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Amateur Concert Filming for YouTube: recalibrating the live music experience
in an age of amateur reproduction

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PhD

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2013

Statement

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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Steven Colburn – PhD Media and Cultural Studies

Amateur Concert Filming for YouTube: recalibrating the live music experience in an age of amateur reproduction

Summary

This thesis explores the recent phenomenon of music concert goers filming these concerts and uploading the footage to YouTube. This contemporary practice poses several questions of the nature of contemporary music culture. The status of the concert as live event is problematised by this mediation of the experience. The videos create producers of fans and allow these fans to make a substantive contribution to music culture as authors of music texts consumed through a major distribution network. The fact that these fans are not paid for their efforts begs the question as to what they gain from this enterprise; particularly as it serves as a distraction for filmers from the immersive concert experience.

This thesis will use the work of Walter Benjamin on the 'aura' as a yardstick against which to judge current attitudes amongst music fans as to the status of live music alongside other ways of experiencing music. The thesis will also offer a contemporary reappraisal of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' that accounts for the recognition that filmers receive from other music fans for their efforts in filming concerts. Concerts are restricted spaces in which music is simultaneously produced and consumed. Broadcasting videos of these events on YouTube provides recognition for filmers both for having attended and managed to capture footage to be shared with those unable to attend for various reasons. Filmers are not paid for their efforts and so this recognition serves as a form of cultural capital in lieu of financial reward.

The thesis is based upon interviews with a global sample of music fans who either film concerts or watch these films on YouTube.

For Claire

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Chapter one – Introduction

My motivation? Genuinely, it is altruism. I share them with other fans. However, it is altruism tempered by a need for regard. I do these things, people thank me; either it's a recollection for them or a peek into something they couldn't attend. If people thank me, they are grateful. Others notice it, others give me respect. Respect heightens my profile and can lead to popularity and it happens time after time on sites I use; not just video clips but photos too, and not just of concerts.

Patrick¹

Patrick is in his thirties, from Guildford in Surrey, and he films concerts. He attends these concerts as a paying audience member and then chooses to film portions of the concert with his digital camera. I interviewed him as part of a research project exploring the impact of concert filming on music culture. Developments in digital media technologies have enabled concert goers to capture portions of the concerts they attend using portable video recorders or other media devices that incorporate this functionality. These concert goers are then able to upload these videos to video sharing websites such as YouTube and broadcast to an audience that is, in theory, global. The thesis will concentrate on two implications of this cultural phenomenon: the current status of the live event and the cultural economics of user / fan generated content. In other words, how the ability to film has changed the concert experience and how the ability to broadcast these films has created new roles for fans / audiences to perform in music culture.

A live concert is a space and a time in which music is simultaneously produced and consumed. Fans who choose to place a camera between themselves and the concert are, therefore, making a statement about their cultural sensibilities. This thesis will investigate the relationship between these filmed digital memories and the 'authentic' experiences of being at a concert. These two phenomena will be explored with reference to Walter Benjamin's (1991) notion of the 'aura'; a theory that persuasively argues for the authenticity of original works of art. Benjamin's ideas were inspired by an era of cultural production that has been superseded by the digitization of popular culture and so are ripe for reconsideration. Consequently, the thesis will explore the notion that many media consumers have become subsumed by media representations; to the extent that live cultural productions are too disorganised and lacking in coherent narratives to be particularly enjoyable. This aspect of the thesis is concerned with exploring the authenticity of live music but also reflecting on how this authenticity is articulated by music fans / consumers in relation to Benjamin's envisioning of authenticity.

¹ Research participants have all been given pseudonyms.

Concerts by their nature are scarce events that can only be accessed by a finite number of people. Broadcasting concert videos on YouTube or a similar website is a case of amateurs (the filmers) providing professional content (the music / musicians). This poses the question as to what motivates concert goers to withdraw themselves from this experience through filming and also providing access to a larger public who were unable to be there in person. The thesis will also explore the levels of professionalism in both the sound and visual quality of their output that amateur filmers aspire to. Above all, to consider this act of filming as potentially a form of recognition seeking in the sense of broadcasting evidence of attendance at concerts and also filming these concerts at a standard that makes the videos valuable music performance texts to other fans. This is a form of recognition unlike the explicitly political use of the term by Axel Honneth (1995, 2003) and other post Marxist theorists. It is argued in this thesis to be the repositioning of fans as cultural intermediaries and actors within limited spheres of music culture. Recognition in this sense is better understood as a facet of cultural capital; a concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and subsequently refined and redefined as befitting ongoing cultural developments. In the mid 1990s academics such as Sarah Thornton (1995) and Ben Malbon (1998, 1999) offered 'subcultural capital' as a refraction of Bourdieu's concept that better encapsulated the more fragmented and obscure nature of cutting edge popular culture at that time. Digitisation has given unprecedented access to the smallest niches of popular culture and so this thesis will offer a contemporary reworking of cultural capital that is based on recognition.

The remainder of this chapter is given over to a literature review and outlining of the structure of the thesis. The project is based on exploring the relationship people have with popular culture; specifically culture that they feel strongly about. As such, the literature review begins by mapping the space the project occupies within cultural studies before offering an overview of recent academic work on live music culture, digital media and the website YouTube specifically. 'Cultural capital' and the 'aura' are overviewed both from the perspective of their progenitors and subsequent reworkings and reconsiderations from a range of intellectual standpoints from post Marxism to economics. The literature review concludes by focusing on contemporary writing on authenticity and recognition. The chapter concludes with a lexicon of terms and labels used throughout the thesis and with a summary of each subsequent chapter.

Locating live music within the sphere of cultural studies

In the broadest sense this project falls into the category of cultural studies; the field of enquiry that operates between the artwork and the audience. Culture as a concept can be understood as the relationships people have with objects of interest, communication or art. Cultural studies examine the manifestation of these relationships; as a discipline it is about everyday life. French Social Scientist Natalie Heinich (2010) notes a distinction between French and 'anglophile' approaches to studying culture wherein the former explores the impact of society on art and the latter conversely focuses on the impact of art on society. Cultural studies has

emerged from philosophy and is concerned with unravelling the construction of societies through language (Heinich, *ibid.*). Heinich claims that the work of Pierre Bourdieu, influential as it is in British humanities, is only historically significant in French academia. She also claims that sociology of culture should be apolitical and moreover limited in remit to demonstrating how art represents the societies that it emerges from (*ibid.*). This 'French' approach is in contrast to the 'value laden discourses' (*ibid.*; 262) that are studied in the United Kingdom and United States of America as a means of deconstructing power relations in modern societies.

A facet of the project is that it is exploring the impact of a new technology on music culture and the means of consuming music. One aspect of this is that it involves an analysis of objects akin to the work of Daniel Miller on 'material cultures' (1998). His book of this name collects together a series of articles that each explores the role of a particular object within a specific society (*ibid.*). The purpose of these articles is to demonstrate how these objects, such as Coca Cola bottles or radio receivers, help to shape the lives of individuals and also serve as a common ground between different people and facilitate a sense of community through shared appreciation of these objects. This is a similar approach to that of John Elsner and John Cardinal's collection of essays on 'cultures of collecting' (1994). The core difference between these two works being that Miller's collected works all stem from ethnographic enquiries whereas Elsner and Cardinal offer analyses that are more philosophical. The former is concerned with users where the latter are more interested in the objects. Henry Jenkins (2006) categorises passionately positive relationships between people and products as 'fandom'; ostensibly exploring the commitment that people have to certain cultural ephemera. This approach differs given that it seems to romanticise the role of the consumer. The crux of Jenkins' argument (*ibid.*) is that modern digital technologies have transformed the amount of cultural products available to consume and also the ways in which they can be consumed. According to Jenkins these transformations, such as digital distribution, have empowered the consumer and given additional agency to the position of 'fan' (*ibid.*). Jenkins correctly identifies the space for fruitful enquiries into modern consumption; his work on 'culture jamming' and the ability of consumers to re-appropriate popular culture to their individual ends (*ibid.*) identifies the space in which this thesis is located. Regrettably he offers an insufficiently political treatment of current consumption practices. As this project will explore, current consumption is characterised by a shift from a straightforward industry / producer to individual / consumer dynamic to a more open situation where individuals can also become involved in cultural production and distribution as well as consumption.

The value of this project is a matter of taking a cultural shift as a rationale for a reassessment of popular culture. Michael Bull (2000, 2003, 2006), for example, has undertaken an ethnographic exploration into the state of music culture following the cultural shifts precipitated by the introduction of the portable stereo and subsequently the mp3 player. His work is not about these technologies so much as it is about exploring their effects on music culture. It is less about acknowledging and quantifying the usage of these technologies and more about finding out why they are used and what impact they have on the appreciation of

music from the perspective of users. Similarly this thesis is less concerned with the fact that many people are now setting themselves up as amateur concert filmers and broadcasters and more concerned with why people would want to do this in the first place and what the rewards and benefits are.

There are echoes in this thesis of the work of Erving Goffman (1971) on the ways in which people present themselves in everyday life and what motivates people to perform in certain ways or adopt different roles in specific social situations. The difference here is that Goffman's work is very much based in the physical world where this project is looking to test his views on everyday life and performance to the virtual personae people adopt on the Internet. This is a task already begun by Steve Jones (2002) in his analysis of the impact of digital distribution on the music industry. Jones (*ibid.*) actually maps the terrain for this project by arguing that live concerts are a bastion of authenticity in a mediascape permeated by digital reproduction. Jones' argument remains speculative insofar as he provides no ethnographic data to qualify this claim (*ibid.*). Jones also opens up another facet of the debate about the authenticity of popular culture by noting that the subverting of tangible physical media actually emancipates music culture from its physical detritus and allows music to be engaged with on a more straightforwardly emotional level (*ibid.*). In so doing, Jones clarifies how digital technology can overcome the focus on materialism and collecting that have for so long informed contemporary thinking on cultural studies.

Another field within cultural studies explored in this thesis is that of media rituals or, in other words, how media literacy shapes the behaviours of people. Nick Couldry states that 'media rituals are formalised actions organised around key media-related categories and boundaries, whose performance frames, or suggests a connection with, wider media-related values' (2003; 29). With specific reference to this project this concept can be framed as a question as to what impact YouTube has on behaviours at concerts. The fact that amateur concert footage is available on YouTube potentially transforms the experience of being at a concert by suggesting that audience members have the opportunity to become media producers. Couldry's (*ibid.*) main text on media rituals predates the existence of YouTube but was he to be writing it now he may well seek to include YouTube and user generated content as a significant category of media ritual. It is a category of media ritual that, furthermore, turns on its head the established cultural studies trope that entertainment has privatised everyday life (for example Judith Williamson, 1980). Media rituals can in many ways be characterised as individual people acting out ritualised behaviours that are by their nature impersonalising and insert individuals into much larger homogenous masses of people who are relatively autonomous from one another. Filming concerts can be viewed as ritualised behaviour but is also an act of documenting and disseminating the presence of an individual in the world. There are parallels with tourism and the habit of taking photographs or amateur videos whilst visiting new places. These artefacts are designed to demonstrate to other people that the photographer / filmer was physically present at the places captured on film (for example Dean MacCannell, 1999). Both tourism and media rituals as fields of study pose questions as to the authenticity of disseminating

experience through mediation. They both identify spaces that are necessarily contrived in order to function as intended; media rituals are based upon performance of various roles by various people and tourist experiences are constructed by a complex web of discourses about different countries, the notion of being on holiday and so forth. In much the same way, a concert experience can be created through discourses about live music, the established routines of physically travelling to a concert, the set up of the concert space and so on.

The point is that if live music is studied as a product it can easily be disassembled into a series of contrived constructions. Dave Laing (1985) writes about punk rock and demonstrates how the music and punk culture in general is constructed and can easily be appropriated by those who do not possess an inherently 'punk' outlook on life (ibid.). Andrew Kania (2006) produces a similar semiotic analysis of rock music with a view to positing that a rock song created in a studio is a work of art given that it is composed rather than performed. A live performance of a song is a necessarily thin version of this work of art. What this thesis seeks to avoid is getting bogged down trying to analyse what it is about music that makes it art or authentic or similar. Laing (ibid.) and Kania (ibid.) make different arguments using the same terms of analysis. Laing (ibid.) criticises the appropriating and bricolage of popular culture as an attack on popular culture where Kania (ibid.) sets out what he sees as the inherent bricolage of popular culture. Laing (ibid.) seems to have faith that 'authentic' popular culture does exist but is widely copied in music studios. Kania (ibid.) sees music studios and the copying process as one and the same as the modern creative process. This leads to the suspicion that this approach could be used to make any case for or against music culture depending upon the motives and bias of the academic.

This section of the literature review ends with a clarification of the politics of this project. Whilst teasing out the politics of digital media interventions in popular culture is not a concern here it feels pertinent to clarify the place of the project in relation to the material outlined in this literature review. The project is in sympathy with Frederick Jameson's (1991) critique of modern capitalist societies. The project is loosely identifiable as an analysis of a form of grassroots anti-capitalism that seeks to provide relatively free access to cultural products that carry significant price tags. Live concert tickets and even the concordant DVD or Blu-ray film of concerts are quite expensive and so a demographic of people providing free access to these products disregarding copyright laws and not demanding payment themselves is worthy of attention from a post Marxist perspective. This is not to say that this thesis will be an unqualified celebration of such agency on the part of individual consumers but more a recalibration of music culture and the means of producing and consuming music in light of this cultural turn.

Live music as text and event

What is set out above is symptomatic of differences in opinion as to how to conduct cultural studies; whether it should err towards the textual analysis applied to objects of popular culture or ethnographic research into the engagement of people with popular culture. Social Anthropologist Birgit Meyer (2011) uses the kind of semiotic analysis deployed by Kania (2006) and Laing (1985) and other cultural studies academics in order to study the crowds at live concerts. Meyer (*ibid.*) notes the role of an electricity generator as both amplifier of sound but also amplifier of emotions. Her work concentrates on the use of amplified music during religious ceremonies and equates religious ceremonies of this nature with other forms of mediation. She refers to 'sensational forms' (*ibid.*; 27) as cultural constructs designed to heighten sensory experiences in crowd situations. Christopher Small (1998) combines analysis of music audiences with historical analysis of concerts as a cultural format. He notes how concert audiences have been transformed by the relatively modern concept of ticketing from a group of people drawn from the same community to a group of paying consumers from a range of locations and backgrounds. Small (*ibid.*) analyses the construction of the concert space and notes the distance between performer and audience, with security staff acting as a barrier between the two. He also argues that silence on the part of certain audience members can be understood by musicians and audiences as a lack of participation in the concert event. His analysis utilises class, race and music genre as means of categorising and characterising different types of concert. Both Meyer and Small view concerts as objects and apply textual analysis techniques as a means of coming to understand them.

Another way of looking at concerts is as a series of rituals. Richard Witts (2005) focuses on what he refers to as the 'roadie cabaret' (2005; 147) whereby sound technicians prepare the stage at a concert prior to the arrival on stage of the musicians. He notes that this performance contributes to the overall narrative of the concert by helping to orient the flow of events and build excitement and anticipation for the main event of the evening. The roadie cabaret contributes to an ongoing dichotomy between performance and non-performance that marks out a concert experience. This sense of concerts as a series of rituals is in contrast to the kinds of rituals explored by Nick Couldry (2003), Simon Cottle (2006, 2008) and others. For these academics the rituals surround the event rather than constituting the event. Perhaps the appeal of concerts is that they simultaneously offer heavily ritualised but also original content. Grant C. Black et al (2007) assess the value of concerts in financial terms by analysing concert revenues in North America between 1997 and 2005. They note that concert revenues have steadily increased during this time whereas recorded music sales have reached a plateau. They identify increasing ticket prices as the core reason for increasing revenues and so argue that concerts have become increasingly valuable at a time when recorded music can easily be shared digitally via the Internet (*ibid.*). Concert revenue consequently becomes the core revenue stream for musicians and so concerts are becoming increasingly valuable to musicians, irrespective of their value to consumers.

The concert space itself can be the object of analysis. Michelle Duffy et al (2011) make the point that physical spaces are constantly shifting in structure over time. Duffy et al (ibid.) pose the question as to how the embodiment of sounds affects the understanding of physical spaces. For concerts they propose that being at a concert is a dynamic experience shaped by responses to sonic cues from the music and responses to the visual cues represented by behaviours of other people in the audience. Kathleen Jenkins (2010) takes this notion further to propose that crowds at music performances or religious ceremonies are an entity in and of themselves; a composite of shared values and tastes. All of these treatments of live music and concert experiences make valuable contributions to understanding the role and functioning of concerts but do not adequately explore why it is that people want to go to concerts. The presence of people in these analyses is *de facto* and the concern is with what people get out of being there rather than what motivates them to attend in the first place.

This thesis is primarily interested in rock and pop concerts. Several participants told me that filming at classical concerts or operas is strictly forbidden and will not be tolerated by fellow audience members, whereas filming at rock and pop concerts is tolerated. This is an example of the social class differences that Pierre Bourdieu (1984) speaks of and will be explored further throughout this thesis. These interviewees referenced their interest in filming operas and classical concerts but that the cultural norms governing behaviours at these events are more restrictive. The fact that sound is amplified at these concerts means that they can be considered mediated events (Philip Auslander, 2008). Auslander draws on Jean Baudrillard to explore the structure of live events and the notion of 'live-ness'. Further to noting the mediation of live concerts he also questions the authenticity of rock and pop ideology. Auslander argues that rock ideology requires that rock stars embody their 'rock n roll' identities rather than perform them (ibid.). He implies that rock stars will tend to perform their identities whilst on stage at a concert, thereby lending further credence to the idea that live concerts are mediated. What this perspective does not account for, however, is that the on-stage performance of a rock star may only be one facet of their personality. They may not behave consistently off-stage as they do on-stage but this does not necessarily mean that live performances are contrived. He also argues that television is the dominant medium in society although admits that the Internet may be set to supersede this (ibid.). This argument regarding television is more prominent in the original version of the book written in the 1980s. It is revised in the 2008 reissue to acknowledge the increasing importance of the Internet. This thesis is actually symptomatic of the importance of the Internet in current digital culture. Auslander suggests that early television was structured around live performance but that, more recently, live performances are increasingly mirroring the structures of television (ibid.). The filming of concerts both professionally and by amateurs lends credibility to this perspective. What is less clear in Auslander's work is the distinction between mainstream rock and pop music and niche music cultures. Rock and pop superstars may well structure their live performances as mass entertainment, taking cues from television. There remains, as this thesis will show, a thriving music culture of musicians playing concerts to small crowds. These concerts are less tied to the structures of television.

Auslander's work is based on the idea that rock music is created to be recorded (2008). He references Simon Frith in pointing out that music fans are aware of the constructed nature of rock music. In other words, that the music is created in a studio and recorded as separate elements such as guitar parts and vocals to be stitched together once recording has finished. He also refers to Theodore Gracyk's (1996) assertion that rock music fans listen to speakers rather than musical instruments. This is an economy of scale, however, as amplification is often used to allow as many music fans as possible to attend concerts and hear musicians performing. There are louder forms of rock music, such as heavy metal, that rely on this amplification but even so this does not undermine the value of 'live-ness'. If music fans listened to speakers then there would be no value in rock musicians going on tour when listening to CDs played through PA systems at nightclubs would suffice. What Auslander's work clarifies is the need to untangle the structures from the pleasures of live music.

Auslander critiques the 'authenticity' of live music. His overarching argument seems to be that rock ideologies are contrived and live concerts place a layer of mediation between live music being performed by musicians and being consumed by music fans. He references Walter Benjamin in arguing that recorded music is 'auratic' on the basis that the studio recording is the original piece of music that is simply performed at concerts (2008). Auslander claims that the proximity and intimacy of live music is actually based on televisual codes (ibid.). Therefore, the 'authenticity' of live music is misdirection. Above all, this is evidence of the vitality of debates about 'authenticity' in music culture. The lack of nuance with regards to the breadth of music culture and live performances means that his work has far from shut down the debate. It is possible to view the live performances of the highest profile rock and pop stars as part of media discourses. These artists often hold '360 degree' contracts that tie them to record companies for both their studio recorded and live performances. The record company receives profits from both and has a level of creative input into both². This scenario is far from standard and ignores a huge demographic of lower profile musicians and music fans who resist the ideological implications of these record deals. 'Live-ness' as a concept is, therefore, less clear than Auslander proposes. This thesis will also use Walter Benjamin as a yardstick against which to measure a range of attitudes to live music, 'authenticity' and 'live-ness' as held by music consumers.

Digital media, YouTube and participation

The emergence of the Internet has created a new space for people to exist within and has generated a number of academic explorations of this new space. Christine Hine provided early examples of what she referred to as virtual ethnography (2000, 2005). Much like the physical world, the virtual world of the Internet is far from homogenous and so discussions about the Internet quickly shifted from meta theorising about the Internet as a whole to niche

² A *New York Times* article by Jeff Leeds (2008) explores the implications of the '360 degree' record deal between concert promoters Live Nation and rapper Jay Z.

explorations of specific areas of the Internet. The website YouTube has generated a good deal of this sort of work. Jean Burgess and Joshua Green (2009) analyse the structure of the website in an effort to discern its popularity. They point to a number of minor quirks and features that set the website apart from its competitors as the most user friendly means of sharing videos on the Internet. They also suggest that the popularity of YouTube has created a specific genre of media content that is inherently related to the website; the particularities of some amateur videos that place these videos as having emerged from YouTube as opposed to some other media platform (ibid.). They refer to this as 'the 'YouTube-ness' of YouTube – its shared and particular common culture' (ibid; 39). By this they mean that certain forms have become linked with YouTube. Webcam confessional videos (vlogs) and short videos of friends playing pranks on one another are examples. Burgess and Green refer to amateur shot 'live' videos as being part of this lexicon of YouTube but in a more broad sense to include, for example, sporting events and public occasions as well as live concerts. What YouTube has provided is a means of distribution for these amateur videos. By highlighting the 'YouTube-ness' of YouTube, however, Burgess and Green demarcate a specific category for amateur videos that mitigates against an exploration of the quasi professionalism and professional aspirations of amateur filmmakers, which is to be explored in this thesis.

To clarify, the contention of Burgess and Green appears to be that YouTube is a specific media form. The content broadcast on YouTube is considered to follow the cultural logic of the website irrespective of the background of those contributing. 'All contributors of content to YouTube are potential participants in a common space; one that supports a diverse range of uses and motivations, but that has a coherent cultural logic – what we refer to as the YouTube-ness of YouTube' (2009; 57). This cultural logic is the concept of participatory culture. Those contributing to YouTube are looking to participate in a popular culture platform where compensation comes in the form of recognition rather than financial rewards. 'This requires us to understand all those who upload, view, comment on, or create content for YouTube, whether they are business, organizations, or private individuals, as *participants*³' (ibid; 57). This thesis will reverse this argument to suggest that some filmmakers who upload to YouTube are actually attempting to gain recognition and a sense of professionalism regarding their work. They use YouTube as an extensive distribution network but are less interested in participating and more interested in cultivating a reputation as filmmakers of live concerts and so providers of access to exclusive music content.

What this thesis will also provide is a space for the views of those who use YouTube, whether they are filmmakers or viewers. Scholarship on YouTube, such as the work of Burgess and Green (2009) tends to utilise textual, historical and political economy analyses of the website. Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau (2009), for example, edit a reader specifically about YouTube. The articles it contains are linked by their similarly analytical approach. They explore different facets of the website and types of videos it contains but always deploying textual analysis and

³ Their emphasis.

with no direct reference to or input from viewers. This thesis is based on interviews with YouTube participants and viewers.

A line of argument of this thesis will also provide a different perspective on the concept of 'convergence culture'; a concept deployed by Henry Jenkins (2008) to account for recent changes to media production and distribution. These changes have been brought about by digital technology.

(C)onvergence represents a paradigm shift – a move from medium-specific content that flows across multiple media channels, towards the increased interdependence of communication systems, toward multiple ways of accessing media content, and toward even more complex relations between top-down corporate media and bottom-up participatory culture. (Jenkins, *ibid*; 254)

The suggestion is that digital media users are utilising an unprecedented range of media platforms and consuming content that blurs the boundaries between professional and amateur content. What this thesis will demonstrate, however, is that many concert filmmakers aspire to a level of professionalism. In other words, the distinctions between professionalism and amateurism are still quite clear. These filmmakers also tend to reject the 'participatory' aspect of YouTube and prefer to consider those who watch their videos as viewers rather than collaborators. This is not to reject Jenkins' argument but to demonstrate that there are differing perspectives on YouTube and digital media in circulation.

Jenkins seems to argue that resistance to the ideas of participation and convergence are futile. He frames his argument by pointing to the economic imperatives driving this cultural turn. '(T)his shift is being driven by economic calculations and not by some broad mission to empower the public' (Jenkins, 2008; 254). This notion that the shift towards convergence culture is being market driven is an effort to reinforce the idea that it has become the prevailing cultural aesthetic. 'Producers who fail to make their peace with this new participatory culture will face declining goodwill and diminishing revenues' (Jenkins, *ibid*; 24). This does not account for those who are not primarily motivated by revenues. Participatory culture, such as YouTube, offers no financial reward. As will be explored in this thesis reward comes in the form of recognition. It can therefore be beneficial to cultivate a distinctive profile. In amongst the blurring of boundaries and complexity of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' media networks are a number of amateurs looking to offer original content.

The concept of 'prosumption' has been utilised as a means of understanding the changes brought about by participatory culture. 'Prosumers' are the actors in the participatory, convergence cultures explored by Henry Jenkins (2008). Sven Jockel et al (2008) discuss the economic implications of the Internet and the availability of affordable digital technologies that enable consumers to become amateur producers and, consequently, 'prosumers'.

YouTube is one such platform that allows users to both watch videos and broadcast their own videos thus blurring the boundaries between these traditional roles.

The term 'prosumer' is credited to Alvin Toffler (1980). Toffler refers to 'prosumption' as 'unpaid work done directly by people for themselves, their families or their communities' (ibid; 283). He refers to the 'invisible economy' (ibid; 284) of those carrying out domestic chores in service to loved ones for no financial reward. The term has been re-appropriated in the last decade, along with variants such as 'playbour' and 'producers', to refer to the unpaid cultural production that occurs through the Internet.

Prosumption involves *both* production and consumption rather than focusing on either one (production) or the other (consumption). While prosumption has always been preeminent, a series of recent social changes, especially those associated with the internet and Web 2.0 (briefly, the user-generated web, e.g. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter), have given it even greater centrality⁴. (George Ritzer and Nathan Jurgenson, 2010; 14)

The high profile of the Internet as a media platform has made Toffler's (ibid.) invisible economy visible. This visibility, however, threatens to misrepresent media consumption. 'In our embrace of the produser we should not lose sight of the more mundane, internalized, even passive articulation with media that characterizes a great deal of media consumption' (Elizabeth S. Bird, 2011; 504). 'Prosumption' is a novel form of engagement with the media that has captured the imagination of scholars and commentators at the expense of more passive engagement with media forms. The debate about 'prosumers' also misrepresents the make-up of current media culture by focusing more on production and less on the distribution networks that are the real legacy of digital media.

'(T)he metaphorical figure of the 'prosumer' is misleading insofar as it suggests that every user of digital media is simultaneously a consumer and a producer, and by implying an empowerment of the user that is, in reality, counteracted by the shift from production to distribution that characterises the new media economy' (Julian Kücklich, 2005; 7)

Equally, the focus on production does not account for the political implications of the development of these distribution networks. Tiziana Terranova (2000) discusses the emergence of collaborative networks on the Internet. Terranova argues that '(t)he acknowledgment of the collective aspect of labor implies a rejection of the equivalence between labor and employment' (ibid; 46). The amateur who films a concert and uploads the video to YouTube is engaging in a different practice to the professional videographer filming the concert for a record label or television company. The term 'prosumer', therefore, usefully explains a cultural turn towards amateur production and distribution but fails to adequately deal with the politics of this cultural turn and also somewhat misrepresents its impact on the media landscape.

⁴ Their emphases.

Political discussions of the Internet more broadly have tended to remain meta theoretical. It is the intervention of Internet technology itself rather than any specific website or function of the Internet that is widely considered to have had the biggest socio political impact. Jack Bratich laments the depoliticising of much prominent work on new media as demonstrated by Henry Jenkins' shift in rhetoric from 'culture jamming' in the 1990s to 'convergence culture' in the 2000s (Bratich, 2011). Bratich explores the role of social media in contributing to the facilitating of what has come to be known as the 'Arab Spring' of 2011 (ibid.). He also notes how the consumer has been subsumed into the production process of popular culture (ibid.). Nick Couldry and James Curran (2003) bring together a series of case studies that assess the political economy of the Internet and the potential of the Internet to form an alternative public sphere. Philip Napoli (2010) argues that the Internet offers the opportunity to reconsider the value of the concept of mass communication insofar as it democratises the opportunities for one to many communication. John Durham Peters (2010) equates engagement with digital media with schizophrenia insofar as this engagement is based upon imagined relationships, hearing noises channelled directly into individual heads and the notion that media broadcasting is based on a contract between viewer and broadcaster where the viewer accepts that any message broadcast is not aimed at them even though it is often designed to appear that way. Ib Gulbrandsen and Sine Just (2011) suggest that the bedding down of Internet technology into everyday life means it is now possible to move beyond the utopianism / dystopianism that has characterised much theorising of the impact of the Internet on everyday life. They point out that values rely on communication in order to be shared so the impact of the Internet as a new transformative means of communication can offer insights into the forming of social groups.

