in the startled faces of their observers, and images formalised into distinct spaces of commercial opportunity void of rich connections to life being pushed outside, they hide again, absorb themselves within their practice, and try to redistribute boundaries of inside and outside. In doing so strategic boundaries around their entrepreneurial practice and opportunities become ever harder to identify, and opportunity experience remains tactical, and always on the move. Their anonymity flickers in and out of focus and the inescapable tension felt in the experience propels them along by eliciting new constraints and incentives to keep practising.

Geoff's images coordinate new beginnings in the emergence of 'independent' musical business that re-describe the historical and institutional settings of the record industry and issue invitations these other actors (minus Boots) take up to create their own images rather than discover distinct commercial opportunity via the clout of corporate business. Opportunity becomes less the definite and ready-made space existing exogenously within markets and corporations, and instead something endogenous to practice, encoded within images of rich qualitative significance that find their value through animating make do versatility. Geoff in turn invites a scholarly awareness to how strategic narrations of opportunity, like the discovery of opportunity via support from corporate business, likely exclude actors like him and efface valuable stories of opportunity creation that keep him practising and his products valuable. If able or willing to map out a nexus that identified an external opportunity and business configurations that would determine his performance, then he would likely have not have begun practising. The strategic narration would exclude, or his practice would not be able to animate his versatility. His story also disrupts the ascension of distinct heroic actors and the assumed strategic management of powerful resources presented by the strategic literature, because it displays him remaining

tactical, never willing or able to formalise a space from which to observe markets and set up strategic relations to overpower. Geoff could, quite easily, pose heroic distinction, attempt to formalise spaces of self and opportunity, and market his current practice on the back of the new beginning he helped create for British music. Yet entrepreneurial identity and bands' celebrity are concealed amidst endless references to the intense experience of musical opportunity and the protagonist seems unwilling or unable to keep outside at a strategic distance and identify strategic resource bundles. Images do not sever connections to embedded opportunity experience because entrepreneurial settings are fundamental resources and relations; people like Hardstaff are necessary to help him through, he needs to reference to punters the nature of his own musical experience (travel, acid flashbacks, films) and reveal restless opportunity experience so we also enlist our own human resources, and can relate to him and to the style and incentive articulated by the story. If the distinct hero celebrities like Boots seemingly desire so much to be, and if opportunity was formalised into discrete commercial spaces void of citations from musical experience 'outside', connections and reasons to practice would fall away, and his images would be much less alluring and enduring. Instead, by being encoded within flesh and blood images of longitudinal and relational experience, outsiders are brought inside, and opportunity is never under complete control but has more effects. Looking back at the literature, these images suggest that it is experience itself that matters to them, and that it is their mobility through time which affords them space for imagination. They seem to express some awareness of these central resources and forms of value being excluded by strategic narrations of their practice, and their creativity emerges as a kind of resistance which develops new organization through making do with constraint. They do not wish to pull away from the interplay of constraints and incentives in their imaginative experiences, or become the heroic entrepreneurial individuals the literature sets them up to be.

11.8 Independence

None of the sites, then, secure independence; they all depend on entrepreneurial settings to invite their practice, counterpose it against, connect with others, take citation from, and animate stories. Their images are coordinated by outside, but also imaginatively re-relate to entrepreneurial settings inside, the boundaries of influence and influencing blur and refocus, and new beginnings

are set that re-describe the historical symbolism to the wider case of musical entrepreneurship. The images are not entirely of actors' own making, they never break free cleanly- new beginnings always cutting into something historical others can relate to.

By employing a processual methodology, the sites, in turn, suggest that images are relational and longitudinal accomplishments, ones that reveal the intense struggle of their making and remaking by employing historical and institutional environments as resource and relation. The processual approach allows entrepreneurship to be engaged with as organizational creativity from the relational and longitudinal experience of actors themselves. Strategic boundaries between inside and outside fall away as actors are shown re-relating to their settings and being influenced and influencing others. Significantly, it is formalised spaces of definition and use that have been observed playing central role as these resources and relations in the making and remaking of images. As Certeau suggests, images reveal actors' versatility in the play between "a certain rationality and an imagination" (Certeau 1984:xxiii, original italics), and in turn help mediate "the relation between image and reality" (Penrose 1959/1995:42) that preoccupies Penrose. Strategies and other formalised spaces have been observed operating as imposed constraints imaginatively recomposed as incentives to practice, resources to elicit possibility and reveal new uncertainties, invent dérive away from, challenge, negate or otherwise stylize. They act as entrepreneurial relations that animate the ever present "expert but mute body" (Certeau 1984:42) that overshadows but does not preconfigure entrepreneurial creativity. Drummond contrasts his tactical versatility against others' uncritical acceptance of strategic recording formats, Geoff poses his practice against better endowed local shops and usual business practice in Liverpool, and a.P.A.t.T. in the settings of Dumbells situate creative space against strategic opportunities for wealth creation and associated modes of practice preoccupying unimaginative and less creative actors outside. The images studied in turn have oscillated between general and particular as they are animated by stories in which no one character has complete sovereign control, but has to make do with their practice always being ghostly populated by memories of dominant orders they can never escape.

To go on and re-theorize the relationship between actors and their settings to understand the nature of opportunities as experienced, images illustrate strategic settings being tendered in

tactical ways, and suggest it is through how the intimacy between inside and outside is imaginatively related and re-related that versatile and valuable styles of making do emerge. As boundaries between actors and their settings fall away and refocus, by situating opportunities in experience the images expressed by the mixture of sites in and around the Mersey basin in North West England suggest the nature of opportunity is manifest in the play between the strategic and tactical. Looking back at the literature, the early interest in unique experiences of commonplace phenomena brought into focus by the work of Gartner is developed into a processual approach that is able to capture opportunity as an icon of possibilities for new organization lifted with the flow of experience. The processual interaction of Sarason, the formal coordinates introduced by strategic constructionist approaches, and the narrative entrepreneurial theorists, are developed in a conceptual approach and methodology that has proven use in the field. The authority of the opportunity construct is partially maintained, but only through situating the idea of opportunity in the imaginative lives of entrepreneurial actors engaged in organizational creativity afforded by imagination, time, and the uncertainty and instability of their lives. Through employing the image, these central, ordinary resources, are able to be studied as central to the nature of opportunity in experience.

11.9 Anonymity & The Unnamable

In disrupting the valediction of strategic distinction of entrepreneurial selves and opportunities, the images go on to suggest how and for what reasons and effects actors resist. The general consensus of scholars seems to be that successful entrepreneurial actors and opportunities formalise over time, becoming more and more distinct as an outside world is strategically delineated and measured and actors attempt to decipher causal environmental forces. As Certeau suggests, the strategic is a exploitation of positioning over resources that are issued to actors by time, and in the strategic literature distinguishing self, identity, practice (as a musician, a band, a club, a label or some other ready-made commercial thing), goals, command over resources, and separation from outside relations (competition, markets, segments, etc.) is held in merit, because, by mapping an immovable nexus of self and business, a strategic management of opportunities is enabled. Penrose herself suggests firms and opportunities develop increasingly unique identities

over time, yet she also reminds us that images suggest opportunities matter far more than sober calculations and competitive dexterity.

It is significant, then, that through drawing on Certeau's strategies and tactics the images suggest that to resist flesh and blood images formalising into distinct spaces of commercial opportunity actors also have to resist established strategic practice. Examining the sites together, for instance, they seem to affirm that formalising spaces of distinct entrepreneurial self and opportunity is a strategic act- it allows sources of remuneration to be localized in Certeau's sense of assembling a proper place to observe, create an exterior, elicit behaviour and predict effects. Experience is held still within this space, practice emanates from it, the behaviour of others outside is observed and elicited, and attention seems to be paid to the materiality and causal nature of the relations between inside and outside rather than their significance in the all too 'risky' (in the sense that a set of resource bundles are gathered that are worth defending) entrepreneurial imagination.

