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Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE): How does membership in the indie music field shape individuals' entrepreneurial journey

ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study aims to explore how membership (initially as a consumer) in a given field shapes individuals' entrepreneurial journey.

Design/methodology: Our research context is the cultural and creative industries and, in particular, the independent (indie) music field in which we conducted unstructured interviews with nascent and established cultural entrepreneurs.

Findings: We introduce and justify our theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE) that captures the tripartite process via which our informants make the transition from indie music consumers to entrepreneurs by developing field-specific *illusio*, enacting entrepreneurial habitus, and acquiring legitimacy via symbolic capital accumulation within the indie music field. We further illustrate how these entrepreneurs adopt the paradoxical logics, aesthetics and ethos of the indie music field by moving in-between its authentic and commercial discourses to orchestrate their entrepreneurial journey.

Research limitations/implications: Our study holds several theoretical implications for entrepreneurship-oriented research. First of all, we highlight the importance of non-financial resources (i.e., cultural and social capital) in individuals' entrepreneurial journey. Secondly, our study illustrates the importance of consumption activities in the process of gaining entrepreneurial legitimation within a specific field. Finally, our study contributes to consumption-driven entrepreneurship research by offering a detailed description of individuals' consumption-driven entrepreneurial journey.

Practical implications: Our study provides some initial practical implications for entrepreneurs within the cultural and creative industries. We illustrate how membership in a field (initially as a consumer) might turn into a source of skills, competences and community for entrepreneurs by mobilising and converting different forms of non-material and material field-specific capital. In order to acquire entrepreneurial legitimation, nascent entrepreneurs should gain symbolic capital through the approval, recognition and credit from members of the indie music field. Also, entrepreneurs can acquire symbolic capital and gain entrepreneurial legitimation by either 'fitting in' or 'standing out' from the existing logics of the field.

Originality/value: Our study contributes to the growing body of literature that examines entrepreneurship fuelled by consumption practices and passions with our theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE) which outlines the transition from indie music consumers to indie music entrepreneurs.

Keywords: consumption field driven entrepreneurship, indie music, field theory, cultural and creative industries, entrepreneurship

Introduction

In recent years, entrepreneurship research has started to deviate from the classical model of entrepreneurship, which mainly theorises entrepreneurship as an economically driven activity (Schumpeter, 1934). An increasing volume of studies offers alternative theorisations about who can be conceptualised as an entrepreneur and also about how and why individuals decide to become entrepreneurs. For instance, the work of Cardon, Wincent, Singh, and Drnovsek (2009) illustrates the significance of ‘passion’ about a project, a product, and mainly about one’s work to the creation and further development of successful businesses. In addition, studies from consumer (culture) research open up a new array of research avenues by highlighting the role of consumption in the identification and pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities (*cf* Cova and Guercini, 2016). Indeed, recent studies show that consumption practices can be a source of skills, competences and community for entrepreneurs (e.g., Goulding and Saren, 2007; Martin and Schouten, 2014; Parmentier, 2009). However, research to date does not illustrate how the members of a consumption field can draw on such experiences and know-hows gained via consumption activities in order to inform their entrepreneurial journeys. This is also not captured in prior conceptualisations of prosumers who do not essentially *and* necessarily adopt an entirely professional role (Cova and Cova, 2012; Ritzer *et al.*, 2012).

With this paper, we aim to contribute to the growing body of studies that examine entrepreneurship fuelled by consumption practices (e.g., hobbies) and passions with our theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE) which outlines the transition of individuals from consumers to entrepreneurs. In our framework, consumption acts as a resource that informs and drives future professional activities. Consumers become entrepreneurs, or in other words, providers who draw upon their roles as consumers to benefit their own professional activities.

Our study explores the entrepreneurial journey of certain members of the independent (indie hereafter) music field. The label ‘indie’ refers to the production of artistic creations outside the control of mass media and their distribution via small-scale and localised channels (e.g., non-chain local retailers, and DIY channels such as websites and zines) (as in Arsel and Thompson, 2011). ‘Indie music’ is considered to be (1) a form of musical production associated with small-scale independent record labels following distinct modes of independent distribution (Fonarow, 2006); (2) an alternative-oriented genre of music which entails eclectic sounds and stylistic conventions (Hesmondhalgh, 1999; Skandalis, Banister, and Byrom, 2017); and (3) music that communicates a particular ethos of independence and embraces paradoxical aesthetics which cut across its early association with the do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos and authenticity discourses of the post-punk era along with its later establishment as a popular music genre (Hesmondhalgh, 1999; Hibbett, 2005). Indie consumers’ and professionals’ arguments over membership in the ‘indie music field’ *“deal with the nature of the ownership of musical recordings and their mode of distribution to a larger public, the nature of musical production practices and their relationship to musical forms, and the relationship between audience members [consumers] and the music”* (Fonarow, 2006: 26). We consider the ‘indie music field’ to be this discourse, and the actions that produce and are produced by this discourse, and the artistic creations and the members (i.e., professionals and consumers) who participate in and contribute to this discourse (Fonarow, 2006; Oakes, 2009). Hence, we draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984; 1986) and his concepts of capital, *illusio* and *habitus* in order to illustrate how membership (initially as indie music consumers) in the indie music field orchestrates and shapes our informants’ entrepreneurial journey.

What follows is a review of the literature on consumption-oriented entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial consumption communities and a discussion of how entrepreneurship research

is informed by Bourdieu's capital theory (1984; 1986). The research methodology is then presented and we continue with our findings which are laid out in three themes, namely *developing field-specific illusio, enacting entrepreneurial habitus, and gaining legitimacy (via symbolic capital accumulation)*. We conclude with the theoretical, and practical implications of our study.