This dichotomy between utopianism and dystopianism is neatly highlighted by a relatively high profile debate between Clay Shirkey and Andrew Keen. Shirkey (2008) is somewhat evangelical about the possibilities the Internet and associated new media technologies offer in terms of overhauling social justice and creating what is often referred to as a global community. Keen is a former Silicon Valley entrepreneur and cautions against what he refers to as the 'cult of the amateur' (2007). This is the scenario wherein the mediascape becomes flooded with cheaply produced amateur content that is favoured by broadcasters, including major mainstream broadcasters, for financial reasons. Keen cites Wikipedia as an example of intellectual expertise being usurped by amateur hobbyists; his position can be summarised as a wish to maintain the boundaries and distinction between professionals and amateurs. Dhiraj Murthy (2011) points to another locus of new media, the social networking website Twitter, as being symptomatic of the need for communicative succinctness in a saturated mediascape. The point is that Twitter is a solution rather than a negative influence on mass communication trends insofar as it promotes succinctness in an era of unprecedented numbers of media channels and, therefore, competing voices. Adam Reed (2008) identifies the value of blogs to academia as a means of conducting urban studies. Blogs act as an imprint of peoples' lives; biographies that offer insights into the everyday lives of people and are presented without the agenda of participation in research or publicity. Approaches to studying new media tend to focus on

studying the text created and broadcast or the logistics of being involved in cultural production and consumption through new media; relatively little is said about what motivates people to involve themselves and how being involved transforms everyday life.

Bourdieu, 'habitus' and 'cultural capital'

This thesis will argue that amateur filming is often motivated by a pursuit of recognition. In order to make this argument the thesis will draw on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital'. Bourdieu (1984) developed the concept of the 'habitus' in order to explain the development over time of personal taste within individuals. According to Bourdieu (ibid.) there is a strong relationship between education and taste. His work can be understood in one sense as the tension between right wing intellectualism and its left wing critique. Education affords cultural capital by teaching people the values of cultural pursuits, such as music and art, and allowing access to the more obscure works within such pursuits. Knowledge of obscure classical composers is indicative of a good education and can be traded as cultural capital insofar as it impresses others by serving as an articulation of this person's cultural education. Well known and extensively performed classical works and popular composers cannot afford such cultural capital as they are known by most people and are performed and reproduced far more frequently. Bourdieu (ibid.) refers to cultural capital handed down through families as 'entitlement'. He proposes that a person's background shapes their academic performance and that cultural capital can, therefore, be fairly reliably approximated by exploring the roots of the person in question. Bourdieu (ibid.) likens sociologies of taste to psychoanalysis; this is clearly resonant in the importance he places on the experiences of childhood.

Bourdieu's body of work is currently still providing the foundations for much academic theorising. One such usage of Bourdieu pertains to the creation and development of an academic class loosely identified as arts and humanities. The development of a plethora of faculties, programmes of study and alumni of arts and humanities has created a demographic of people whose appreciation of culture is different to the general population. Stefano Harney (2010) argues that the creation of this class is the establishing of a demographic of people not involved in cultural production but who are empowered to control and manage culture. On another issue Mary Pileggi and Cindy Patton (2003) make the point that humanities tends to be the work of a single academic where sociology is often collaborative; the issue is the reputation of the researcher preceding his or her research output. A piece of collaborative research is less likely to be read as a chapter in a larger body of work unless the authors had previously collaborated so providing additional context to the piece of work in question.

Another factor that can be partly attributed to the creation of an academic cultural class is that the traditional hierarchy of high and low culture has been problematised. A class structure where a relatively uneducated working class comprise the vast majority means that working

class culture or low culture is widespread. High culture on the other hand is refined and restricted to those with the education to appreciate it. David Hesmondhalgh (2006) notes that in contemporary society many items of high culture are hugely popular; critical acclaim and mainstream popularity are not mutually exclusive. He notes that Bourdieu conceives of the field most associated with cultural production as one with high cultural capital but low economic capital. Hesmondhalgh (ibid.) suggests this has been problematised by the proliferation of the availability of cultural capital through better access to culture as a result of increasing ways and means of consuming culture. This in turn calls the role of cultural intermediaries into question. Hesmondhalgh (ibid.) suggests that these intermediaries should be viewed as critics rather than mere facilitators of access to culture, as many academics view them, when they are reviewing popular culture in a post digitisation era.

Intermediaries are making critical statements in what they choose to offer access to. This means positioning cultural producers and distributors, even at amateur level, as gatekeepers rather than disseminators. Nicholas Garnham (1979) argues that changes in infrastructure during the 1970s required a reappraisal of the political economy of the media that would move beyond the straightforward Marxist binary that places the media as part of the controlling superstructure used to cajole and control the general public. Garnham identifies a subsection of the middle classes who are economically poor but rich in cultural capital (ibid.); this being an example of the unravelling of cultural and economic capital that problematises models of political economy. The 2000s has seen another shift in infrastructure with the increased availability of culture via digital networks and the increased possibilities for individuals to become involved in cultural production and distribution. Hesmondhalgh (ibid.) calls for qualitative analysis and ethnographic fieldwork to provide the same kind of reappraisal of Bourdieu's arguments on popular culture that Garnham (ibid.) provided in 1979. This thesis is a response to this call.

For the purposes of this thesis, 'cultural capital' will be taken to mean the recognition that people receive from peers. Filming concerts and uploading these videos to YouTube is to display knowledge of music culture, presence at a cultural event and an understanding of the technical and aesthetic qualities required to produce videos. Furthermore, the more a person becomes involved in this cultural production, the more embroiled they become in the cultural practice. '(U)nlike 'primary needs', the 'cultural need' as a cultivated need increases in proportion as it is satisfied, because each new appropriation tends to strengthen the mastery of the instruments of appropriation' (Bourdieu, 1993; 227). The following chapters will recount a number of stories of filmmakers becoming increasingly confident in their filming abilities and also receiving feedback from other YouTube users which encourages them to undertake further filming. What this thesis offers is an example of amateur cultural producers using a global distribution network to pursue recognition from an unprecedented number of peers. This means a laying bare of the pursuit of 'cultural capital', which in turn offers an empirical investigation into a current formulation and operation of 'cultural capital'.

Walter Benjamin: technology, art and 'aura'

Walter Benjamin wrote his essay on art and reproduction at a time when access to media reproduction technology was limited. The means of production and reproduction were restricted to individuals and companies who could afford the significant financial outlay for the required equipment. A significant issue for Benjamin was the consumption of reproduced art. As he states, '(e)ven the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be' (1999; 214). Technology has now made recording and reproduction of sound and images far easier than it has ever been previously; as evidenced by the amateur filming of concerts. The price of the equipment is relatively low and the technology is often integrated into devices meant primarily for other more prosaic tasks such as mobile telephony or portable music listening. Benjamin's position offers a notion of authenticity but has lost its specific context and therefore needs to be re-evaluated.

This is certainly not the first time that Benjamin's work has been re-evaluated. The emergence of virtual reality technology in the late 1980s led Steven Jones (1993) to reconsider the nature of reality. The intent of his work was to challenge the dominance of the visual field in the structuring of reality. He drew parallels between Benjamin's notion of the aura and the aural field by suggesting that it is the aural field that forms part of the aura that contextualises a work of art. His argument being that virtual reality technologies paid insufficient attention to creating immersive aural environments that synchronised with the visual environments they showcased and so did not represent a fully immersive reality (*ibid.*). What is at stake in this thesis is the implications of another cultural turn, towards amateur production and broadcasting, on Benjamin's notion of authenticity.

Benjamin's frame of reference was the 1920s and 1930s. He argued that art should occupy a specific place within space and time and so reproductions are necessarily unable to convey the totality of the experience (1999). 'The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity' (*ibid.*; 214). Benjamin's notion of authenticity involves ritual and pilgrimage insofar as part of what signposts art is that it is presented and structured as art. A music concert for example will be structured in such a way as to make it recognisable as a concert. The musicians will occupy a demarcated stage area and the start of the performance will often be signalled by the dimming of the venue lights, amongst other concert rituals discussed by Richard Witts (2005). Attending a concert means travelling from the home where much entertainment is consumed to a public location that hosts a communal gathering of relative strangers (Christopher Small, 1998). This is not to say that authenticity can be contrived by adhering to these rituals as sacrifices also need to be made. A producer of art can take the time to create a work of art whereas a consumer of art must make a pilgrimage to a space where art is produced. Authentic art is not available on demand. Reproduced art is often a result of a number of people and organisations coming together where authentic art is often

the work of one person with a single agenda. In the case of music it can be argued that a band of musicians represents one entity and a concert is an opportunity to see the band performing without having to engage with the music industry and negotiate ownership of a reproduction with this industry. The aura of the band or musician as singular entity is not diluted in ways that it might be when packaged in a recorded album or played on the radio by a disc jockey alongside the music of a number of other musicians.

The camera image, furthermore, is incomplete and edited. A camera lens will automatically cut out the vast majority of a vista and the world as a whole and so will only contain a chosen sequence of events from the global context within which it occurred.

The artistic performance of a stage actor is definitely presented to the public by the actor in person; that of the screen actor, however, is presented by a camera with a twofold consequence. The camera that presents the performance of the film actor to the public need not respect the performance as an integral whole (Benjamin, 1999; 222).

This process of framing and editing is a political act insofar as it involves decision making as to what to include within the frame of the lens and what to leave out. Benjamin sees the reproduction of art in general as the reproduction of political consensus (*ibid.*). Decisions made as to what to reproduce can reinforce or mitigate against certain political discourses. The fact that the means of reproduction have been somewhat 'democratised' as a result of the wider availability of cameras perhaps dampens this particular concern up to a point. What remains, however, are the established norms and conventions that dominate mainstream media filming techniques and, as will be explored, significantly influence amateur filmmakers. Benjamin might actually have argued that these amateur concert filmmakers merely reaffirm the vitality of the music industry by repeating its formula and not taking the opportunity to provide texts that are qualitatively different. This also serves to reaffirm the authenticity of the concert as the source text.

Recent reconsiderations of Benjamin's work have benefited from being able to apply a degree of hindsight to his ideas. In many ways Benjamin was predicting the future by considering the implications of media reproduction technology. The age of mechanical reproduction has been superseded by an era of digital reproduction and so contemporary theorists are able to look back at the effects of mechanical reproduction. Simon Cottle (2006) and Angela McRobbie (1992), for example, credit Benjamin with foretelling the dismantling of rituals as a means of communication in favour of a communication process that is shaped by the medium of communication. Any message consumed through the media has lost its specific context and so lacks the aura of reality. Under these conditions live music concerts serve as a somewhat quaint form of music consumption that predate even the age of mechanical reproduction. The music is consumed in the presence of the musicians and involves travelling to wherever the musicians have chosen to put on their performance. Filming these concerts represents an attempt to mediate the experience and so falls foul of Benjamin's notion of the aura. 'The

authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced' (1999; 215). Going to a concert is part of a ritual of music consumption and so watching a concert on DVD or on YouTube is to eschew this particular ritual and abandon, to an extent, the specific meaning of going to a concert.

The legacy of Walter Benjamin seems foremost to involve trying to place him into certain academic fields and pin down exactly what he was arguing for in his wide-ranging writings on a variety of subjects. His relationship with the Frankfurt School has seen him bracketed as a post Marxist but this feels inadequate. Angela McRobbie (1992) makes the point that Benjamin was much more positive about art and culture compared with other Frankfurt school luminaries such as Adorno and Horkheimer. McRobbie (*ibid.*) notes that Benjamin's work on photography and images offered similar insights to those offered by Roland Barthes' celebrated work on the same subjects a few decades later. She suggests that Benjamin's overarching contribution to cultural studies has been to foreground reflection as an approach to studying culture rather than systematic dispassionate scholarship. Johan Fornas (2008) suggests that Benjamin's work is emblematic of the converging lines of enquiry that typify modern cultural studies whereas David Suisman (2010) criticises the visual bias to Benjamin's work noting only fleeting references to sound and the sonic field. David Ferris (2004) demonstrates how Benjamin highlighted the binary between art and non-art by studying objects not traditionally seen as artistic. Ferris (*ibid.*) notes that the cities that interested Benjamin are examples of lived experience as opposed to the rarefied galleries and museums that are designed to showcase art and things of value. The proposal is that Benjamin drew attention to the value of studying the mundane and the everyday. Moreover, he identified works of art as operating within their own systems that by extension distance them from everyday life (Jan Mieszkowski, 2004). Graeme Gilloch (1997) offers insights into Benjamin's writing on the city; he suggests that much of Benjamin's writing on the city was conducted out of interest in the subject rather than any academic imperative but these writings have been recuperated into his canon of works posthumously.

Simon Cottle (2006) references Walter Benjamin with regard to rituals. He suggests that ritual is part of the framework of representation that strips art of its aura. M. I. Franklin (2002) explores parallels between Benjamin's work and the work of Donna Haraway. Franklin argues that both theorists are Marxian and both see technology as a means of emancipation from restrictive social norms and values. The core difference between Benjamin and Haraway is that Benjamin still sees a distance between people and technology whereas Haraway conceives of the two as fully integrated. By contrast, Michael MacDonald (2006) identifies parallels between Benjamin and Marshall McLuhan based upon the contention that both viewed media apparatuses as extensions of the human body. The link to McLuhan is perhaps in fact best understood with reference to Franklin's noting that Benjamin was relatively positive towards the role of the media in contrast to other post Marxists (*ibid.*). This is a fairly loose correlation

though and it seems hard to make substantive links between Benjamin and either McLuhan or Haraway beyond an interest in the role of media technologies in everyday life.

One of the most discussed characteristics of Benjamin's work is the notion of the 'aura' and this concept has also been subject to revision and reconsideration. Terry Eagleton (1981) offers a psychoanalytical conception of the 'aura'. For Eagleton the 'aura' is a mystical idea that defies precise definition but is relatively recognisable inasmuch as it operates from the uncanny aspect of the psyche (ibid.). There is a paradox in Eagleton's work insofar as he identifies the 'aura' as hard to pin down but spends much time attempting to create a semantic prison within which to hold it. What comes across in this reconsideration of Benjamin's work is, once again, the relative positivity of Benjamin's position. As already referenced he is frequently cited as being in favour of reproduction as a means of emancipating the work of art from its ritualistic confines that limits its meanings and values. Petra Halkes is an artist and academic who takes up this line of enquiry. Halkes argues that it is the 'aura' that relates a work of art to its surrounding environment (1999). She offers a case study of Edvard Munch's famous *Scream* painting and claims that even the crassest parody of the painting possesses some 'auratic' qualities by dint of its relationship to the original painting. She argues for a 'dialectical aura' (ibid; 118) that creates an icon from an object and transmits a perpetually weakening version of this 'aura'. It is a form of reflection, both produced and consumed, inasmuch as the mirror image is both created and consumed by the subject. Thus no image can be entirely devoid of an 'aura'. At the other end of the spectrum is the argument that 'aura' can be constructed. This is most readily seen in business and marketing literature which makes reference to Benjamin but then proceed to offer step by step instructions for creating an 'aura' for a product (David Lewis and Darren Bridger, 2001 and Ivar Bjorkman, 2002 are examples). These examples serve to remind that concepts with intellectual cache can be appropriated to any cause.

'Aura' is to be defined in this thesis as a spectrum of effects that an instance of culture, in this case music, has on a person to give this person a sense of authenticity in this culture. 'Aura' and 'authenticity' are both elusive and contested notions and so this definition allows for these phenomena to be understood and calibrated in different ways by different people. In the case of this thesis the 'aura' is located in the live event, where space is transformed into a site of culture being performed. In this sense, the thesis offers a phenomenology of 'aura' inasmuch as it is concerned with calibrating the various ways people react to 'auratic' moments. Some wish to try and capture them and others prefer to immerse themselves in these moments. As this thesis will demonstrate in later chapters, different people see authenticity in different phenomena for different reasons. The core intention of this thesis is not to pin down which perspective is 'correct' but to embrace the idea that 'authenticity' is a concept that is actively utilised by people as a means of expressing their enjoyment of cultural forms. Benjamin's notion of 'aura' is deployed in this thesis as a frame of reference against which to judge these different formulations of authenticity. It is my contention that Benjamin's concept of 'aura' is pointedly elusive, as the following statement highlights. 'A man who concentrates before a

work of art is absorbed by it... In contrast, the distracted mass absorbs the work of art (sic)' (1999; 232). The crux of Benjamin's argument seems to be that whatever causes contemplation is in possession of an affect that can be termed 'aura' and it is this 'aura' that conveys a sense of authenticity.

Embodying and articulating authenticity

Authenticity is, of course, a long standing and hugely contentious concept. A comprehensive etymology of the concept is unrealistic here. What is worthwhile and achievable here is a brief review of recent contributions to defining and understanding this concept. Hilde Heynen (2007) offers a consideration of authenticity with regards to national identities and modernism. Heynen notes that modernity is partly characterised by a disposability that creates a sense of artifice to everyday life evidenced, for example, by buildings that are designed to have a limited lifespan (ibid.). She proposes barbarism as a counterpoint to modernism by way of foregrounding genuine emotions (ibid.). Charles Taylor (1992) offers a critique of modern society and the impact it has had on norms, values, ideals, and ethics. Taylor proposes that removing religion and romanticism in favour of science has plunged modern society into a malaise of rational thought rather than belief or passionate exposition (ibid.). Taylor does not appear to argue that this shift is necessarily a bad one but that the void left by religion and social order is dangerous. He suggests that the void has been filled by capitalism, which chases financial rewards regardless of the moral, ethical, or ecological consequences. Furthermore that individualism is withering society's ability to act on the issues that really matter, whether it is a lack of concern as to the behaviours of others, political apathy or similar.

Authenticity has been an ongoing intellectual concern throughout the history of academia. This is evidenced in works, such as that of Jacob Golomb (1995), which endeavour to map the historical progress of authenticity through different philosophers and philosophies. Golomb (ibid.) loosely brackets a series of philosophers from Kierkegaard to Camus under the umbrella of existentialism; each of these philosophers seeking to understand the role of the individual in societies no longer dominated by religious discourses. Golomb's (ibid.) existentialist narrative begins with Kierkegaard's internalised sense of self where individuals should stay true to themselves irrespective of external pressures. It then moves to Martin Heidegger's notion of authenticity that is partly based on receiving recognition of a person's individuality from other members of society. This tension as to whether authenticity is manifested internally or conferred through external forces runs through Golomb's reflections on existentialist approaches to authenticity (ibid.). Alexander Nehemas (1999) travels further back to consider the thoughts of Plato and Socrates on authenticity. Nehemas (ibid.) identifies early considerations in their work of the role of media in representing reality and argues that both philosophers conceived of authenticity in meta-physical terms. He also demonstrates the

groundwork of Friedrich Nietzsche's work in the writing of Plato and Socrates on authenticity; to wit that people can have demonstrable effects on the world by changing themselves (ibid.). Authenticity is clearly a concept that has endured and remains bound up with ongoing debates and considerations as to the nature and meanings of human existence.

This debate about authenticity and existentialism comes to its logical conclusion in discussions about virtual reality. Steven Jones (1993) explores the impact of the virtual reality technologies, emerging at the time of his writing, that in the event never really embedded themselves into everyday life. Jones makes the point that virtual reality technologies pose questions as to whose reality is being confirmed and challenged (ibid.). He also notes that virtual reality technologies of the early 1990s tended to be preoccupied with constructing visual realities and relatively unconcerned with the concordant audio track (ibid.). Jones references Walter Benjamin's notion of the aura and argues that the loss of aura is related to the loss of the aural (ibid.). Live sound includes ambient noise that helps to locate and orient the listener. Innovations such as stereo sound have been designed to create a sense of space for music to play within. Ambient sound and stereo sound are examples of the aura(l) that confer a sense of space and existence consistent with a recreation of 'reality'. Eric D. Barry (2010) takes this line of thought further to argue that recording techniques are designed to deceive the ear into imagining space that does not exist. Hi fidelity (Hi Fi) recording and reproduction is the endeavour to construct the acoustics of the concert hall and can, on these terms, be taken as an instance of the sublime (ibid.).

Another approach to authenticity focuses on the production, performance and consumption of authenticity. Sharon Zukin (2008) concentrates on consuming authenticity and rests her analysis upon a dichotomy between authenticity and mainstream commercialism. Authentic consumption for Zukin (ibid.) occurs at farmers markets and local stores rather than supermarkets and shopping malls. She relates authenticity back to the philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau and so conceives of authenticity as close to nature and opposed to the institutionalised frameworks of modern life. Zukin (ibid.) makes a link between authenticity and the work of Pierre Bourdieu by proposing the role of cultural capital as a catalyst of authentic consumption. Authenticity becomes performance here insofar as consumers are endeavouring to be seen by others as consumers of the right, authentic materials. This notion of performance stands counter to a view of authenticity that is undermined by any sense of construction or falsification. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (1999) collect a series of essays on the subject of authenticity in musical performance that are linked by a binary opposition between organic and manufactured performance. The latter characterised by a divorcing of performers from the origin of the narrative of the music and its creation and so not providing an authentic iteration of this narrative.

There have also been recent studies specifically concerned with authenticity and popular music culture. David Looseley (2003) discusses French popular music in terms of politics and

authenticity. His study is structured around a historical overview of the French music industry and French political attitudes towards music from the birth of 'pop' in the 1950s to date. The book contrasts traditional French 'chanson' music with pop music styles that were imported into the country from Britain and America. The authenticity debate is set out in relation to this tension and the declining popularity of chanson in favour of Anglo-American pop music. Looseley furthermore charts the varying strategies employed by successive French Governments to safeguard traditional French culture whilst aligning themselves with popular culture movements (ibid.). The book highlights the power of popular cultural forms such as music to enter the Government agenda and become bargaining tools in the hands of those seeking popular approval. Loosely recognises the trend in music culture for genres to perpetually splinter into sub-genres thereby fracturing the power of cultural movements (ibid.). This suggests that cultural movements tend to have moments in the zeitgeist that are only fleeting. Looseley's (2003) assertions and conclusions are very much restricted to French culture but his study does illustrate a means of interrogating authenticity that focuses on Governmental and institutional impact on the provision and uptake of popular culture. Bram Dov Abramson (2002) explores the country music genre with respect to the mythologies of performance and the discourses of Americana that serve to present country music as the sound of specific places. Abramson and Loosely both identify authenticity in the historically consistent relationships between geographical spaces and music cultures. Authenticity is tied to history and rests upon the plausibility of certain cultures being related to certain music genres.

For and against recognition

This relationship between space and identity also occurs in debates about recognition. Axel Honneth (1995, 2003) looks to recognition as a form of post-Marxism which replaces collective class consciousness with individuals seeking to create and promote their own identities within the maelstrom of modern society. Honneth suggests that Marxism was actually a critique of the industrial revolution more than it was a commentary on social relations (2003). He argues that Marx's real goal was to achieve equal recognition for subjects within a given society on the grounds that an inability to engage in production results in an inability to create an identity and achieve recognition (1995). Honneth debates the subject with Nancy Fraser who takes the perspective that social injustice is better corrected by redistribution (2003). There is a broad agreement that society is not currently meritocratic but Honneth takes a libertarian attitude towards social mobility and Fraser pursues a socialist agenda.

This is not to say that recognition is seen by everyone as the appropriate battleground for these struggles. Lois McNay (2008) undertakes a systematic critique of the use of recognition as a tool with which to understand social injustice. McNay begins by relating recognition to psychoanalytic pre-occupations with 'the self' and its relationship with the wider world. She also draws parallels with Bourdieu's concept of the 'habitus' as it represents 'the process

whereby social structures are incorporated into individual being' (ibid; 34). McNay's aim is to demonstrate the problematic nature of conceiving of a 'causal chain that flows from the psyche to society' (ibid; 56). Her point being that this causal chain overstates the role and potential affects that the psyche can have on the wider social world. Her thesis also explores the work of Charles Taylor and Jurgen Habermas who both, in differently nuanced ways, posit language as the connective tissue between individuals and society. People negotiate their place in society through linguistic articulation of their relationship with other people and institutions. The limitation being that this approach infers dialogue between the individual and society but that the nature of this dialogue is elusive. The dialogue can be communicative or ideological and ultimately hard to define.

With regard to Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser's concern with social theory and redistribution, McNay (2008) criticises both theorists for placing too much onus on individual agency. 'Social theory should dispense with the idea of recognition and seek to untangle, in their singularity, the indirect routes of power that connect specific identity formations to the invisible structures underlying them' (ibid; 161). The criticism is twofold. Individuals cannot realistically embody political struggles and power structures tend to be hidden and so not discernible through studying social relations. This may well be true on a political level but this thesis will argue that specific technological developments have empowered individuals to enter into amateur broadcasting. Recognition enters the agenda as a potential solution, albeit in this case on a less explicitly political scale, to social injustice which, in this case, refers to the passivity associated with consumerism. Intellectual engagement with recognition could, as such, be characterised as paying attention to the ways in which people are acting and seeking to promote themselves in modern society. This could be achieved through empirical research into how people conduct themselves within peer groups or social media networks. This position reflects Honneth's and Fraser's interest in social agency but also concedes to McNay by avoiding meta-theoretical proclamations as to the impact of digital technology on the politics of contemporary society.

This thesis is concerned with exploring mediated recognition. This is how people utilise the media to court the attention and admiration of others and seek to achieve status within communities. In this case music fans are broadcasting their attendance at live concerts and also looking to create music culture texts that are valuable to other fans. As these videos are watched by other fans the filmer is being credited as having been at the concert and having sufficient expertise to film and broadcast a video that provides a representation of the concert. As will be explored, the target audience for filmers are people who were not at the concert. This means that filmers are looking to demonstrate their attendance at 'auratic' moments of music culture but also provide mediated access so that recognition is conferred by other fans on two counts. This process involves cultural capital in utilising attendance at the 'auratic' concert as a means of distinguishing between fans who were present and absent but furthermore fans who enjoyed the concert in person and those who must accept an amateur

mediated representation of the concert. As the thesis will demonstrate, however, the transaction is rarely as clear as this.

Lexicon for the project

There are a few terms that will be referred to throughout this project that need introducing, explaining or pinning down as to their precise meaning for the purposes of this thesis:

The terms ‘filmer’ or ‘filmers’ are used throughout this thesis to refer to people who film concerts as amateurs. These people take their own video camera, camera phone, or digital camera and film elements or the entire concert of their own volition. This is in contrast to the professional filming crews and photographers that often work to capture concerts at the behest of the musicians, their management or the owners of the concert venue. ‘Filmers’ are filming for their own personal agenda and do not receive payment for their efforts.

The term ‘concert’ is used in this thesis to refer to live performances put on by musicians operating broadly within the ‘pop’ and ‘rock’ genres of music. Other types of concert such as classical or opera are not covered in this thesis. These concerts are planned, advertised and normally ticketed events that occur at pre-ordained times in specific spaces rather than impromptu or experimental musical performances. The audience at the concert will have attended with the specific intention of consuming live music.

‘YouTube’ is a website that allows users to upload their own video footage and watch the footage uploaded by others. All of this material is available free of charge at the point of consumption. The website was set up in 2005⁵ and is now the preeminent website of its kind; there are other similar websites such as Dailymotion⁶ and Vimeo⁷ but YouTube has captured the zeitgeist to the extent that many users will reference YouTube when speaking generally of user generated video content⁸. YouTube functions by providing each of its users with a channel on which they can upload and showcase their videos. Users have the ability to personalise their channels to an extent and are encouraged to provide a biography of their filmmaking history. Users may also identify other videos from other channels as their favourites and these

⁵ About YouTube

http://www.youtube.com/t/about_youtube accessed 06/12/2011

⁶ Dailymotion

<http://www.dailymotion.com/gb> accessed 06/12/2011

⁷ Vimeo

<http://vimeo.com/> accessed 06/12/2011

⁸ The collected edition ‘The YouTube Reader’ (Snickars and Vonderau, 2009) discusses user generated video content on the Internet beyond just the website YouTube.

will also appear on their channel as well as the channel on which these videos originally appear. Beneath every video is a section where users can leave comments and enter into discussions with other users; these comments are moderated in the first instance by the uploader of the video. Every video also invites every viewer to register whether they liked or disliked the video and aggregated statistics are provided along with the comments for each video. Users can also register approval or disapproval of comments left beneath videos. If a comment receives sufficient negative marks it is hidden from view.

For the purposes of this thesis 'YouTube viewers' refers to people who watch videos on YouTube but do not film and upload videos to YouTube. Their engagement with YouTube is strictly as a viewer of other people's videos. They may film their own footage but for whatever reason, which will be explored, choose not to share this footage on YouTube.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis comprises a methodology and then a series of chapters outlining the results of fieldwork. The first two of these ethnographic chapters are concerned with the logistics of amateur concert filming as well as uploading and maintaining these videos on YouTube. The subsequent three chapters offer more theoretical considerations of this phenomenon.

The next chapter (two) discusses the development of the project and outlines the research methodology. The first half of this chapter discusses the strengths and weaknesses of Internet research and also covers the initial difficulties encountered when searching for a suitable ethnographic space. The initial plan, as suggested by the literature reviewed above, was to carry out a project much more explicitly focused on interrogating notions of authenticity within music culture; digital media was explored and YouTube seized upon only once it had become clear that live music venues would not be welcoming ethnographic sites. The methodology chapter charts the travails that prompted the switch from engaging with music fans at concerts to exploring the enactment of their interest in live music on the Internet. The second half of this chapter sets out and discusses a pilot study that was used to refine the methodology and test the suitability of initial research questions. Given the changing nature of the research this stage was particularly important and so is detailed relatively thoroughly here.

The methodology is followed by a chapter (three) that sets out the logistics of amateur filming at concerts. It identifies various approaches that filmmakers take when filming at concerts and also articulates the pleasures of attending concerts in the words of those who attend them. Filming, as a way of being at concerts, is compared with not filming in order to qualitatively assess the impact that filming has on the concert experience. A typology of approaches to

filming is provided alongside an extended case study of a particularly interesting filmer and a consideration of why some people choose not to film the concerts they attend. The purpose of the chapter is to identify the transformation of the concert experience through filming and to identify the pleasures of live music by exploring the sacrifices that filmmakers make in order to obtain their footage.