There is commonality between the images, but what seems to be significant is that they accept or resist entrepreneurial selves and opportunities being distinguished through how they relate and re-relate to strategy. In turn, it is through how the different sites negotiate commonplace strategies that images become more or less distinct and formal opportunities. Taking a very distinct brand to begin with, for instance, Boots traces a very orthodox and instrumental approach to practice and enacts a Porteresque act of strategic positioning. Though initially obscured through a series of tactical sleights of hand, a nexus is set up: competition and adversaries are distinguished, Boots' unique advantage is identified (the corporate label's clout), and the opportunity is distinguished at separation from her experience- an interstices revealed through successive ways of pop acts that are forgotten about as soon as their brands become too far withdrawn and object-like. Like most actors, she also finds normative commercial strategies like the recording of musical product irresistible and very instrumentally accepts the most direct plot (or 'ladder' or 'path' to use Geoff's terms) to success. Orthodox strategies help her and her powerful connections define the opportunity, articulate it to others and control the effects, and over time as a result her identity becomes more and more distinct, as if, like the gendered acts she pushed into the dustbin of history, almost an object even she finds herself becoming alienated by. Barton's images, after they have initially disrupted other formalised spaces, in time

also formalise into spaces of distinct identity and opportunity. Strategies like routine panoptics delineate an outside, identify advantage won that is worth defending and maps out a nexus that holds opportunity at a strategic distance.

The other sites pose successful actors that disrupt this distinction so that reasons to practice are not lost, connections with others remain fresh, and images are not sucked into tragic defeatism by their own or others' path dependencies. They creativity is one of resistance to allowing normative definitions of practice (songs, genres, labels, shops, clubs, identities) to determine how and why they operate, and they imaginatively re-relate to ready-made formats and modes of practice that are distributed to them by the dominant order to actualize images commercially. If they accept strategy literally, they quickly find (as Barton and Boots do) reasons and resources to practice falling away, and connections to those positioned outside able to offer human resource in the form of available labour and the social imagination dislocating themselves. Distinct, their opportunities look back at them, commercial, formalised and reified against contexts they take effect in, and seem less musical and less the expression of flesh and blood experience that keeps them practising. In becoming more or less strategic the sites therefore seem to make a trade off between definition and their personal and social experience of being-in-business and how they can create. Looking back at the literature, this suggests that some actors are excluded by entrepreneurial studies preoccupied with entrepreneurial territories that are most amenable to study, and that musical entrepreneurship is a particular territory of practice in which actors engage in organizational creativity through a kind of resistance to entrepreneurship and opportunities as presented by the strategic and withdrawn literature.

The study for instance has Geoff resisting established strategies to set up shop because he found otherwise images would lose connections to embedded experience, and he would have his behaviour elicited for him and would likely find himself excluded. To so passively accept the strategies inherited would define the opportunity, accept a likely fate, and new ladders or ready-made paths would fall into place. Over time he therefore resists defining opportunities strategically but also shows a managerial incapacity to name a space to defend and keep outside at a strategic distance.

Drummond negates the entire history of musical production and its vacuum like tendency to suck everything into recorded formats because its strategies identify opportunity, help set up an outside, and distinguish music from body and occasion. Music as we know it is itself identified by Drummond as having formalised into a space of reason constituted by a set of strategies that elicit in which ways actors can become musical and reduce the possibility for new beginnings. By challenging the distribution of strategies that enable remuneration opportunities instead remain rooted in images, and new spaces of uncertainty emerge. Strategies like recording musical products he suggests omit reasons to practice that extend far beyond interests in solving problems embedded in personal and economic experience and mustering celebrity status. As soon as they are unimaginatively absorbed or practice coheres into formalised spaces, the flesh and blood excitement of being entrepreneurial that keeps him practising dissolves, and like other actors he feels pressured to worship strategic definitions and uses that limit entrepreneuring and insinuate new musical paths and fates.

a.P.A.t.T. give up powers to define their own practice to other actors, and they constantly struggle with imposed distinction, finding themselves in the settings of Dumbells herding cats, their creativity inhibited, and their energy exhausted. Knowing they would likely struggle to name a space of their own and properly defend it from intruders anyway, they do not imitate the formalised practice of others. A bar is not called a bar because by doing so they are introduced to strategic isolating mechanisms that define their opportunity and exclude them from practising. As administrative control over self and opportunity is given up possibility and the resource of uncertainty in turn become abundant, they enlist others' human resources, and the pull between strategy and tactics becomes their productive base. But their efforts to remain anonymous are hopeless, their projects of making something from all things at once doomed to failure as outside always imposes itself and its strategies to define opportunity for them anyway. They do not try to keep outside and opportunities at a strategic distance, but even then an outside still distinguishes itself and identifies them as deviancies. This processual interplay keeps them engaged in organizational creativity.

These contrasts between the sites also draw attention to the kind of resources that are involved. Boots and Barton, for instance, as they become distinct spaces of reason over time depend on the

strategic clout of material resources more and more to leverage their enterprise and defend their base. Their practice has far greater span across markets, yet as this formalisation of self and opportunity occurs and their practice slows in the sticky constraints of successful organization, it is human resources they find that matter to their being-in-business. In the settings of corporate business they find themselves desiring space to imagine again, experiencing flesh and blood incentives to practice fall away (vividly animated through Barton's apparent eternal desire for risk taking), and motivation dissolving as it is turned to reciprocating debts and more powerful others (as experienced by Boots as she reaches the top of her hill but finds that paths available to her restrict her creativity). When advantage has been won, they seem to suggest their enterprise feels heavy and stubborn and that it is the lightness of stories of creation that are able to reintroduce some movement and life into their images and their desire to keep tactical that keeps them practising. As a nexus sets itself up and practice slows they still seem to be looking outside in wonderment, still imagining.

The other sites seem to express some awareness to this. Drummond for instance has already experienced the accumulation of material resources and found them so wanting in reasons to practice that with Cauty he burnt most the profits they had made through the disbanded K-Foundation. Years later, it is relations Drummond's practice has made with the nation's musical consciousness and common experiences of becoming musical that are central resources (though he too finds his branding as 'that bloke who burnt a million pounds' a weight that is often heavy to carry around). Like a.P.A.t.T. and Geoff, what matters to Drummond is not the accumulation of material resources and the formalising of self and opportunity to defend, but the personal and social experience of becoming entrepreneurial which means he can never set up an outside and put it at a strategic distance. Like the bricoleurs walking the streets in Certeau's writings, personal experience and imagination are all that matters to these tactical sites and their experiences of opportunity, and the actors need not carry these human resources around, nor have any command over them; instead they are issued to them by time itself, and they find them everywhere and that they are impossible to be appropriated or exhausted. Constraint remains pure possibility in their experiences because it implicitly issues invitations to work away at their settings over time through drawing on what they can and what they have in memory. Incentives are able to be re-related to as constraints afforded to actors by formalised settings, and it is the

not the objective nor material nature of things and outside that matters but their significance in imagination that suggests to them how their settings might be used. Boundaries between us and them dissolve away as we are brought inside the images, and there is an efficiency about carrying on like this- rather than pouring in millions to global marketing campaigns or having to temper the exploitation of social labour through online social networking technologies with freebies, competitions and guilty messages, it is the ongoing experience of becoming entrepreneurial, relating and re-relating to the experience, and the play between the strategic and tactical that is expressed and that propels their images and keeps us interested. Even when opportunities, equipment and land are appropriated, as happened in the settings of Don't Drop the Dumbells, it is not the profit nor the materiality of what remains that matters, but memories and connectives made with the social imagination able to fabulate new images, and they keep moving, having always already began again as an outside begins to form itself. Strategic opportunity itself becomes constraint but also incentive to re-relate, inviting them to challenge the economic pull away from images and remember why they practice and others are interested in their creations. They find themselves herding cats, always having to start again, struggling to make money, but find something much more significant in tactical images of opportunity recognition experience than just neatly defined openings for commercial venture and problem-solving. By not defining themselves and setting up an outside to manage, they in turn remain entrepreneurial, and having to always keep inventing tactics they are always on the move and their resources keep them light.