Theoretical background

Consumption-driven entrepreneurship

The entrepreneurship literature is mainly characterised by two distinct theoretical paradigms; positivism and social constructionism (*cf* Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Özbilgin, Forson, and Slutskaya, 2014). Dominant positivist research within the field understands entrepreneurs as fixed entities, with the ability to discover, evaluate, and exploit “new products, new processes, and new ways of organizing” (Baum and Locke, 2004: 588). Inspired by the 1930's classical model of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial activity is conceptualised as intentional, planned, and purely economically driven behaviour (Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud, 2000; Schumpeter, 1934). Studies following this tradition primarily measure how entrepreneurs (based on their personality traits) decide to act upon opportunities motivated by profit margins (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). Breaking with the positivist tradition in entrepreneurship research, scholars have argued that these studies produce a somewhat static and simplified understanding of why entrepreneurs behave the way they do (Tatli *et al.*, 2014). Debates over the relationship between agency and structure have brought forward alternative conceptualisations which attempt to highlight the dynamism of actions within structures (Aldrich and Martinez, 2002). Moving beyond the figure of the Schumpeterian entrepreneur, novel theorisations have emerged such as relational perspectives (e.g., De

Clercq and Voronov, 2009) and use/consumption entrepreneurial models (e.g., Cova and Guercini, 2016).

Scholarship activity around novel forms of entrepreneurship puts forth the idea that users/consumers can gain skills and expertise from personal (private) rather than professional experience with a product/service or activity, which can lead to the discovery of entrepreneurial opportunities. Research on user/consumer-entrepreneurship maintains that users/consumers who are unsatisfied with existing market offerings are likely to adapt products and/or services in order to satisfy their needs (Guichard and Servel, 2006). For instance, when Phil Baechler started to bring his new-born son along with him when jogging, he realised that standard baby carriages could not endure long distances and different terrain surfaces, so he created the 'jogging stroller' (Shah and Tripsas, 2007). User-adaptations or user-innovations can then lead to different commercialisation paths, rendering users/consumers into nascent entrepreneurs (Haeffliger, Jäger, and von Krogh, 2010). More specifically, Shah and Tripsas (2007: 124) argue that user/consumer-entrepreneurs are quite different from other types of entrepreneurs because "they have *personal experience* (emphasis added) with a product or service and derive benefit through use in addition to financial benefit from commerciali[s]ation."

Prior research on consumption-oriented entrepreneurship also suggests that users/consumers can embark on a professional career when they engage in serious leisure pursuits (Stebbins, 1982; 1992). Stebbins defines such pursuits as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that participants find so substantial and interesting that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a career centred on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge and experience" (Stebbins, 1992: 3). Prior research shows that serious leisure pursuits are usually governed by entrepreneurial passion which is defined as "consciously accessible, intense positive feelings experienced by engagement in

entrepreneurial activities associated with roles that are meaningful and salient to the self-identity of the entrepreneur” (Cardon *et al.*, 2009: 517). For instance, in the context of professional gaming, Seo (2016) finds that professional gamers view computer game consumption as neither a form of leisure, nor a form of work. The professionalised consumption field of gaming is demarcated by a juxtaposition between casual leisure and professional work, evident in both the social ethos of the field and the identity trajectories of its members (Seo, 2016). Similarly, Leadbeater and Oakley (1999) cited in Wilson and Stokes (2002) argue that independent cultural entrepreneurs often follow a ‘new model’ of work that blurs the boundaries between consumption and production, and work and non-work. In sum, the entrepreneurial process followed by user/consumer entrepreneurs is grounded on competences gained through personal (private) use/consumption.

Entrepreneurial consumption communities

Marketing and consumer research in the context of leisure/hobby activities such as kite surfing (Franke, von Hippel, and Schreier, 2006), recreational use of automobiles (Füller, Matzler, and Hoppe, 2008; Martin and Schouten, 2014), and LEGO products (Jensen, Hienerth, and Lettl, 2014) amongst others, reveals that consumers who share the same passion about a consumption activity often participate in consumption communities or ‘tribes’ of likeminded individuals (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar, 2007). These communities reflect a shared consciousness and offer members the opportunity to foster meaningful links among each other via participation in communal rituals and traditions (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001). Consumption communities often act as a platform which enables users/consumers to cultivate their passions into entrepreneurial opportunities (Baron, 2008; Cardon *et al.*, 2009). For instance, Parmentier (2009: 907) finds that consumer entrepreneurs who participate in fandom communities often “help co-create new meanings and products for other fans to

appreciate.” In this case, fans of the TV reality show ‘America’s Next Top Model’ created a Facebook community which simulates the reality show and thus enables consumer entrepreneurs such as aspiring models to gain exposure and help in order to build the foundations of their modelling careers (Parmentier, 2009). Similarly, Martin and Schouten (2014) analyse the conditions which drive ‘minimoto’ (i.e., specialised mini bikes) enthusiasts to self-produce minimotos and other specialised parts and accessories for the members of the minimoto riding community. Finally, Goulding and Saren (2007) reveal that Goth consumers’ affiliation with Goth tribes enables them to act proactively and productively as entrepreneurs in order to form their own Goth-oriented markets and engage directly with one another for the production and consumption of goods and services.

This growing body of literature illustrates the importance of participating in entrepreneurial consumption communities for nascent entrepreneurs. In addition, research work both in consumption-driven entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial consumption communities suggests that having accumulated assets and skills via consumption/use practices rather than professional activities can be particularly valuable for the success of certain entrepreneurial businesses. In order to capture these non-financial resources that facilitate the entrepreneurial process, other researchers began to deal specifically with the variety of ways in which entrepreneurs accumulate, mobilise and convert different forms of capital. A number of contemporary studies draw on Bourdieu’s (1984, 1986) ideas of capital in order to better understand the entrepreneurial process.

A Bourdieuan Perspective for Entrepreneurship Scholarship

Bourdieu conceives of social life as a multidimensional status game in which individuals compete to accumulate different forms of capital (i.e., economic, cultural, symbolic, and social) in order to secure dominant positions within fields (Holt, 1998).