Chapter four poses two questions. How do filmmakers prefer to present their footage on YouTube? Why do filmmakers take the time to share the footage on YouTube? The various approaches that filmmakers have when it comes to broadcasting their material on YouTube are discussed. The efforts put into editing and polishing footage are explored along with the extent to which filmmakers 'gatekeep' their footage in order to shape the opinions of those watching the films on YouTube as to the musicians and the work of the filmmakers. This chapter also assesses the various motivations for putting the unpaid time and effort into filming and sharing this material on YouTube. Ostensibly exploring how filmmakers understand YouTube and investigating what they see as their investment into being an active member of YouTube's filming community. The chapter seeks to understand the intervention of digital technology on live music culture in the words of music fans who attend concerts.

Chapter five considers filming concerts in relation to Walter Benjamin's essay on the 'work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' (1991). In this case live music is the art form being reproduced by concert goers with their portable recording devices. The chapter provides a typology of subtly different 'live texts'; each suggests a different attitude on the part of the filmer as to what might constitute an authentic text. This is followed by a paradigm of authenticity that draws out the various characteristics of authenticity and relates these characteristics back to the typology of filming techniques. The chapter demonstrates how authenticity is articulated by music fans in terms of how they speak about culture that they are particularly passionate about. By relating these articulations of authenticity to Benjamin's concept of 'aura' it is possible to discern a paradigm of authenticity that adequately represents the relationships between people and contemporary popular culture.

Chapter six focuses on identifying an economy of YouTube; made necessary by the fact that contributors to the website are not paid for their efforts. Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital is proposed as a stand in for financial reward; YouTube is argued to be a prime space for music fans to provide documentary evidence of knowledge and access to relatively scarce music culture. Filming as a conduit for cultural learning is considered alongside a typology of approaches to contributing concert footage to YouTube. The purpose is to explore different roles that filmmakers can adopt as broadcasters of concert footage in relation to the audiences who consume this content. The nature of this relationship as it is perceived by the filmer is informative of the economics of YouTube in the absence of financial rewards for contributors such as filmmakers.

Chapter seven calibrates the various ways of consuming music that are available to music listeners. Watching live concerts on YouTube is a new addition to consumption practices that include established methods such as listening to the radio and purchasing the latest CD album. This final empirical chapter explores the specific pleasures of watching concerts on YouTube in relation to other means of consuming music and music culture. The chapter draws these elements together to assess the impact of amateur concert filming on music culture with regards to the insights it offers into the pleasures of live music and how authenticity is articulated by music fans given their ability to capture and disseminate 'live' performances.

There are a number of themes that run through this thesis. The concluding chapter takes the approach of teasing out these themes and summarising what has been said and argued on each of these themes throughout the thesis. The aim is to demonstrate the contributions made in this thesis to each of these themes. This final chapter also suggests further research based upon peripheral issues identified during fieldwork for this thesis.

Chapter two – Methodology

This chapter will show that the final project is substantially different to the project that was initially designed. The initial plan was to interview concert goers at music venues in the city of Brighton to discuss notions of authenticity these people might associate with live music. The project ended up using interviews with concert goers from across the world on the subject of both live music itself and representations of live music on the Internet. The initial plan to interview concert attendees was modified to interview those who film concerts and upload their footage to share with others on the website YouTube. This substantial shift in empirical emphasis entailed significant modifications to the methodology and aims of the project. What started as a project hoping to explore notions of authenticity in live music culture became a study investigating multiple themes and broadening its remit to explore music culture both offline and online. This chapter sets out how and why these developments occurred.

The chapter is split into two halves. The first half provides an overview of the failure of the initial research plan and documents each phase of its refinement leading to the final project. The second half of the chapter is a write up of the pilot study that was conducted once a viable research space and methodology had been established. The chapter as a whole demonstrates how the project shifted from an inductive approach seeking to qualify a theoretical supposition as to the authenticity of live music to a deductive approach that investigated authenticity but also identified and explored additional themes pertaining to the revitalised project. Making the move from concert venues to live concert videos on YouTube involved significant shifts in methodology but also opened up new themes that would not have been covered in the initial project. The reason that the initial plan failed was because insufficient attention had been given to considering why participants would want to devote any of their time to the project. The demographic of people that the project was trying to engage with has actually always been much the same irrespective of where I was trying to find them. The project was looking for people who go to concerts and this chapter demonstrates how the project needed to be about more than just attending concerts in order to pique interest amongst potential participants. It needed to be more than just a straightforward incursion into a form of leisure time enjoyed by many people. It was an opportunity to focus in on a specific group within the crowds of people at concerts and afford them recognition as a way of compensating them for their time.

Literature review

The initial plan was to follow the methodological procedures established by the Chicago school of sociology and continued by the Birmingham centre for contemporary cultural studies and a plethora of cultural studies academics. The approach involves making contact with a few people who act as gatekeepers and introduce researchers to their world. Ethnography consists

of in-depth interviews with key players within the space and participant observation of the workings of the space. A classic example from the Chicago School of Sociology is William Foote Whyte's (1933) study of Italian immigrant communities living in Boston during the 1930s. His work contributed to the development of participant observation as a research method but his approach involved both observing and interviewing members of the Italian immigrant communities he was studying. It is an approach that has been used more recently in the study of subcultures. Sarah Thornton (1995, 1997) and Ben Malbon (1998, 1999) used a markedly similar approach to William Foote Whyte (*ibid*) in order to gain access to the club cultures of London. Thornton used similar methods in order to understand the lifestyles of people whose cultural affiliations, as opposed to traditional categorisations such as gender or race, are different to those of the researcher. Thornton (*ibid*) interviewed several 'clubbers' and also accompanied them on nights out clubbing in order to observe the cultural specificities of 'club cultures'. Malbon conducted interviews with several 'clubbers' and after the interview accompanied some of them on nights out whilst asking others to complete diaries of their nights out. The upshot in both cases was ethnography that both represents 'club cultures' in the words of some of its participants but also in the reflections of the researchers on their own participation within this cultural sphere.

My initial intention was to carry out fieldwork at live concert venues but this was abandoned in favour of approaching participants via message boards on the Internet. The reasons for this shift are explained in the discussion of the development of the project that follows this literature review. Message boards are increasingly being recognised by academics as meeting spaces for people who share cultural interests (for example Christine Hine, 2000, 2005). A message board on a given subject will by its very nature attract contributions from people with an interest in that subject. They have, as a result, become a productive means of researching participants in a plethora of cultural pursuits. Christine Hine's (2000) exploration of online coverage and discussion about the trial of Louise Woodward⁹ is an early and notable example of this trend. Her work demonstrates how the Internet facilitates the development of 'grass roots' social groups committed to a specific cause or socio-political standpoint. Joelle Kivits (2005) and Shani Orgad (2005) offer two examples of conducting qualitative research via the Internet and using message boards as a space in which to connect with potential participants. Both are studies of message boards used by people sharing information and experiences regarding personal health and wellbeing. One of the core aspects of both Kivits' (*ibid*) and Orgad's (*ibid*) respective projects is that they are about being on the Internet. Their projects are both concerned with what people are doing on the Internet and so approaching and engaging with people via the Internet is logical. It is not a matter of going online to find participants simply because it was not possible to get access to them in person. One of the limitations of Internet research is, consequently, that it makes the research *about* the Internet as a socio-cultural space. It cannot simply be deployed as a convenient means of communicating with research participants.

⁹ A British childcare worker convicted and later acquitted of murdering an American child in her care. The complex nature of the case allowed groups to emerge on the Internet both in support and condemnation of her.

Another facet of message boards is that they tend to display is the number of messages that a person has posted. This provides statistical data that can be used for quantitative analysis. A drawback of this, however, is that researchers entering into a message board for the first time are easily identifiable as outsiders who have not made any substantive contributions to the community. This marks the researcher out as a new entrant to the community and, as borne out by academic research into message board culture (such as Jason Rutter and Gregory W. H. Smith, 2005), can lead to the researcher being treated with suspicion and / or diffidence. Rutter and Smith (ibid) highlight the importance of actually contributing to message boards in order to gain the trust of their users before requesting help. The researcher is thereby engaging in the online equivalent of participant observation.

This project eventually eschewed message boards in order to conduct interviews via email. The approach was influenced by that of Joelle Kivits (2005) who maintained long term email correspondence with her research participants to the extent that they became 'virtual' friends by the end of the process. Kivits' (ibid) research was focusing on how people with health conditions used message boards for information and support and so necessarily involved an ongoing dialogue with these people during the course of their health problems. As with Kivits, however, I never actually met the participants in my project. As such, I missed out on a whole layer of non-verbal communication throughout my interactions with these people. On a positive note, conducting the research in this way allowed me to reach out to people right across the globe. People I would have had little chance of interacting with in person. Many of the participants came from USA and Canada, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, as well as South East Asian countries.

The development of the project

The initial research plan proposed an ethnographic study located within Brighton as a specific geographical space. Brighton boasts a wide range of music venues from a large arena sized venue¹⁰ through to a plethora of small pub sized venues and even a renovated 'speak easy'¹¹. As a result the city plays host to a range of live music experiences from international superstars charging over £50 per ticket to local unsigned bands performing for free. The aim was to conduct a comparative study of 'mainstream' and 'alternative' attitudes towards authenticity by gaining access to at least two of these venues and interviewing concert-goers. The hope was to compile qualitative data that both demonstrated the viability of authenticity as a value attributable to cultural phenomena and provide an insight into different ways in which authenticity as a concept is articulated by mainstream and alternative audiences.

¹⁰ The Brighton Centre, <http://www.brightoncentre.co.uk/scripts/default.htm>, last accessed 17/10/2011

¹¹ The Green Door Store, <http://www.thegreendoorstore.co.uk/>, last accessed 17/10/2011

The project would have followed in the tradition of cultural ethnography insofar as it would have sought to investigate a cultural practice occurring in a geographical space. The aim would have been to identify and explore specific cultural practices rather than trying to attribute cultural identities to a demarcated group of people. In other words to explore a geographical space during specific times in which it is transformed through cultural practices into a space in which authenticity is valued and strived for by cultural producers and consumers. Ben Malbon (1999), referenced above, does make efforts to identify the liminal nature of social spaces by noting how the city as a space transforms from a space of work during the day to a space of leisure during the evening. He still tends towards identifying his participants as 'clubbers' rather than people who go clubbing. The emphasis of my ethnography would have been on identifying the nature of the 'product' being consumed by people at concerts in order to better understand this product. As opposed to making any claims about kinship amongst concert goers or suggesting that attending concerts confers or requires the enacting of a specific cultural identity.

In the event this aim was never achieved. Despite numerous attempts to gain access it was not possible to obtain permission to attend any concert venue in Brighton with a view to conducting research. No venue returned any of my calls, emails or letters and so I had to re-evaluate my whole approach. The logical next step was to find another space in which fans of live music congregate. Ben Malbon (1998, 1999) made contact with his research participants by placing advertisements in lifestyle magazines. For this project I decided to find a suitable way of contacting music fans via the Internet.

The Brighton Music Network (BMN) operates as a point of connection between the diverse businesses working in the field of live music discretely in Brighton. With this in mind the BMN forum, accessed as a section of the BMN website, seemed a good place to find people with an interest in live music. It ended up being a good place to face up to one of the issues of online research: technical problems. The BMN forum is a closed forum that a person must register with before being able to access it. After registering for this seemingly ideal forum I was still unable to gain access and it. I attempted to contact the people running the website but to no avail and the BMN website bears the hallmarks of an archived rather than active website. The BMN is a collaboration among a number of companies and organisations with varying vested interests in the live music industry in Brighton¹². This included a local radio station, the city council, and digital media companies. It suggests the corporate/legislative nature of this network that, perhaps, in any event was not as ideal as it initially appeared. Brighton appeared, however, to be an excellent geographical case study given, as indicated by the creation of the BMN, that it has long lasting links with popular music culture. The unresolved issue remained how best to make use of Brighton and gain access to the people who enjoy the city's vibrant music culture.

¹² Its continuing existence is questionable.

I persevered with the idea of approaching people through Internet message boards but widened my search to include any message board related to live music. This meant abandoning any idea of tying the research to Brighton as a geographical space but did allow me to cherry pick the most relevant and widely used message boards in order to maximise the number of potential participants being approached. Having said that I did initially stick to picking websites by relevance and ignoring the amount of traffic they were receiving.

A number of websites exist to serve the needs of 'live music' communities around Britain. They range from 'what's on' type listing services to informative communities for unsigned musicians looking to make their way on the live music circuit. In each case the websites are oriented towards aspiring live musicians but are also used by committed concert-goers for the latest gig-related information. The two most suitable were Gig Guide¹³, seemingly the most prominent online 'gig guide' for the UK, and Lemonrock¹⁴, an online resource for unsigned musicians in South England. Messages posted on these two websites about my project were fruitless. Statistics displayed on each message board indicated that a few people had looked at my message requesting research participants but no one got in touch.

The net was widened further and took in a few more, similar, live music related websites and their message boards. The result was the same each time: no response. The conclusion I reached is that the user numbers for these sites were too small. Each site utilised up to this point had a viewership of around four hundred people¹⁵. Their message boards were in use and statistics highlighted a steady flow of visitors. New messages were rare, however, as were replies to existing messages. This had not seemed a problem at the outset as I assumed that a new message would find its audience. At an extreme level, however, the experience could be interpreted as the very visual imposition of an imposter. In a space where new input is rare it is, inherently, very visible when it does arrive.

It was at this point that trying to find an online space that was both well populated and straightforwardly linked to live music culture was abandoned. The imperative was to find a way of contacting a large number of people who went to concerts. eFestivals¹⁶ is a website that provides information on arts and music festivals taking place around the world. It is based in the UK and has expanded from its foundations in the late 1990s as a website dedicated to providing information on the Glastonbury festival. It advertises itself as the most viewed festival information website. It has a thriving forum with over sixty thousand members and hundreds online at any given moment. I obtained permission from the webmaster and posted

¹³ Gig Guide, <http://www.gigguide.co.uk/>, last accessed 17/10/2011

¹⁴ Lemonrock, <http://www.lemonrock.com/>, last accessed 17/10/2011

¹⁵ This information is available through statistics on the sites themselves.

¹⁶ eFestivals, <http://www.efestivals.co.uk/>, last accessed 17/10/2011

much the same message as submitted on previous occasions. Responses started coming immediately but there remained a sense of hostility towards the appearance of an 'outsider'. The first response I received came as a reply to my initial message on the message board advising me to spend some time contributing to the message board and reading other people's contributions as a more suitable means of getting the information I stated I was looking for; an example of the warning of Rutter and Smith (2005) regarding the researcher appearing to be an outsider. There were also a couple of instances of outright hostility that were framed as pinpointing the fact that I patently did not belong to this message board and did not know how to go about ingratiating myself to the members of a message board. This was in marked similarity to the experiences of Shani Orgad (2005), who also initially struggled to convince members of the health-related message boards she was studying that her agenda for appearing on these message boards was legitimate.

Those who offered to help were engaged in unstructured interviews which proved very helpful in the shaping of the themes to be further explored in the project. I was quite proactive in contacting people that had contributed to the eFestivals discussion directly but had not indicated a willingness to participate in the project. About half of the people contacted this way agreed to interview and about half again of these actually engaged in an interview. The lack of structure to interviews at this stage proved problematic insofar as I simply continued to question participants and it became a matter of how long before the participants lost interest and stopped responding to my messages. I was sending two or three questions at a time that were informed by the previous responses. It resulted in some very evocative interviews that articulated the vitality of live music with some eloquence but lacked clarity of focus and so were hard to qualify against one another.

The first person that I interviewed was a thirty seven year old male from Stafford. He was the only person from the eFestivals message board that actually responded in the exact way that I had requested. I had placed a message asking interested parties to email me at my university email address. Others had posted messages agreeing to help on the message board or had sent personal messages via the message board. He was the only person to actually email me. We had a long term discussion over email. The interview was unstructured. I asked two or three questions and then, based on his answers, asked two or three more and so on. His answers were long and very evocative and, perhaps ironically given that it was the first, his was probably the longest and most in depth interview of the whole project. The interview was as helpful as an introduction to online interviewing as it was as an insight into what I was trying to study. Following this interview I also spoke with a 31 year old male from South London and a female in her twenties from Horsham in Sussex. The interview with the second male was also long and prone to interesting but not particularly relevant digressions. The interview with the female did not get off the ground as she stopped responding after the first couple of questions.

The principle issue I had, at least with the two males, was how to end the interviews when I ran out of questions. I felt obliged to maintain contact so long as they were contacting me and was quite relieved when they finally stopped responding to my emails. The discussions frequently veered off topic, towards subjects like the differences between festivals and concerts or which are the best festivals, and being a naive interviewer I felt obliged to humour these digressions. The process was also very long. It made me reflect on whether it is worthwhile, given the aims of the project, to follow a person for a long period of time or simply 'get to the point' and ask them what they think of live music.

The experiences detailed above highlighted that there needed to be a reason beyond convenience for conducting the research online. Where I had initially viewed the Internet as a research tool I needed to view it as a research space. It is possible to use the Internet as a functional means of communicating with other people for research purposes. Nick Couldry (2003) refers to conducting interviews using email for his research on media rituals where there is no inherent link to the use of the Internet regarding the media rituals he discusses; it was simply a convenient means of conducting the interviews. Using the Internet to conduct research that is at least in part about what happens on the Internet is more rewarding. Adam Reed (2008), for example, interviews people who maintain blogs that address everyday life in London. This research explores the similarities and differences between lived experience in the physical world and its articulation in a virtual world. There is a clear logic to his decision to contact and interview participants via their blogs. Online interviewing is not simply a matter of convenience but a reflection of the aims of the research.

The potential of the website YouTube as a research space was realised by accident. As a concert-goer myself I often use the internet to research bands that I am going to see and check up on bands playing locally to see if I might like to see them. This has led me to using a plethora of websites dedicated or related to music culture. Amongst these YouTube emerged as an ideal ethnographic site. It is a high profile website that hosts videos uploaded by users to be streamed for free by other users. Registration to the site is not required and videos are available to anyone around the globe with a sufficiently high speed Internet connection. Crucially, a number of users like to upload footage they have shot at concerts they have attended. Marking themselves as people with an active interest in live music.

I started searching for YouTube users who would be suitable for interviewing. My criteria were that they needed to have a selection of concert videos (twenty plus) on their channel and communicate in English. At least fifty per cent of YouTube channels searched actually met the criteria for having at least twenty concert videos and the vast majority were English speaking. The latter is explained by the fact that searching using English terminology is predisposition to finding English speaking people, although it did return a small proportion of non-English speaking YouTube users from across the globe. At this stage I was searching by putting the names of musicians I knew were touring at the time or had recently finished touring into the

YouTube search function. This meant that early interviewees shared musical taste with me. Again interviews were unstructured. I asked a standard opening question that enquired as to how they got started filming gigs and then uploading these videos to YouTube and was then guided by their responses. Once again this resulted in some very interesting but discursive interview transcripts. It was, however, much easier to find people to get in touch with and these people were generally much more willing to help and much more enthused about the subject. I felt at this stage that I had happened upon the right space for my project.

At this point I made two decisions. Firstly, I decided to create a standardised set of open questions to be asked of every participant. I felt by this stage that I had already identified suitable lines of enquiry and was also concerned by the discursive nature of the interviews. Secondly, I decided to condense the process somewhat. So, rather than engaging in a question-by-question conversation I decided to send questions in batches of three or four or even in one go as a questionnaire. I was already frustrated at this stage by participants dropping out mid-interview. I felt that the initial interviews detailed in the pilot study had already sufficiently assessed the field and established my lines of enquiry so that I could target questions at exploring the relevant issues. On reflection I was almost certainly too quick to do this and would have benefited from another five or six open-ended interviews to get an even better sense of the field before deciding on my lines of enquiry.

Pilot study: identifying lines of inquiry

The pilot study consisted of five interviews conducted sequentially rather than simultaneously. This was partly due to my inexperience as an interviewer but also so that each interview could inform and refine the procedure of the following interview. All five interviews began with the same question, asking how the person had come to filming concerts and uploading the footage to YouTube. The interviews then followed the responses of the interviewees.

The first to be interviewed was Dwight¹⁷, a forty one year old male from Ohio. He films concerts with the specific intention of uploading the films to YouTube and then embedding these videos on his blog with a review of the concert. Throughout the interview his blog and the Internet in general were his frames of reference rather than the YouTube web pages hosting his videos. The second interview was with Carson from Toronto. This interview ended quickly as he stopped responding after my third email and so was only asked four questions in total. The third interview was with Tobias; a twenty seven year old male from Dublin. The fourth interview was with Joe from Camden Town in London; he is thirty years old and works for a London advertising agency. He requested that I send him a few questions rather than engage in an ongoing dialogue and so received a makeshift questionnaire. He returned the

¹⁷ Participant names are all pseudonyms

questionnaire with links to some of his YouTube video incorporated into the transcript as a means of illustrating some of his answers. This interactive / multimedia approach to completing the questionnaire struck me as a significant benefit of conducting the interview online. The final interview was with Patrick from Guildford. Patrick was one of the first people I contacted but his interview turned out to be the lengthiest to complete; to the extent that I was still in contact with him once I had begun interviewing for the main project. This was due to him often taking up to two months to respond to emails. This experience demonstrated a significant downside to online interviewing and contributed to my decision to create a standardised set of questions and send these to interviewees in batches to minimise the number of email exchanges required to complete an interview. Patrick did, however, offer feedback saying that he appreciated answering one or two questions at a time and would not have been able to cope with a full questionnaire.

The concept of space was the first issue to arise in Dwight's interview. He referred to the value that the Internet has brought to him by introducing him to so much new music but also pointed to the fact that his actual concert going options are somewhat limited by his geographical location.

I have an appetite for music that cannot be satisfied. I am constantly using the Internet and other media to find out about my favourite bands and tours, etcetera. There is so much good information on the net. The Internet has been a great way to learn about and hear new music. It has put the power of interest back in the hands of the people not radio and record labels. Music, particularly LIVE¹⁸ music is like a spiritual experience for me, can't get enough. I enjoy all styles of music and make an effort to see live music as much as my budget and schedule will allow. Unfortunately, the music scene around my hometown is limited. I tend to travel to Ann Arbor or Detroit to see many shows.

Dwight

Dwight's enthusiasm for music is unequivocal. His clear and unprompted demarcation of live music as particularly valuable lends immediate credibility to the overarching theme of the project by providing a clear example of a person pointing to live music as a zenith in their cultural life. With respect to space there is a sense of travel and pilgrimage to Dwight's music consumption. He refers to the Internet as having empowered and given him agency in order to explore music culture insofar as he no longer needs to accept what mainstream media provides him and can now go and actively seek out music that he wants to hear. The power of the Internet to impact upon 'media rituals' is referenced by Nick Couldry (2003) who suggests that the Internet has the potential to circumvent the procession of traditional media rituals by recalibrating how individuals engage with the media. Simon Cottle (2008), in response to Couldry's work on media rituals, advocates the creation of a typology of media rituals in order to aid in the calibration of the everyday workings of media rituals and the impact of the Internet on their working.

¹⁸ His emphasis

With reference to the physical world Dwight also refers to his willingness to make pilgrimages to more culturally vibrant geographical spaces in order to consume live music. This is in stark contrast to Joe who lives in Camden and so has a vibrant live music scene on his metaphorical, if not literal, doorstep.

I'm lucky and live in Camden so it's easy! It all started with this <http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=jVi7QYsTchA> and this http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=o4qMcY_eM_c. I randomly decided to take my camera to Arctic Monkeys at Kentish Town and see what would happen if I just held the camera up, without really paying attention to it. When we all piled back to my flat buzzing from the gig I loaded it up on my computer and discovered that the camera has a surprisingly good microphone and it sounded great. Everyone loved it, decided to do it again¹⁹.

Joe

Also in stark contrast to Dwight is the sense of community and collaboration to Joe's filming. Whilst Joe presumably films alone insofar as he is the one holding the camera he chooses to frame the activity in such a way as to include his friends. There is a sense of sharing space with his friends both at the concert and at his house after the concert when watching the videos. By contrast there is an implicit sense of individualism to Dwight's use of the Internet. Where Joe seems to use the Internet as a relatively prosaic means of extending the enjoyment of a night out with friends, the Internet seems much more transformative to Dwight with respect to the virtual cultural spaces it has opened up for him. There is also Joe's reference to holding the camera up and not paying attention to it whilst it films. It seems as though Joe wants to capture the excitement of being at a concert more than wishing to create a considered representation of the music and performance content of the concert. It could be summarised by comparing Dwight's use of the adjective 'spiritual' with Joe's use of the adjective 'buzzing'. Above all, there are clear indications already of substantively different ways in which both virtual and physical space is utilised by different people in respect of live music culture.

The second issue to emerge from Dwight's interview is that of the role he sees himself as performing in the process of disseminating his concert footage to wider audiences on the Internet. Dwight is clear that he simply uploads his videos and incorporates them into his blog with basic information about the content of the video. He is conscious to avoid affecting the opinion of the viewer by prefacing any of his videos with his opinion regarding the music or performance.

Obviously, it is not a true commercial endeavour, but it is a site I take pride in and make an effort to maintain. Blogs are funny that way; there is a certain feeling of obligation to offer up solid content. At the same time, I make no effort to really sell anything or consider myself the worthy critic. I also try to keep all my

¹⁹ The web links refer to the first videos that Joe captured and uploaded to YouTube.

comments on the positive side and limit my self-importance. There is enough negativity out there and besides, I believe music is all in the ear of the beholder. Let the user SEE²⁰ it and make up their own minds.

Dwight

It is apparent from this that Dwight prefers to perform as a facilitator of access to popular culture rather than as a critic. This is in contrast to a recent reappraisal of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) by David Hesmondhalgh (2006) which argues that cultural intermediaries are critics rather than mere facilitators of access to popular culture. In this way those who provide access to popular culture are afforded heightened cultural capital by being recognised as people with influential tastes. The idea is that cultural intermediaries exercise their critical faculties in the simple act of choosing what to provide access to. This is a form of cultural criticism unavoidable by anyone looking to provide media content but it is interesting that Dwight is so pointed in his efforts to mitigate against this perceived aspect of cultural intermediation. Hesmondhalgh (ibid) actually concludes his article by advocating more research into the nature of contemporary cultural production as a means of clarifying the relationship between cultural production and cultural capital. Addressing questions to filmmakers in order to qualify different attitudes about their role as cultural producers will be a contribution to this end.

Another issue related to broadcasting concerns the levels of skill and professionalism that filmmakers attribute to their efforts. Tobias balked at the idea of even being referred to as a filmmaker inasmuch as this tag suggests a level of skill and planning that he does not associate with his filming.

How did I get into filming gigs? Well to describe what I do as "filming gigs" feels a bit weird to me, it implies a level of professionalism that isn't really there! It started pretty recently actually, the first gig I filmed at was the Smashing Pumpkins earlier this year, I had bought the digital camera I have been using since specifically for that gig. Weeks later, it was the video rather than the pictures, I took many of those at the gig and only one video, that I kept going back to and which brought back all my memories of the experience. I also learned that the programme the camera came with, Finepix, had an option which made it extremely easy to reduce the video to a quality YouTube could handle, which was important, as I'm far from a tech head.

Tobias

This is a substantially different approach to Dwight. Tobias is filming ostensibly for his own benefit although he goes on to describe how he became more interested in the process and started filming obscure indie bands as a way of helping to promote them to a wider audience. The fact remains though that, where Dwight uses filming as a means of creating content for his blog, Tobias was initially filming for his own benefit and as an adjunct to taking still

²⁰ His emphasis.

photographs. This, in turn, indicates two different agendas for filming and different ways of engaging with YouTube as a broadcaster of this footage. Tobias also makes reference to the value of video footage in relation to still photographs and this points to the value of calibrating the value of video footage in relation to other media forms, as well as providing an insight into the role that memory and nostalgia plays in the attributing of value to media products.

Technology is also referred to by Tobias and this provides another means of identifying different types of filmmakers. In this case Tobias identifies himself as both an amateur with limited filming skills and someone with no significant interest in technology. In spite of this he still sees fit to mention the brand name of the camera he uses and it should be noted that both Joe and Patrick also talked about the filming equipment that they use. The case of Tobias implies a correlation between professionalism and an interest in technology. This is an issue that precipitates a reassessment of cultural production at a time when access to tools of cultural production have been democratised to an extent (as argued by Clay Shirkey, 2008 and many others). Digital technology and the Internet have made cultural production and distribution available to a wide demographic of people with access to these technologies. An interest in media technology comprises an element of cultural capital inasmuch as it provides agency to the holder as a potential broadcaster and consequently participant in the current media landscape. Clarifying the views of filmmakers on their cultural production will, as such, provide another aspect of the reappraisal of cultural capital advocated by David Hesmondhalgh (2006).

Another facet of cultural capital identified in the pilot study interviews is recognition. It is an issue that has received much attention in terms of the role it takes in the politics of power on an individual level. Critical theorists, most notably Axel Honneth (1995, 2003), have argued that recognition is a crucial component of power politics insofar as it represents the placement of an individual within a social world that is no longer dominated by institutions. Recognition as a concept comes through in all of the pilot study interviews but not in the all encompassing manner that Honneth (ibid) tends to explore. Where Honneth (ibid) is concerned with how individuals use recognition as a means of empowering their positions in everyday life, pilot study interviewees referred to a form of recognition that only operates within the sphere of live music culture.

It is pleasant to see a big number of views and high rating. Posting gives a feeling that I belong to some kind of community of fans. I don't really have around people who would have the same musical taste. For example, I like The Fiery Furnaces. Out of 5 million of Toronto population, just about 300 would attend their gig.

Carson²¹

I have seen some of the bands using the videos in MySpace bulletins and posting them on their bebo²² pages; I know at least one have added them to their last.fm

²¹ Carson is French Canadian and so his English grammar was occasionally clumsy.

²² A social networking website for younger users.

profiles. A couple have also been put up on a blog for the online section of a major Irish music magazine, Hot Press, but that's not much of a boast as the writer is a friend of mine, whom can be seen in quite a few of them herself, snapping pictures from the side of the stage.