These 'other' images in turn disrupt the institutional desire of scholars to format opportunities within images and therefore sever the connections that keep them so rich and interesting, forcing us to challenge our own normative assumptions that images are driven toward strategic identification of entrepreneurial self and exogenous opportunity. There is a sense that the flesh and blood experience of opportunity is much more personally and socially valuable, and that they make and remake images not to recover opportunities from within but to challenge themselves, and learn about and express something of their own personal and social experience of organizational creativity. They express interest and resource in personal and social experiences of becoming entrepreneurial, a desire to continue engaging in organizational creativity through a kind of resistance that keeps them entre-preneurial, always in the space

between preorganization and new organization, their lives continously replenished with uncertainty and possibility for new organization afforded to them by constraint, imagination, and time. Personal experience and imagination are the only resources that seem to matter to them, and so either cannot or choose not to cut opportunities from images, leaving them much more raw, difficult for them and scholars to define but all the more interesting to connect to.

11.10 Becoming Impractical and Tactical Resistance

Practicalities, it is certain, do matter here, because actors are having to work with strategies and outside- what is actual or symbolic, as Shackle suggests. Yet there are also impracticalities, as Penrose suggests there needs to be for enterprise, as actors are having to tactically relate and then re-relate to their settings to make them yield new possibilities. The study has therefore been able to disrupt the strategic literature's preoccupation with system and logic, and disrupt effectuation's relagation of imagination and intution to an errant subset of rational choice, and, in doing so, develop processual approaches, such as the works of Hjorth, Steyaert, Shackle, and Penrose, and their interest in how instability and uncertainty matter in the imaginative and mobile lives of actors themselves.

Each of the sites problematize entrepreneurial settings (at least initially), disclosing the potential to set new beginnings from which to re-describe assumptions of the strategic literature (including effectuation) that actors are driven by practical and instrumental mindsets. They vary in degrees to which they formalise self and opportunity in distinction to 'outside', and hence vary in what degree a practical conscience is allowed to set in. Each site needs to make money, they each give in to their practical conscience at different times and in different ways, but they also need to create, and this forces them into becoming impractical. Significantly, social value seems concealed in the experience of becoming impractical observed by punters here, which is likely to be especially prevalent in the creative industries. Actors also seem to find personal and more enduring forms of value that are able to prime their narratives with a sense of excitement and that can reinvigorate the flesh and blood experience of entrepreneurial life.

Drummond in particular seems to be driven by a desire to challenge his own practical and instrumental tendencies. Millions of pounds are burnt in episodes of creative destruction (something he regrets but understands though cannot 'explain'), he refuses to make money directly from established strategies and forces himself to invent new sources of remuneration, letting his current practice The17 stand alone. In doing so he revitalises the flesh and blood experience of being entrepreneurial, new doors open he might walk into, his narrative is primed with the feeling something exciting is about to happen, new uncertainties emerge, and he is compelled to remain tactical. He feels himself getting older, the desire to slow down making him practice more and more, set new beginnings faster and faster, and pose new challenges to himself and commercial settings he occupies. Aware his efforts might again lead him to want to begin again, he resists his pragmatic desire to work strategically toward something, identify a likely opportunity musical or otherwise, and gives up control of what may emerge by impractically absorbing into his practice the intentions and desires of punters and therefore not setting up an 'outside'. He keeps on creating, remains tactical, finding more personal and social value in the experience of becoming entrepreneurial than allowing a pragmatic managerial mindset to set in, and be content with advantage won. There is no such desire to settle into the comfortable armchair equilibrium of opportune answers to problems that have developed since he was a young man; he wants a problematic life, and feels that in having and creating this disequilibrium in his life both constraints and incentives still offer reason to practice.

Geoff too seems content with a problematic life, and understands that current exclusion from online business, though impractical as it will likely lose him remuneration he desperately needs, is all part of a more interesting entrepreneurial experience. He finds himself alone up a mountain not entirely of his own making and restricting his possibilities, but this keeps him practising, aware of why he does, and all the more interesting to others. New possibilities are found and created from these constraints and they animate his creativity as incentive and style.

What is perhaps most impractical, though, is that through some of the sites not distinguishing images from opportunities that they can place at a strategic distance, they give up some of the security and certainty that a strategic managing of opportunities is supposed to offer. They resist the pull of the practical and instrumental conscience- their own, as well as that embodied in the

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strategies distributed to aid them distinguish self and opportunity. As self and opportunity are kept uncertain, ambiguous and not properly defended as distinct spaces of reason, Dumbells in turn finds more strategic others remaining outside with the clout of material resources identify opportunity for them and appropriate it. Geoff, constrained by his disaffection for usual business strategies enacted by label management that constantly try to formalise opportunities to such a degree reasons he finds to practice fall away, as a result consistently struggles to make any money and observes while other businesses with similar roots to his identify and commercialize their opportunity through reissuing back catalogues. Drummond promises to start again at the age of 60 in the knowledge that by then the normative narrative distinction toward focused commercial opportunity will have been made by himself or by outsiders defining his practice for him. Rather than strategically defending his branded identity or mapping self and opportunity in an unmoving nexus, he uses the disaffection he experiences as his public image is expressed back to him through the interviews he takes and the questions he is asked at conferences and talks he attends (including those made by entrepreneurial decision making students in Liverpool), finding in the formalised apparition of his practice new incentives to practice. In turn, they each have to keep on struggling with their images, inventing tactics, wrestling with outside forces threatening to define opportunity for them and issuing all too easy to accept pragmatic strategies. They remain impractical.

This draws the study to question the cogency of the pragmatic scholarly desire to narrate actors as the rational homo economicus- the strategic 'economic man' reproduced by the initial strands of literature, rather than the tactical and creative 'economic person' that Penrose was concerned with. By using images to study the mixed-sites, they have shown that organizational creativity depends, perhaps always to begin with, not on the sober calculations of a strategic manager able to decipher opportunity from the machinations of industries and markets, but on an imaginative actor or group of actors who are willing to become impractical and create tactics. During the study imagination and intuition have therefore not be shown to be an errant subset of rational choice, but have been illustrated as being central to recomposing circumstance during opportunity creation in novel ways that are unknowable in their antecedents. Only by using images, and a processual approach developed through a longitudinal and in-depth ethnographic

mixed-site case study approach that is able to engage with them and have them created in the study itself, has experience been shown to matter.

11.11 Strategic and Tactical Opportunities

Another line of inquiry that surfaced through the literature concerned the peculiarity of opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs in and around the Mersey basin of North West England. Not only was the study interested in the nature of opportunity as experienced by musical entrepreneurs *per se*, but also whether musical actors experience opportunities that are anything like the current manifestation of the opportunity construct stemming from the strategic literature.

Significantly, the study allows some distinction to be made between sites that pose opportunities as distinct spaces of reason held at a distance from experience, and those that are more uncertain, ambiguous, and on the move with actors' experiences. The former can be re-related to as 'strategic' manifestations of opportunity, and these seem to relate closely to the current manifestations of the opportunity construct in the strategic literature. In contrast, the latter become entrepreneurial in the settings of academic study, because they twist the strategic 'logic' around upon itself as entrepreneurial selves and opportunities remain more indistinct and, at times, even anonymous. These other modes of opportunity therefore could perhaps be related to as being 'tactical' expressions of the experience. The two different modes of opportunity experience have been shown to entail different ontological commitments. Geoff *et al* for instance always seem to be on the way to something, becoming other from what they and their circumstances have made them. They seem to keep their entre-preneurial in-betweeness, always in the space between preorganization and new organization, disinterested in pulling away as analyses suggest they might, or should, and remaining preoccupied with life fed with uncertainty and possibilities for new organization by constraint, imagination, and time. Their resources, relations and opportunities are not objective causalities but take on significance in images. On the contrary, Barton and Boots always seem to be settling and slowing into being something they know elicits market response and as resources and relations cohere into nexuses they seem to be related to as if having immutable causal force.

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The more tactical sites create and re-create business configurations, sell products and, sometimes if they can, make money, but there is an active resistance to recognizing opportunity distinct from images of ordinary experience because in doing so their significance falls away. Opportunities do not emerge as properly delineated spaces in practice, nor in language, in these sites, and are not held at a distance by being localized in a spatial and institutional sense. There is only a vague 'recognition' of what strategic opportunities are like and why they resist them, and they therefore struggle with manifestations of opportunity as it is posed by the strategic literature and reproduced in the wider case settings. Nor are these tactical opportunity experiences generally recognized by scholars. The same way they sometimes slip past the strategic gaze of other managed spaces, they have been able to either evade capture or have been marginalized from the literature (despite, as studies have shown, contributing the most economic creation).