According to Bourdieu (1986) (i) social capital is defined as the cumulative of all actual and potential resources that can be reached via a robust relational network; (ii) cultural capital is conceptualised as a manifestation of three forms; embodied (i.e., long-lasting personal dispositions), objectified (i.e., cultural products and goods), and institutionalised (i.e., educational qualifications and work experiences); and (iii) symbolic capital is defined as other people's perceptions about the legitimacy and credibility of one's economic, cultural and social capital. For Bourdieu, fields operate at a meso-level and represent an aggregation of social spaces that structure the social sphere. According to Bourdieu, generalised capital accumulation occurs via primary socialisation and one's pre-existing position in the social sphere while field-specific capital is acquired via individuals' continuous embeddedness in certain social fields. Essentially, capital accumulation enables individuals to become more productive, known, and recognised within fields (Bourdieu, 1986). As such, various forms of capital such as economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital act as power resources, granting individuals with field-specific currency. In Bourdieuan terms, "successful entrepreneurship depends on access to a mix of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital" (Lee and Shaw, 2016: 4). Finally, Bourdieu (1984) maintains that a shared *illusio* is what sparks individual's interest to participate in a field and consequently compete for status. Each field produces its own *illusio* which sparks individuals' interest and belief in the "game" (Bourdieu, 1992). According to Scott (2012), an entrepreneur's *illusio* is what compels her or him to invest emotional and financial resources in a given social field.

In entrepreneurship research, there is currently an emerging interest in Bourdieu's capital theory in order to better understand the entrepreneurial process (e.g., Drakopoulou-Dodd, McDonald, McElwee, and Smith 2014; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Pret, Shaw, and Drakopoulou Dodd, 2015; Tatli *et al.*, 2014; Scott, 2012). More specifically, contemporary studies adopt a wide perspective on capital and focus more on the role of non-material forms

of capital (i.e., cultural, social, symbolic), their mobilisation, convertibility, and the variety of ways in which different forms of capital enable entrepreneurs to build successful businesses. Competing for capital is mainly a subconscious process which is directed by what Bourdieu terms habitus (Tatli *et al.*, 2014). Habitus makes practice possible by shaping individuals' responses to past, present, and future events and often unconsciously disposes individuals to behave in particular ways (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus is field-specific and embodies the field's norms and structures; "the structure of the field is not an abstract entity 'out there' but rather something that becomes evident through the ways it inculcates itself into the thinking and day-to-day behaviour of the actors" through habitus (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009: 805).

In most contemporary entrepreneurship studies, individual forms of capital are not overemphasised; it is the mobilisation, convertibility and interplay between different forms of capital that is considered crucial in order to be able to recognise, act upon, and further develop entrepreneurial opportunities (Light and Dana, 2013). For example, Lee and Shaw (2016) find that entrepreneurs can accumulate social capital from personal bonding ties and peer-interactions and suggest that entrepreneurs might also convert social capital into economic capital, e.g., by receiving 'informal loans' from friends in order to finance their businesses. Further, evidence from the context of cultural and creative industries in the United Kingdom reveals that craft entrepreneurs can easily convert different forms of capital available to them in both economic and non-economic value (Pret *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, Scott (2012) finds that music producers who face financial troubles are able to mobilise and convert different forms of capital in order to generate use- and exchange-value. However, the majority of these studies examine only one or two forms of capital and usually do not make the distinction between generalised and field-specific capital accumulations.

Research work in consumption communities especially within consumer culture oriented research highlights the importance of localised variations of capital (*cf* Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Sinclair and Dolan, 2015). These unique forms of capital are accessible via the entrepreneur's personal contact network and her/his ability to identify and respond to signals (e.g., emanating from communication with others, relationship-building, etc.) (Fillis, 2002; 2010). For example, Thornton (1996) introduced the concept of subcultural capital (i.e., cultural capital accumulated via membership in rave cultures) in order to explain how members of rave subcultures acquire legitimacy in these alternative social spaces (Holt, 1998). Similarly, Arsel and Thompson (2011) relied on the concepts of field-dependent social and cultural capital in order to understand how members of the indie consumption field disassociate themselves from the hipster marketplace myth by adopting a series of field-specific demythologising consumption practices. Finally, Chen, Chang, and Lee (2015) argue that for Chinese entrepreneurs, the accumulation of Guanxi, a unique form of social capital in Chinese societies, enables them to acquire information and resources for their new ventures. Given the evidence in the literature that individuals can gain legitimacy and currency via accumulation of field-specific capital, it leads us to wonder how we can apply such insights further in the context of entrepreneurship. The idea of consumption fields in relation to entrepreneurship remains somewhat underexplored and has previously been touched upon only at the theoretical level (DeClercq and Voronov, 2009). In other words, previous research does not provide a holistic and detailed theoretical explanation of the variety of ways in which field-specific experiences and know-hows inform and shape individuals' entrepreneurial journey. More specifically, prior studies do not address how membership (initially as consumers) in a given field can shape individuals' entrepreneurial efforts. In this study, we aim to fill this research gap and, thus, we ask how does membership in the indie

music field (initially as indie music consumers) shape our informants' entrepreneurial journey.

Next, we describe the methodological procedures followed in this study before we move on to present our findings and introduce our conceptual framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE).

Research context and methods

We grounded our interpretation in the indie music field because it is considered a particularly fertile context for entrepreneurial endeavours (Hesmondhalgh and Meier, 2015). 'Indie' or 'DIY' music professionals are seen as cultural entrepreneurs *par excellence* who self-manage most, if not all, aspects of their professional careers. As cultural entrepreneurs, indie music professionals often have to deal with tensions of art-making and commerce/entrepreneurship discourses (Scott, 2012). Thus, the indie music field is a compelling research context for the study of capital dynamics since cultural entrepreneurs are constantly trying to find a balance between aesthetic and economic demands (*cf* Pret *et al.*, 2015).