Tobias

If it is good I want to show people to help tell the story. Plus people seem to enjoy watching them. Quite a few people post messages on the videos to thank me for uploading it. Also, I think it is good PR for the band and gets more people excited about seeing them, so win-win for all in my opinion.

Joe

My motivation? Genuinely, it is altruism. I share them with other fans. However, it is altruism tempered by a need for regard. I do these things, people thank me, either it's a recollection for them or a peek into something they couldn't attend. If people thank me, they are grateful. Others notice it, others give me respect. Respect heightens my profile and can lead to popularity and it happens time after time on sites I use not just video clips but photos too, and not just of concerts.

Patrick

Here are four different formulations of an interest in recognition. They overlap in the sense that they are all based on viewing figures for live concert videos and are framed within fan communities. Only Patrick appears to have higher ambitions inasmuch as he makes clear that he uses his videos to court gratitude and respect from other music fans. He is the most direct with respect to articulating his desire for recognition. In specific terms Joe seeks recognition in the qualitative form of messages of gratitude from other fans whilst Carson appears to judge the value of his videos in the quantitative terms of the viewing figures for the videos. Both Tobias and Joe refer to considering themselves part of the marketing teams of the musicians they film by promoting their music through concert videos. They are not formally recognised as holding this position but contribute informally by sharing videos featuring musicians. This whole discussion about recognition is framed within a debate about political economy and the democratising of cultural production, but there is also a significant thread about taste and the communities that form around specific forms of popular culture. As such, it seems clear that exploring this notion of recognition in relation to current trends towards user-generated content will provide a valuable additional dimension to the reassessment of cultural capital proposed already.

Another theme identified in the pilot study interviews relates to different ways of listening. As per the remit of the project this theme can be broadly taken as a dichotomy between listening to music performed live in a public space and recorded music listened to at the whim of an individual in a private space. Both Carson and Patrick, for example, refer to the immediacy of live music.

Being at a good gig is a blast on all senses. Loud sound, sore feet, rubbing shoulder with neighbours, alcohol, all the smells around, perfumes and other, seeing close somebody talented and famous, and getting goose bumps at the best vocal passages.

Carson

The buzz comes from the gig, the edification of the soul comes from the fullness of the music which is usually more present in the studio.

Patrick

It is already clear here, though, that this sense of immediacy manifests in different ways. Carson's sense of immediacy is physical where Patrick's is more emotional if not philosophical. This is indicative of two different ways of listening to and appreciating music. Carson goes on to describe how recorded music gives him much more control over the experience insofar as he can decide when to listen, where to listen, what to listen to and how loud the volume of the music is. Again this can be seen as a more physical and practical summation of the value of recorded music when compared with Patrick's spiritual valuation of recorded music.

As a supplement to this theme of ways of listening there is also the issue of the impact of filming at concerts on the enjoyment of live music. Two pilot study interviewees referred to the distraction that filming has on the enjoyment of a concert.

When I pull out my camera, sometimes I do feel like it is getting in between me and the experience of live music. Some people roll their eyes. On the other hand, it is great to capture a moment, post it and have people, fans comment and say "Thanks for posting that!" So, I go back and forth on its importance & the need of capturing video.

Dwight

For me, it [filming] doesn't have a big effect. I'm not obsessed with filming. Normally, I would film a song or two, and still enjoy the show. On the negative side, it is distracting. But I'm getting distracted anyway, it is difficult to stay focused for an opening band and then for a sometimes long gig, so it's fine to film a song or two. To some shows, I'm not taking my camcorder at all. On the positive side, it feels great to capture a good performance. It's like I'm taking a piece of it with me, something material. Sometimes I'm happier, if I'm leaving the show with good footage.

Carson

Both Dwight and Carson refer to a dilemma with respect to running the risk of not enjoying the live concert in an effort to have a good copy of the concert recorded for future use. The dilemma resonates with Walter Benjamin's (1999) essay on the work of art in the age of

mechanical reproduction. The essay reflects on the implications of the emergence of equipment that can make copies of paintings and other cultural artefacts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (ibid.). Benjamin's critique highlights that each copy can be considered to be subtracting from the value of the original by increasing its availability and questioning the value of originality as a concept (ibid.). Dwight and Carson seem far less certain as to where they stand on this particular debate. There is the sense that they both acknowledge the value of the original but perhaps do not value it in the same way that Benjamin did. Carson even implies that he sometimes gets more enjoyment from watching his footage after the concert than the concert itself. Joe, on the other hand, films in such a way that it does not distract him at all. He simply presses record on his camera and takes whatever footage this yields as a representation of his time the concert and so perhaps is of a mindset closer to that of Benjamin. What is clear is that there is much potential for an exploration of different ways of listening that begins with a dichotomy between live music and recorded music but proceeds to map out some of the ways in which people listen to music and the impact that the filming of live music has on listening practices.

The pilot study suggested that the most difficult theme to address and adequately explore would be authenticity. Ironical given that this was the initial single theme that the project was originally going to explore. I had made a conscious decision to avoid asking a direct question about authenticity in music culture as I felt that any such question would be too loaded. My hope was to use the discourse analysis techniques frequently used as a branch of social psychology exemplified by Ian Parker and the Bolton Discourse Network (1999); they look to apply this approach to a range of objects of study such as films, cities or bodies. The approach ostensibly involves looking past what any text outwardly broadcasts to its audience in an effort to pick out implicit discourses communicated by the overall representation of the text. For this study it would mean identifying discourses on authenticity present in the responses of interviewees irrespective but not without reference to the question they are answering and what they are saying at face value.

The pilot study yielded two such discourses. The first came from Joe with reference to his approach to filming and the other from Tobias who actually did mention his preference for live music over other forms of music.

...my style is to go mad anyway, but hold the camera up without really thinking about it. I don't stand and hold it still or look at the screen when I do it, so it doesn't ruin enjoyment at all. Lots of people tell me they love the jumpy effect it gives because it gives a better sense of being in the mosh²³. Legs in the air, beer everywhere, like this: http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=mmFeHI_6TfY or this <http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=3A54ppt6ksE>.

Joe

When it comes to live versus studio work, I much prefer the former because you can't hide any blatant lack of talent with studio trickery or pro-tools in a live gig; also I feel quite often the underlying energy and urgency originally contained within a song can be lost in studio production. Of course I do enjoy albums too, but I love to see how bands often change songs to better suit a live environment too, loud songs become acoustic and vice versa, mellow songs become monstrous sprawling epics that sound like the soundtrack to an apocalypse. A great album can be an incredible moment when you discover one, and consume a lot of your free time too, it can become something like the soundtrack to your life. A great gig can just flatten you, knock the wind out of you, unable to form coherent thoughts or sentences, it's a much more immediate and I guess visceral thing.

Tobias

Joe's discourse on authenticity is based on verisimilitude inasmuch as he clearly wishes to capture an accurate representation of his experience at the gig. He presents this as a natural phenomenon whereby he takes the camera and films without thinking about it but the fact that he refers to this as his style suggests that he has given it some thought and appraised different ways of filming at some stage. Tobias also seeks to highlight the spontaneity and immediacy of live music but in the sense that this adds value to the text rather simply being a different mode of presentation as per Joe. There is a sense that the live music text is somehow *more* than the recorded music text. There is also the notion of music being in the background as a soundtrack and then very much in the foreground as it 'flattens' Tobias at some concerts. Time is also a factor in the distinction between live music and recorded music. Discovering a great album is an 'incredible moment' but this is tempered by the immediate qualification that this album is likely to become background music and consumed more frequently but with less attention paid to the content of the videos. Live music on the other hand only occupies given moments and Tobias' suggestion that he finds it difficult to 'form coherent thoughts or sentences' could be taken as an inability to ascribe a simple use value to live music in the way he can for recorded music. Joe's and Tobias' statements contain two discourses on authenticity in music culture that seem relatively similar inasmuch as they deal with immediacy and spontaneity but are distinctive in their respective nuances inasmuch as Joe's is focused on the physical experience of being in an energised crowd where Tobias' seems more philosophically attuned to the emotional power of music. This exercise demonstrates the

²³ Moshing is an aggressive form of 'dancing' at rock and heavy metal concerts. It involves groups of people jumping together and knocking into one another with the implicit acceptance of other members of the 'mosh'.

potential of exploring authenticity through discourse analysis and therefore not devoting any section of the interviews in the main project to discussing authenticity in straightforward terms.

The legacy of the pilot study

Overall this pilot study identified four distinct areas to be addressed during interviews and a fifth that can be explored through discourse analysis. The discursive nature of the interviews led to a decision to create a list of core questions that would be asked of all participants. Also that I should be flexible and responsive to each participant with respect to whether these questions formed an ongoing interview dialogue or were simply sent as a questionnaire. Where possible I would conduct ongoing interviews as this initially seemed to yield more thorough answers, but if a participant seemed non-committal or gave the sense that they may not have the time then I could send a questionnaire in an effort to get something from them.

Towards the end of this period of contacting filmmakers I started contacting viewers of live concert videos on YouTube. I identified them by looking at the comments section for each live concert video that each filmmaker I interviewed had on their respective channels. Each comment would appear alongside the name of the commenter and their name would also serve as a hyperlink to their YouTube channels. If the viewer had written their comments in English and did not have any live concert videos of their own on their channel then I would contact them. For these interviews I decided to stick to sending a questionnaire as I only had five questions to ask and felt that by their nature viewers had less commitment to YouTube than filmmakers and so would be more likely to withdraw mid-interview or balk at the idea of answering a long list of questions. The five questions I did ask reflected the themes identified in the pilot study and so it is worth noting that the pilot study also helped to define the shape of this secondary stage of interviewing²⁴.

The interview process became increasingly refined through the course of the fieldwork. A notable change was the level of interaction I engaged in beyond posing the core questions with participants. Initially I was keen to correspond with participants given that they were from all over the world and we often shared music tastes. I had inadvertently become involved in the sort of behaviour I was looking to study myself. The principal reason this engagement diminished was that I found as I was interviewing more and more people I simply did not have time for these extra-curricular conversations. I initially found it useful as an icebreaker to compliment a prospective interviewee on their videos or the layout of their YouTube channel. I would equally remark if they had filmed concerts I had been to myself or were filming

²⁴ The questions asked of both filmmakers and YouTube viewers can be found in appendix A and B respectively.

musicians I also liked. By the end of the project I found that I only engaged with participants if they specifically asked questions of me. It had become clear by this point that these icebreakers were not really necessary and were perhaps more indicative of my inexperience as an interviewer.

Experience also taught me to not place so much stock in individual interviews; that interviewing is to some extent a 'numbers game'. This partly explains the shift towards distancing myself from interviewees but also manifested itself as a gradual shift from posing questions in twos or threes to simply sending questionnaires to interviewees. This obviously calls the whole notion of interviewing into question but the open ended questions and the fact that, as it turned out, there was no discernible drop in the length of answers from participants suggests that a set of open-ended questions posed as a questionnaire can operate as an interview. To clarify, some people gave short, one-line answers and others provided much longer paragraph length responses; how these questions were posed had no clear impact on the length of their answers.

I developed tactics for closing out the interview process. Some interviewees expressed an interest in what would happen to the information and a few thanked me for offering them an opportunity to reflect upon an aspect of their everyday lives they had given little thought to. As a result I developed a standardised message that was sent to interviewees. The message thanked interviewees for participating and explained the writing up process. It also asked interviewees to ask any other questions they had and also to talk about anything they felt was relevant that had not been covered in the questions I had posed. Nobody took up this offer.

Conclusions

This methodology chapter should make clear that the project I ended up doing is significantly different to the project that was initially planned. A consequence of this is that the overall approach has shifted from inductive in nature to deductive; the initial wish to test the theory that live music is a more authentic form of cultural consumption has become an open-ended exploration into the burgeoning cultural pursuit of amateur concert filming. The only element that remained consistent was a wish to explore authenticity as a concept in relation to live music. The pilot study was therefore pivotal in not only refining the research techniques I would use but also in identifying additional themes to explore further. As the project moved through different spaces the aims also changed. It would not have made sense to conduct the study on YouTube and stick to only researching authenticity. It is equally likely that had the initial plan been successful then additional themes would also have been identified. Had I managed to gain access to a live music venue it is likely that interviews with concert goers would have been shaped by their being initiated at a concert venue in the same way that the interviews for this project were shaped by their emergence from YouTube. As such the

methodology of this project has involved both locating a viable space for study and then tailoring the approach and the aims of the project to reflect the space in which the research was carried out.

The turnaround from struggling to even gain access to a space to finding people more than happy to talk at length is thought provoking. One of the themes to emerge from interviews with filmers is that of recognition and I believe this theme explains the turnaround. Many filmers outwardly expressed their gratitude to me for taking an interest in their work. They do not get paid for filming concerts and so take this recognition as validation of their work in lieu of payment. This is an issue that will be explored more substantively later in the thesis but is worth identifying here as a reason for the relative ease with which I found willing participants on YouTube. To return to the concert venues that I tried to gain access to, there was no reason for them to accommodate me. These venues would not gain anything significant beyond my offering to help out around the venue and would have had the aggravation of an additional member of staff taking the space of a paying customer²⁵. When I turned to Internet message boards I was still trying to engage with people without being able to offer them anything in return. The lack of enthusiasm of those I did reach via message boards is indicative of this. This research project has demonstrated that interviewing people who have an agenda or a story that they want to tell will result in much richer empirical data than determinedly trying to engage with people under circumstances or on matters that they have little interest in discussing at any length. The fact that a number of YouTube viewers were willing to answer questions confounds this slightly but they invariably provided short and to the point answers where filmers were much more likely to offer lengthy answers and also veer off on digressions in order to say things that they wanted to say but that were not directly addressed by my questions. To summarise, this project ignited when it found a group of people who were grateful for being approached and had something to say; the methodology of this project necessarily adapted to accommodate these people.

²⁵ All enclosed public spaces have strict occupancy rules in view of health and safety legislation.

Chapter three – Filming Concerts: negotiating spaces through the lens of a camera

This initial empirical chapter maps out the concert space as it is experienced by filmmakers. The purpose of the chapter is to explore how filming reshapes the concert space and affects the behaviours of filmmakers. In order to achieve this, filmmakers are categorised into four groups that reflect four different approaches to filming at concerts. The first group discussed are 'furtive filmmakers' who are aware of the potential distraction that their actions can have on the enjoyment of others and so use tactics to avoid such disturbances. 'Determined filmmakers' are explored next and are set out as filmmakers who are willing to disrupt other people in order to get the footage they want. 'Pragmatic filmmakers' are the third group identified and are filmmakers who will only film if the circumstances are right and are content not to film if the situation they find themselves in during the concert makes filming problematic. 'Surrogate filmmakers' film on behalf of a friend so that the friend can enjoy the concert. A counterpoint to this typology of filmmakers is provided by discussing the views of those people who do not film but 'enjoy the show' instead. This final group is utilised as an exploration of the reasons why people who, although they do consume live concert videos on YouTube, prefer not to film whilst at concerts.

The chapter begins with a discussion of music, space and place and proceeds to explore the pleasures of attending concerts. This is carried out in order to highlight the stakes of interfering with the concert experience prior to setting out the typology of filmmakers and the group of people who prefer to enjoy the show and not film themselves. The chapter rounds off by putting forward an argument as to how these videos extend the space and time of the concert beyond the physical manifestation of the event. Overall, therefore, the chapter sets out the physical cultural space that this project is concerned with and also begins to conceptualise the impact of filming on music culture by examining the impact of filming on the concert space. This chapter and the next chapter are primarily concerned with mapping out the spaces to be explored in this thesis and so this exploration of the extension of the concert space through filming leads on to the next chapter that explores the reproduction and representation of concerts on YouTube.

Music , space and place

This project is exploring the shifting boundaries of music culture between physical spaces and virtual spaces. Music is being performed in physical concert spaces and then disseminated through virtual spaces on the Internet. This prompts an exploration of both the logistics and implications of this phenomenon. Academic work already exists to this end. Andy Bennett notes 'that musical processes take place within a particular space and place, one which is inflected by the imaginative and the sociological, and which is shaped both by specific musical practices and by the pressures and dynamics of political and economic circumstances' (2004; 1-2). Elsewhere, Bennett (2002) explores the case of the 'Canterbury sound'; a style of jazz and

progressive rock aligned to the geographical space of Canterbury in Southern England during the 1960s and 1970s. He also notes that Canterbury ironically has little to offer in terms of music venues and so the epithet of Canterbury sound refers to the fact that many prominent musicians were born and lived in the town (2002). Bennett speaks of 'urban mythscapes' drawing on the work of Arjun Appadurai (2001) on 'scapes' as the spaces within which different phenomena co-exist; Bennett's use of 'myth' implying that these 'scapes' are contrivances of popular culture more than lived experience. There is nothing inherently cultural about geographical spaces; culture needs to be enacted through performance such as in concerts. Sheila Whiteley et al (2005) nevertheless argue that cities are experiential settings that lend themselves to the performance of culture and also cite links between certain forms of music such as punk and techno dance music and nationalist ideologies. The point being that music culture is an ideal canvas for the 'mythscapes' that Bennett (ibid.) speaks of.

The Internet poses a further threat to the cultural heritage of specific places by allowing access to these places without physical presence. Holly Kruse identifies that 'music can now be disseminated online, and people can connect easily across localities, regions, countries, and continents' (2010; 625). Kruse's work focuses on 'indie' music that is positioned by producers and consumers as distinct from the machinations of the mainstream music industry. The implication is that tying culture to specific localities prevents it from being subsumed into the mainstream music industry insofar as this industrialisation would mean casting aside any sense of independence. The Internet simultaneously undermines and reaffirms this localisation by providing limited access to local music scenes through concert videos, recordings, journalistic coverage and other media. The counterpoint is that this access is only virtual and thus serves to reinforce a sense of physical absence within those experiencing via the Internet. Kruse (ibid.) points out that local music scenes have persisted long after the introduction of the Internet inasmuch as it does not offer a new geography of space but rather a different way of navigating and accessing physical spaces. Access to music culture could currently be considered two tiered: physical and virtual. This is where the issue of filming becomes significant. Filmmakers have physical access to music culture and capture it to provide virtual access to other people through the Internet.

There is another aspect to the relevance of space and place as a way of calibrating the impact of music on everyday life. Music and music culture offer insights into the relative agency of different social groups within society. Adam Krims (2007) explores the enactment of music cultures in urban spaces from a Marxist perspective. He draws on the work of Theodor Adorno to suggest that specific places can operate as local sites of resistance to dominant cultures through music performance. Krims offers hip hop and riot grrrl²⁶ subcultures as examples of music cultures being utilised to empower the position of marginalised peoples. Hip hop and riot grrrl relating to African Americans and females in these cases. He argues the limitations of Adorno's binary opposition between domination and resistance and seeks to provide nuanced

²⁶ A subculture of Punk music performed by females that in part addresses gender inequalities through lyrics.

analyses of the impact of music cultures on social relations. The point being that music cultures are the starting point for asking broader questions about modern life. The attitudes and behaviours associated with music cultures are symptomatic of people exercising social agency.

The pleasures of going to concerts

Live music is a specific form of music culture characterised by relative scarcity. Technology has sought to make private music listening increasingly convenient but concerts still need to be travelled to and involve making very visible statements regarding music tastes. Concert spaces are complex, overflowing with people and much harder to negotiate than a person's private residential space but offer a qualitatively different kind of music consumption experience.

I have this argument every now and then. In the age of mp3s and vinyl collectors, I think I'm in the minority when I say that live music *is* music²⁷. Anything that's recorded on multiple tracks by people who likely weren't in the studio at the same time then is processed and mixed and mastered isn't really music. It's still a totally valid art form, so I'm not trying to downplay the importance of recorded music. I can name several albums that changed my life, but live music is human and personal in a way that a CD or a vinyl record never will be, let alone a mp3 file. My somewhat vulgar analogy is that recorded music is to live music what pornography is to sex. Fun, but not the real thing.

Harry

The crux of Harry's argument is that the production process of recording music unpacks it into its constituent elements. These elements are recorded separately to be stitched back together to create a coherent text through studio recording techniques. This disassembling of music is, however, considered by Harry to have removed the passion from the musical performance. Another way of looking at this is to suggest that all instances of culture take place within an aura or ambience; a somewhat intangible sense of reality in line with Walter Benjamin's concept of 'aura' (1991). The production process of disassembling musical performances in order to record each element separately means that a recorded piece of music has no coherent aura or ambience as each element was recorded at a different time and possibly a different place. Live concerts involve the production of music simultaneously in a specific place and so possess a coherent aura; even if live performances include mistakes and compromises regarding acoustics. The difference is between the coherence of recorded music and the realism of live music.

²⁷ His emphasis.

It is problematic to suggest that live music is *better* than other forms of music; indeed many interviewees spoke of being very passionate about recorded music. It would also be tempting to frame the aura in terms of logistics; a number of interviewees spoke of the thrill of loud music and being in an audience with like minded people. These logistics can also be constructed at discos, nightclubs and even to an extent at home. The aura is a matter of sharing space with a work of art, an original creation that in the case of live music is simultaneously produced and consumed. Here, Bruce in his early twenties and from Florida explains his preference for live music:

I usually prefer live music to recorded music. This is especially true of lesser known artists who perform in small venues. The intimacy and personalization involved almost always makes for an enjoyable experience. There are many musicians I can name who I have seen live and really loved watching, but whose recorded albums are nothing I would ever listen to. There's something about watching it all unfold before my eyes. I can't get enough of it.

Bruce

This is a notion of authenticity that is specific to music and the performing arts. The specific aura of different works of art is likely to be different and relative to the values of the medium it belongs to. The aura of an original painting, for example, is likely to rely on different factors. Sharing a space with the art or artists is probably a necessity but other factors are likely to be changeable. An important point is that the aura is a composite of a number of factors and that these factors can be isolated and mistaken for exemplifying the aura. Bruce refers to the raw emotion of live music but this is merely an element of the aura of live music and not an aura by itself. Recorded music, in Bruce's terms, may elicit a strong emotional response but will not have the full spectrum of auratic properties.

The aura is necessarily elusive and hard to pinpoint. Different interviewees made reference to various elements of live music that they respond to that can be framed as 'auratic'. The likelihood is that the aura consists of all of these elements or that an even better conceptualisation would be to suggest that these elements are all effects of the aura. Several filmers advocate live music above all other forms of music consumption, each for their own reasons. This begs the question as to why these people choose to film live music. The videos will be unable to capture the aura of the concert and filming will probably distract the filmer from fully appreciating the concert. Warren from Bognor Regis has reflected upon the impact his filming has on his enjoyment of the concert.

I've never had any really negative comments from others though I have had conversations with people after gigs where they question the whole ethic, motivation for doing it and indeed ask if it doesn't detract from my enjoyment of the musical experience for example concentrating on the image rather than the real thing. There is indeed some truth that it can do that but there are always two of us so it's shared.

Warren

The fact that Warren shares filming duties with his partner suggests that it does have a negative impact on the ability to fully enjoy live music. There is a suggestion that the distraction is not always evident but he goes into no further details as to situations where it does and does not cause a distraction. Warren answered questions in a lot of detail on various subjects in his interview relative to other interviewees. It is tempting to propose on this basis that this distraction is an interrupting of the aura of the live concert and that pinpointing when and why distractions occur is difficult for him in light of the elusive nature of the aura; given his clarity on so many other issues related to live music. The notion of the concert as being the real experience is reinforced though.

Attending a concert does not just involve consuming live music. There are other activities that form part of the concert experience and do not necessarily dent the aura of the experience. Interestingly, though, these activities are equally incompatible with filming. Drinking alcohol and dancing are positive adjuncts to experiencing live music but make filming problematic; although one filmer interviewed spoke of holding his camera and dancing then taking whatever footage this resulted in. As will be established in a later chapter, however, most filmers aspire to some level of professionalism. This means holding the camera carefully and concentrating on the act of filming and is why many, such as Harry, do not always film the concerts they go to.

No, not at all. If I did that, I would probably stop enjoying the show experience. It would become work. I film shows because I love live music and want to expose people to stuff I'm into. If I filmed all shows I wouldn't be able to just drink and dance and not worry about expensive camera equipment. I would say I film about one of every ten shows I attend.

Harry

Filming at a concert represents a particular way of being at the concert. The fact that Harry believes he only films one in ten of the concerts he goes to suggests the relative importance of filming and obtaining footage as opposed to being more immersed in the experience. As many filmers say about their activities, though, being a filmer means paying closer attention to what is happening at a concert. It means noting the beginning and ending of each song, paying attention to what is happening on stage, noticing interesting stage lighting effects, and other facets of the concert. In a way it is similar to the disassembling process associated with recording music. Filming is an attack on the aura of the concert and so is not compatible with

experiencing the concert. Drinking alcohol and even dancing may seem to be quite distracting behaviours but because they are not analytical activities they do not attack the aura of the concert and so are compatible with immersion in the experience. As Walter Benjamin claims of watching films '(i)n comparison with the stage scene, the filmed behaviour item lends itself more readily to analysis because it can be isolated more easily' (1999; 229). Filming itself is more analytical inasmuch as it invites filmers to identify and capture the detail of a situation. 'For the entire spectrum of optical, and now also acoustical, perception the film has brought about a similar deepening of appreciation' (ibid; 229). This deepening of appreciation occurs at both the watching and creation of the films. At the cost, however, of immersion in the event.

Filming concerts can be bracketed with a new set of behaviours associated with the kind of social media that YouTube represents. These behaviours are broadly based upon the documenting and broadcasting of everyday life. Through various Internet portals such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs and of course YouTube people are able to relatively unproblematically communicate their day to day movements and concerns. This communication is often framed as being between friends and family but much of the content is available to anyone who wishes to consume it. This cultural turn has created a demographic, if not generation, of people who document their everyday lives as a matter of course. This documenting invariably becomes a cultural pursuit in and of itself and ends up defining a way of being. This way of being does not suit everyone though; such as YouTube viewer Kelly from Toronto:

I have attended a plethora of concerts; a great portion of my money goes towards shows. I never ever bring a camera to a concert, I bring myself and that's about it. I don't need to take pictures of myself just so I can put them on Facebook to let people know I was there. I know other people will put videos up on YouTube so if I want to look them up I can. I don't want to be burdened with holding a camera and trying to carefully record the artist when I should be enjoying the moment.

Kelly

There is a fundamental paradox that filming the concert means not fully immersing yourself in it. Kelly rejects the idea of documenting her everyday life in favour of giving her full attention to it herself. She assumes that other people will be filming and is happy to make use of their footage if she wants to see videos from a concert she has been to. Kelly is a YouTube viewer rather than filmer but some filmers, such as Harry and Warren quoted above, seem to share this concern about the dissociative nature of filming. Some filmers, though, talk of filming as an important part of the concert experience and refer to obtaining footage as one of the core elements they look to get out of going to a concert. These filmers who have incorporated filming into their concert experiences are the exception to the rule and reaffirm that filming is a different way of being at a concert that is tied to a cultural trend of documenting everyday life.

The issue of filming at concerts has generated copy in the music and arts press²⁸. A consistent theme amongst these articles is that it is not the physical act of filming or its implications for other concert goers that is the problem; it is the philosophical implications of the act of filming that bothers some cultural commentators. In other words that filmers are spurning the opportunity to take in a concert first hand and preferring to accept the distraction of filming with a view to taking films as memories of an event they did not pay full attention to at the time. This arguably represents traditional media intermediaries challenging the validity of a cultural turn that threatens their relevance as cultural commentary becomes subsumed by social networking. It nevertheless highlights the issue of the pleasures of being at a concert and demonstrates how filming changes the reason for attending the concert from enjoying it to reporting on it.

'Furtive filmers'

Many filmers are mindful of the impact that their actions have on the enjoyment of others. They are conscious that they are engaging in an activity that differs from the primary function of the concert space. As most audience members are experiencing the concert directly there are some audience members who are at least partially distracted by their filming of the concert. In so doing these filmers are both acknowledging the primary function of the concert space and reflecting upon how their activities interfere with this primary function.

I've always considered other peoples' reactions when I'm recording. Right from the very beginning, I've understood that the primary purpose people attend rock concerts or whatever is to listen to the music whilst getting a glimpse of the musicians. So I do everything I can to never prevent anybody from enjoying themselves for the sake of me making a few recordings. I honestly can't really say for sure whether I've succeeded in this but, to date, nobody in the audience has ever asked me to stop recording or directed any negative comments at what I'm doing.

Alan

New cultural practices require feedback in order to assess their impact and so Alan from Manchester assumes he has not upset anybody on the basis that he has not been told as such. He does at least demonstrate a concern for not spoiling anybody else's enjoyment of the concert and therefore acknowledges that his actions are contra to the expected behaviour of people at a concert. His perspective is actually rather prosaic insofar as he feels that the point of the concert is to listen to music and see the musician performing this music at the same time. This is perhaps a necessarily functional view inasmuch as it is intended as an assessment of his ability as a filmer to encroach on the enjoyment of others and is consequently framed in physical terms.

²⁸ Articles such as 'Don't film it, feel it' (2006) in the *Sunday Times*, and 'What's with mobile phones at concerts' (2008) in the *Brisbane Times* are examples.

Filming behaviours can also provide insights into the different ambiances of different types of concert venues. A concert can be defined as any gathering of relative strangers in a public place where music is being performed (Christopher Small, 1998). This definition is necessarily broad enough to encompass music being performed in a small pub or bar to musicians taking over sports stadia or performing at music festivals where attendees can number in the hundreds of thousands. The important point is that most of these people gathered will be strangers to one another and so behaviours are required to be informed by conventions established over the course of the history of live music performance under different settings. The perceived impact of filmers upon other attendees can elucidate distinctions between the conventions that shape these different spaces.

In a small club or large venue, there is usually no reaction from those around. In a seated concert hall type venue, I try to be very discreet and have never had a negative reaction. It should be said that I go to extremes not to make it intrusive to others, both in the seats I choose, I try to be on an aisle or edge of a balcony so I can keep my camera low, by putting thin sheets of black plastic over the screen of the camera to block the intrusive backlight, and keeping my hands shielding the screen as much as possible. My brother, who also films, has once had a woman complain that his screen was in her sight line. Other than that, no issues.