It is perhaps this play between strategic and tactical manifestations of opportunity recognition experience that distils what is distinct about musical opportunities. As Frith and others suggest, narratives of musical business history are peppered with the formalised space and tactical spaces such as that of the independent movement based in Britain interlocking and sparring with one another in the creation of new images. The distinctiveness of strategic opportunities identified by the formalised space have been suggested to omit what matters to actors and drive them into creating new images. The study seems to show this occurring, as musical opportunities have animated how during their emergence actors have had to grapple with strategic contexts and become impractical and tactical. By situating opportunities in the imaginative experiences of business men and women, becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce has been shown to involve a kind of organizational creativity that is often resistant to commerce as presented by historical and institutional settings and, significantly, by the strategic literature itself.

The sites have revealed other marks that distinguish musical opportunities from the normative manifestation of opportunities by the strategic literature. What seems common between the sites, for instance, is that commercial opportunities are mediated to customers via tactical images in which the restless struggle of opportunity as experienced is not effaced. All of the images show that musical opportunities pick up significance and value through how they animate versatile

opportunity experience, and are articulated in longitudinal and relational narratives. Even when strategically positioned as distinct from actors' experience, their potency and value comes not from the abilities some of the actors have to elicit market behaviour, but from how they highlight their creative heritage in the tactical experience of becoming musical. In turn, stories of opportunity creation, such as those originally surfaced by scholars like Penrose, the study has shown to be inherently tactical, and musical opportunities seem to only pick up value and significance when they are articulated via such. The discovery approach, which attempts to 'explain' the performance of opportunities and actors (in the sense of a static 'laying-out' of a nexus composed of distinct spaces and relations), has in contrast been shown to be inherently strategic. The strategic literature is unable to show how experience matters, and it is the way in which constrained commercial circumstance is able to provoke organizational creativity, and how actors are fed uncertainty and possibilities from constraint, imagination, and time, that seem central to how the nature of musical opportunities can contribute to entrepreneurial study more widely.

What also seems to distinguish the nature of musical opportunity as experienced by entrepreneurs operating in the creative industries, therefore, is that opportunities are sometimes never really recognized as such; they are left indistinct and fuzzy, or at least marketing stories pose them that way. They seem to need to face to us the unfinished nature that both Penrose and Shackle characterise opportunities as in their struggle with semantics, and have something of the unnamable and mystic that Certeau attributes to the tactical. If distinct spaces of reason that are knowledgeable and certain, then both actors and punters seem warded off, and to look for exciting music elsewhere. There needs to be some movement or some rhythm to their emergence, and they need to be able to draw punters inside and have their influence elicit spaces in others' stories through animating their creativity through a kind of organizational resistance. The elusiveness of musical opportunities in particular seems to matter because in being so they do not fall into the neat spaces of strategic discourse, but keep on moving, connecting with our own images, and keeping us wondering about why they are so unnamable. Looking back, this suggests that the strategic opportunity plot distributed by the formalised space, in which opportunities are distinct spaces of reason held in separation from experience, would be unable to pick up much value in the settings of the creative industries. This makes musical opportunities

quite different to the current manifestation of opportunities in the strategic literature, because it suggests they are worthless if not shown to be tactical. Both actors and markets have been shown to re-relate to the expert body of formalised opportunity distributed by the strategic literature in tactical ways and musical opportunities have been shown to be inherently tactical and creative. Another opportunity construct, therefore, such as that of the metaphor of 'images' poached from Penrose, which is more alive to tactical nature of opportunity as experienced by imaginative actors such as entrepreneurs, is needed, especially in settings such as the creative industries. As with all strategic things, formalised apparitions, such as that of the individual-opportunity nexus distributed by the strategic literature, are then only necessary as a background 'expert but mute body' against which to pose more imaginative movements. Looking back at the literature, the distinctly formalised, instrumental and practical modes of opportunity, reproduced by the analytical abstractions employed by the strategic literature to study them, becomes a counterproposal to study the nature of opportunity in ways that experience matters.

Table 14: Strategic & Tactical Opportunities and Recognition

Strategic Modes of Opportunity Recognition	Tactical Modes of Opportunity Recognition
Causal, path dependent, distinguished by resource bundles, 'ability' and panoptic observations of relations, adversaries, opportunities, etc.	Processual & Relational.
	Make do with available resources, constraint becomes pure possibility that provokes entrepreneurial imagination and versatility.
Future has presence (time does not matter) and is immutable.	Exploits human resources like expectations and experiences of uncertainty, personal experience
Exclude those 'lacking' traits and resources.	of historical and institutional settings, and
Practical & Instrumental actors (black boxes) and opportunities, engaged in fitting and mapping, therefore defined by heroic traits.	begins with imagination, resists strategies that dislocate experience.
Oriented around profit and status.	Many unknowable forms and motivations, opportunities remain elusive, indistinct,
Managerial and discovered with distinct boundaries and within distinct territories, practice works as making more distinct.	sometimes unnamed and about more than business, actor can remain anonymous and unheroic.
Self localized in an institutional sense, opportunity localized in a spatial sense, keeping the world at a distance as a visible totality (exogenous).	Unable or unwilling to localize self in institutional sense and unable to localize opportunity in spatial sense.
Purely business, and homogenous across actors, space and time.	Opportunities remain embedded in prosaics of being-in-business, defined by absence, resistance to strategic order, and versatility to
Lead to epic transformation of self and business, often resulting in looming spaces of reason.	constraint, revealed in play with strategic.
	Constraint re-related to as incentive and style.
No sense of entre-preneur - experience matters little. Logic, sober calculations and clout of material resources that drive recognition and exploitation.	Experience central resource- unable to keep world at a distance as a visible totality.
	Creative, entrepreneurial, endogenous to experience.
	Can be studied in vivo.

Impossible to study in vivo. Always slowing, fighting the erosion of time. Still need to animate creativity and blur boundaries to draw others in. Fights outside. Emphasises outside as realist and geometric space manageable by sobriety and logic.	Animated within long stories of space-making and struggle Keep a sense of entre-preneurial in-betweeness, always on the move, unable to stop. Accepts institutional impress as resource and relation, emphasises outside as historical symbolism that issues constraints as well as incentives to practice.

Epilogue: Images & New Beginnings

We related to some of these themes in our own experiences and memories of becoming musical through consuming the products of others. Flashback to Penny Lane by The Beatles- Drummond remembers the influence they had on him, how he worshipped that material object, the heroic entrepreneurs who made it, and how his experience seemed to matter much more than the scratchy black vinyl version of musical opportunity. Or remember what the critics might say: death of the superstar- "...it's just another manufactured, copyrighted object; either the record label did it, or they had rich parents to fund it". Or recall the unimaginative, practical and instrumental assumptions made of Drummond's most polemic act: "...he burnt that million as a marketing stunt- simple, why else?". The images have animated mixed-sites that are attentive to some of these experiences we share, and have opened up spaces in which we, as we imagine becoming entrepreneurial through musical commerce, may re-relate to them.

Turning to look back at entrepreneurial study, and in recent years there has also been a great deal of interest in distinguishing a pragmatic unit of analysis for studying opportunity recognition. A space has formalised at the centre distributing strategic constructs and methods through which to explain the role of entrepreneurial practice in economies and industries (as if it too sets up a nexus to control the disciplinary opportunity). But by focusing on opportunities independently from their experience by actors study was left between the rock-like strength and heroism of rare and inimitable characters and hard places like the economic determinism of industries and

markets that leaves actors appearing as tragically defeated nobodies. By strategically posing a clear separation between actors and their settings entrepreneurs lost their entre-preneurial in-betweeness, and the experience of creating and recreating personal and social value and other significances seemed to be obscured, and to have become very difficult to study and understand *in vivo*.