We followed a qualitative methodology aligned with the interpretive consumer research tradition in marketing and consumer research (Goulding, 1999; Hogg and Maclaran, 2008; Shankar and Goulding, 2001). Our data set comprised of thirteen unstructured interviews (Belk, Fischer, and Kozinets, 2013; McCracken, 1988) with indie music professionals. In depth interviews were chosen in order to allow our informants to freely convey the meanings of their own experiences and to enable them to communicate the logic by which they see their entrepreneurial journey (McCracken, 1988). Our informants occupy different positions (roles) within the indie music field. For instance, some of our informants create, perform and produce their own music while others have created their own record

labels, radio shows or music festivals. In essence, our informants are individuals who were driven by their intrinsic passion for certain music consumption practices (e.g., attending music festivals, listening to radio shows) to follow a professional career in indie music. Table 1 summarises informant profiles and offers a brief description of their age, place of residence, professional role(s) and number of years of activity in the music industry.

We recruited our participants through a mixture of purposive and snowballing techniques. The first author approached music professionals who attended the 2016 Primavera PRO Conference (one of the biggest indie music meeting points for professionals in Europe), in person and via Meetups which is an online networking platform for Primavera PRO Conference attendees. Afterwards, our initial informants introduced her to additional indie music professionals who agreed to be interviewed for the purposes of our research. All interviews (up to 90 minutes; average interview: 60 minutes) were conducted online via Skype, audio recorded and transcribed in their entirety. In the course of the interview, grand tour questions and probes were employed (Belk *et al.*, 2013; McCracken, 1988). Informed consent was collected and pseudonyms were used to protect participants' anonymity. In the course of the interview we sought to build an in-depth understanding of our informants' experiences within the indie music field. Open-ended questions were used at the beginning of the interview (e.g., "tell me about yourself, about the work that you have done so far"). We then discussed in more detail their entrepreneurial journey and current work activities.

Consistent with other qualitative research, data analysis was interrelated with interpretation. We moved back and forth between the findings and extant literature, following a constant comparative logic (Belk *et al.*, 2013; Glaser and Strauss, 1967) of coding, categorising, abstracting and dimensionalising (Spiggle, 1994); a standard method of analysis in interpretive consumer research. Our coding approach and the development of themes and categories in our dataset was influenced by a field analysis logic (Bourdieu and Wacquant,

1992) which allowed us to uncover how music professionals' membership in the indie music field enabled them to accumulate different forms of field-specific capital. In order to ensure the trustworthiness and validity of our interpretations (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008), we familiarised ourselves with the logics, ethos and aesthetics of the indie music field (Fonarow, 2006; Hesmondhalgh, 1999; Oakes, 2009; Skandalis *et al.*, 2017) and we also kept comprehensive records of the entire research process. Further, in order to ensure that our theoretical storyline was grounded in and driven by our empirical data both authors were involved in the analysis and interpretation (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008). We ceased to collect additional data when theoretical saturation was reached in terms of emerging themes (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

----- Table 1: Profile of interview informants -----

Findings

Our findings illustrate how membership (initially as indie music consumers) in the indie music field orchestrates and shapes the entrepreneurial journey of our informants (Table 2). Our theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE) captures the tripartite process via which our informants make the improvised transition from a consumption position to a professional one as (nascent) entrepreneurs. Figure 1 depicts our CFDE theoretical framework which brings together the emergent themes of our study, namely; *developing field-specific illusio, enacting entrepreneurial habitus, and gaining legitimacy (via symbolic capital accumulation)* within the indie music field.

----- Figure 1: Theoretical framework -----

Developing field-specific illusio

The development of field-specific illusio initiates and shapes our informants' entrepreneurial journey in the indie music field. According to Bourdieu (1984), claims of membership and legitimacy in a specific social field revolve around the internalisation of a common illusio. The idea of illusio includes acknowledging the importance and value of field-specific capital investments in order to vie for status and recognition in a given social field as a cultural entrepreneur (Pret *et al.*, 2015; Scott, 2012). In other words, "field-specific illusio imposes a worldview which is seen as common-sense and therefore fundamentally legitimate by the field's players" (Tatli *et al.*, 2014: 11).

Here, illusio refers to the adoption and internalisation of a field-specific worldview which is marked by the authenticity discourses and independent ethos of the indie music field such as DIY aesthetics and passion-driven activities and practices (Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Hesmondhalgh, 1999; Skandalis *et al.*, 2017). Our informants developed a field-specific illusio through the accumulation of field-specific cultural and social capital as indie music consumers (Goulding and Saren, 2007) which inclined and predisposed them to make further investments in the indie music field as entrepreneurs (Bourdieu, 1992). Kate explains:

'Basically, from when I was about 14, I was at school with Jane [pseudonym] who was also in the band, and you know, there was a group of us, there was about 4 of us who got very into music, and started going to see bands, and the way it works in London, I mean back then, albums actually cost a lot of money, and gigs were really cheap, so once you went to see a band, when you were 14, you went to bands that were in the charts, that were very popular. So you go to see that band, they had a support band, you ended up going to see the support band somewhere, and then you see their support band, and eventually you work your way down to some pub in Hammersmith, where it costs £1 to get in, and there's a scene, there was a very thriving scene. It was high unemployment in this country, and lots of student culture,

so it was very cheap to see bands. We used to see The Smiths, we used to see New Order, we used to see all of those bands for not a lot of money at all, even travelling around the country, and there's a whole scene that came out of that, and actually, once you are in that scene, everybody was in a band.' (Kate, UK)

Kate's narrative illustrates the process of developing field-specific *illusio* by attending live music events ('gigs'), socialising with field members and playing music. Kate's experiences as a consumer allowed her to accumulate social and cultural capital (e.g., learn about less well-known bands) and prompted her to further invest in the field as an entrepreneur. Essentially, Kate's internalisation of the field's *illusio* is summed up nicely in her concluding remark "*and actually, once you are in that scene, everybody was in a band*".