Teresa

Teresa is in her forties and from Vancouver in Canada. Her attitude towards her furtive filming makes it clear that far more planning and care needs to be taken at a concert where the audience is seated as opposed to standing. The size of the venue seems to be much less of an issue. The formality of seating and occupying a designated space within the concert venue requires stricter adherence to conventions regarding personal space and intrusive behaviour. This furtiveness enacted at seated concerts is carried out on the basis that Teresa's brother received a complaint from another concert goer. Her tactics seem ostensibly based on a wish to avoid the light from her camera disturbing other people and so implicitly address the complaint that this woman made to her brother. Teresa's assumption that she does not bother other people at concerts where the audience is standing is based on the fact that neither she nor her brother has received any complaints under these circumstances. The distinction between trying to book specific seats within concert venues and not perceiving any reaction from other people at standing concerts is somewhat stark and suggests that her behaviour has been shaped by the lack of negative feedback she has received regarding her modified filming behaviour at concerts.

Furtive filming also displays a commitment to always filming at concerts as well as incorporating filming into the quotidian of concert behaviours rather than being an activity that is engaged in under exceptional circumstances. Filming part of the concert is part of the experience and failure to do so results in the frustration of an incomplete concert experience.

If this means do I take footage at every concert I attend? Yes, I do, with the exception of a few concert hall venues that I know have a very militant anti-camera policy that they strongly police, though even then I will try to block out anything that glows on my camera and sneak in a video or two. It has now become part of the experience for me. It frustrates me no end when I go to something that I can't capture on film.

Teresa

A number of interviewees refer to putting the camera away if it becomes apparent that filming is prohibited but Teresa will persist. It seems that the main issue is the glowing lights or screens of the cameras. Furtive filmers are not necessarily disrupting concerts through physical actions but distracting through creating a light shining amongst the mass of the audience and consequently drawing attention away from the focal point of the concert. It is these lights that also identify the filmers to those who are charged with 'policing' the concert space and ensuring good order from those in attendance. Cancelling out the light allows a filmer to better camouflage their activities and avoid being detected by security staff. Teresa demonstrates that it is possible to discreetly film without upsetting other people and not attracting attention of security staff. Other interviewees spoke of holding the camera so that it seems to be a mobile phone or habitually pressing an imaginary shutter to make the camera appear to be a still camera. The aim is to avoid disturbing others and project the idea that they are conforming with expected and accepted concert behaviours.

Another facet of the emergence of this filming culture at concerts is that some audience members will be actively aware that some people in the audience are trying to film the concert. They will look to keep out of the line of sight of cameras in the audience thus avoiding being caught on film. It is a courtesy that many filmers speak warmly of.

I try not to get in people's way, which can be difficult in gigs that are mobbed, but I am conscious of not pissing people off so try and get a position where I won't spoil anyone else's view or enjoyment, not always possible but I do try. A lot of people duck out of the way which is quite courteous, others just walk in front of you which you'll see in some of my videos, which kinda annoys me, not them per se, just the situation as it means that the video is kinda spoiled.

Paul

Paul, from Glasgow in Scotland, takes a pragmatic view regarding his films being spoiled by audience members walking in front of the camera. Some concert spaces are so tightly packed with people that individual agency is limited. The will of the crowd overtakes the needs of the individual to create a situation where Paul is unable to film as he wishes but is equally unable to blame the crowd. Other filmers make similar remarks as to the dichotomy between the courtesy of some audience members in ducking out of the way of a filmer and stating that they consider the film spoiled if a view of the stage performance is, even fleetingly, obscured by people passing in front of the camera. Audience members are perhaps being courteous by

ducking out of the way but it is of course equally possible that these people simply do not wish to be filmed. This is a notion that Teresa alludes to when she states that she avoids filming people in the audience at concerts but considers them 'fair game' if they make it onto the stage for some reason; the stage being the focus of attention at a concert both for filmers and non-filmers.

'Determined filmers'

Determined filmers are those who have similar frustrations as Paul above and other furtive filmers but who are willing to do something about it and not accept the situation. They actually tend to rationalise their behaviours in similar ways to furtive filmers. They will suggest that their actions are innocuous and do not affect those around them. Where they differ is that when confronted with situations where filming is problematic or not realistically possible they will foreground their own needs and risk upsetting audience members who are impeding their filming.

I blend in well. People hardly notice me. Those who do are mostly curious; some help getting me a good view. Others want to ask questions. I've had to shoosh a few! And there is always at least one who has to get on camera. Why do the tallest people need to be up front?

Jonathan

Jonathan is from New York and tends to go to free Christian rock concerts in his local area of Brooklyn. He gives an insight into the dynamics of the concert space by highlighting the need for a clear sight of the stage in order to fully appreciate the concert. He also notes that there are no obvious organising principles when it comes to the forming of an audience in a space that is not demarcated. So, whilst some people may help him to get a better view and in so doing demonstrate a communal spirit there are others who will stand towards the front irrespective that their height is liable to impede the view of others standing further back from the stage who are not so tall. The fact that he is willing to instruct other people around him to be quiet whilst he is filming suggests that he considers his filming to warrant him additional agency in relation to other concert members and so should expect quietness and also being helped to gain a better vantage point for him to film from. Where furtive filmers accept the situation that they find themselves in the determined filmers are more forthright in pursuing their agenda.

Security staff serve to protect the concert audience by acting to prevent any behaviours considered to be anti-social in the context of a concert or prohibited by those who own and operate the concert space. Typical examples of these behaviours include fights amongst audience members and any overly aggressive acts; people engaging in these behaviours are usually removed from the concert space and sometimes handed over to Police if their

misdemeanours are deemed to warrant prosecution. Security staff are also charged with enforcing 'no filming policies' if these are put in place by the owners of the concert venue or the musicians who are performing. Many filmmakers refer to accepting this rule and not filming if there are any warning signs on display or stopping filming if a member of the security staff approaches them and asks them to stop. Determined filmmakers are more likely to ignore any prohibiting signage or approaches such as this from security staff. Here Roberta discusses the reactions her filming has received at concerts:

When I was smaller and younger, a lot of shocked faces, but I think that was just because I knew how to actually use a camera I think, I've always been technological. But now, people are used to it, so I don't ever really get any reaction at all, occasionally if I'm near the front and the security are tight they ask if I don't, but I just ignore them.

Roberta

Roberta is a teenage girl from London. She clearly has little concern for the people charged with 'policing' the concert space and also highlights the relative lack of agency that security staff have under these situations; it appears they can ask but cannot demand the cessation of filming nor enforce their request with tangible actions. Roberta may make the most of her position as a teenage girl to challenge the authority of the typically older, burly men who work as security staff and are unlikely to wish to be seen harassing a teenage girl. Roberta is in the minority however; furtive filmmakers refer to enacting tactics in order to avoid being spotted by security staff that reflect the tactics they use to avoid other concert goers noticing their actions. Some interviewees who watch concert footage on YouTube but do not film stated on interview that the reason they do not film themselves is due to a fear of being caught and harassed by security staff for doing so. The security staff at concerts clearly operate as an effective deterrent for most concert goers contemplating engaging in prohibited acts but determined filmmakers will still afford themselves sufficient agency in order to actively pursue their own filming agenda.

Determined filmmakers must also battle against their own instincts if they are going to come away from every concert having filmed some of it. Many filmmakers prefer to capture a clear and steady shot of the musicians on stage. A few filmmakers actually prefer to simply hold the camera and allow it to move with their body as they dance to the music and move with the crowd. Many YouTube viewers express a preference for the aesthetics created by this technique. This issue is handled in more detail in a subsequent chapter. What is relevant here is that most filmmakers need to stand still and concentrate on their filming in order to achieve the results they desire. For a determined filmer this means sacrificing normal concert activities, at least partially, in order to capture footage.

Even if it's a band that I really want to dance to then I'll still try and get a couple of songs.

Katrina

Katrina is from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Her response to the question as to whether she always films at concerts suggests that her minimum haul of footage from a concert will be two or three songs but implies that under the right circumstances she will capture many more than this. Katrina is a determined filmer inasmuch as she is willing to forgo her own wish to dance in order to film. She seems, however, to negotiate with herself so that she can spend some time dancing and some time filming. Other filmmakers speak of simply putting the camera away and dancing when faced with circumstances similar to Katrina. What this also demonstrates is that there are clearly different types of concert and different ways of enjoying a concert. Some of these ways of enjoying concerts synergise better with filming than others but determined filmmakers will incorporate filming into their concert experience regardless of the type of concert they find themselves at.

Another facet of the determined filmer type is that these filmmakers often afford themselves levels of agency that they do not really possess. Concert photography is part of the mainstream discourse on concerts. Many photographs taken at concerts have come to be seen as iconic representations of musicians²⁹. Likewise concert filming is also a part of this discourse with a number of famous documentaries based upon musicians in concert³⁰. To be filming a concert then is to embody this discourse and it is this embodiment that leads some filmmakers to consider themselves as occupying a privileged position within the audience. These filmmakers believe they are entitled to be afforded the same sort of space that professional photographers and concert documentarians are. These filmmakers do tend to have professional links to the music or video production industry but crucially do their filming on an amateur basis and so do not attend the concert in an official capacity. Harry from Texas, for example, has studied video production at university and at the time of our interview was an Intern for a video production company that produces concert films. His concert filming, however, is undertaken as a hobby.

If it's a moderately-to-sparsely-attended show, which is most of them, there is never a problem. In Austin, people are accustomed to seeing photographers and the occasional videographer running around, doing their thing at shows. There are lots of students, freelancers, and local music media. Every so often I get someone wanting to know who I'm filming for or what kind of camera I'm using; your basic friendly conversation between strangers. I've also made some contacts this way that have led to freelance work. Although, there have been some Friday night shows that featured really popular bands, and consequently the crowd was shoulder-to-shoulder. During the massive South by Southwest music festival, I filmed a band called The Black Angels who are extremely popular locally. I had to literally elbow people to get from one side of the stage to the other. People would stand there, looking at me holding my camera over my head obviously trying to get through. But they wouldn't budge, so I'd just power through, putting a shoulder into anyone rude enough to not give an inch. It's not the best behaviour

²⁹ The photograph of Paul Simonon from The Clash smashing his bass guitar on stage is an example. The photograph was used as the cover of one of their albums.

³⁰ The film *Woodstock* (1970) about the festival of the same name is an example.

on my part, but it's annoying when people refuse the common courtesy of letting someone through. I stand 5'8" so I'm not exactly an imposing figure.

Harry

Harry believes his filming entitles him to freedom of movement around the concert space so that he might go about his work. He is very much in the minority in his willingness to physically impose himself on other audience members in order to film. Determined filmmakers moreover represent a minority amongst the sample of filmmakers interviewed. Reading further into Harry's comments, his sense of entitlement stems from the fact that this was a local band that he was seeking to film and this music festival is likely to have been populated by a number of music fans from further afield. Harry perhaps considered his local status to afford him privileged access to this concert space ahead of those who had simply arrived in Texas for this music festival and packed out what may normally be one of the sparsely attended venues that he refers to frequenting. He describes professional videographers running around the concert spaces he attends in a way that evokes a sense of urgency to what they are doing that he might also be looking to attribute to his filming. Professional videographers are running around doing their job by contributing to the filming of the concert and so Harry is also busy getting into the best possible position by any means necessary in order to conduct his filming. Harry also maintains a blog based on reviews of the concerts that he goes to in the Texas area. His videos are linked to his blog so viewers of his blog can read a review and see videos from the concert. Harry feels that keeping this blog up to date and with the best possible videos is reason enough to warrant his determined behaviour.

'Pragmatic filmmakers'

This third category of filmmakers refers to those who choose not to try and film in situations not disposed to filming. The act of filming is more of an adjunct to the experience for this group of people insofar as they are unwilling to allow their filming to disrupt the flow of the concert as an experience. This means avoiding disrupting both themselves and those around them.

I honestly try to be unobtrusive so holding the camera above my head is something I won't do. If I can't do it in a way that's not interfering with others' view or is distracting, I simply won't do it at all.

Warren

Warren is in his forties and has attended concerts for many years, has played in bands and writes for music magazines; although his main job is working for a pharmaceutical company. His attitude towards filming demonstrates that for him there is a flow and logic to a concert. His concern that he does not block the view of other concertgoers around him is a matter of courtesy but his wish to not distract himself suggests that he embodies two conflicting impulses. One impulse is to experience the concert and the other is to film the concert. When

the impulse to film comes to impede the impulse to enjoy the concert then the camera and that second impulse is switched off.

Some filmers will take stock of the position they find themselves occupying in the concert space and decide whether or not to film on this basis. Filming generally means being close enough to the stage in order to get the musicians clearly in shot.

I only started filming concerts last October when I bought a digital camera and I only film when I am really close to the stage or as far as fifteen rows from the front on the floor. There is no point otherwise because they, the band or singer, are only small and I think it is pointless.

Joanne

A furtive filmer or determined filmer would try and engineer a better vantage point from which to film but Joanne from Bolton accepts her situation and only films if she can get a good shot of the musicians. Joanne makes clear that for her there is only a small area within the concert space that is suitable for filming. Some filmers refer to using filming as a way of getting a better view when they find themselves towards the back of a concert audience; using the zoom function on the camera serves as a telescope of sorts. The videos they obtain are to an extent a by-product of a wish to gain a better view of the concert as it happens.

The number of people in the audience at a concert is another variable that impacts on the ability to film effectively. The ability to move within a space is invariably determined by the number of other people occupying the same space. Again a furtive or determined filmer would look to engineer some space but the pragmatist will tend not to bother; as Paul from Glasgow articulates:

I usually try nowadays, but was at a gig last night that was in a really small place and was rammed and it would have been pointless; all you would have seen was people's heads. If I can't get a good vantage point I tend not to bother. I'm big on quality control, a legacy from my audio bootlegging days.

Paul

The crowd contributes to the concert experience but detracts from filming possibilities. The inability to garner sufficient personal space to hold and operate a small camera is informative of just how tightly packed concert spaces can be. This lack of personal space manifests as a scenario in which a person's place is somewhat dictated by the position and movement of people around them. The concert audience is often hemmed into a specific place by those around them who are equally hemmed in. Every audience member must exist within a very confined space and cannot engage in any activity that would require a perimeter of open space around their physical presence.

Many in the concert audience are denied a clear view of the stage by the heads of people standing in front of them. Movement tends to become a little easier the further back a person is in the concert audience. Another filmer from Norway called Arne provides a useful overview of the human geography of a concert.

At a concert you can choose if you want to be up front sweating, head banging, dancing and cheering, be in the middle of the crowd, or relaxing in the back.

Arne

The paradox illustrated here is that the best conditions for filming are at the back and the worst at the front nearest the stage but the filmer needs to be as close as possible to the stage in order to get the best view of the musicians. Other filmers quoted above have made clear that they will only film from near the front of the crowd and so must negotiate with the conditions that Arne describes. Arne's videos suggest that he mostly goes to concerts by what would be considered 'classic rock' acts from the 1970s and 80s. These concerts need not host extreme representations of concert behaviours and actually 'classic rock' arguably created the blueprint for the current rock concert structure and narrative so should be fairly indicative of a concert experience. Arne's broad characterisation of the organisation of the concert space should hold as a human geography of concert spaces across different music genres. Arne also describes ways of being at a concert that point to at least three separate demographics of concert audience. My research suggests that filmers actually come from all three of these demographics but that their respective filming techniques will adapt to these ways of being at a concert. The determined filmers will be up front with the dancing crowd but moving in such a way as to maintain a space from which to film rather than dancing per se. The furtive filmer will likely find themselves the best possible vantage point from the middle area of the concert crowd. The pragmatic filmer will look to get into the middle or perhaps towards the front but will only film if the spot they find themselves in affords them the space and the view to obtain good quality footage.

'Surrogate filmers'

Another approach for those who do not want to spoil their enjoyment of the concert but also like to have some footage from the concert is to rely on another person to do the filming. This means knowing someone else who is willing to do this.

Yes, I do go to a lot of concerts. And no, I don't want to film them myself. You experience less of the fun if you're watching the show behind a lens. If I want to record the show somehow, I usually make a friend do it for me so I'm not distracted. I might decide to do it though if a band I liked actually asked me to film for them!

Clinton

My partner usually does it so I don't bother.

Faith

Both Faith from Bahrain and Clinton from USA are content with videos that represent another person's perspective of the show. Neither seems to particularly require that the videos they watch represent their specific view of the concert. The fact that Clinton would agree to film if the musicians themselves asked him to do it indicates he would be motivated by a sense of power and privilege relative to other music fans in the audience. Clinton identifies a power structure within a concert where the musicians have the most power but then his needs come before those of his friends who seem to have the least power. Faith references a sense of privilege inasmuch as she is involved in a relationship with someone who films and so she simply does not need to. Her partner also contributed to this study and marked himself out as a very enthusiastic filmer who loves to have some footage of the concerts he has been to. The narrative that runs across both of their interviews is that she is a passenger to an extent both in her partner's love of concerts and also his filming habits but appreciates being taken to concerts and having footage to remember the events by.

'The secret filmer': a case study

Exploring the case of the secret filmer offers a useful overview of the typology of filming styles set out in this chapter. This filmer agreed to participate in the project on the agreement of complete anonymity. I reassured this participant that even if given biographical details that he or she would be anonymous whenever referenced in the project. The participant insisted on anonymity at the point of our interactions, which was maintainable given that we always interacted via the Internet. The only information the participant was willing to disclose is that he or she lives in the Greater London area and goes to concerts both in London and in Brighton. No other participant requested such levels of anonymity. There was mention of having attended concerts since the 1980s which suggests that this person is in his or her forties or fifties; no mention was made of profession, living arrangements or other similar biographical details.

The secret filmer displays aspects of all of the above types of filming style but is perhaps best characterised as a furtive filmer; in keeping with his or her policy on secrecy. This filmer's filming methodology neatly summarises the approach of the furtive filmer: to film without bothering or attracting the attention of those around them.

Mostly, they don't seem to take any notice. I always try to be discreet and not get in anybody's way; the last thing I want to do is spoil the gig for anyone else. At one gig last year that, ironically, I didn't take a camera to I had a guy standing behind me put his arm over my shoulder and hold his phone directly in front of my face to get a better view!

The secret filmer

This filmer's status as a furtive filmer is rather neatly affirmed through a juxtaposition with being the victim of the behaviour of a determined filmer. This anecdote also identifies the role of lived experience in shaping behaviours associated with cultural pursuits that are still developing and so not subject to clearly defined and disseminated protocol. The fact that amateur concert filming is a relatively new phenomenon means that filmers learn how to film through their experiences filming and also seeing how other people approach this pursuit.

The secret filmer clarifies how a period of time spent filming concerts has led to developing strategies to deal with different concert spaces. In so doing this filmer demonstrates some of the differences between a seated concert and a standing concert in terms of how people occupy each space.

Apart from the few occasions on which I used the camcorder and this was a very small Sony MicroMV anyway, I've always used a small, innocuous looking compact camera to make my gig movies. At standing indie gigs I keep the camera at head height, usually forehead height, directly in front of me, so very few people would even notice that I'm filming. Sometimes it is necessary to raise the camera higher, for example if someone tall pushes in front whilst I'm already filming, but I try to avoid this if possible. I've posted clips on YouTube and had people post comments such as, "Hey, I must have been standing right next to you!" I can't remember anyone saying, "Hey, I saw you filming this". When I film at a seated concert, such as the Rogue's Gallery concert at the Barbican, I try to be even more discreet. In this instance I filmed with the camera literally under my chin, just glancing down every so often to make sure I still had the stage in shot or to zoom in or out.

The secret filmer

This response summarises how non-filmers relate to concert videos by attempting to place themselves geographically within the space mapped out in the video. It also suggests that non-filming viewers react particularly strongly when the image in the video closely mirrors the view they were subject to when at the concert. YouTube is set out here as a virtual space that can provide access to a physical concert space and so provide a means of reconnecting those who were physically present at the concert back to that specific time and space. The comments section beneath each YouTube video is identified as a virtual audience space where audience members who attended the concert can connect after the event and share memories from the concert.

The secret filmer provides anecdotes that serve as useful examples demonstrating the complexities of the 'policing' of concert spaces. Filming is an activity that falls into a 'grey area' regarding legality and permissibility at concerts. Another 'grey area' is who is actually in control of the concert space; security staff, the venue owners, the management team for the musicians and the musicians themselves can all claim positions of authority. The complexity of having multiple groups of people in positions of power leads to a lack of clarity and inconsistency as to whether or not filming is allowed at concerts.

I have only been stopped from filming three times. The first was at the 2006 NME Awards show at Brighton Dome. Strangely, I'd already openly filmed clips of Mystery Jets, We Are Scientists and Arctic Monkeys, but got pounced on during Maximo Park's set! The second was when Howling Bells supported the Futureheads at the Astoria in December 2006; before I'd even filmed 30 seconds a guy ran out onto the side of the stage and shone a torch directly at my camera. Presumably, he must have been one of the Howling Bells entourage, as I had no problem filming three or four clips of the Futureheads afterwards! Finally, earlier this year, I took the camcorder to the Futureheads gig at the Camden Electric Ballroom. We got there early and sat on stools on the small raised area near the front, to the left of the stage. This meant that I could lean on the rail, using it as a support for the camera and at the same time easily keep it hidden by leaning over it. As I'd seen the Futureheads around ten times previously, and had an hours' worth of digital videotape, I thought I might as well just leave the camera running and get the whole show. This went very well for around 30 minutes; until a guy standing just to the left of us got out a BIG camera and started blatantly filming³¹. Pretty soon a security guy came over to tell him to stop, then, sadly, spotted me and told me to stop too!

The secret filmer

These anecdotes show how filming helps filmers to negotiate their way around the concert space and brings them into contact with those people nominally in charge of the concert space. The filmer needs to negotiate a number of obstacles when filming and these obstacles change for each concert; every concert space is unique insofar as it is largely constructed of people as opposed to inanimate objects. The tight packing of people into concert spaces means that they can be viewed as organic environments constructed through the placing of people into an open space. It is the proclivities of these people who create the space that governs how it operates and why, in turn, two different concerts held in the same space can operate in significantly different ways and, for example, take different views to filming. Filmers learn about how these different spaces function every time they film and each cumulative experience can contribute to a sense of how to proceed in a new concert space. Those without this extended prior experience, such as the person with the large camera, will immediately identify themselves to the policing forces at the concert. This issue of learning will be explored further in a later chapter but what is relevant here is that successful filming is a matter of learning about being at concerts.

³¹ His emphasis.

Another anecdote from the secret filmer demonstrates the relationship between musicians and audiences. The concert is orientated towards the musician, the audience faces the musician and it is the musician's presence that is amplified to fill the space. Security and venue staff likely need to deal with indiscretions such as filming on a case by case basis but the musician can issue instructions to the entire audience.

Sometimes the artist will react to the camera. Luckily, I've only had favourable reactions so far. Some people have not been so fortunate. When Patti Smith played the final night before CBGB³² closed, the set was shown on a live link from New York. Being a fan of Patti and having been to CBGB a few weeks earlier I decided to stay up all night and watch! Patti was less than one song into her three hour set before one hapless audience member shoved their camera just a little too close for her liking. "Get that fuckin' camera out of my face!" she shouted and several dozen little glowing screens spontaneously disappeared from the area immediately in front of the stage!

Which reminds me. Patti Smith's show at the Roundhouse in 2007 was another instance in which I took a camera to the gig but decided not to use it, having seen several other people that had tried to film being pounced upon! The CBGB incident was also still fresh in my mind. Someone did manage to get a clip of *Because the Night* from this show. I am filled with admiration for them. How they got away with it I don't know. It can be found in my favourites on my YouTube channel.

The secret filmer

This story, of course, also highlights the ability of filming and Internet dissemination to extend a space all the way from New York to London. This Patti Smith concert was being filmed and broadcast live so it was possible for the secret filmer to consume a live relaying of the concert to a computer in London. A framed representation of the space was extended right through to the computer thousands of miles away with minimal time delay. What the second story demonstrates is the cultural capital afforded to the filmer who was able to capture a song even after Patti Smith chastising an audience member for filming her performing. This cultural capital can only be afforded via YouTube as it is only when the filmer uploads the video that other people become aware of its existence. YouTube also provides in-built functionality for the affording of cultural capital as YouTube users mark out their favourite videos. Anybody who visits the secret filmer's YouTube channel will see this Patti Smith video as being one of this filmer's favourites and so serves as demonstrable recognition from one filmer to another.

The Patti Smith incident represents a musician reacting negatively to filming but this is not to say that musicians generally react negatively to filming. This story is in fact the only negative

³² A famous punk concert venue in New York.

report of its kind that I was told. Much more common were anecdotes about musicians responding positively to the camera. The secret filmer provides one such anecdote whilst continuing to discuss how people react to filming:

But I digress again. To return to my point about the artist reacting to the camera. If you take a look at my clip of Santogold at the Zavvi instore³³ you will see that she spots the camcorder fairly early on, at which point I was briefly concerned, but she then starts to perform directly to camera! It was as though she was performing to a TV camera, I couldn't believe it! It was particularly disconcerting, however, when she carried on doing it after I'd put the camera away! Another example can be found on my clip, 'James : Brixton Academy live part 3'. Watch what happens at 3min5s, after Tim Booth spots the camera. Priceless! And then there is 'James : Brixton Academy live part 5', check out 8min14s to 9min14s, at one point I was holding Tim up with my left hand and filming him with my right!

The secret filmer

These incidents simply reinforce the performative nature of concerts. They also demonstrate how being seen to be involved in the recording and dissemination of these performances immediately attracts attention from both other audience members and musicians on stage. Another filmer tells a story about a singer coming over and giving his camera a 'sensual kiss' (interview with Bruce). The common theme amongst these stories, however, is that these modified behaviours have little to do with musical performance. The upshot is that those holding a camera and filming appear to either have or at least afford themselves additional agency in relation to the rest of the concert audience. The audience at large is a mass of people whereas filmers are individuals with the ability to broadcast footage from the concert to wider audiences and so sometimes become more important to musicians who view public performance as publicity. By performing to the camera the musicians can also perform to and acknowledge the subsequent audience who will consume the performance via YouTube at a later date. What this means at the time of the concert though is that at certain points much of the audience is eschewed as the musician singles out the filmers. Filming can recalibrate the concert space and create a direct link between filmer and musician with the wider audience forming the human geography of the space.

Enjoy the concert and do not film

The other substantial group to be interviewed are those who do not film at concerts. It might be that they simply do not film at all or that they heavily moderate the amount of time they spend filming. Harry, for example, was identified as a determined filmer but he reveals elsewhere that he actually films remarkably few of the concerts that he goes to (only one in ten). Harry reiterates the incompatibility of filming with 'typical' concert activities. His brand of determined filming perhaps makes filming even more like work than a more furtive or

³³ A concert performed in a branch of the now defunct record chain Zavvi.

pragmatic approach. Harry, therefore, splits his concert experiences; most of the time he is a part of the audience and participating in the concert but occasionally he will step back and withdraw from these activities in order to film the concert.

Harry does not explain what leads him to film some shows and not others. Raymond, however, takes a similar attitude towards filming but also provides an insight into when he films and when he participates.

Not always (filming) but I keep my camera with me when I go to a gig. Sometimes I need to let go and just mosh to a song which I find very good.

Raymond

The obvious implication is that these moments and songs are not captured in his videos. Raymond is from Oulu in Finland and tends to go to heavy metal concerts. His YouTube footage only shows the moments and iterations of the concerts he goes to that are practically conducive to filming. The most exciting parts of the concerts that he goes to are not even captured in his videos. The concert space inadvertently mitigates against allowing its most visceral moments to be captured on video. Although the fact that Raymond himself prefers to mosh rather than stand and watch suggests that these moments in a concert are less conducive to being passively witnessed in a manner redolent of broadcasting; these moments would be less enjoyable to watch as a video on YouTube. The more static moments of a concert are themselves closer to a mediated version of a live concert to be passively consumed rather than actively engaged with; it stands to reason that the more energetic moments are less filmable.

YouTube viewers, as defined in this thesis, will not film any concerts at all but do watch footage other people have shot. Their reasons for not filming at all are broadly similar to those given by the filmmakers who sometimes do not film. Frank is a nineteen year old from New Zealand:

Yes I do go to concerts, probably two or three a month. Wouldn't consider filming it, would rather just watch the concert with my own eyes.

Frank

The impression given by Frank is that mediation waters down the immediacy of the event. Placing a viewfinder between him and the concert is akin to watching the concert through another set of eyes. He goes to concerts fairly regularly so could alternate between filming and not filming as some filmmakers do. Witnessing the concert first hand is intrinsic to the experience for him.

The main reason people prefer not to film is that it distracts them from full immersion in what concert attendees tend to refer to as 'the moment'. In this context 'the moment' means occupying the concert space and behaving in ways that are simply not compatible with filming. It is a matter of being able to fully concentrate on the music being performed and being free to react spontaneously to it. 'The moment' refers to the period of time where the musicians are performing live in the same space occupied by the audience.

Yes, I do go to concerts, and yes I have considered filming some of it myself, but usually when I go to do that I'd rather enjoy the moment more than have a video of it later, and I know that usually there's someone else that will be filming it and uploading it to YouTube later.

Samuel

I go to many concerts. I never consider filming because I don't have any good filming equipment but mainly because I know there's enough people filming it that are going to put it on YouTube anyway that I just enjoy the show and get into the music as much as possible.

Clayton

Filming is incompatible with full audience immersion as it means being a cultural producer as well as consumer. Not filming is a specific way of being at the concert that demonstrates full immersion in the concert. The fact that a person can be distracted at a concert implies that being at a concert can invoke a heightened form of consumption where music is the absolute focal point.