The Tactic: Images of Opportunity as Experienced

The case study made something out of this dilemma, by pausing to re-read a founding figure upon which more recent analyses are staged, Edith Penrose. It took up her invitation to resist the logical, rigid and withdrawn analyses the formalised space of entrepreneurial study distributes in which opportunities are strategic, seem pale, and to have a sense of causal authority over their creators. Poaching her metaphor of 'images' largely ignored by scholars, the case study demonstrated it to be useful in studies inquiring into the nature of opportunity, because scholars are forced to accept opportunities encoded within rich qualitative stories of organizational creativity. Images enabled study to engage with the central plot to all entrepreneurial stories, but did not reduce practice to a thin expression of being-in-business. The current manifestation of opportunities in the literature was shown to only partially reference the experience of becoming entrepreneurial, often as only one episode in a richer and lengthier opportunity experience likely stretching outside the normative theoretical lens to childhood, and perhaps never emerging knowingly at all.

By using images, opportunities were animated in a raw state, one that disrupts their orthodox definition as distinct purely commercial and identifiable spaces, and reveals their emergence via longitudinal and relational experiences of making do. Study stopped working with objective things distinct from life, implicitly formalising knowledgeable opportunity as if emerging with instant presence in practice and language, and configuring the entrepreneur as a hero able to validate abstract concepts. Using images pressured study to engage with opportunity as experienced by actors themselves, and rather than running off into triviality, or escaping into generality, opportunity was situated in a conscious middle space; the mobiles lives of imaginative business men and women. As the idea of opportunity was shown to emerge

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endogenously within embedded experience, opportunities were re-described as being neither the makings of a distinct, rational, well-reasoned and heroic homo economicus, but neither the work of an outside issuing ready-made fates and illusionary agency. By using images, actors were shown to be fallible, not always able to solve their problems, sometimes wanting to create problems and disequilibrium for themselves and others, and were shown struggling, but in doing so becoming human, and more interesting to relate to. The images illustrated how history and circumstance matter, but new lines of causality were not drawn, and the strategic distinction of actors from their settings was not reproduced. Instead, by capturing some of the to'ing and fro'ing between self and business over time, using images to approach these experiences was able to reveal opportunity in the play between the strategic and the tactical, and constraints as much as incentives. Actors could only make do with their settings, they were shown using institutional settings to stage new images, hang new styles, make spaces, set new beginnings, and animate stories of opportunity as an ongoing experience. Commercial settings and strategic practices (in contrast to romantic and puritanical views in the creative industries) were shown to not be antithetical to entrepreneurial creativity, but neither to be sympathetic. Instead, the deeply processual and relational idea of images was able to animate the interplay of self and business within the lives of those becoming entrepreneurial, an interplay that was exposed as being fruitful in the emergence of new images. Human and material resources were shown interplaying with constrained commercial circumstances, only making sense together, by constituting the entrepreneurial settings within images that actors have to make do with over time. Human resources of entrepreneurial imagination and versatility, rather than being treated as an errant subset of rational choice as most interpretors of Penrose have tended to, were shown central in actors' recomposing constraint and circumstance as incentive and style, and experience itself was also shown to be a central resource to tactical actors. When their stories posed actors escaping to positions of strategic withdrawal and panoptic observation, images gave insight into how entrepreneurial modes of tactical creation and strategic discovery relate to specific entrepreneurial spaces, and can transform over time, as actors accept, or resist, pragmatic tendencies setting in.

In turn, by using images articulated by stories, the idea of opportunity as an ongoing experience was given an academic treatment that condensed and abstracted, but remained grounded in

appearances that matter to actors. Life itself was motivated through the images; they became ontologically complete, precisely because they did not fall into strategic traps that attempt to show completism and immutability of opportunities as those distributed by the formalised space of strategic management and strategic entrepreneurship. Rather than the spectral objects the formalised space of study distributes, by casting opportunities within images scholarship captured realities that were entrepreneurial because they were always in the making, elusive and uncertain, never quite finished, overflowing into our own lives, and always moving in and out of focus.

Certeau's narrative coordinates, specifically strategies and tactics, extended Penrose's interest in the 'relation between image and reality' into an insightful research framework to study entrepreneurship as the experience of organizational creativity. By combining Penrose's interest in entrepreneurial imagination, and Certeau's interest in the tactical re-description of formalised space imposed upon actors, a structural residue allowed different actors, spaces, histories and entrepreneurial settings to be contrasted, compared and related together. The metaphor of images can be presented as a transferrable metaphor, one that is useful to studies inquiring into the nature of opportunity as experienced by actors themselves, because it does not reduce the particularity of actors' tactics and making do to enlarged strategic categorisations like that of the current manifestation of the opportunity construct. Instead, developing theorization of entrepreneurship as the experience of organizational creativity, opportunity is shown to be iconic of the entrepreneurial process when situated against a historical and institutional background painted with common brush strokes. Images are able to animate opportunity as a raw icon of entrepreneurial life that is uncertain and unstable in the space between preorganization and new organization, and fed possibility by the nature of life itself. By using the metaphor of images, study is able to draw away from the conceptual abstractions of strategic approaches, and understanding the nature of opportunity through how circumstance is experiences in unique ways in the imaginative lives of those becoming entrepreneurial. The case of musical entrepreneurship has been of particular resource for showing how, rather than a clean distinction between actors and their circumstances, it is the ongoing process of interplay of constrained circumstances in the imaginative lives of business men and women that can propel their organizational creativity.

The study experienced similar issues with semantic boundaries to the opportunity construct that Penrose and Shackle experienced in their own studies of firms and opportunity experiences. Drawn to the experience, it suggests that these problems of defining boundaries and territories to actors, opportunities and their settings is what matters: by casting opportunity as an ongoing experience iconic of possibilities for new organization lifted from constrained circumstance, images have enabled actors, and opportunities, to retain their entre-preneurial status. The images have shown that the nature of musical opportunities, perhaps especially, transcends interests in money and profit, as well as normative assumptions of what constitutes business, and that opportunities are meaningless if distinct or recognized by actors that are miraculously autonomous of their settings. This tactical reading of Penrose, developed through the work of Shackle, and work by authors constituting the emergence of a new European field of entrepreneurship studies, disrupts her current resting place within the formalised space of strategic managerial literature and has potency to become entrepreneurial in the settings of entrepreneurship studies. The creative processual approach brought into mainstream entrepreneurial studies by effectuation is given a treatment that develops ways in which it might apply to greater range of actors and matter in their lives as well as academia. In looking back at the literature again, the study itself might become entrepreneurial, through inviting other scholars to give up strategic narrations of opportunity as if discovered from the sympathy of circumstance, and engage with tactical stories of opportunity as a raw icon of organizational creativity in which actors and their embedded experiences matter again.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Economic & Social Research Council letter of acceptance.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Mr Daniel Hartley
Flat 3
2 Livingstone Avenue
Liverpool
L7 4JA

GS/RM/DH 200175601
30 May 2008

Dear Daniel

Outcome of ESRC Nomination (Quota) Application: +3 Studentship

I am pleased to be able to inform you that your application for the ESRC Nomination (Quota) Studentship for 2008/09 has been successful. Your studentship will begin on 01 October 2008 and your funding will cease on 30 September 2011. The Studentship covers your tuition fees and provides an annual maintenance, which is paid to you on a quarterly basis (further details about your payments will follow).

All offers are made subject to you obtaining a qualification that satisfies the ESRC's eligibility criteria as stated in paragraphs 2.28 to 2.35 of the Postgraduate Funding Guide (formerly known as the Studentships Handbook): http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/Support/postgraduate_students/Studentship_Handbook/?deta=%2FKMTt993uW2LtH0A0luhPPN%2f%2bkxW0Xy9zAX8V8pSwrm3Ijro0Jw%2fc3046%2fAlT2P2XZaakvbc1ct4AxG5c7DW0yuUJdjAW01N2i3UP8IPpAvfwfGcvkTfL7jndUUeNU1s3%2b2b%2fzIpM4xG1PSJtO6BuSBROdoP5wOZ0OEDs%2fi20%28y44z1WABuUGIBX4LeKAL%2fKPKEll0%2fFGfXQAjhSx8sMYK1q%93d%3d&xu=0&isAwardHolder=&isProfiled=&AwardHolderID=&Sector=

The terms and conditions of the studentship are also available within the Postgraduate Funding Guide and we would advise that you familiarise yourself with these before your studentship commences.