Similarly, Anthony, owner of an independent company in Spain, narrates his initial exposure to the authenticity discourses and ethos of the indie music field:

'I've bought a lot of magazines like Rolling Stone, Rock Deluxe in Spain about music, and that gave me like another vision of the music industry [...] I remember especially a conference by Greil Marcus, who is a very old music journalist, American music journalist. He talked about the importance of knowledge, being interested in everything related to music. He said that he saw Jimi Hendrix but he was interested in seeing everybody else, not only Jimi Hendrix, to know all the styles of music of everybody in the music business, and that's how he's built his career, with interest.' (Anthony, Spain)

Anthony's consumption of alternative music press (e.g., *Rock Deluxe*) and his exposure to the ideas of individuals who occupy the dominant positions in the indie music field (e.g., *Greil Marcus*) informs his '*vision*' of the music industry. By citing the impetus of emerging knowledge about music and '*being interested in everything related to music*', Anthony highlights the significance of embodied forms of field-specific cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and nicely summarises his engagement with some of the key dimensions of

the shared *illusio* of the indie music field such as passion-driven professional activity (Cova and Guercini, 2016).

Developing field-specific *illusio* conditioned our informants' interest and willingness to enter the indie music field as nascent entrepreneurs, although not consciously as a rational calculation (similar to Scott, 2012). Frank describes his passion-driven motivation to participate more actively in the indie music field:

'Motivation was from passion and deep involvement with music since I was very young. At first, I started to work in the radio, I've had my own radio program in the early 1980s. I was taping concerts at the time, and my passion was to record concerts and listen to them again when I was back at home. Doing something like this, I've met a lot of artists, and when I started working in the radio, I did a lot of interviews, and I got in touch with a lot of artists. I started to collaborate with one of the most important indie labels in Spain, to open the Italian side of the label. I was very, very young at the time, I was studying at university, so it was more of a joke for me, to start like that. After this, I started to do other things, more contact with the artists directly, sort of management, and I was a tour manager for one of the most important bands at the time in Italy.' (Frank, Italy)

Frank's inherent appreciation of music from a young age and his initial involvement with an indie radio station and later on with a record label (at the time as a hobby rather than a career) compelled him to enter the indie music field as an entrepreneur (i.e., artist manager, tour manager) after his university graduation. This early socialisation with other members of the field exposed him further to the field-specific *illusio* and enabled him to accumulate field-specific social capital, *'I did a lot of interviews, and I got in touch with a lot of artists'*. His social capital supported by his cultural capital instigated him to pursue future professional collaborations (Light and Dana, 2013).

For our informants, the internalisation of field-specific *illusio* is fuelled by their field-specific cultural and social capital accumulation (Scott, 2012; Tatli *et al.*, 2014) as consumers of indie music. In turn, we find that their *illusio* of the indie music field along with *habitus* enables them to act and perform well as entrepreneurs based on the fields' requirements (Scott, 2012; Sinclair and Dolan, 2015).

Enacting entrepreneurial habitus

Prior research has revealed that individuals enact various forms of entrepreneurial *habitus* which are aligned with the professional practices of specific business fields and/or institutional contexts and lead to institutional legitimacy (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009; Stringfellow, Shaw, and Maclean, 2014). Similarly, our informants need to enact a markedly distinct form of entrepreneurial *habitus* which is aligned with the structural aspects (i.e., logics, ethos and aesthetics) of the indie music field. Their *habitus* disposes them to occupy and perform well in different positions (roles) within the indie music field. Michael, co-founder of an independent music promotion and concert-organising agency, introduces us to the ways in which this *habitus* shapes his entrepreneurial journey:

'The motivation, well, not the money because it's [the] music industry, make something that we will love to live, you know, like enjoy one day a month, or two days a month, being in a great location with your friends, drinking something, when the sun is around. [...] We wanted to make live concerts special, out of the mass concerts.' (Michael, Spain)

For Michael, embarking on an entrepreneurial journey, as a concert organiser, is driven by a pragmatic rationalisation and a romantic emotionalism of the working conditions in the indie music industry, *'well, not the money ... something that we will love to live'*. His quote further illustrates the enduring impact of the entrepreneurial *habitus* of the indie music

field on his work; he specifically follows a creative approach which stands in-between commercial and authentic discourses and is firmly grounded on the passion-driven logics and DIY ethos and aesthetics of the indie music field, *'make live concerts special, out of the mass concerts'*.

Even in the case of entrepreneurs who have professionally moved towards occupying positions (roles) which do not necessarily fall into the indie music category, the structuring influence of habitus is still evident in their work. Mary elaborates:

'Yeah, I mean, we work across lots of different genres, it depends where we're working and what ... So, for example, in the UK we are working at bringing artists from different genres together so we work a lot with hip-hop, we work a lot with dancehall, we work with ghetto-based music, with electronic music. We also work with rock music, punk music, I mean, we work with whatever is most appropriate for the place we work in [...] but remember that the music festivals that we make are not so commercial [...] so all of the work that I've done in music has been in the independent sector, I've never worked in the mainstream music sector.'