Making concerts last beyond the encore

Videos are a means of extending the space and time of the concert. There are any number of ways in which the beginning and ending of the narrative of a concert can be defined; the moment when the musicians walk on stage to the moment the musicians walk off stage; the moment the ticket for the concert is purchased to the moment the ticket is pasted into a scrapbook or glued onto a wall or bedroom door. Richard Witts (2005) explores concert narratives and reflects upon the intervening time between roadies³⁴ setting up the stage to the musicians entering the stage. An aspect of his analysis points to this gap in time used to build tension and excitement thus serving as a symbolic starting point for a concert narrative. The availability of concert videos arguably extends the concert narrative much further than this. Many YouTube viewers refer to watching footage of musicians performing in order to judge whether to go to their concert and many will also watch YouTube footage in order to revisit the time and space of the concert. Teresa is a filmer and also uses YouTube to both these ends.

³⁴ Sound technicians setting up music equipment and connecting it to the venue sound system.

...if the footage turned out really well and it captures a band or song or performance I really like, I will re-watch it a few times after posting and then from time to time moving forward, there is footage of some favourites that I still go back to months later fairly regularly.

Teresa

Teresa's attitude reflects more of an aesthetic judgement than an emotional attachment to the concert. Teresa is looking for footage that accurately represents the concert rather than evoking any sense of what it was like to be there at the concert. The secret filmer makes a similar point in more enthusiastic terms.

I started shooting movie clips for the same reason; as a kind of digital memo. My first digital camera could only shoot 20 second clips, so I was quite literally making notes, like, "oh yeah, this song is amazing, I'll shoot a few seconds of that". That way, six months and many, many gigs later I can think, "What was that amazing song that Nine Black Alps played at the Concorde when they supported Kaiser Chiefs?" Check the library, and say, "Oh right, Unsatisfied!"

When I replaced my digital camera with one that could record longer clips I started recording at least one complete song at each gig I went to, still for my own use only, to remember the gig by.

The secret filmer

Nevertheless the secret filmer still frames videos as reference points. This filmer's collection of videos are framed as a library, conjuring the image of a digital memory bank. There is a sense of trying to take ownership of the space and time to both the secret filmer and Teresa's attitude towards filming. Teresa refers to 'capturing' the concert and this seems to sum up both her and the secret filmer's reasons for filming.

It is non-filmers who tend to be more emotional when it comes to explaining their reasons for watching concert footage on YouTube. These are, however, the people who have refused to film in order to immerse themselves in the concert but then use other people's videos in order to reminisce on the event.

After a great show at a festival or something like that, I get so pumped by the music that I just want to relive the experience again and again. I guess YouTube is the video library of the earth so I figured I'd be able to search for all the gigs I attend.

Clayton

At face value this response simply indicates that many people have come to expect concert footage to be a part of the library of videos available on YouTube. Concert footage has become part of the cultural lexicon of YouTube. Clayton's response also demonstrates that non-filming

viewers can have a different relationship with these videos to filmmakers. This is logical but what is more surprising is that non-filmmers' relationships seem to be more passionate; the videos are an extension of the concert space and time for non filmmakers inasmuch as they are attaching the videos to a more immersed concert experience. The filmer is always in two places: at the concert but also behind the lens of the camera. Their attachment to the videos is more physical insofar as they bring the camera to the concert, operate it whilst at the concert, and then take it home to retrieve the footage. The non-filmer's attachment is sensory and is out of the control of the non-filmer given that they are not involved in the production of the video. Both the concert and the concert video are appreciated on a sensory level removed from the physical everydayness of operating a video camera.

This sensory attachment and lack of control is also demonstrated in the manner in which concert footage can attempt to recreate or approximate the communal nature of the concert. The non-filmer is both audience member at the concert and when watching the concert footage on YouTube. So, when people start commenting on the YouTube video it is also an approximation of interacting with the audience at the concert.

I leave comments if the sound totally rocked or if it's a song that brings me back, then I get very nostalgic and giddy and respond if other people have responded positive.

Jodi

The quality of the footage and the ability to trigger memories seem to be framed as independent qualities by Jodi. She is referring to the sound quality of the video as opposed to the quality of music being performed in the video. There is an overall sense that Jodi is looking for some intangible link back to the concert space, be that through an accurate recreation of the sound or by reminding her of a song that she particularly enjoyed hearing when at the concert. The comments section beneath the video becomes the virtual audience space with the video as the representation of the stage. The notion of 'responding' rather than discussing or even commenting suggests an emotional reaction rather than a critical consideration of the video. The YouTube video becomes an instance of the concert by replicating some of the structures that shape concert spaces.

These videos are, of course, available to anyone who wishes to view them. It seems, though, that it is necessary to have actually physically attended the concert depicted in order to attain real value from the video. A viewer who did not attend the concert is watching a mediated transmission of a performance; a viewer who was at the concert can have a more complex perspective on the video by contextualising the video within a framework of memories from the event itself.

I usually watch concert footage on YouTube of concerts that I have personally been to. Usually a couple days after going to a concert I look up the concert on YouTube, not with hope of finding myself but just so I can go back and watch it

and remember the really good moments. Also, I tend to look up really memorable songs so I can sort of re-live it. It pretty much started when I saw concerts and found myself craving more of that artist, so I just decided to see if I could find any recorded videos from the show.

Kelly

The phrase 'sort of relive it' indicates that this is an inherently limited means of representing a concert. It also clarifies that the primary purpose of these particular videos is to operate as part of a much bigger narrative rather than as autonomous cultural artefacts.

I get excited when other people leave comments for shows that I was at. Comments like "this show was so good!" and "this song was amazing!" Maybe because music is such a big part of my life I like it when other people can appreciate a good solid live performance.

Kelly

YouTube perhaps actually exceeds the concert space by extending the conversation about the concert. The concert can still be commented on months or years after the event and YouTube also allows people who probably would not have interacted with one another at the concert a chance to share views and reaffirm one another's enthusiasm for the show. The limited time frame of the concert means that these sort of interactions are perhaps not really possible amongst strangers at the time but YouTube videos open up the possibility for people to move more freely around the concert space at a time that suits them.

Conclusions

The primary function of this chapter has been to set out the practicalities of filming as an activity. Live musical performances occur within clearly defined spaces but media technologies such as the Internet allow these performances to be disseminated and cross the borders of the concert space and reach out to other parts of the world. This means that a hitherto restricted space is now significantly more accessible to people who do not have physical access. This virtual access, however, only serves to reiterate physical absence and so the experience is only partial thus leading to two tiered access to live music culture. This leads on to the pleasures of attending concerts. Concerts are coherent works of art and so possess an aura that resonates with a sense of authenticity. Culture is simultaneously produced and consumed at concerts and so it is the original product that is consumed. Concerts do involve the recreation of pre-existing music texts but this is recreation rather than rote reproduction. The live text is necessarily qualitatively different to the studio recorded text. Mediated and reproduced music, on the other hand, is contrived. It is produced and consumed at different times and moreover is likely produced in a convoluted manner that mitigates against any sense of immediacy and spontaneity being present within the text. The aura of authenticity is a spectrum of effects that are aided by the logistics of concerts. This issue of authenticity will be

explored in much more detail in a later chapter but at this point it is a case of recognising the relative cultural integrity of concert spaces which simultaneously makes them sought after in the form of mediated recordings but also entails the sanctifying of their relative authenticity when captured in video reproductions that can only offer limited access to the concert space.

This chapter has also provided a typology of filming styles adopted by filmers. Individual filmers may well embody many if not all of these types of approach whilst tending towards one or other of them in the main. Furtive filmers look to film a portion of every concert they attend but do so in such a way as to avoid disturbing other people at the concert and attracting the attention of security staff and other officials who may oppose the unauthorised filming of concerts. Determined filmers will film even if it means distracting or disturbing other people at the concert and will also ignore requests to cease filming from authority figures within the concert space. Pragmatic filmers will only film if the situation they find themselves in regarding their view of the stage is conducive to obtaining acceptable quality footage. Surrogate filmers will arrange for another person to film for them; they want to have the film but also want to enjoy the concert and not be burdened with filming. The reasons that people gave for not filming are valuable in clarifying the impact of filming on the enjoyment of concerts; primarily a concern that filming would be too much of a distraction to allow full immersion into the concert experience. The views of these people who do not film but do like to watch other peoples' videos on YouTube are useful in gaining further understanding as to the specific pleasures of concert attendance. The concert is an immersive experience that, at its zenith, commands the full attention of the audience and dislocates them from their mundane surroundings. Operating a camera disrupts this immersion by creating a barrier between the audience and experience but also by re-engaging them with activities that are closer to a quotidian of everyday activities; in this case operating a piece of handheld technology. The flipside of this transformation of the concert experience is the opportunity of capturing elements of the concert experience to take away and enjoy long after the concert has finished. As the next chapter will in part explore further, however, the concert experience on YouTube is differential based upon whether the YouTube viewer actually attended the concert.

Chapter four – Broadcasting Yourself

This chapter follows the same path that the footage captured by filmers does. It moves from the concert space explored in the previous chapter and into the virtual space of the Internet; more specifically the website YouTube. The aim of the chapter is to offer an overview of the presentation of live music on YouTube by exploring different approaches to constructing live concert videos and different motivations for broadcasting these videos. In so doing it will be possible to map the transition of concert experiences from physical places to virtual spaces and explore how concerts are reframed and recontextualised during this transition.

The first part of the chapter is devoted to providing a typology of ways in which filmers present their footage on YouTube. By setting up a series of three dichotomies that represent the three core decisions that filmers have to make: whether to broadcast complete songs or snippets of songs, whether to edit the footage or upload the footage unedited, whether to apply quality control and upload selected footage or exercise no quality control and upload all footage captured. The second part of the chapter looks at four significant reasons as to why filmers upload their footage to YouTube: to connect with an audience, to share with a closed community of friends and compete for virtual viewers with those friends, as a means of archiving footage, and as a means of embedding videos onto another website authored by the filmer. The aim is to demonstrate that whilst there are multiple ways how and reasons why to upload concert videos there is a broad consensus with regard to uploading complete songs in an effort to connect with as wide an audience as possible. This argument will be used as the starting point for a theoretical discussion in the forthcoming chapters as to how this filming phenomenon has affected music culture.

How do filmers present footage on YouTube?

Complete songs

Travis is the most outspoken filmer on the issue of filming complete songs rather than just snippets of songs. He is in his forties and lives in Manhattan, New York. Throughout his interview he sought to position himself as part of the management team for the musicians that he films. He refers to playing an important part in getting exposure for obscure British musicians in America; he gives no details to corroborate his claims of involvement with these musicians so it must be assumed that the films he makes are the foundation of this claim. He refers to having met a number of the musicians he films and references these early meetings as the catalyst for his love of their music and his decision to commit significant amounts of time to filming. He distinguishes himself from casual fans who only film snippets of songs or

only a couple of songs per concert; he films entire concerts and has his own filming manifesto. This manifesto is laid out when he talks about whether he films every concert he goes to.

No. Only the ones I know are going to be special and / or anything I need a 'historical' document of. I'm now serious about filming bands; not just as a fan, loading snippets to YouTube. Also, I'm against the half filming of live songs. Many YouTube users even³⁵ the casual fans allow their battery to die, or only feel they need to represent a song by filming bits of it. I disagree with this. Either film it all or don't bother.

Travis

So, he does not film every concert he goes to but when he does film he does so in a manner he would consider as doing it properly. The impetus is to capture footage that will have some sort of resonance on YouTube rather than simply adding to the ether created by casual fans. He suggests that he too started filming casually and that his shift from casual filming to taking it more seriously was in part demarcated by his shift from filming snippets of songs to filming complete concerts. What is also demonstrated here is that amateur filming and uploading to YouTube can lead to significant broadcasting ambitions; YouTube can be a gateway to a more professional approach to broadcasting.

Broadcasting live amateur concert video footage is as much a new cultural pursuit as filming this footage. As with filming, broadcasting also requires peer feedback in order to qualify its value. Most filmmakers refer to having received mixed feedback from viewers on YouTube. The majority of comments they receive are actually targeted at the musicians: critiques or opinions on the music performed in the video. Only a minority of comments address the skill with which the video has been executed. This suggests that, in the eyes of viewers, it is the musicians who are being broadcast with the filmmakers merely acting as intermediaries. Basing videos upon songs is therefore a matter of reflecting the way in which musicians tend to present their work. Negative comments targeted at filmmakers tend to focus on circumstances where the filmmaker has compromised the integrity of the song; either by not filming it in full or not providing a consistent level of audio / visual quality throughout the song. This is what Travis says of the comments he receives:

Mostly? They are fantastic. (The band) Holy Joy seems to have a powerful impact on the true fans, even in pixelated, YouTube videos! Same goes for my other videos and bands. Besides, I know it's 'top of the heap' stuff.

Travis

The comments refer to the quality of the musicians he films. There is also a reference to the 'pixelated' limitations of YouTube that Travis is aware of and may have been pointed out to him through comments from YouTube viewers. He refers to the quality of his videos but there is ambivalence as to whether he means the music or the standard of filming. The pursuit of

³⁵ I have assumed that he meant to say 'especially' rather than 'even' or a word to that effect.

recognition from viewers is a substantial motivation for amateur filmmakers. The issue will be dealt with in more detail in a later chapter but what is relevant here is that Travis seems to suggest that 'top of the heap' means high quality videos that capture complete songs.

Travis' attitude towards live music is illustrated by an anecdote he tells when asked if he ever deletes any footage he has captured. The anecdote demonstrates a preference for professionalism over uniqueness that implies a wish to comply with accepted norms and values as to the presentation of music.

Yes. I've deleted footage that I felt was not the best representation of one of my bands... for example: the drunken Xmas 2008 show at 12 bar, Soho, where I felt the singer had consumed way too many, to even remotely perform a lucid set!

Travis

Travis affords himself an interesting level of agency here when he refers to the bands he films as 'his' bands. This might simply be a way of expressing fandom; in other words his favourite bands. There is equally a sense in which he is positioning himself as a broadcaster of live footage and so part of the wider media network that promotes these musicians. As such, he is required to manage the image that is broadcast and so discards footage that reflects poorly on the musician. Either way, whether fan or broadcaster, there is an issue here of filmmakers withholding certain footage that does not present their favourite musicians in a positive light and so YouTube concert videos should be perceived as edited versions of concerts. This problematises a view widely held amongst YouTube viewers and to be explored further in a subsequent chapter that amateur footage is not edited and that these videos give a truer reflection of the musicians compared to polished and edited official concert productions. Broadcasting amateur videos and seeking to replicate the accepted formula of complete songs appears to tie amateur filmmakers more closely to professional discourses than many YouTube viewers might expect.

Complete songs are part of the vocabulary of recorded music inasmuch as they are presented and disseminated through studio albums, television shows, promotional singles and other media industry ephemera. The difference with live songs for Travis is that every performance is slightly different; unlike with recorded music which is based around the perpetual reproduction of the same rote performance of the song as captured during the studio recording process.

Live music separates the men from the boys. An amazing band is always that much more incredible, on a live stage. Live music gigging is the only future for modern music, especially as blogs and torrents³⁶ give away every conceivable thing, ever recorded. The artist still 'owns' the gig. Those cannot be stolen and shared. Live gigging is how a band moves ahead, right now. Live music is an entirely new

³⁶ A method of downloading music files from other Internet users.

listening dimension. See the songs you love, played in different ways; it's also a visual thing, with different nuances. Hear the songs in exciting new ways! Live, you are not restrained by studio limitations. On record, you are only hearing that one take! Live? You can hear the same song sung 20 times and it'll always be a new version. It's in the details.

Travis

Travis' perspective on live music is viewed through the song as a unit of musical performance. There is an interesting distinction, though, between live performance as witnessed in person and the dissemination of live music. His concert videos can be bracketed together with other music cultural artefacts that he refers to as being given away as a result of Internet technologies. The gig that the musician 'owns' is the one that is presented at the time of the concert. Travis along with all other filmers demonstrates that it is possible to 'own' a recording of a gig. Other filmers concur with Travis' preference for live performance and several develop his reference to studio limitations by pointing to the standard studio recording technique where different elements of a song are recorded separately and then reconstructed once all recording has finished. The song is, therefore, not recorded as a song but as the elements of a song and so the studio recording can be seen as something of a misnomer. It is at concerts where songs are performed in their entirety and so the song at a concert becomes a powerful metaphor for the authenticity of concerts. This issue of authenticity will be dealt with in more detail in a later chapter. What is important here is to understand that the complete song is a powerful text for filmers and that many are quite dogmatic in their advocating of videos that capture complete songs.

Snippets of songs

Not filming complete songs means filming snippets of songs; perhaps 10 to 20 seconds in length. In the early days of YouTube and amateur concert filming circa 2005 this was frequently due to camera phones generally only being able to capture a few seconds of video at a time. These devices became quickly usurped by technology that could film continuously over a longer duration and many filmers who started out filming with a camera phone then upgraded to using a dedicated portable video camera in order to be able to film as they wanted to. Only two of the people I interviewed were still filming in snippets so this represents a minority of the sample. Of these two only one was quite happy to refer to her videos as 'snippets' and it is no surprise that she also takes a lot of still photographs with the same device at concerts. Her approach to filming in snippets and taking photographs suggests that she is looking to create a document of the evening as a whole; vignettes from every major event of the evening rather than picking two or three songs to capture in full.

I always film at least three or four songs or snippets of songs from a gig, if it's a single band or artist, including the support artists, just a snippet of one song

usually for them, if I like them. And if it's a multi-artist gig I try to film a snippet or whole song or more if I'm a fan of that particular artist of each band or artist.

Roberta

Where most filmers would likely ignore a musician they were not interested in, Roberta still likes to get photographs and snippets of their performance. Rather than isolate two or three songs to record in full Roberta comes away from a concert with a body of media documents that could be characterised as notes from the concert or a concert diary. Roberta is a teenage girl from London; she wants to create a diary where the older and male filmers are more concerned with capturing footage. Roberta, though, does sometimes film complete songs and it seems that her filming proclivities are dictated by how much she likes the musician who is performing at that moment.

There is a sense then that Roberta is breaking the concert down into moments that she enjoyed and not tying herself so rigidly to the song as a unit used to map the narrative of a concert. This commitment to moments rather than performances is borne out in her rationale as to why she films.

Just to show my friends moments in the gigs that I enjoyed, or found funny, or just wanted to generally show off how close I was! I also wanted to show people who didn't have the opportunity to go to the gig, a little snippet of it, so maybe they didn't feel so left out!

Roberta

There is a sense in which this is broadcasting without representing; Roberta provides snippets of exciting moments to prove that she was there but also reinforce the fact that other people watching these snippets were not and so only have these fragments of information to piece together some sense of the concert. Renee is a filmer from Hong Kong and she refers to the special moments that she and Roberta film as 'Kodak moments':

I love to film some special moments like when Adam Levine from Maroon 5 speaks Cantonese, Liam Gallagher throws the tambourines at the crowd and such. Because these are some sort of Kodak moments that happen occasionally and 'exclusively'.

Renee

She concurs with Roberta insofar as these are the moments she particularly likes to film. Where Renee diverges from Roberta is that Renee shares the commitment to capturing complete songs and so these 'Kodak moments' are framed within complete songs rather than extracted and presented as moments from a concert. Equally these moments, such as the singer speaking in the Cantonese language, will often happen between songs and so can be extracted from the concert without impacting on any song performances. The majority of filmers, however, stated that they did not film in between songs at concerts and made no

mention of these exclusive moments. The discourse of filmers on filming tends to revolve around songs.

Roberta also takes photographs with the same camera at concerts and so her filming is linked to photography. Where some people may make a clear distinction between video and photography this boundary is less clear for Roberta.

My favourite songs are usually the ones I film, or just randomly really, I also take a lot of pictures, so the camera is always out. If something interesting is going on on-stage, I'll also film it for the memory and to put on here (YouTube), but normally it is just my favourite song, random, or as I said, if it's a multi-artist gig, I'll film any random bit of a set of a band or artist I'm not particularly keen on, if you get where I'm going with that.

Roberta

There is an ambiguity to her words here but it seems as though she means that she takes less care as to what she films if she does not care about the artist. The overall impression of her filming technique though is that it is an extension of photography. She simply starts filming as the mood takes her rather than at the start of a song as other filmers would. It is an opportunistic approach that feels as though it relates to photography more than filming.

The proposition that these videos and photographs comprise a form of diary for Roberta is reinforced by her attitude towards the comments she receives on YouTube. The only comments she cares for are those in which the commenter shows appreciation for the fact that she has shared her videos.

The ones saying "thanks" are the ones I appreciate most, as I feel if people didn't put videos here on YouTube, or other video broadcasting websites, a lot of people who maybe can't afford to go, would miss out. Ones where people have purposely gone on to insult you or the artist I find pathetic, just like the ones that say "this is rubbish" or "this isn't high quality" when it is, I just find that ungrateful. When people ask questions, as long as they aren't stupid or sarcastic, I'm more than happy to answer, and then I also get a lot saying things such as "I was there!" or "my friend was there!" I tend to ignore.

Roberta

Comments should be addressed to her as broadcaster; those who try and claim the text in some way are ignored. Roberta's attitude is that she has shared her experience at a concert and so is only interested in those comments thanking her for doing so. This attitude ties in with the fact that she does not always film complete songs. Musicians construct concerts out of songs whereas a fan such as Roberta constructs a concert experience out of a series of memorable moments.

Roberta was one of few filmers specifically to refer to tagging her videos. Tags are keywords attributed to videos as the filmer looks to anchor how the viewer understands the video. In Roberta's case it is another strategy used to maintain ownership of her videos.

If they are of a decent quality, picture and sound, as well as being a decent length, then yes I will (upload the video to YouTube). Sometimes I tag them if I feel they are particularly special, and I know some fan bases to tend to 'steal' the videos, and post them as their own, which I do get rather upset or angry about, as I'm willing to share the video, but stealing it, is a bit like stealing my memory, which I feel is wrong.

Roberta

Other filmers mentioned this phenomenon but were more accepting of it. They tend to take the view that the videos ultimately belong to the musicians and so there is no value in becoming embroiled in these pseudo copyright debates. It reaffirms the fact that filming concerts in this way is a relatively new phenomenon with little in the way of set protocol. In Roberta's case it reaffirms that she sees these videos as documents of her concert experience and not necessarily as representations of the musicians performing their songs.

Edited footage

Fabio from North Spain is the other filmer who tends to film short snippets of twenty to thirty seconds. He is, however, also a professional videographer working in the Spanish media industry. His YouTube concert videos are an entirely separate endeavour from his professional work. He does, though, apply post production techniques to his videos prior to uploading them to YouTube.

I work in video and have been filming concerts and live action for fifteen years. I have worked covering nearly every live music festival in Spain. I started to upload new material I got using my photo camera, recording video in Quicktime and fast time too. I'm also a drummer and singer and have been involved with many groups and friends musicians recording and filming for them and my own projects.

Fabio

He seeks here to present himself as an experienced filmer with an in depth knowledge of both filming and music. Roberta, for example, clearly presents herself as a music fan but Fabio here seeks to blur the boundaries between his fandom, as demonstrated through his collection of concert videos, and his own artistic aspirations.

The references to his collaborations with friends and work colleagues are efforts to present himself as part of popular culture as opposed to a singular bystander and documenter of popular culture. Here Fabio talks about his professional media work:

I work with a partner in WIRO films, www.wirofilms.com; we produce video in any form and genre. Films, sports, videoclips, television series, etcetera. I have been also travelling through Spain and other countries filming live performances for a Hip-hop TV Show called *El Ritmo de la Calle*. Nowadays, repeated in a very popular radio show: www.radiosis.es or myspace/elritmodelacalleradioshow.

Fabio

The information he provides serves to reinforce a dichotomy between the amateur nature of YouTube and professional media. The live hip hop performances he refers to are not included on his overwhelmingly rock music oriented YouTube channel. He does, however, also refer to his amateur filming as work and so conceives of a different form of amateurism. The wide availability of devices with video functionality means that a large number of people possess the ability to capture videos and so a category of 'amateur filmmakers' is going to be a relatively broad spectrum that incorporates people who rarely if ever make videos to those with substantial training and experience. Fabio belongs to the latter end of the spectrum and so he can consider his filming to be work even though it is being undertaken in his leisure time. He thus reacts to comments he receives on YouTube as feedback on his work.

I like them as it shows that people appreciate the message of each song and the way I film it. It's a proud moment to know that other users follow your work or leave a message just to say hello.

Fabio

When it comes to receiving feedback from YouTube viewers Fabio refers to his videos as work, as a continuation of the blurring of the boundaries between amateurism and professionalism. There is also a professional and personal distinction between following a person's work and saying hello. YouTube is a space that can encapsulate both professional media output and informal encounters between strangers. Fabio enacts a system of demarcating comments he receives as responses to his work or social interactions.

When discussing how other people react to his filming at concerts Fabio again looks to present himself as a professional broadcaster. He suggests that people treat his camera as though it is an 'official' television broadcasting of the event and so respond accordingly to his filming. This notion is likely a result of his interpretation of other people's reactions and projecting his own ideas as to what he represents onto the ways in which other people react to him.

Nowadays, every person takes a camera to a live gig and takes photos and records videos. People usually react by looking at the camera for details that they cannot see with their own eyes. Rarely one or two people ask you to get something special and some others talk to the camera as if it was a TV channel, which it turns

out to be as they think it is. Technology goes that far mixed with certain substances.

Fabio

What is quite possibly intended by these other concert goers as a light hearted mockery of his filming is taken by Fabio as advocating his position within the concert as official broadcaster. Fabio has created a perspective of concerts where filming is an intrinsic element. Clearly not everyone who goes to concerts is filming but for Fabio the two are entwined to the effect that he figures that everyone at concerts is filming. Above all, Fabio represents a type of filmer who seeks to align concert filming with professional media broadcasting as far as possible. His decision to edit his concert videos is an extension of this ethos of professionalism.

Unedited footage

The majority of filmers are people who have decided to take up the pursuit as a hobby. They have had no professional training and are not involved at all in the media industry. This means that post production of their concert videos is necessarily limited by lack of access to suitable software and equipment as well as a lack of knowledge but also a general lack of interest in editing the footage in order to create a substantively different text from the one filmed. This means that less time is spent on polishing footage after the concert but also that more material tends to be uploaded to YouTube. Those who display professional aspirations will tend to be quite selective as to which videos they keep and upload to YouTube whereas the hobbyists will tend to maintain virtually all of their videos and post most of them to YouTube as well. Bruce from Florida is a classic example of this mindset as he demonstrates when discussing whether he deletes any of his concert footage:

Yes, but very rarely. I have deleted it when the venue was too dark so the video is nothing but blackness. I've also deleted footage when the band or song just wasn't very good. If I get home to play the video and I can't even sit through the entire thing because the performance was so awful or boring, I will delete it. But I'd say ninety five to ninety nine per cent of the time, I don't delete anything.

Bruce

And do his videos always end up on YouTube?

Yes, unless they are one of those that I delete.

Bruce

Bruce makes no distinction between footage for personal use and footage for public consumption. He does not apply any sort of screening to footage before making it available for other people to watch. It seems, therefore, that he is not trying to develop or maintain a reputation as a purveyor of high quality concert videos. His criterion for determining whether

to keep videos rests upon his ability to glean some level of pleasure from the video. If the video is completely unwatchable or contains a performance he simply does not like then it is deleted but under this loose criterion the vast majority of his videos are kept and consequently make it onto YouTube.

Bruce offers an insight into his predilection for raw footage when discussing his preference for live music over studio recorded music. He describes live music in terms that evoke a sense of raw emotion and so tie in with a wish to avoid tampering unnecessarily with the integrity of popular culture.

Hmm. I would say it's like the difference between reading a poem on paper, or watching the author read it to you. You get a true glimpse into the raw emotion behind the piece when you see it live. You get to experience the moment. It's enough to suck you in and make you feel involved, like you are a part of what is happening, if that makes sense.

Bruce

'Rawness' as part of a paradigm of authenticity is to be explored in more detail in a later chapter. Here it suggests a commitment to avoid editing and therefore polishing performances prior to broadcast on YouTube. By not editing the video, Bruce is adhering to a discourse about 'liveness' and so his videos are in keeping with his attitudes towards 'authentic' popular culture.

A lack of post production is often mirrored by a lack of pre-production. This means that very little planning goes into Bruce's filming; he does not have the strategies that filmmakers with aspirations to produce high quality videos have.

I normally don't put much thought into it. I usually try to film at least one song from each artist, and I just start filming whenever the mood strikes me. Sometimes, if I am watching a band who I really like, I'll try to film my favourite songs. Or if something especially interesting is happening on stage, I'll pull the camera out. But more often than not, it's just random.

Bruce

Mood is the catalyst for filming rather than any technical appreciation of the situation. What is proposed here is a distinction between professional concern with technical details and an amateur concern with capturing events that spark emotions. It is ostensibly a dichotomy between the technical and the emotional.

To take this further Bruce states that he usually films provided he is enjoying the concert. Filming is a physical sign of appreciation from Bruce but also an effort to record and preserve moments that he is enjoying.

Yes, almost always. I film them unless I am stuck watching a band that is really disappointing and doesn't sound good. Then I won't bother, but that rarely happens. As long as I am enjoying the show, I will film some of it.

Bruce

Again it is emotion more than analysis that shapes his decision as to whether filming is undertaken. It is emotion that informs every decision in the filming process; from what to film to what to broadcast on YouTube and furthermore why he decided to start broadcasting on YouTube in the first place.

Hmm. Not sure how to answer this one. Why not? I watch a lot of concert footage on YouTube, so it just seemed like the appropriate thing to do. No sense in keeping them all to myself, ha ha!

Bruce

His is a wish to participate and add to the ether rather than distinguish himself and seek to point out the superiority of his videos. The fact that he also watches a lot of concert videos on YouTube is a further indication that this is a hobby rather than anything even pseudo professional.

The final point to make in mapping out this hobbyist approach to filming concerts is to note how Bruce came to own the camera he uses. Many filmmakers buy cameras specific to their needs and often upgrade their cameras once they have been filming for a while in order to improve the standard of their videos. Bruce received his camera as a Christmas gift.