If you haven't already done so, you please contact me immediately by email to let me know that you wish to take up this studentship.

Yours sincerely

Rebecca Morton
Graduate School Administrator

Tel. 0151 795 4697
Email: r.morton@liv.ac.uk

Cc: Dr C Holdsworth, Faculty Director of Postgraduate Research, SES
Professor B McCabe, Departmental Director of Postgraduate Research, Management School
Dr R King, Management School
Dr K Jones, Management School
Miss C Yates, Management School
Research Team, Student Administration Centre

Appendix 2: Early deconstruction of 'independent' musical entrepreneurship and the emergence of critical forms of musical opportunity.
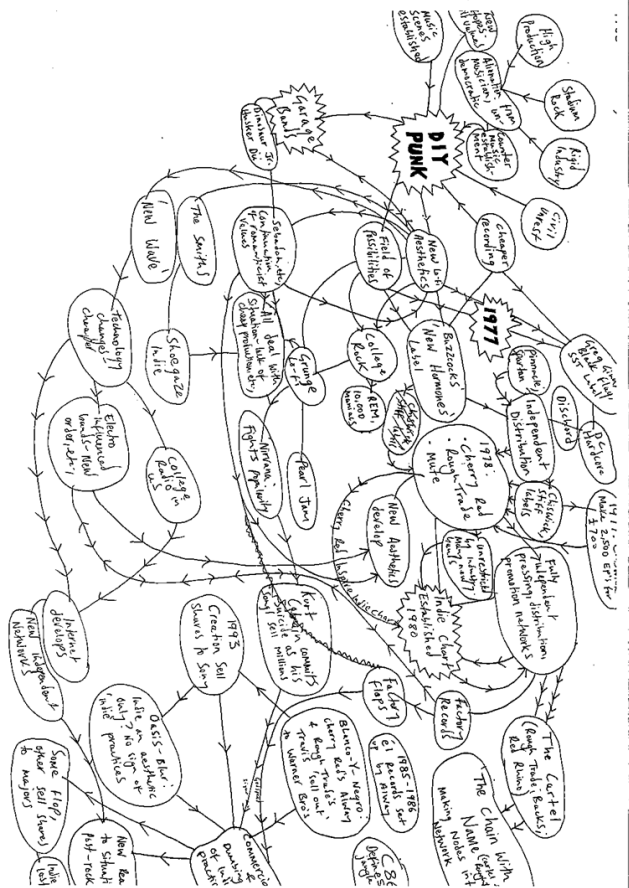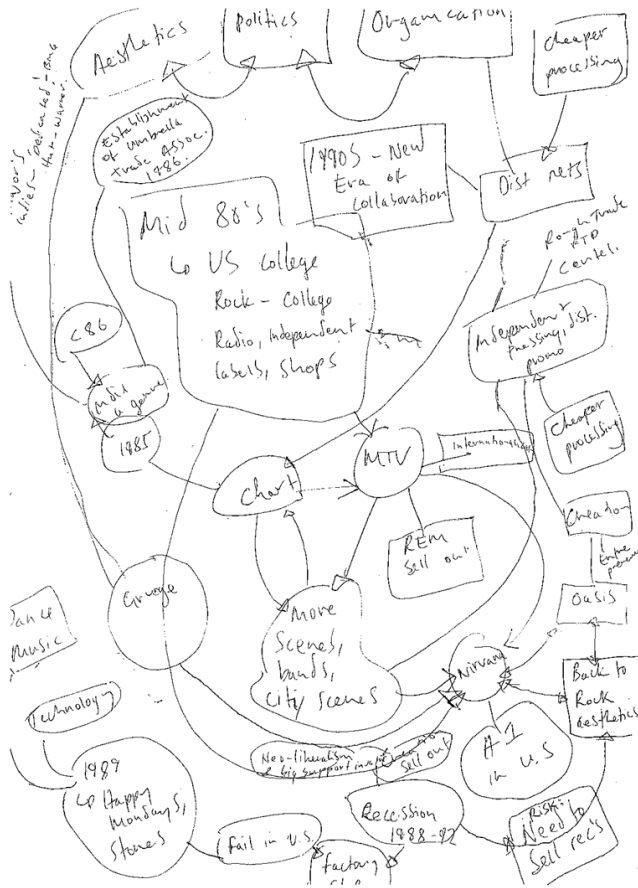
Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

KTime Entrepreneuring: Making a Living in North West England's Music Industry

Participant Information

You have been approached to gauge your interest in taking part in a research project. Before you decide, please read the following information carefully. Do not hesitate to ask any questions, contact the researcher or discuss the research with others. Your involvement is entirely voluntary and you can leave at all times.

- The Researcher's name is Daniel Hartley. He is a Postgraduate Researcher undertaking a PhD at the University of Liverpool Management School. This research project is his thesis. He has a history of researching the activities of local musicians and artists in the North West.

- This research project is sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council.

- The research project is supervised by Dr. Robin Holt at The University of Liverpool Management School.

Purpose of the Research and why you have been asked to take part

The research project specifically investigates how different music people with origins in North West England go about making a meaningful way to live within the local music industry.

The focus is upon your experience within the local music industry over time. It wants to gain some understanding, in your own words, of how you make economic decisions and how, these decisions, are predicated upon making a meaningful way to live within the local music industry. It engages with some historical themes and issues found within music making, to see how the processes of entrepreneurship and firm growth incur changes to these themes and issues. In this sense, it is interested in the stories you have of music making and how these might redefine how we think about some historical storylines found within music making. It wants to keep all the rich detail of

your everyday life stories as the researcher believes this is where the most important and revealing information is to be found.

You have been invited to take part because the researcher is interested in your stories associated with being active in the music industry of North West England. Individuals and firms in the music industry engage with and create processes of change within the economies and storylines of music making, so it is important that these lives are researched. To engage with these processes of change, occurring through time, space and person, you will be part of a case study research that includes participants from different sites of the music industry, individuals who have experienced different time periods and who have varying lengths of experience. This research will conclude in October 2011.

The conditions of your Participation

- All involvement in this research is voluntary. If you wish to be involved, at the end of this information sheet there is a consent form which you can sign. This will be kept as a record by the researcher.

- You can leave at all times and do not have to disclose a reason for leaving. If you leave, you can disallow the researcher using any material about you.

If you wish to participate

You will be part of a case study, expected to be constituted of 'Musicians' and 'Firms/Music People'. In total, 6 different people are expected to participate in this research project.

Narrative Interviews:

To gain some insight into your experiences, the researcher would like to spend some time talking to you. The in-depth and conversational style of the researcher's interviews do not proceed through direct questioning as he wishes to gain insight into your experiences in your own words. They will focus upon how you make economic decisions, how you operate and make sense of your commercial practices, and the stories you have of being in the local music industry. In doing so, the research hopes to

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gain some understanding of how you make sense of events, characters and storylines associated with music making and how these are transformed over time, space and person/firm.

These one-to-one interviews would be carried out at your convenience and at your preferred location. There is no minimum or maximum time limit set and no specified number of interviews. Unless you prefer otherwise, however, the researcher would like to organize 2 in-depth interviews that would last between 1 and 2 hours. If you agree, these would be recorded and transcribed word-for-word.

Regular Contact:
In addition to listening to and discussing your stories in one-to-one interviews, the researcher plans to keep in regular (every couple of months, for example) contact with you. It is expected using emails would be the easiest method, but more informal interviews and meetings might be suitable too. By keeping in regular contact, the researcher hopes to gain some understanding of your experience as the research is being carried out over time and include your criticism and views in the development of the research project.

Field work: performances, gigs and events:
The aim of this research is to contextualize your experiences and, if possible, to engage with them. In this respect, attending, watching, listening and acting in whatever public or otherwise events you are part of is very much part of this research. The researcher's experience of such will be recorded in field notes and discussed with you.