(Mary, UK)

Mary, an independent music producer and festival organiser, discusses her involvement with the organisation of a wide range of festivals that span across various music genres. However, by citing that these festivals *'are not so commercial'* and the fact that all of her professional activity in the music industry *'has been in the independent sector'*, Mary is essentially reproducing in their work the self-reliance discourse of the indie music field and its opposition towards the commercial mainstream (Bourdieu, 1993; DeClerq and Voronov, 2009). The following quote by George further illustrates the structural influence of habitus:

'I would just like to have some kind of honesty and openness, it's pretty useless to say that I'm independent, and like to behave like you're a big major. I'm more interested to work in a kind of clearer and honest environment [...] The strength of [the] independent scene [is]

sticking together, trying to make a mass in a way, try to be, you know, be together, be strong, to believe in the same things and have the same approach.' (George, Italy)

George occupies different positions (roles) in the indie music field; he is a freelance article contributor in indie music press and a founding member of an Italian independent radio station. His work ethic and way of thinking (regardless of specific role) are driven by the independent ethos of the field (Fonarow, 2006). For George, the notions of 'openness', 'honesty', and 'community' inform his understanding of what it means to be 'independent'. Such notions also reflect values that 'independent' professionals and companies should embrace in their work (Oakes, 2009).

Our analysis reveals that the internalisation of the *illusio* of the indie music field and the enactment of *habitus* are seen as field requirements upon which cultural entrepreneurs should think and behave (Tatli *et al.*, 2014). In turn, their desire to perform well in their differing social positions (roles) reinforces the logics, ethos and aesthetics of the field. Cultural entrepreneurs' efforts to operate effectively are further illustrated in their pursuits for legitimacy in the field (De Clerq and Voronov, 2009).

Gaining legitimacy (via symbolic capital accumulation)

Symbolic capital emerges through the approval, recognition and credit by the members of a given field and represents a superior form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Any form of capital can serve as *and* be converted into symbolic capital when field participants accept it as legitimate and acknowledge it as reflecting a dominant and prestigious position in the field (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009).

In the indie music field, our informants accumulate symbolic capital by either 'fitting in' or 'standing out' of the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Declerq and Voronov, 2009). Kate, lead singer of a

renowned independent music band, elaborates upon the process of ‘building’ legitimacy as a band in the indie music field:

‘[W]e thought that we’d quite like to have our own band, and play our own music as we were playing other people’s music, and we just formed this band, and we were very under-rehearsed, we just had some mates in [...] It was easy enough to get a support slot, you wouldn’t get paid much, you may get paid like £20 or something but you could support bands in different places. We supported My Bloody Valentine, all kinds of bands that were there at the time, so it was actually very easy [...] it’s quite a lot of creativity, and you didn’t have to be particularly professional, it was all about enthusiasm and a bit of a punk rock ethic, you know, just get up and have a go really.’ (Kate, UK)

Kate draws upon the DIY aesthetics of self-expression and self-control of the indie music field (Fonarow, 2006), *‘just formed this band’*, *‘just had some mates in’*, to illustrate her initial entrepreneurial efforts. Her quote reveals the importance of conforming to these DIY aesthetics, especially for nascent bands in the indie music field in order to develop external validation (Aldrich, 1999; Aldrich and Fiol, 1994). According to her description, it was then easy to perform alongside already established and renowned bands such as ‘My Bloody Valentine’ which in turn enabled them to accumulate symbolic capital as a band.

Interestingly, within the indie music field, the accumulation of symbolic capital is not necessarily associated with cultural entrepreneurs’ ability to generate profit. In fact, we note that the reputation of indie music professionals within the field is not market-driven, something which is in contrast with the findings of prior studies (e.g., Lee and Shaw, 2016). Approval from other members, and hence external validation, is cumulative. It stems from individuals’ long-term socialisation in the indie music field. One of our informants, Dave, highlights the importance of building a personal relationship with people he works with:

'It's the whole relationship, you meet people, you get on, they want some help, they come and talk to you, and you decide whether you want to help them or not, it's not always been about how much money they can make you because I've been lucky enough to just always get by and not having the money as the main consideration, but a couple of guys that I work with don't make any money, so I'm doing that because I want to, and not because I rely on them to put the money on the table. I'm working with some bands that musically are not my thing, I wouldn't choose to listen to them, but they're good people, or their management or booking agent is good people, there's a connection somewhere.' (Dave, UK)

Dave's quotation emphasises the need to 'fit-in'. For him, starting a potential collaboration is informed by the relationship he has built with other field members (e.g., management or booking agents). Working as a tour manager for a band, is not about their music per se or their ability to generate profits. According to Dave, a band's symbolic capital reflects their work ethic and is evaluated, amongst others, based on whom they surround themselves with (e.g., management or booking agents).

Although our informants mainly sought entrepreneurial legitimation by 'fitting in' to the existing modus operandi of the field, we also observed instances of 'standing out' the dominant narratives by bringing something novel to the field (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009), as exemplified in the cases of John, Michael and Tom (Table 2). John, a nascent entrepreneur, describes to us this process as illustrated in the following quote. John accumulated symbolic capital and gained legitimacy in the Spanish indie music industry by attempting to challenge the status quo of live music performances:

'I've started working in the music industry because I have started a movement with some of my friends. [S]ince 2002 it was forbidden for underage people to enter [into] music venues [...] I couldn't go to concerts when I was 15, 16. Actually, I couldn't even play. We had a band and we had to lie to the promoters and say that we are 18 [...] we've started a big

movement, putting together the venue associations, putting together musicians, working together with music journalists from the radio [...] We had meetings with the most important parties over here, we've told them how it was done in Barcelona and the rest of Europe and actually it was simple because in most cities underage people are allowed to go to gigs' (John, Spain)

For John, symbolic capital accumulation is the result of 'standing out' by 'fighting' for underage music fans' right to attend live music concerts in Madrid. His attempts were framed according to existing acceptable practices in other cities in Spain and Europe, making it a 'believable' possibility (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994). As a result, John was able to gain entrepreneurial legitimation and move to occupy a position (role) in the field which is related to his 'movement'. He now works (independently) on marketing and bookings.