I was given a small cheap camera, a Flip Video F230, as a gift for Christmas in 2007. I had very little use for it at first, and it basically sat in my room collecting dust for a few months. I spend a lot of my nights going to hear live music, so one night I decided to bring it with me to a Murder By Death concert, just to see how it turned out. To my surprise, the sound was very clear and the video quality was great. Ever since then I've brought the camera with me to every concert I've attended.

Bruce

It is fortuitous that the camera he received as a present is a favourite camera amongst filmmakers because it is able to film in high definition whilst being physically the same size as a mobile telephone and, as such, easily portable. It is also notable that Bruce did not use his camera initially and that his entrance into filming came as something of an accident. There was no professional agenda just a wish to participate.

Quality control

This is not quite the same as post production. The imperative is the same but the approach is different. Where post production involves polishing footage before presenting it on YouTube, quality control means simply rejecting footage that is of insufficient quality. This distinction is at its most subtle when it comes to the audio track. Some filmmakers will substitute the audio track from their video for a superior recording available elsewhere; whether from another video or from a person who has only recorded audio from the concert. These audio tracks can be acquired from spaces on the Internet where fans share audio recordings from concerts or are ripped³⁷ from other YouTube videos. Peter from London is a filmer who will do this.

I try to judge whether the clip is of sufficient quality, whether there's fan interest, or if there are already 99,000 other clips of the same thing before sharing it. The camera has particularly bad audio, so sometimes I wait for MP3s of the show to emerge and exchange the sound that was recorded for this.

Peter

This audio swapping is not post production insofar as it is not editing or modifying videos from a base of raw data that he has captured. He is keeping his video as recorded and then simply substituting the audio with another source that he had no involvement in capturing. Overall, Peter is thinking about the broadcast value of his videos. The pursuit of recognition through addressing 'fan demand' is an issue to be explored further in a later chapter but here it is worth noting in respect of Peter's deployment of quality control with a view to audience chasing. It is also worth noting that it seems that his decision to substitute the audio is based upon his own feelings towards the poor audio quality of his videos rather than addressing any fan requirement for high quality audio even though this demand may well exist and Peter may well be aware of it.

There is a clear distinction between footage that is kept and footage that is shared. Almost everything Peter films he keeps but he is aware that much of it will probably not be of interest to other people.

At shows there have been times I've deleted some parts in order to catch something I'd really been aiming for. After the concert, I tend to stick everything on the hard drive no matter how dire it may be. It's all part of my experience at the show: a shot of my feet may not be particularly enthralling for others, but the audio in the background is still there.

Peter

³⁷ Ripping is the process of recording media from the Internet or a physical source and storing it on a computer hard drive.

Peter has his own motives as to what he wants to film and this dominates his approach whilst actually at the concert. When he is reviewing his footage he then starts to consider it from the perspective of the YouTube viewer. Everything is kept at this stage but only the most broadcast worthy actually makes it to YouTube.

This is not to say that Peter does not occasionally film footage in the knowledge that it will prove popular on YouTube.

Sometimes it is through advanced knowledge of the set list. Others its pot luck what happens next. At times I'm hopeful a specific song will be played that I'd like to capture, which means I'm left guessing what's coming up and often miss a few seconds from the start. I've also known in advance that some users in fan communities are eager to see certain aspects of a show and concentrated upon them: the footage of a dancer from a Madonna show for instance was taken in reaction to fan demand.

Peter

The most appropriate way to characterise this approach, in relation to the other types of filmer discussed in this chapter, is that Peter's filming is not planned but his broadcasting is. He may well go to a concert with an idea as to what he wants to film but this is not the same as having a preconceived approach to the mechanics of filming. His concern regarding quality control comes into force at the point where his footage is ready to be uploaded to YouTube.

Peter's motivation for sharing his videos furthermore shows a commitment to broadcasting.

Sharing shows that I had found fantastic, and trying to relay that experience to other users. Letting others share who couldn't have been at the show feel some of the excitement and energy.

Peter

His reference to relaying the experience positions him as a gatekeeper, such as those referenced by David Hesmondhalgh (2006), allowing YouTube viewers access to the concerts he has been to in person. He is aware of the limitations of YouTube videos in translating the experience of a concert and this awareness also feeds into a discourse on broadcasting by setting up a dichotomy between the live event and the reproduction of that event.

Live music provides elements of drama, theatre and personality to the music that a recording can barely begin to capture. The audience becomes a collective, a community that shares a common experience of music and performance. Through this there comes a sense of camaraderie, of being part of something bigger than us.

It does frustrate me when people viewing the YouTube clips take them as the gospel reading of how a performance was, or how a tour is. In particular, the recent Madonna Sticky and Sweet tour had many 'YouTube critics' who declared the concert a disaster. The clips can't quite translate the sheer energy and vitality of a show. They only provide a limited window on the performance.

Even professional recordings of the show can't tell you the whole story about how it sounds and looks in the venue. It is an odd experience to try and explain the difference between being there and watching it stream on the internet. The Confessions on a Dancefloor promo tour (by Madonna) for instance featured a performance of Let it Will Be that was accompanied by the deepest bass that made my hair stand on end, a wall of video that had the most amazing imagery. The feeling of raw, powerful bass, the kaleidoscope of visuals, the vitality of the performance combined to produce one of the most amazing moments I have seen on stage: broadcast, it had lost much of that energy and became a shadow of what was experienced live.

Peter

Watching a YouTube clip involves engaging different critical faculties; broadcasting footage means providing a version of events. Peter demonstrates that he is aware of the stark difference between being at a concert and watching concert footage; a difference apparently not so keenly understood by some YouTube viewers. He demonstrates an understanding of broadcasting as a means of presenting culture in an inevitably reduced form that cannot be compared to the event that is subject of the broadcast but can and should be enjoyed on its own terms. He, therefore, shares the outlook of a professional or pseudo professional videographer but without applying the post production techniques professionals will employ in order to enhance their videos. In a sense, Peter's videos can either be seen as a halfway point between the integrity of the event as experienced live and an edited reconfiguration of the event on video or as a futile attempt to convey a discourse of authenticity by not tampering with footage but in so doing leaving footage of a live event that cannot reproduce the emotions that the live event itself was able to produce. This issue of authenticity in cultural production will be addressed in a subsequent chapter but here is notable inasmuch as it represents a specific approach to uploading concert footage on YouTube.

No quality control

There are filmmakers who will upload all the footage that they capture at concerts seemingly without any quality control. They are in the minority of those who were interviewed and their rationale is always the same: YouTube serves as a convenient archive for their footage. Renee is a teenage female from Hong Kong and her response as to whether she uploads all of her footage is fairly straightforward.

Yes. In case I would lose my memory cards.

Renee

This wish to upload everything is an approach to broadcasting that does not seem to give much stock to the concerns of the YouTube viewers watching her videos. Her lack of concern in judging what is suitable or worthwhile for sharing is matched by a dismissive attitude towards the comments she receives and her YouTube audience in general. She states at a later point in our interview that she is 'sort of indifferent' towards the comments she receives from YouTube viewers and also says that she is much more interested in the thoughts of her real world friends, particularly those who also film concerts.

This decision to always upload her footage is also tied, however, to Renee's attitude towards filming. The previous chapter showed that most filmmakers are particular about the circumstances under which they will film and some will only film if they can achieve the aesthetics they prefer for their videos. Renee, though, will find reasons to film irrespective of where she finds herself in the concert.

I thought I might just do it as I was pretty far away from the stage and could hardly see what was going on there when I was at (a concert by) Maroon 5, which was also the first time I went see a gig. As for the second time, I managed to get to the front at (a concert by) Travis and I just wanted to record such a precious moment. Therefore I would say I normally film gigs under pretty much either situation.

Renee

There are different reasons for filming that cover different situations and so what is broadcast is the result of different imperatives. There is no effort to create a consistent text but to simply document and then share her experience of the concert.

Her reasons for sharing her footage are also telling; given that she shows little interest in the feedback she receives. They suggest that Renee considers her videos to operate more as a tour diary for musicians rather than as music texts. Her videos are, equally, documentary evidence of the vitality of Hong Kong as a destination for internationally renowned musicians. This is why Renee uploads her videos:

To show fans on the other side of the world what is 'new' with the band or singer when they tour over here. They are sort of like alternative entries of their tour diaries.

Renee

The rationale is not to broadcast music texts but to show information as to what musicians are doing in Asia which is perceived to be a different territory and so inherently more broadcast worthy for the benefit of 'Western' fans unused to seeing these musicians in this context.

Perhaps this explains a lack of interest in creating music texts; she is aware that these texts already exist, emanating from the musician's home territory and so her videos serve a different function by offering music fans a chance to see their favourite musicians in a different context. Renee is aware that it might be difficult for her to offer anything new or different in music terms as the musicians she films will likely come to Hong Kong having already performed extensively in Europe and North America. The ether is already well established by the time these musicians make it to Hong Kong and so Renee can only hope to provide an alternative perspective on the musician as a person in a distant country and so the videos are more valuable in a tourism context. This also explains the reason for her to not worry about the quality of the music or performance and take the view that a video of a 'Western' musician performing in Hong Kong is inherently interesting and so automatically worthy of uploading to YouTube.

Why put the footage on YouTube?

The first half of this chapter has considered different ways of presenting concert footage; the remainder of the chapter focuses on setting out different reasons why filmers put their footage on YouTube. These reasons have been touched upon already in this chapter but will be set out here as a clear typology in order to assess the differences between these different reasons for uploading.

Reaching (global) audiences

The majority of filmers interviewed for this project implicitly or explicitly articulate a wish to pursue an audience. In some cases this wish is articulated in parlance reminiscent of professional broadcast executives; an interest in viewing figures and attracting interest from different parts of the world for example. Shelley is in her twenties and from Los Angeles and is probably the most forthright in her concern with receiving interest in her work from around the world. This is what she said about the comments she receives on her videos:

I love it. Most of the comments have been very positive. I have received so many comments and messages from people all over the world: Germany, Africa, Japan, Canada, Brazil, etcetera. Mostly they are very appreciative of the fact that I share these videos since, due to their locations, they will likely never get to see the artist live and in person themselves, and certainly not in a small club setting like I am fortunate enough to do living in Los Angeles.

Shelley

Her motivation for broadcasting is founded upon a notion that she exists within a cultural space that is not physically accessible to most people and so she is, in a sense, duty bound to

document what she is able to experience and share this with those less culturally fortunate. She feels that Los Angeles is an important site for popular culture and that this culture exists on a more personal level than in other parts of the world. Shelley is a particular fan of musicians, such as Dave Navarro, who are themselves from Los Angeles. The set of circumstances she describes is therefore not so much related to Los Angeles per se but that she is a fan of local music that also in the case of Dave Navarro³⁸ has a demonstrated global appeal.

Shelley looks to describe her home city as a geographical space rich with live music culture. She has not always lived in Los Angeles and tellingly chose not to disclose her previous locale in our interview but did mention Los Angeles frequently throughout.

When I moved to LA the amount of local shows I was attending increased tremendously. Because I've always been a fan of live music it just seemed like a great way to preserve moments from the shows.

Shelley

Shelley is obviously glad to live in Los Angeles and this is likely part of her enthusiasm for uploading her videos. Her collection of videos is evidence of her cultural life in Los Angeles that may be enviable to people living elsewhere. Prior to moving to Los Angeles Shelley was actually in much the same situation as many of her YouTube viewers.

Since I know how it feels to not live 'where the action is' I decided to start uploading videos for those people who are in the same situation I once was. My motivation was, and is still, to share the live show experiences with those people who don't live close enough to attend these shows themselves.

Shelley

Shelley can empathise with YouTube viewers and perhaps feels a responsibility to contribute to a forum that she has benefited from previously. There is a sense of recognition seeking to this that will be explored in more detail in a later chapter. The pertinent matter here is to bracket this recognition as a specific motivation for contributing to YouTube and to note that this recognition seeking is the most prevalent motivation for contributing to YouTube amongst those interviewed for this project.

A final addendum can be made to this type of YouTube broadcaster by pointing out that these filmmakers will often film with a view to broadcasting; in other words filming the performances that they believe have the highest broadcast potential.

³⁸ Dave Navarro has performed with two globally successful rock bands: Jane's Addiction and Red Hot Chili Peppers. He is also known for his appearances in reality television.

Usually I will record a song which I recognize or is one of my favourites. I will also record if I know that a large number of people will enjoy that particular song or artist.

Shelley

This thought process demonstrates the manner in which YouTube and broadcasting have entered into filmers' approach to filming at a concert. They are at the concert but already planning their next uploads to the website. They are attending the concert in part as an intermediary for their YouTube audience. The concert is not just about listening to songs that they enjoy but anticipating what songs other people will enjoy.

Interviews with YouTube viewers did bear out much of what Shelley discusses. Sonya, from Santiago in Chile, is an archetypal viewer insofar as she uses YouTube to watch concert footage from musicians that do not visit Chile on tour. I contacted her, for example, on the basis that she had left a comment on a video made by Katrina, from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, who was one of the filmers interviewed for this project. This circumstantial evidence points to Sonya's taste for music from the United Kingdom.

I really liked and still like watching concerts because you can see the musician while he is playing (sic), making even better the experience of listening to music, and YouTube is a very comfortable way to do it, because you can watch it whenever you want and you don't have to pay for it, beside Chile is kind of an unknown country so not many musicians come here to play, and you can't find many live DVDs here either. I mean experiencing a live concert is a thousand times better than watching it on YouTube but for obvious reasons is also less frequent.

Sonya

Sonya backs up the claims made by Shelley with regards to the geographical limitations on attending concerts in person but also makes the point about the convenience of watching a concert at home. This illustrates the fact that no matter how close a person lives to a concert venue there will still be some level of travel involved and a necessity to leave the home environment where so much entertainment and media culture is consumed. Sonya is an extreme example given that she is in Santiago in Chile and watching videos shot in South England but many YouTube viewers use the website to traverse much shorter distances; frequently it is a matter of simply living in the wrong town or city rather than wrong country.

The level of gratitude from YouTube viewers that filmers often refer to was distinctly absent from the interviews I conducted with YouTube viewers. I did not direct a question to YouTube viewers as to whether they take the time to leave a comment thanking filmers, and empirical research into YouTube concert videos did uncover a large number of comments to the effect of "thank you for posting this" that do bear out the recognition that Shelley and other filmers refer to. Nevertheless it is odd that there tended to be a matter-of-factness to the attitude of

YouTube viewers interviewed to the existence of this footage on the website. In fact many YouTube viewers actually stated that they did not film the concerts they attended themselves because they knew that other people would be filming and so could watch other peoples' footage. It can be surmised that many concert attendees and YouTube viewers take the attitude that filmmakers have made a decision to adopt this way of being at concerts and the videos they produce are a by-product of this way of being that other people can benefit from without paying or offering anything more than a courteous thank you. Gratitude is afforded, often self afforded, as compensation for the time and effort put into filming and broadcasting.

Closed communities of friends

This type of filmer is in many respects much the same as the audience chasers described above. The difference is that their primary interest is in showing their videos to their friends more than reaching a global audience. This manifests itself as a competitive game amongst friends based upon seeing who can upload the best footage, whose videos are viewed by the most people, and so forth. It can also manifest itself in the group of friends believing themselves to be better or more committed filmmakers compared to the YouTube masses. Arne from Norway is typical of this type of filmer.

My friends who saw the footage said it was such good quality and sound that I should post it on YouTube. There are far too many people posting crappy footage in low resolution and with bad sound.

Arne

It is the tangibility of Arne's friends versus the abstract wider filmer community that consists of 'too many people' creating poor quality concert videos that creates a physical versus virtual dichotomy. Arne's real world friends are a higher level audience for his videos. At this stage his friends are seeing the videos before they actually reach YouTube but it is encouragement from his friends that leads to Arne's videos being uploaded to the website.

Uploading the videos to YouTube therefore serves a different purpose. These filmmakers are still chasing audiences but this time in competition with their filmer friends. This rivalry between friends indicates issues of cultural capital which will be explored in a later chapter but also reinforces the fact that it is the real world friends rather than the global virtual audience who are of primary concern to these particular filmmakers.

I have friends who like my posts and have bought their own camera and started to post films on YouTube them self. I subscribe to them on YouTube and compare view counts and ratings.

Arne

Global YouTube viewers are effectively pawns in a game amongst friends and these filmers are less interested in the location, opinions or any other biographical details regarding their YouTube viewers; it is a more straightforward numbers game.

Archiving

YouTube offers a place to store videos and this opens up the possibility of using the website as a means of creating a scrapbook of videos that document the concerts that a filmer has been to. The benefit of doing this on YouTube is that it is aesthetically pleasing. YouTube does most of the work in creating a space online where videos can be displayed with a series of screen shots referring to each video and the filmer can add text alongside each video with written text explaining the contents of the video. The alternative is to keep the videos as a series of computer files with basic file names or as a series of memory cards or videos with the contents handwritten on the case. Signing up to YouTube is akin to purchasing a diary insofar as it is predesigned to archive and display a series of videos. In this instance, the fact that this archive is accessible to any YouTube user is a secondary concern.

My motivation is to capture history I guess. I'm into scrapbooks and sentimentality and this is just another medium to capture information and hold onto it.

Bill

Bill from the USA is a relatively light user of YouTube inasmuch as he only had thirteen concert videos at the time of interviewing. He was one of the select few who had a non-concert related video on his YouTube channel; a video of his daughter. The inclusion of this video suggests that Bill is not so concerned with creating a broadcast channel devoted to live music. The majority of filmers interviewed devoted their channels exclusively to concert footage but a few did have holiday footage and other non-concert related material. This ties in with the notion of a scrapbook rather than broadcast channel and shifts the discourse from pseudo professionalism to YouTube as a more personal space.

Filming in order to archive and create a scrapbook of concert memories implies filming footage at every concert. Filming is the primary imperative and supersedes any interest in capturing specific performances or only filming if conditions are suitable.

I almost always film the shows I go to. Thinking about it, I would say the last ten shows I've gone to, I definitely have recorded some portion of it.

Bill

It also means uploading something from every concert and not applying similar filtering techniques in order to present a YouTube channel that articulates a discourse of professionalism or exclusivity. The purpose is to take something from each concert and add it to YouTube.

A consequence of this attitude is that audience feedback is less important given that the filmer is not looking to attract and impress an audience.

Generally, I don't care about the comments that much, but just about every single one of the comments I've got was very positive. They would say like, "I was there, great show." Or, "Wish I was there...". The only negative ones I've received was really that the audio was not good, but that's only because my camera wasn't top of the line.

Bill

Audience reactions are less of a concern to an archivist such as Bill but are still welcome as and when they do appear. Bill is also happy to admit that his video equipment is not of the highest order and seems relatively content when YouTube viewers criticise his videos to this end. That is not to say that archivists do not care at all about negative feedback and other filmers who could be considered archivists reported being more offended or hurt by negative comments. Archivists are overall characterised, however, by a concern with documenting an element of every concert they attend and having less interest in the views of other YouTube viewers.

Journal

A final reason for uploading footage is that YouTube provides a means of embedding videos into other websites such as blogs; effectively a scrapbook that is intended to be consumed by other people. A filmer can upload their videos to YouTube and then have the video appear on their own website as just a small window on the page. A few filmers interviewed for this project maintained their own blogs where they review the concerts they have been to and use YouTube to include videos they had shot at the concert to add context to the review. For some filmers this is a form of music journalism whereas for others, such as Katrina from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, it is nominally a more personal concern.

I was starting putting together an online gig journal, just for myself, and embedding YouTube code was the easiest way to get my videos on my site. I then started getting comments on YouTube on the videos and got talking to people who

had been at the gigs. It turned out to be good fun. I still haven't done much with the online journal, but will hopefully catch up at some point.

Katrina

In Katrina's case the popularity of her videos on YouTube usurped her blog. This demonstrates that Katrina is substantively concerned with reaching out to other people. Katrina had initially come to YouTube as a means of conveniently collating her videos but was persuaded to shift agenda through a form of peer influence. The comments Katrina received from YouTube viewers encouraged her to continue filming and led to her abandoning her original idea to create an online journal. The influence was indirect given it is unlikely any comment directly advised her to stop writing her journal and focus on filming. Uploading concert footage to YouTube is in itself a form of journal but presented in a different way; ostensibly the video is prioritised over the written text where the journal Katrina had in mind would have been oriented towards her words as the primary information source with the videos as illustrative of the narrative. YouTube viewers made it implicitly clear to Katrina that it is the videos that they are most interested in and so she switched her attentions to YouTube in order to maximise the audience available to her as a consumer and documenter of live music culture. The relationship between filming and cultural capital will be explored in a subsequent chapter but here it can be initially identified as a significant factor in encouraging filmmakers to broadcast their footage on YouTube.

Katrina started filming having previously taken photographs at concerts. She purchased a new camera which also has video functionality and thus started filming. Katrina has, therefore, become used to documenting the concerts she attends and maintaining a media journal of her concert experiences.

Back in November 07 I bought a new Sony Cyber-shot camera for taking pictures at gigs. I took a couple of snippets of video at a Pigeon Detectives gig in Bournemouth, just out of interest, and then realised how good the audio quality was and decided to use it more.

Katrina

It was the quality of the videos that led Katrina to start uploading her footage to YouTube. Having previously just taken photographs at concerts she was coming away with films of sufficient quality that they could be of value to other people. Where a journal in the classical sense may be of little interest to other people these videos perform a nostalgic purpose similar to a journal for Katrina but also serve as performance texts of interest to other people. Creating a journal is therefore a reason to start broadcasting but passing a certain quality threshold precipitates the move from personal journal to a broadcasting of concert videos.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to map out the virtual field of amateur concert footage as it is broadcast on YouTube. A typology of six different methods as to how concert footage is presented on YouTube has been identified as a means of assessing the decisions that filmmakers make when it comes to deciding how to present their footage. This is not to say that any interviewee neatly fitted any of these six types but that they represent six identifiably different approaches to the presentation of videos. Most filmmakers prefer to present complete songs in their videos, typically with one song per video, but some are happy to capture and broadcast short twenty to thirty second snippets of songs. There was less consensus as to what percentage of footage shot at the concert is uploaded to YouTube. Some filmmakers will upload almost everything they film where others will be more selective and choose only the most accomplished videos. A few filmmakers will utilise post production techniques to refine their videos before uploading them whereas most of those interviewed will upload the videos as they were captured at the concert. These decisions reflect different opinions amongst filmmakers as to what they are trying to take away with them from the concert. Many are looking to capture the coherent, auratic moment of live performance that represents simultaneous production and consumption and so resonates with a sense of authenticity. Others are more interested in capturing a scrapbook of images and videos from their night out at a concert. This typology of broadcasting approaches therefore sets up the in depth discussion about the aura and authenticity that follows in the next chapter.

The second half of this chapter set out a typology of reasons as to why filmmakers upload their footage to YouTube. The majority of filmmakers express a wish to connect with a wider audience that could, in principle, stretch the globe. A few filmmakers are variously interested in using YouTube as a convenient online archive for their videos, using YouTube as a platform upon which to hold popularity contests amongst real world friends referencing the viewing figures for their videos, and using YouTube as a means of incorporating videos into other websites such as blogs. The substantive consensus amongst filmmakers involves filming and broadcasting complete songs and also reaching out to global audiences. There is a symbiosis between these two ambitions given that they are both aligned to mainstream broadcasting approaches. Audiences for their part want to watch complete songs and so uploading complete songs will attract larger audiences and thus amateur concert filming under these conditions closely resembles professional media broadcasting. Relatively few filmmakers apply post production techniques and whilst it is difficult to substantiate why this is it could reasonably be put down to a lack of technical expertise and an unwillingness to devote the substantial amounts of time post production would require for what is effectively a hobby. A typical amateur concert video will consist of one complete song, be unedited and intended to attract a wider audience. Given that these videos are a relatively new addition to music culture it is from this conclusion that it is possible to move on to explore the impact that these videos have had on music culture from a conceptual and theoretical perspective. The following chapters will examine how they have affected notions of authenticity across different music texts and look at the issue of cultural

capital with reference to these videos as a broadcasting iteration of fandom. Both this chapter and the previous chapter have set out the impact of amateur filming on the practicing of music culture and the following three chapters are devoted to assessing the cultural and ideological impact of these videos on music culture.

Chapter five – Different Music Texts and the Nature of Music Reproduction

During interviews for this project it was common for the interviewee or myself to use pre-existing forms of music consumption as a frame of reference. For example, I asked YouTube viewers a question that encouraged them to compare amateur concert videos to official concert DVDs. Equally, a number of filmers referenced listening to music through headphones when trying to explain what is different about going to concerts. It is logical, therefore, that the shift into a more conceptual and theoretical appreciation of live music and filming should begin by looking at the various music texts that are available to the current music consumer and the relative merits of these texts with regards to notions of authenticity. This chapter sets out the different music texts discussed during my fieldwork and then sets out a paradigm of authenticity comprised of the different ways that authenticity is articulated or evoked by participants in this project. The aim of the chapter is to present different iterations of music texts and a paradigm of authenticity as articulated by producers and consumers of live music texts and compare this paradigm of authenticity with Walter Benjamin's concept of the aura (1991). The intention is not to challenge or recalibrate the work of Benjamin but to utilise Benjamin as a way of understanding, comparing and contrasting different perspectives on music culture.

The chapter begins by identifying the different music texts that are referenced in this project. The first text is the live concert; the event itself that is consumed by those physically present at the concert. The second is a live recording; footage shot by an amateur filmer and then consumed via the Internet on YouTube or another video sharing website. The third text is a high quality live recording. This refers both to official live concert films and amateur footage that is produced to a standard comparable with professional videography. The final text is the studio recording; the music as it is created and recorded to be distributed by the musicians and their record companies.

The chapter proceeds by setting out three instances of a paradigm of authenticity: rawness, professionalism and uniqueness. Walter Benjamin's notion of the aura (1991) and his work on authenticity is then used as a frame of reference for calibrating these different types of music text in terms of their claims to authenticity in relation to the authenticity that Benjamin speaks of. The chapter begins with a case study of a filmer who is also a musician and writes for the music press. His perspective on filming is used to introduce the various issues at stake. His views preface the overall argument of the chapter inasmuch as he proposes that the contrived nature of studio recorded music serves as a contrast to the inherent authenticity of live music as a space in which music culture is both produced and consumed in an immediate and coherent way. As such, this line of argument is a theoretical progression of the position set out in the previous two chapters regarding concert spaces as sites of simultaneous production and consumption.

Recording concerts from the mixing desk

Warren is in his fifties and lives in Bognor Regis in Sussex. He makes for an interesting initial case study because he is both a filmer and musician as well as being a long term bootlegger of live concerts. His primary employment is with a pharmaceutical company but he also writes reviews for music magazines on a freelance basis. Warren, therefore, has an active, complex and multifaceted relationship with music culture; he was also the only interviewee who referred to recording concerts directly from the mixing desk³⁹. This means plugging his audio recording device into the concert venue's mixing desk and obtaining an audio recording direct from the source without needing to use a microphone. Images are filmed with a small camera in the same way as other filmers.

These mixing desk recording clearly represent another type of live text but not included in the typology set out in this chapter because Warren is the only interviewee who made any reference to recording in this way and so acts as more of an exception to the rule. He is able to do it because of his connections with certain music venues but even those other interviewees who claimed to have an affiliation of some description with the music industry made no reference to recording this way. Warren is, as such, a special case and this is how he got started filming concerts:

I've always been a complete live music addict, both playing in bands and watching others, really since the mid seventies when I was dragged kicking and screaming into the punk explosion. Occasionally in the eighties I used to record gigs on a crappy old fashioned Philips tape machine but with the improvement in portable recording technology in the nineties I started to regularly record gigs, sometimes off the desk if the band was happy, and many were fine about that. My partner Jo too used to manage backstage at the Patronaat in Haarlem (Holland) so routinely used to get the sound engineers to record gigs. So we both have a history of liking to have an audio record of our gig going. Between us we have a frightening amount of recorded material. I've never shared this material except with friends who may have attended the concert.

³⁹ The desk of equipment used by sound engineers to monitor sound levels during a concert.

The filming really started when the audio pickup on simple technologies like cameras and mobile phones became pretty damn good, I'm not an audiophile and my preference for the ambience of an audience recording rather than the desk simply made it just as easy to use those. The filming is sort of secondary as more often than not I'll separate the audio to put on a CD and you can see from the videos I post often the video quality is dodgy to say the least so that is really not my prime motivation and I'd hate to use something as intrusive as a dedicated video camera unless I was doing it formally. On a more practical note I write for music magazines, so having some footage to refer to makes it easier.

Warren

Warren makes reference to the dichotomy between live recordings and studio recordings with reference to the distinction between audience recordings and recording from the mixing desk. It appears that it was the shift from recording audio only to recording audio and video that prompted Warren to abandon recording from the mixing desk. The ambience is the rawness that, as will be seen, some YouTube viewers value.

Warren's refutation of being an audiophile along with his downplaying of his filming capabilities suggests that being an audiophile means chasing the clarity of the perfect recording coveted by those people with professional aspirations. The aura is not compatible with professional production values. The reality of live music, for people like Warren, cannot and should not be conveyed through pitch perfect recordings that eschew the audience. The pursuit of perfection is a natural impulse for anyone engaging in a cultural pursuit and perhaps explains why Warren chose to record from the mixing desk for a time when he was bootlegging; he also bemoans the poor quality of audio recording devices in the 1970s and 1980s. As someone who has had a long term involvement with music culture it is telling, regarding notions of authenticity, that Warren has settled upon capturing concerts in the way that he does now.

Warren's audio bootlegs were for personal use only; it is only when he started filming that he began sharing his recordings with other people. This leads on to the issue of ownership. The mixing desk is a tool of the music industry and so requires express permission from the musicians or sound engineers. The audience are the consumers and many filmers argue that the live experience belongs to them and consequently an audience member is perfectly entitled to capture their experience at a concert. A filmer's sense of agency with regard to sharing is defined by their relationship to the music. Many filmers consider the act of uploading their footage as sharing their experience at a concert as opposed to providing footage of musicians performing music. Warren quickly moved on to discussing matters of ownership when asked why he shares his footage on YouTube.