Field Notes:
As the researcher is continuously gaining experience and knowledge about the history and current landscape of music making and because the researcher is constantly gaining insight into music making from other participants involved in this research, he will use this experience and knowledge to help in discussion and make contact more informal and conversational.

Secondary Data:
Artefacts and documents (in the form of songs, albums, art work, media

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communications, advertisements, merchandise, books, and so on) that are available in the public domain concerning your experience within the music industry more generally shall be collected and used to gain insight into your history and present experience and output within music making.

Over time, the researcher will organize the project as grows in size, depth and complexity. The researcher will move between the different sites of research and gradually build up a richly detailed and in-depth narrative of your and other participants' experiences within the music industry over time and through different spaces.

Questions and Concerns:
It is not expected that the narrative mode of interviewing and researching will broach any sensitive topics or fail to accommodate individuals' experiences in their own words. However, if you have any questions or anything concerns you about this research, the researcher can be contacted at: Daniel Hartley, Room B22, The University of Liverpool Management School. Chatham Street. L69 7ZH. e: <Onions@liverpool.ac.uk> Tel:07709180568.

Alternatively the researcher's supervisor: Dr. Robin Holt, Room SE217, The University of Liverpool Management School, Chatham Street. L69 7ZH. E: r.holt@liverpool.ac.uk; Tel: 0151 795 3714.

If you have any further concerns, the Research Governance Officer, Sarah Fletcher, can be contacted at Liverpool University on 0151 794 8290 (ethics@liv.ac.uk).

Handling of your data and stories

The information you give is entirely confidential. At all times, the procedures for handling, processing, storing and destroying the data will

University Counselling Services: counserv@liverpool.ac.uk; The Samaritans 08457909090.

comply with the Data Protection Act of 1998.

This means that only the researcher will see what you have said. All the information which you provide us with during the study will be stored in locked filing cabinets or password protected computers. Anything about you, including any quotes which are used in the write-up of the study, will have your name removed and a different one put in place, so that you will remain anonymous. At the end of the study the research data (consent forms, anonymised interview transcripts, field notes, and your contact details) will be kept in locked filing cabinets and/or password protected university computers. The data will be kept for ten years.

What will happen with the results?

The researcher will make effort to write a narrative of your experience in the music industry. How you coordinate and make sense of various events, characters and storylines will be brought together, juxtaposed against others and written into a larger narrative of the researcher's experience. As the researcher's PhD thesis, this research will be kept in the University Library. Some or all of the research will also be published in academic and local journals and presented at conferences. In such publications, your name will be anonymous unless you state otherwise.

Your active inclusion and criticism in this research project, it's design and operation is very welcome. You will also have the opportunity to have a summary of the findings and/or the thesis and any publications.

Your Consent

If you are interested in being a participant in this research, to protect you as a participant and to ensure the research complies with all relevant ethical considerations, the researcher must record your signed consent. To allow the researcher to listen to your stories again, discuss them with other participants

involved in the research, and co-ordinate a larger narrative of all the participants' stories, the researcher hopes to digitally record and transcribe your speech.

- Do you agree to your speech being recorded and transcribed? Yes/No
- Do you agree to your stories and the material associated with you available publicly being collected and discussed with yourself and among other participants involved in the research? Yes/No

The recordings of your interviews will be kept by the researcher on a password protected computer and deleted after the research has concluded. The transcribed recordings will be kept on a password protected computer and in a locked filing cabinet.

- Do you agree to the researcher keeping the transcribed material and recordings? Yes/No
- Do you agree to your transcription material being used within this research project and others in the future? Yes/No

Unless you desire otherwise, the researcher will automatically anonymise your name at all times in the research. This will mean that at no time will your real name be recorded.

- Do you wish to remain anonymous during recording, discussion and publication? Yes/No

Signed: ....

Date: ....

More information:

Appendix 4: Proposed Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule V1 October 2009

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Principle Researcher: Daniel Hartley

Interview Schedule

Narrative Interview Process

The interview process is designed to be iterative and accumulative. In this sense, the initial interviews will focus upon securing a base from which to build, expand and juxtapose further cases. This narrative process aims to establish varying intensities of experiences of shared events, characters and storylines associated with music making generally.

The narrative mode of researching is able to investigate how individuals coordinate events, characters and storylines that might, in some respects, be common across music people. In this respect, the interviews will focus on individual experiences of common storylines within music making. Throughout the process, both within the interview schedule and throughout the interviews generally, a gradual understanding of change over time in the participants' lives, in the music industry generally and between established modes of operating and innovative entrepreneurial tactics will be developed in relation to historical and conventional storylines associated with music making.

It is expected that initial interviews shall focus more specifically on economic decision making and commercial practices. Once a more general understanding of participants' activities is developed, further interviews and contact shall begin weaving together a narrative of their experiences in relation to common events, characters and storylines found within music making.

To keep validity and trustworthiness high, no set schedule is set. Interviewing will not proceed mechanically through a set of questions. Rather, a more organic and conversational process is expected to move through more general events, characters and storylines, coordinating them according to each individual case before ongoing analysis concludes in a narrative of the researcher's experience. As the process proceeds, additional sub-topics and storylines will arise and a gradual crystallization of the data will occur.

Primary Interviews (1-2 hours, 6-8 expected)

In the initial interviews, the events, characters and storylines expected to be broached and discussed include but are not limited to:

- Envisioning opportunities; securing resources; creating or finding a market; where do they come from? Who makes them? How are they made sense of?
- Dealing with market (or otherwise) uncertainty/exploiting uncertainty; lack of resources, restricted knowledge and practices; market and industry monopolies and concentration;
- Dealing with competition generally; innovating; creating restrictive practices; increasing and retaining competitive advantages;

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- Financial issues; where, how and why do they finance themselves the way they do?
- Marketing and advertising; developing identity of entrepreneur/firm; developing consumer base; modes of advertising; media communications;
- Blogging; using new media; use of communication technologies generally;
- The current face of music making- new opportunities, forces; practices and organizational forms;
- Negotiating contracts; signings; use of resources, plants; general interaction with other firms and individuals;

- The general process of recording, publishing, promoting and distributing music;
- The importance of performance and gigs as a commercial means;
- The significance of awards, media attention, media criticism, attacks on media; other relationship;
- The blogosphere;
- The public sphere;
- How is history important practically? i.e. how does experience, accumulated contacts, procedures for using resources and making sources or the habituation of a culture for working help them?
- Flexibility in the face of constraint;

As the process proceeds through each participant, the stories gathered from earlier participants will be used to juxtapose and elicit other participants' experiences. This knowledge and data shall take the form of prompts in discussion and aide mémoire.

Secondary Interviews (1-2 hours, 6-8 expected)

In the second and subsequent interviews, participants' earlier stories and the narrative coming into being throughout the data collection process will be related more directly to the conventional and historical storylines associated with music making. Discussion in these interviews will include but not be limited to:

- Collective values associated with music making including the politics of independence; ethics associated with artistic production; ethics associated with Do-it-yourself production; aesthetics of performance, production, distribution, firm growth and operation;
- The aesthetics of business generally (i.e. the collective value of performance);
- Tensions negotiating historical and conventional storylines associated with music making;
- Opportunities and inconsistencies related with historical and conventional storylines associated to music making;
- Tensions, inconsistencies and anachronisms associated with an art vs. commerce dichotomy;
- Novel storylines; histories for life-to-come; rethinking history;
- History as a resource for story telling;
- Flexibility in the face of constraint;
- Enterprise and collective values;

Dialogue

When approaching the above events, characters and storylines more directly, a narrative approach will again avoid more direct questioning. In this respect, the above storylines are likely to be broached by asking participants to "tell me about..." before allowing them to make sense of their experiences in their own words. Narrative interviews also often begin with prompts rather than direct questioning. In this instance, prompts will be taken from the secondary data sources and from the researcher's experience and knowledge of the area and the investigation itself. Acting as aide mémoire, data collected from earlier interviews will also prompt discussion and be analysed in an ongoing narrative of the research process.