Similarly, Michael's entrepreneurial efforts (Table 2) to create more intimate live concerts with emerging artists 'stood out' the dominant model of concert organisation in Barcelona. Michael opted out of conventional music venues and instead organises live music concerts in terraces, coffee shops, friends' houses, etc. Gaining legitimacy by following this alternative approach to live music events, is exemplified nicely in his account of the process of booking artists:

"Over the first six months, we had to ask, or to get in contact with a lot of bands if they wanted to play with us, and with time, the bands are getting in touch, they email us to tell us that they have this proposal, if we want to make something with them, [that] this is their BandCamp or whatever". (Michael, Spain)

Michael's quote reveals how, over time, he accumulated symbolic capital resulting in bands getting in touch with him now and asking to perform in his events in contrast to the beginning when he had to reach out to a lot of bands.

Discussion and conclusions

Theoretical implications

The aim of this study was to investigate how membership (initially as consumers) in a given consumption field orchestrates and shapes individuals' entrepreneurial journey. In the context of the indie music field, and through the development of our tripartite theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE), we outline the variety of ways in which our informants make the transition from indie music consumers to entrepreneurs. This is realised by developing field-specific *illusio*, enacting the entrepreneurial habitus of the indie music field and acquiring entrepreneurial legitimation via symbolic capital accumulation. In the course of their entrepreneurial journey, we show that our informants enact the logics, ethos and aesthetics of the indie music field by moving in-between its authentic and commercial discourses (Pret *et al.*, 2015; Hietanen and Rokka, 2015) to orchestrate their entrepreneurial activity. Our study holds several theoretical implications for entrepreneurship research and offers useful insights for practice.

We adopt a Bourdieuan perspective which posits that “[w]hen entrepreneurs are embedded in contexts that are particularly limited in economic resources or rich in other forms of capital, their venture creation and growth is creatively pursued through interaction of non-economic forms of capital” (Drakopoulou-Dodd *et al.*, 2016: 125). Aligned with prior studies (Drakopoulou-Dodd *et al.*, 2014; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Pret *et al.*, 2015; Tatli *et al.*, 2014; Scott, 2012), we highlight the importance of non-financial resources (i.e., cultural and social capital) in the entrepreneurial journey. In particular, we complement prior work by employing Bourdieu's (1984) concept of *illusio*, in order to better explain how indie music entrepreneurs adopt, internalise and assign value to a field-specific worldview which is

marked by the authenticity discourses of the indie music field such as DIY aesthetics and passion-driven activities and practices (Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Hesmondhalgh, 1999; Skandalis *et al.*, 2017). We find that, by developing a field-specific *illusio*, entrepreneurs are inclined to make investments in the indie music field and strive for status and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1992). Due to the structuring influence of a shared *illusio*, entrepreneurs are able to acknowledge the significance of accumulating non-material field-specific forms of capital (e.g., cultural and social capital) throughout their entrepreneurial journey. These non-material resources can be later on employed to vie for additional resources, status and recognition in the indie music field (Pret *et al.*, 2015; Scott, 2012).

The role of *habitus* is often linked to the process of socialisation and integration within a field and in terms of internalisation of the field's code in the form of a 'second nature' (Sinclair and Dolan, 2015). Specifically, prior entrepreneurship research argues that individuals enact entrepreneurial *habitus* once they enter a business field in order to create symbolic capital and gain legitimacy by either 'fitting in' or 'standing out' the status quo of the field (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009). Our study empirically validates and extends such theoretical claims. In particular, we show that our informants enact a markedly distinct form of entrepreneurial *habitus* that is aligned with the structural aspects (i.e., logics, ethos, code and aesthetics) of the indie music field. Based on experiences gained from membership in the field as a consumer (e.g., being a music fan, an amateur musician and so on), entrepreneurs are able to recognise the expectations of the indie music 'scene' (Sinclair and Dolan, 2015), and thus determine when they need to 'fit in' or 'stand out' of the existing logics, ethos and aesthetics of the indie music field (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009). Hence, our study illustrates the importance of consumption activities in the process of gaining entrepreneurial legitimation. We thus go beyond prior studies which focus strictly on the role of different

forms of capital and enactment of habitus attained solely via professionalised activities in a given field (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Pret *et al.*, 2015; Scott, 2012).

Our study also contributes to consumption-driven entrepreneurship research (Cova and Guercini, 2016; Goulding and Saren, 2007; Martin and Schouten, 2014; Parmentier, 2009; Seo 2016; Shah and Tripsas, 2007) by offering a detailed description of our informants' consumption-driven entrepreneurial journey. Our tripartite CFDE theoretical framework specifically outlines how indie music entrepreneurs draw on non-financial forms of capital, their field-specific *illusio* and entrepreneurial habitus (acquired and developed initially as consumers) in order to inform their entrepreneurial practices and ultimately gain legitimacy as entrepreneurs in the field. Similar to the 'minomoto' (Martin and Schouten, 2014) and Goth entrepreneurs (Goulding and Saren, 2007), or Parmentier's (2009) aspiring models, indie music entrepreneurs rely on skills, competences and community acquired via their membership in the field, initially as consumers, in order to develop their businesses. However, we extend these studies and other research work that relies on meso- and micro-level investigations (e.g., studies on entrepreneurial consumption communities) by uncovering the structural elements that operate at a field level and influence the consumption-driven entrepreneurial journey. To paraphrase Drakopoulou Dodd *et al.* (2016), adopting a Bourdieuan perspective allows us to uncover the structures and the connections between individuals (field); the social norms, beliefs, and motivations of the indie music field (habitus); and the resources accumulated and exchanged by field members (capital).