As the research project concludes and is prepared to be written up, the participants will be invited to attend an optional Respondent Validation Discussion. The purpose of this session is to gauge the validity and trustworthiness of the narrative developed and for any questions to be settled and any amendments to be made. Again, the discussion will proceed on narrative terms, discussing stories only, in this instance, the story being discussed is that of the narrative research.

Appendix 5: Example interview questions (taken from structured written interview)

<u>Bill's Questions</u>

People sometimes say you can either be an artist or a businessman. Yet, when I consider your work, Bill, you seem to live these both together. For example, The 100 questions appears to be art and something else. It reaches out to those who ask questions and gets something back. Can you tell a story to illustrate some of your experiences with money, music and art?

In life generally, people often talk about the idea of 'independence'. There has been an 'independent movement' in music for example. Yet, when I consider the independent movement, it seems to be in relation to 'the majors' and it depended on people making it happen. Can you reflect on how you might experience dependence or independence and what The17 might mean, perhaps in terms of the relationship with Penkiln Burn, the wider industry, or making it happen?

Back in 1993, in article published in NME, you and Jimmy Cauty suggested we each have our own time. What does the development of The17 as an economic reality and your career tell us about your experience of time?

The17 seems like an image for a eutopian future for music. With everything you have and know now, what might you do if you got your million quid back?

Appendix 6: Example interview transcript and initial narrative analysis

Space enough (I was more engaged, because of previous discussion/reflection.

Image 2 - bringing Sam in/learning.

this. This propelled the business, as well as the motivations by others, and Geoff's likely disability to work a normal business life], I'd at least attended recordings- not contributing that much, but, I was making sure it was like what I wanted. So, from then on, that was '84, and then that continued then, and then the involvement with Sam, bringing Sam in was because of my lack of confidence; we all knew each other anyway, as friends, to carry with this idea of doing stuff that I really liked, in most cases, and I wanted it to sound as good as I thought it should; at least be representative of that band, like live, and what there was- the essence of that catch – to catch it to some extent..where was I leading to there? [Geoff goes off on one. But this story is about bringing people in, the business developing, because Geoff wanted the music to sound as good as he thought it should. No business plan. No logical presentation of anything. Just a product minded interest in good quality music]

[laughs]

G: I often do this. Anyway...

S: No, you were just talking about the progression of it all, really. So, and then of course, as that progressed, then dealing with the sleeves also progressed in parallel//

G: Yeah, because the first 2 or 3 were usually somebody comes along, like John Smith, the Piggy in the Middle 8 sleeve, I'm not sure if it was your idea or his?//

S: It was mine

G: The actual thing was it yeah? Well, it's effective.

R: I think what you were just saying was Probe Plus was a bit of an accident...Probe Plus was just an accident, a continuation of what you were already doing

G: Oh that was it//S: It was nature sort of in a sense wasn't it// yeah, you just sort of go along with other people, wholesalers, who were part of the Cartel, not all of them, I think at one time there was 6, the obvious one, Rough Trade, by then, had started doing records, Red Rhino, from the north east, York, he'd started doing records, so, you, it was just done eventually, you know. And then became the main thing. [it was just set up by being where he was. The idea was the Cartel formed a network, a cartel for distributing independent music. There wasn't any plan. It was just named]

S: I mean all this, coincides with independent publishing, it wasn't just music, but literature/ Suddenly, people were beginning to realise you didn't have to go through a major company to get stuff published, whether it was music. At the same time as doing this, because of course you've got them in the book, there was the post cards that I was doing, and lots of people were doing them; there were firms all over, and they would be on sale in the independent record shops, so there was a market there, there was a retail outlet, I mean- we couldn't have done those postcards if there hadn't been shops all over the country similar to Probe. And, similarly, without those shops, people wouldn't have been able to make those records. So I think it was quite a logical and a natural//

G: Well, that's Jake, that's Pete Burns, that's Brian, Annie of course, John Atherton, Norman, at this stage, ha left had he? He did leave//

S: And Norman always got real touchy about one drew him, he took offence//

G: Pete Wylie. Who's that, there? I've often wondered who that is!

S: I don't think it's anybody

G: Oh, it's nobody in particular. Yeah, Norman left about that time//

S: Pete Fulwell's on it

G: Is he? Let me have a look. Roger is the robot behind him.

S: Don't know!

R: So is the city meant to be Liverpool then?

S: Yeah

R: So, what's happening?

S: It's the beast from the Mersey! Has finally come up through the sewers, basically, yeah. It's just wrecking the place. Which is my love hate relationship with the city.

R: Well, this is exactly what I want to know about, this love/hate relationship//

G: We all love Liverpool, but it gets on your fucking nerves as well, we love the people, but the people get on your fucking nerves as well! There's scousers and scousers, isn't there?

S: so, it's always about the destruction of Liverpool, because, you know, I didn't really think about it at the time, but, if you like, with Probe being so different, innovative if you like, for quite a long period of time, it's effect on Liverpool, is, you know, an apocalypse. You can look at the jukebox at Eric's, it's a theme that runs through me work anyway. But, immediately, you get that strap line "Greatest disaster of them all!", which, again, alludes again to those bad disaster movies//

G: Well, there's always a King Kong, which fits in with the//

S: King Kong's there, look. Up the Empire State building, which is not Liverpool, of course, you've [Geoff] got a hole in the middle of your head,, Hmm, the thing is too, these are very undisciplined drawings, these are doodles, a lot of time has gone into them, but, bits of it don't work.

R: Yeah. It doesn't make sense//

S: No, no. It doesn't matter [a space where normal business did not matter. They created a space of stupid business. Of business that wasn't oriented by pure business concerns. It was business for an end; life otherwise more meaningful] [the aesthetic, interview, serpentine trajectory represents this space. Within it, a specific look was able to emerge, and humour was able to overflow into the work.] I mean, Little Richard is there, Furry Louis for God's sake!//

G: We used to call him Funny Louis, you say Furry?

S: Buddy Holly, etc., etc., then a few people who I don't know about, really. And it's about an

in Florida", but I can't now because the bugger's dead.

R: Could we spent the last few minutes talking about these things? I've got all this stuff written on the back of them and I haven't gone through it..

S: Yeah, we have particularly taken over. Right go on//

R: It's hard interviews, because you've got to keep a natural flow//

S: And then Geoff goes off on one

R: I'm used to it, I'm used to it. But it says "Why bother with any other cowboy?", it says "All the other shops are just record shops". What does this say about Probe?

S: Well, again, it's irreverence, isn't it? Because, if anyone takes that literally, then you wouldn't go anywhere near Probe, would you? But, however, there is some truths in there, because tea spilling over L.P.s; I would never buy an L.P.; I'm quite anal about the condition of records, I would never buy an L.P. from Probe that had come out of the sleeve//

R: This is what I mean! All over it there is this "We don't look after our products" , "We abuse you", and all this stuff, and there's all this information which like, in standard business is hidden//

S: Well, exactly, but Geoff responded really positively to something like that, I mean, which enabled me to do it//

R: But so did other people as well//

S: Well, yeah, but, I mean, it's down to the independent thing, and it's very much down to Geoff, the fact that he would allow an advert to go out that was actually, it didn't actually recommend the shop!

G: It basically said you're a cowboy! Because there's the expression in Liverpool, a 'Cowboy' is derogatory, of course, a variation on it, in Liverpool, is Texan. Yeah, I mean, is that me "Why bother..."//

S: Yeah, some of the text would have been Geoff, not me.

G: But, there's one of them, where all the records are falling off the shelves! That used to happen.

They were so tight we couldn't get anymore in, and you go to take one out and they all are sort of falling on you, and there's tea spilt on the record!

S: And it would be, up to a point//

G: The other one, I came across one of the one with the tramps//

R: I've seen that one, that's this one here//

S: See, there's a lot of little hidden things in here, little 'Rekord Kaer Kit'- spanner! What Geoff did used to do, is a customer would come in with a record and go "There's something wrong with this", and Geoff would actually have a zipped jacket or something, and go vrooovrroooo [rubbing it over it this jacket], you know, and then, his HiFi advice if something stuck "Oh, you just need to selotape a couple of half crowns on top!"//[laughs]