Practical implications

The cultural and creative industries represent one of the most rapidly growing economic sectors worldwide (Chen, Chang, and Lee, 2015) and a plethora of studies illustrate their increasing significance in shaping the global economy and cultural production (Chen,

Chang and Lo, 2015; Piergiovanni, Carree, and Santarelli, 2012). Despite the growing importance of indie music within the cultural sphere and its contribution towards job creation (Oakes, 2009), entrepreneurial endeavours within the indie music industry are still under-researched. Our study allows us to provide some initial practical recommendations for entrepreneurs who are interested in turning their passion into a business opportunity. First, we do not suggest that entrepreneurs cannot accumulate field-specific capital from strictly professionalised activities. Nevertheless, we illustrate how membership in a field (initially as a consumer) can be a source of skills, competences and community for entrepreneurs (e.g., Goulding and Saren, 2007; Martin and Schouten, 2014). In doing so, entrepreneurs can benefit from mobilising and converting different forms of non-material and material field-specific capital (Pret *et al.*, 2015; Scott, 2012). Our study also reveals that, in order to acquire entrepreneurial legitimation, nascent entrepreneurs should strive to gain symbolic capital through the approval, recognition and credit from members of the field. Our findings empirically validate that entrepreneurs can acquire symbolic capital and gain entrepreneurial legitimation by either ‘fitting in’ or ‘standing out’ from the existing logics of the field (DeClerq and Voronov, 2009). Decisions to ‘fit in’ or ‘stand out’ can be informed by enacting the field’s habitus. As such, entrepreneurs can judge how to behave based on the field’s norms and structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Limitations and future research

Our theoretical framework of Consumption Field Driven Entrepreneurship (CFDE) is illustrative, not *exhaustive*. We ground our theoretical interpretations on the indie music field and, as a result, findings from other consumption fields (e.g., fields with less economic constraints) might be helpful to deepen our understanding of the CFDE process. Future research in other research contexts within and beyond the cultural and creative industries can

also produce insightful interpretations about the impact of other forms of field-specific capital upon entrepreneurial efforts. The relatively small and diverse sample of our informants did not allow us to uncover potential distinctions between entrepreneurs whose businesses are at different stages of development. We recommend that future studies should consider following a longitudinal approach in order to illustrate how entrepreneurs accumulate and mobilise different forms of field-specific capital during nascent, developing and established stages of business development. Further research could also focus on more specific segments of music-related entrepreneurship (e.g., geographically bound or position (role) bound) in order to better explain the influence of other contextualising factors (e.g., historical, political and socio-spatial dynamics).

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Table 1. Profile of interview informants

Pseudonyms	Age	Place of residence	Professional role(s)	Years of activity in the music industry
John	21	Spain	Marketing and bookings for festivals and other cultural events	6 months
George	38	Italy	Head of the music department in an independent radio station/freelance article contributor in independent music press	16 years
Michael	28	Spain	Music promoter, concert organizer	2 years
Jack	27	Spain	Music promoter, concert organizer	5 years
Alex	34	Spain	Music producer	18 years
Mary	35	United Kingdom	Music producer/ Festival and event organizer	22 years
Frank	53	Italy	Music promoter and publisher	30 years
Kate	53	United Kingdom	Singer/songwriter/music producer	10 years
Jennifer	44	United Kingdom	PR and independent article contributor in independent press	7 years
Anthony	38	Spain	Founder of record label and digital agency/ Communication and marketing for festivals and other cultural events	14 years
Tom	28	Poland	Social media entrepreneur	8 years
Jason	31	Brazil	Social media entrepreneur	10 years
Dave	50	United Kingdom	Founder of tour management company	30 years

Table 2. Informants' entrepreneurial journey

Pseudonyms	<i>Developing field-specific illusio</i>	<i>Enacting entrepreneurial habitus</i>	<i>Gaining legitimacy</i>
John	Music education, socialisation with field members	Self-reliance, passion-driven; <i>'I was very interested in getting involved with music'</i> , DIY ethos	'Stood out' the dominant narratives by bringing something novel to the field; initiated a movement
George	Primary socialisation (family), music education, socialisation with field members	Passion-driven; <i>'I've always been crazy about music'</i> , DIY ethos	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Michael	Socialisation with field members	<i>'Produce out of the mass'</i> , passion-driven; <i>'make something that we will love to live'</i> , DIY ethos	'Stood out' the dominant narratives by bringing something novel to the field; organised intimate, live concerts with emerging artists
Jack	Socialisation with field members	Passion-driven; <i>'I'm really in love with music, so just decided that this is going to be my life'</i> , Self-reliance, DIY ethos	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Alex	Music education, socialisation with field members	Passion-driven; <i>'it's not only my job, it's my hobby'</i> , DIY ethos	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Mary	Music education, socialisation with field members	DIY ethos; <i>'all of the work that I've done in music has been in the independent sector'</i> , self-reliance, passion-driven; <i>'I'm somebody that has never been driven by making profit'</i>	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Frank	Music education, socialisation with field members, non-paid work (hobby)	Passion-driven, free from interference; <i>'I am very interested to work directly with artists'</i>	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Kate	Music education, socialisation with field members, non-paid work (hobby)	DIY ethos, self-reliance, unmediated relationship with audiences, passion-driven	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Jennifer	Socialisation with field members	Passion-driven, self-reliance	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Anthony	Music education, Socialisation with field members, non-paid work (hobby)	Passion-driven, self-reliance	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Tom	Music education, primary socialisation (family), socialisation	Passion-driven; <i>'I loved music from the beginning of my life'</i>	'Stood out' the dominant narratives by bringing something novel to the

	with field members		field; created a YouTube channel to change the attitude in Poland about techno music
Jason	Primary socialisation (family), music education, socialisation with field members; <i>'work with people that I like, that I can identify myself with'</i>	Passion-driven; <i>'it's a pleasure to work with music because it's a kind of sensation that makes life worth living'</i> , self-reliance	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like
Dave	Socialisation with field members; <i>'it wasn't really a career when it started, it was just hanging around with some bands'</i>	Passion-driven; <i>'not as a job, but just because I liked doing it, eventually it has turned into a job'</i> , self-reliance, DIY ethos	'Fitted in' the dominant narratives of how an entrepreneur should be and look like

Figure 1. Theoretical framework