Hmmm! Mixed reasons really. Initially it was simply because friends I went to gigs with asked me to because of the time it often took me to do them a CD and indeed

a couple of the artists asked me to. I do always ask the bands if it is feasible to do so but clearly that is not always the case. Certainly a couple of years ago some artists I asked said no to filming. I once had a rather pissed off and very well known artist tell me to fuck off for taking a photo after refusing permission for recording the gig. Or indeed no to uploading but I've noticed a general change over time. I think most accept this as something reasonable now and indeed see it as a way of promoting themselves. Both Jo and I are friendly with a lot of bands and this is backed up with what they say. Labels and managers too seem to be taking a more lenient line. When Jo worked at the Patronaat it was often the manager or the label that used to refuse permission after the band had said it was fine, and then the engineers would do it anyway! But that is rare now. In the last few weeks I've actually been asked by the label of one of the artists I've posted footage of if they can have the files for promotion purposes and of course I sent them.

Warren

Warren is in a somewhat unique position to speak knowledgeably about the issue of permission to film given his work with the music industry. The fact that Warren has been asked by musicians to share his recordings further validates his sense of ownership. Several other filmmakers I interviewed spoke of having been asked to share their films in spite of having no notable connections with the music industry. A way of conceptualising this is to propose that studio recordings belong to musicians and the music industry whereas audience concert recordings belong to the audience; not just the filmer but the audience at large. Warren notes a shifting of stance wherein musicians and music industry representatives have become increasingly willing to allow audience members to make their own recordings. The musicians are, above all, concerned with the integrity of the text whereas audience members are hoping to capture their experience. At a concert, authenticity for musicians is in recreating a rehearsed musical performance as conceived in the studio, rehearsal space or similar and for audience members it is recreating the ambience and energy of the concert and the emotional responses it elicited.

As discussed in a previous chapter the process of recording a song involves disassembling the music to its constituent elements and this can undermine the vitality of the song as a coherent text. Warren refers to this having been involved in the recording process himself. What he describes implies that a live concert is an opportunity to revitalise songs by performing them as coherent texts.

There is really no comparison for me. I have a lot of recorded music but it is really the live show that really does it for me. As a musician myself, having played live, recorded and done session work for many years I've a good understanding of the processes behind the live performance and studio work. I know that more often the passion is lost in the studio as it can be a pretty tedious experience. There is nothing like playing live to an audience that is enjoying the experience and that dynamic very often brings a passion to performance that is absent in other settings. I also like the fact that you can get something completely different at a

live performance, songs can morph, artists experiment and something unique can occur. There are artists that I'm not very keen on in a recorded format but have been completely bowled over by them live, and vice versa on occasion! I now rarely judge anything until I have seen it live.

Warren

There is a crucial dynamic here between the presence and absence of the audience. The presence of the audience creates an appropriate atmosphere for cultural production and allows musicians the thrill of performing their music as it was intended to be performed. The studio on the other hand requires musicians to perform parts of songs in isolation with only a small group of fellow musicians and studio professionals listening. Re-workings of songs can also be viewed as part of this effort to revitalise music that has been stagnated by the recording process. As set out in the introductory chapter, the live concert is an auratic space where cultural production and consumption are elevated, in part by their proximity to one another. Live music resonates more clearly and capturing this from the crowd is a closer approximation of this aura than eschewing the concert space and recording through the mixing desk.

The live concert

As already proposed the live text is constructed and consumed simultaneously. It requires that the musicians and audience are in the same place at the same time. This is the core attribute of the live music text in comparison with other forms of music consumption. The value of the live text is often calibrated by music fans in terms of immediacy and exclusivity.

It's unique and a privilege. While you can listen to recorded music any time you want, it's very rare that you get an opportunity to watch and listen to the actual artist perform the music you love live. I feel very lucky to live in LA, where essentially every artist who tours will come by every so often. I try to take advantage of live shows as much as I can; because you never know when it will be the last time they play live.

Kevin

Kevin describes the appeal of live music in terms of scarcity; a Bourdieusian notion to be explored further in the next chapter. There is little in the way of aesthetic evaluation; he makes no reference to the music sounding better or similar. The value of live music is in being able to witness the music being performed and created. Music itself seems somewhat devalued to Kevin inasmuch as he can listen to it whenever he wants. The one thing Kevin has no control over, though, is when and how often his favourite musicians will put on concerts in his home city.

Being at a concert is a manifestation of fandom for Kevin. It is a moment in which he has a connection to the musician that becomes tangible and perhaps an opportunity to add context to music that is rather abstract when consumed under different circumstances.

Pretty much during every concert I go to for an artist that I really like, I will have a moment of euphoria, happiness overcomes me. Knowing that this particular artist, whose music I love, admire, and am inspired by, is standing mere feet away from me performing. It brings a smile to my face. To be able to hear and feel the music live is an amazing gift.

Kevin

Being at a concert is to be able to connect the disparate elements of music culture together and so experience an auratic moment. The music can be connected to the musicians and consumed as the musicians are performing the music. Private music listening, on the other hand, operates as a somewhat arbitrary soundtrack to other everyday activities. The joy is in seeing the musician perform music that has likely become well known to the audience through repeated listening to the work of these musicians. Kevin also links hearing and feeling music in a reference to the high volume at which music tends to be performed at concerts. Feeling music suggests establishing an emotional connection to music that is not necessarily possible in other settings.

Kevin's emotional attachment to live music was borne out by every other interviewee. Not one person offered anything that could be construed as an aesthetic appreciation of the music that they hear at concerts. The adjectives that were used invariably referred to feelings and movements; various iterations of the music 'rocking' for example. It is clear that audiences tend to go to concerts in order to consume music in this manner. This is not to say that this 'rocking' is symptomatic of live music as an inherently emotional experience. Attendees at a classical concert or jazz concert, for example, may engage with the music on more aesthetic terms. One interviewee who attends pop concerts spoke of her pleasure in watching pop stars and backing dancers performing dance routines on stage; an aesthetic appreciation of other peoples' physical responses to live music. The prevalence of this discourse regarding the emotional nature of live music is nevertheless striking and is applicable to the spectrum of music culture covered in this project; loosely definable as pop music and rock music. Furthermore, these are the concerts that are being filmed by the fans who wanted to participate in this project. It makes sense that filmers are not trying to capture rote performances of particular songs given that these tend to be available as studio recordings. A lack of interest in aesthetics at the concert does not necessarily translate to a lack of interest in the aesthetics of the concert video.

Another facet of the live concert, though, is that it wrests control over what music is played from the consumer to the producer. Current music culture offers a plethora of ways of consuming music that give consumers a good deal of control over what they listen to; they can

pick out particular songs on a CD and shift from one record to another fairly seamlessly thanks to digital technology. When attending a concert, consumers are only able to choose which musicians they go to see; once at the concert it is up to the musicians as to what music is performed and how it is performed. This also leads to the possibility of hearing new music not previously heard or hearing familiar songs being reworked into new arrangements.

I try to record a few of my favourite songs, or songs that I think will sound good in terms of audio quality, not too loud or distorted. Unusual and rare moments such as covers or reworked or acoustic versions of songs are nice to capture too.

Kevin

Three qualities are identified here in terms of calibrating the relative filming value of different parts of the concert: favourite songs, rarely performed songs and reworked songs. Kevin does refer to sound quality but again this is not aesthetics but more a practical concern that the resulting video will be audible to himself and other people watching on YouTube. Favourite songs refer to music that has been prejudged prior to the concert as being of aesthetic value to the filmer. The third quality of exclusivity appears to pinpoint a significant unique selling point of concerts. These are the moments when the concert delivers moments that are unexpected and do not form part of the filmers' preconceived machinations as to what they are hoping and expecting to get out of the experience. These exclusive moments do not appear to be appreciated on an aesthetic level but simply on the basis that they represent a deviation from the known or expected reading of a particular piece of music. It is not a matter of being impressed by a superior new reading but surprised or pleased to simply hear something different.

Amateur live video

This is the text that much of this project is focused on; the amateur video captured at the concert by a concert goer. It is not a live DVD or live CD album; these products were generally bracketed as 'official' music industry products by interviewees. The concert as captured by professional videographers at the behest of the musicians is viewed as having emanated from a studio of sorts and so benefiting from the polish and editing this affords. The amateur video is seen as documenting a performance not intended to be documented and so more akin to a 'typical' concert. Alexandra from Greece is a viewer of concert footage on YouTube:

Of course the official footage has far better quality. But the footage uploaded by users is more authentic and it also gives you the chance to watch the artist in a performance that will never go out as 'official', either because it is in a small place or because the artist doesn't sell so much.

Alexandra

The dichotomy here is between official recordings and live performance. The notion is that any performance intended for recording, whether in the studio or at a live concert, will have a different feel to it. These recordings may well look and sound better but they are contrived; the 'official' label being double edged in promising a superior level of quality but implying that the performance has been cherry picked, refined and sanitised in order to be suitable for mainstream consumption.

The limitations of amateur videography, lacking in refinement as it often is, can work in its favour as a medium. The single, handheld camera will be positioned in the hands of a filmer in the crowd. The amateur filmer consequently provides a better perspective of actually being at the concert. This is argued by a number of YouTube viewers, such as Nicholas from USA, as a key value that amateur footage has in contrast to professionally filmed concert footage.

Sometimes I'd rather watch YouTube footage because of how raw it is. Don't get me wrong, some of the videos have really bad sound quality or video quality, but they also offer a better perspective of an actual concert goer than a camera on stage or hanging from a wire.

Nicholas

Concert goers will tend to stand or sit in the same area for the duration of a concert. They will certainly not be able to move around the concert space in the same way that a professional film crew acting in an official capacity is able to. These official films arguably sacrifice a sense of verisimilitude in an effort to present as many different views as possible and use expensive and bulky technology to pan and sweep around the space. Nicholas points to the poor quality of amateur footage as the trade off for increased realism; a significant issue that was referred to by several YouTube viewers interviewed. The majority of YouTube viewers in fact suggested that they would prefer better quality footage shot professionally but available without charge on YouTube. It is clear therefore that this amateur footage is valued for its ability to evoke the experience of being at a concert more than its ability to represent the details of the concert and offer pleasure as a standalone text.

The quality issue was further developed by Max, another YouTube viewer from the UK. He appreciates the presence of the audience in YouTube clips and the fact that the audience are not framed particularly but actually bleed into the text and often compete with the music; representing the auratic experience of being at a concert. Audiences in professional films will tend to be referenced with sporadic establishing shots and are frequently mixed down or completely out of the audio tracks; the audience can often only be seen or heard at the beginning and end of songs. In YouTube videos the audience will tend to just appear audibly or visually at arbitrary points in the video and not even at the intent of the filmer. Many YouTube viewers note this as a drawback of YouTube footage, again in respect of the negative impact on sound or image quality, but some such as Max voice appreciation of it.

Amateur YouTube footage tends to be a bit more real. I feel you get a more real experience of the gig through amateur cameras. You get more of an audience point of view. Often you can hear the reaction of the crowd overly loudly and in some videos you tend to see a sea of hands pointing towards the stage. Which I find are both interesting factors. These videos I think capture the excitement of the crowd as much as they do watching the artist on stage. DVD footage is often filmed on specialist cameras on viewing platforms, cut together very cleanly, giving a rich documentation of what's going on on stage. Both are just as valid.

Max

Once again there is a sense here of these amateur videos functioning as documents of being at a concert. Max refers to the equal validity of professional and amateur footage so, again, these videos are not being presented as valorised texts but as documents of experiences; the concert is still the referent. What remains though is Max's resistance to the filming techniques used by professional concert videographers. In a sense, Max is describing the dramatising of a concert with the concert venue being transformed into a film set with several cameras. The professional video is a document of the experience of a film crew at a concert; it is the experience of a number of people occupying different spaces and having different views of the concert. The amateur video is limited to documenting the one experience of the filmer; an experience that YouTube viewers would have enjoyed had they attended the concert themselves and so find easier to relate to.

Only a minority of YouTube viewers specifically advocated this unsanitised, unrefined, 'realistic' form of music text. The variable audio and visual quality actually mirrors being at a concert inasmuch as sound quality and view of the stage are often less than perfect for concert goers; a standard of reproduction that is too high consequently makes the text seem more contrived, less real and will not chime with experiences at concerts. Kelly from Toronto shares Max's enthusiasm for 'realistic' amateur concert footage.

I guess it's technically pretty bad. I only own two official live concert DVDs, and I do watch a lot of footage on YouTube. Sometimes you can find some really good performances, though the good thing about YouTube concert footage is that it's all raw. It's taken right from the show on someone's own personal camera, which means there is no tampering or editing. Even though official concert DVDs are also live performances, there is still a chance that they have been edited or production has been added. I also really like when I'm watching a YouTube concert video and I can hear the crowd chanting, singing, or clapping along. I like this better on a YouTube video because it just sounds way more real and in the moment.

Kelly

This is a similar but distinct appraisal in comparison to Max's comments. Kelly focuses on the impact of post production techniques as opposed to Max's concern with expansive production techniques. Her opinions represent a fundamental mistrust of music culture as an industry;

manifested as a fear that live footage will have been augmented. In fact my research indicates that a significant proportion of amateur filmmakers do carry out post production on their videos but YouTube viewers will not be aware or informed of this. The dichotomy that Max and Kelly present is therefore not as clear cut as they may like to think. Irrespective, the perception of this dichotomy is an active facet of music culture for some people and it is through this dichotomy that 'realistic' amateur videos gain their value and validity with some music fans.

High quality live video

The majority of YouTube viewers I interviewed were unequivocal in their preference for high quality videos. The rough edges that some appreciate are an annoyance for most YouTube viewers who actively dislike hearing the concert audience over the music playing and seeing a sea of heads instead of the musicians. Likewise most filmmakers express some level of intent towards getting footage of the highest quality possible. These high quality amateur videos represent a compromise between the realistic rawness of amateur footage and the unrealistic sheen of professional videos; an amateur video that conveys the excitement and the details of the concert. From a filmmaker's perspective it means balancing the wish to capture the concert and the will to maintain quality control.

Audio bootlegging is the hobby of capturing live performances to be enjoyed as music texts in their own right. If a live concert can be captured in sufficient quality then perhaps it can gain a life of its own as a standalone text and not just as a referent of the concert it was filmed at. As Alex Cummings (2010) argues regarding jazz bootlegging in the 1930s and 1940s it was a means of capturing performances that were otherwise restricted to those at the concert and then lost once the concert had finished. The intent of bootlegging has always been to fill in the gaps left by the music industry. Quality is paramount in terms of representing these performances but also insofar as bootleggers are not competing with the music industry or trying to produce something qualitatively different but simply supplementing the cataloguing efforts of the music industry. The shift towards high quality filming is at odds with an auratic appreciation of the concert. High quality means editing out elements indicative of aura; breaking the link to the physical concert space by creating a text that can be understood and enjoyed in its own right.

From the YouTube viewer's point of view the preference for high quality means searching the ether of YouTube to find live videos to watch. YouTube viewers of concert videos fall into two categories: those who were at the concert and want to relive the experience and those who were not at the concert but want to watch a particular musician performing live. It is the latter demographic for whom quality is a more prescient issue.

YouTube concert footage is generally pretty awful when compared to live concert DVDs. The source material is usually pretty bad, obviously, as it's done by amateurs or teens with camera phones. Then once YouTube subtracts even more quality after it's been uploaded most stuff is barely watchable. But there are a few gems out there.

Clinton

Clinton from USA dispels any notion that amateur footage is somehow inherently valuable and actually demonstrates a level of disdain towards those who are involved in producing it. He characterises watching concert footage on YouTube as a case of wading through the junk searching for gold. The fact that YouTube videos are free to watch means that a viewer is able to surf through a number of videos before hitting upon the sort of example they are looking for. As he was not at the concert he is only interested in videos that can represent music performances in a coherent way.

This often involves applying values acquired through the consumption of mainstream media. Many YouTube viewers make specific reference to technical specifications such as 'high definition' when referring to videos that they consider high quality and worth watching.

The high definition videos are good⁴⁰. Of course we don't like the poor ones.

Arshad

Arshad from Malaysia is a member of a rock band and is a fan of British rock music. He and his band mates watch concert footage on YouTube as inspiration and motivation for their own performances. The nature of their interest in the footage means that it needs to be of as high a quality as possible so that they can glean as much information from it as possible. Many more YouTube viewers advocate high quality simply for aesthetic benefits. It is here that a shift from the live discourse of immediacy and emotion and towards critical judgement occurs. Where some appreciate the rawness others are frustrated and disappointed by it. Jodi from Winnipeg in Canada watches concert videos as her favourite punk bands do not tend to perform concerts near her home town.

No I would not pay to see these videos. Half the time the sound sucks or the guy filming it won't shut up.

Jodi

Where some romanticise the sound of the crowd Jodi dismisses this phenomenon as the filmer spoiling the video by talking over it. It is clear that Jodi simply wants to gain a glimpse of the concerts she is not able to go to herself. She applies mainstream quality values in assessing the intrinsic monetary value of the videos.

⁴⁰ At the time of interviewing HD videos were relatively rare.

YouTube viewers can ultimately ignore the plethora of amateur videos and watch official videos anyway. In this case it is a matter of watching professional content through a different channel.

The videos that I watch on YouTube are normally the 'official' copies anyway, I don't watch the home made videos that much as they're bad quality, visual and audio-wise. Also, on the videos from the crowds there are loud cheers and screams that take over the vocals, or someone singing along really badly.

Mallory

Mallory from London regularly goes to concerts but prefers to consume high quality videos rather than raw amateur footage that might in some way resonate with her experiences at concerts. This demonstrates a commitment to mainstream media aesthetics. Mallory watches official videos but her reasons are much the same as those who watch high quality amateur footage; it reiterates the point that these high quality videos are a form of compromise between the live text and the studio text. The objections of Jodi and Mallory also demonstrate an intent to disassociate amateur videos from the concerts they were filmed at by rejecting any signifiers of being in the audience at a concert.

Studio recording

This leads to a consideration of the values attributable to studio recordings. The shift from the concert to the studio is mirrored by a switch from public consumption of music to private consumption. Although studio produced music is not always consumed privately it is notable that interviewees tended to utilise this public and private dichotomy as a means of reflecting on the differences between live music and recorded music. Mark from London, for example, points out that recorded music can be consumed under much more controlled circumstances.

Playing music at home allows you more control as to what you're listening to, what volume, etcetera. It's a more predictable solitary experience, not that there is anything wrong with that, it's just different.

Mark

Studio music is presented here as safe and familiar and Mark takes private music listening more for granted. Mark identifies recorded music as somehow domesticated and framed within the safety of the home. He claims that there is nothing wrong with this form of listening but the implication from this is that there is nothing particularly right about it. It is a form of consumption that does not tend towards eliciting strong emotional responses relative to live music.

The dichotomy between recorded and live music is also referenced in terms of intimacy. A key facet of live music for many interviewees is that it is consumed in a relatively large space surrounded by a group of people. Recorded music tends to be consumed on a solitary basis and this isolation forms part of the appeal.

I understand people who really care about intimacy of listening to music privately, because it's very important for me too. When you attend a concert, the intimacy is partly gone, but what you gain is the most sincere form of listening to music. You go to the club (and) you 'see' your favourite music right in front of you. It's also much more powerful.

And one more thing; seeing the band live is some kind of a test of the music recorded by them in the studio.

Fabian

This notion of intimacy can be taken to refer to a situation in which people are able to control and analyse music at their own leisure or utilise music as a soundtrack to their day to day activities. Several interviewees made reference to consuming recorded music when working and a few interviewees characterised recorded music as only engaging their sense of sound and so operating as a relatively discreet stimulus compared to other media phenomena that will also engage other senses. Concerts are considered to be multi sensory experiences and the presence of the musicians means that there is something to look at as well as listen to. There is an atmosphere of being in a space tightly packed with people and so both touch and smell, for better or worse, are also engaged.

Recorded music is understood as an infinitely repeatable experience where concerts are inherently unique. Many interviewees were careful to avoid weighting the value of this dichotomy too starkly in favour of live music; the reproducibility of recorded music is for some as valuable as the uniqueness of live music.

You can listen to their CD over and over, and it will always sound the same, but each time you see them (musicians) live, it will be a totally different experience.

Katrina

The extent to which this dichotomy is as clear as these people think is open to debate. It is arguable that listening to a CD in different contexts will have an impact on how it sounds and how it is understood. Equally a musician who performs a tightly choreographed and well rehearsed stage show is liable to give broadly similar performances at different concerts. What holds is that this dichotomy between reproducibility and uniqueness is used by so many music fans to characterise the relative value of recorded and live music and so has a cache in public discourses on music culture.

Concerts are, though, partly social events. Numerous studies (Sarah Thornton, 1997 as one example) have identified the overlap between music culture and physical appearance. Concert goers may feel an obligation to 'look the part' when attending concerts and this pressure might detract from the pleasure of going to concerts.

Listening to your music privately is good for some people; they don't want the pressure of having to dance if they don't want to or not knowing the words or trying to fit in with some hipsters.

Bill

As Bill describes it, this means not only looking the part but also knowing how to behave and enacting fandom through singing and dancing appropriately to the music. Recorded music can be consumed privately and so does not come with these issues. Bill was, though, the only interviewee throughout this project who made any reference to this aspect of going to concerts.

The emotional nature of live music is balanced by the appreciation of recorded music that tends towards the analytical. The predictability of recorded music means that it can be disassembled into its constituent elements.

Studio recordings are nice to be able to pick out lyrics and really learn the sounds, but live music has so much more life to it.

Craig

The implication here is that recorded music lacks life. It might be, moreover, the process of analysing it that takes the life out of the music. The fact that recorded music tends to be created in a somewhat disjointed manner may lend credence to the idea that recorded music is inherently less 'alive' than live music. Every interviewee who suggested a dichotomy of this nature made a point of noting the validity of recorded music. They avoided suggesting that one is better than the other or that one is more useful than the other; both clearly have their place and value in everyday life. Live music, though, is framed as being more real and ultimately closer to representing the nature of music. Preferring to appreciate music on an emotional level rather than aesthetic level is an acceptance of live music as a cultural form that does not require judging against a set of parameters in order to be categorised or appreciated.

A paradigm of authenticity

This notion of the authenticity of live music leads to a consideration as to what authenticity actually refers to. Craig, above, proposes one such way of defining and understanding authenticity but other interviewees spoke in terms of other discourses that can be construed as notions of authenticity. What follows is a breakdown of three distinct formulations of

authenticity present within these interviews. These formulations have been referenced already but are presented here as a clear typology.

First notion of authenticity: Raw

'Raw' YouTube concert videos play in stark contrast to live concert DVDs. One way in which they do this is by necessarily providing the view of one person rather than a professional film crew. The YouTube video therefore provides a believable representation of what it might have been like to be at the concert where a live DVD is constructed to offer a clear and coherent overview of the concert. Abbas, from Bahrain but studying at Oxford in Southern England, prefers the former:

Of course there's the video quality. YouTube concert footage is usually from mobile phones, and so will be blurry and shaky, and the lighting will be horrible. But as the cameras move with the crowd, it's more visceral. It's more realistic. An official concert video to me usually seems drab and dull, because it seems so static. Most of the energy is usually lost in its glossy, shiny production value.

Abbas

The amateur camera occupies far fewer vantage points than the professional filming set up but it is a better representation of being at the concert. Watching a live concert DVD is to have complete freedom of movement within the concert space; able to switch between different cameras at the editor's will and at the blink of an edit. As anyone who has ever been will attest this is not the experience of being at a concert. An amateur YouTube video of a song being performed at a concert will represent that song playing in real time from one position within the crowd rather than a constructed representation of that performance. Official DVDs will be cut and pasted together to provide a clearer overview but also post produced to ensure that the quality of the footage remains consistent. The amateur can only offer one view and so is unable to remove moments in which the audio or visual quality temporarily deteriorates. These moments of deteriorated quality can have the positive effect of capturing the aura of a concert and demonstrating that the footage has not been tampered with.

These signifiers of 'rawness' are, of course, as contrived as signifiers of clarity and perfection; a poor quality recording of a concert is no more *real* than an extensively post-produced concert film. It simply serves as a more compelling referent for the experience of actually being at a concert; the point being that live concerts are considered to be auratic and concert footage is calibrated by how closely it resembles this authentic object.

Another facet of amateur footage is the bypassing of the music industry. Raw here means direct from the concert and not via the music industry. A number of YouTube viewers made

the assumption that this meant videos are not edited; even though several filmmakers stated on interview that they edit and cherry pick footage before uploading it to YouTube. Amateur filming and uploading to YouTube is another form of mediation much like official concert DVDs; it is the scale of production and the financial imperatives that separate them. This interest in 'rawness' and the fallacious attributing of it as a quality inherent to YouTube videos is simply indicative that this is what some music consumers value in music culture. The fact that they may not be getting what they think from amateur videos does not diminish the power of 'rawness' as a form of authenticity.

Second notion of authenticity: Professional

Professionalism exists in contrast to rawness. Interestingly it is the only notion of authenticity that a significant number of filmmakers can be attached to. It is a formulation of authenticity in which quality is measured using professional standards: high definition images and crystal clear digital sound. These are the standards by which mainstream media are judged and so this notion of authenticity is a straightforward extension of these values to the sphere of YouTube. It stands to reason that filmmakers will identify with this paradigm as they often aspire to professional standards if they take their filming at all seriously.

Professionalism, however, is viewed as an ideal rather than a realistic goal. YouTube footage is calibrated within this notion of authenticity in terms of the quality and the professionalism of the production. Ostensibly it is a matter of making an amateur YouTube video look as much like a professional concert film as possible. Here are two filmmakers espousing the virtues of their footage:

When I was looking to buy a new digital camera I knew I wanted to take it to concerts so I made sure it was a camera that could obtain good video footage. I saw other people's videos and didn't like their sound quality so I was determined I would provide a better quality video.

Howard

I want to share with others, especially if it is better footage than what is available.

Sean

These filmmakers are looking for a polished product and so cannot value the rawness that other filmmakers and viewers appreciate. It would arguably be a lot easier to produce raw footage than take the time and effort to quality control the footage they are capturing. From a filmmaker's perspective this is a way of distinguishing their footage from other inferior footage available on YouTube and this sense of distinction will be explored further in the next chapter. What is pertinent here is the clear disdain for raw footage and the effort they put into ensuring their footage is of a higher quality.

A number of YouTube viewers told me that they do film their own videos but refrain from broadcasting these videos on YouTube because they feel they are of insufficient quality. This is not necessarily to attribute any sort of authenticity to 'professional' standard footage but it does highlight a value system that accepts quality as a marker of value in the sphere of YouTube. Max from the United Kingdom believes his footage is less valuable because it is of a lower quality:

I do go to concerts as well as festivals. I like both. Concerts tend to be a more intimate experience. I have taken film at concerts but for my own use only. To be honest as much as I love YouTube, I'm not a technical person. I wouldn't know how to get the video off my phone and onto my computer anyway. And I usually find that the ones that do pop up are better quality. Seeing as I'm usually trying to get as close to the front as possible and cannot really film due to sheer body mass of being crushed by the rest of the crowd.

Max

The fact that he continues to film suggests that he still values the footage he obtains but only for personal use. He does not want to share videos that represent his experiences at a concert amongst the mass of bodies as he is aware this would not necessarily be of interest to other people. The concert itself is experienced in a physical manner where YouTube footage is experienced on a sensory level. Concerts involve inhabiting a physical space as close to the stage as possible whereas watching a YouTube video is about taking in and enjoying the performance on an aesthetic level.

Technological developments have made it easier to aspire to professional levels of filming. High Definition camcorders are now pocket sized and can cost as little as £50⁴¹. A High Definition camcorder is obviously not quite the same as a professional film crew but the ability to use the 'HD' tag is an instant marker of quality. The video may still be shaky and the audio may be poor but the ability to refer to a video as 'HD' means it can be demarcated as a video of superior quality using professional terminology. This is what two viewers of concert videos, Martin and Scott who are both from the United States, had to say about the quality of YouTube live concert videos:

Some actually have surprisingly good quality. Some people even manage to capture it in 720p, and they play quite well on my monitor, and the best part is they're free. So I guess in a way, I prefer it to actual tangible media.

Martin

An official release is, of course, a considerable leap in budget range. Such a DVD would be filmed with three, or more, cameras, and include high resolution close

⁴¹ As of late 2011.

up shots of the musicians. Most YouTube concert footage is shot from a distance, to capture the whole stage and achieve a better sound; most camera microphones suck. I sometimes get very close to the band, and I am shooting in full 1080p High Definition. So I would argue that the videos I am beginning to produce are achieving nearly the same level of quality as an official live concert video. I am putting together a production crew to this very end. In the future, I will be filming with three cameras and mixing the footage down. The technology is so inexpensive now that there will be a large number of producers emerging in the near future, who will be making high quality videos for promotional purposes. Bands are no longer beholden to the behemoths of the music industry. The bands can produce their own CDs and DVDs for very little money.

Scott

Both make specific reference to High Definition (HD) as a de facto marker of quality. Martin makes the point that if the videos are High Definition and free then YouTube is arguably a better resource for live concert footage. Scott goes further to make the case that amateurs can, with sufficient organisation, produce results comparable to professional production crews. His ambition, however, is to produce professional standard material in order to eschew the professionals. As with some of the exponents of 'raw' footage he holds a level of animosity towards the music industry. There is a post-Marxist discourse regarding his wish for industries to create technologies in order to make other industries obsolete. It is an issue discussed by scholars of music industries such as Keith Negus (1998, 1999) and David Hesmondhalgh (2006) with reference to the relationships between music fans and the music industry. It might be this ambition to eschew the music industry that represents a form of authentic ideal for Scott; to create high quality products but outside of the organising framework of an industry. He frames his respect for professional productions in terms of the finances available to them and does not seem to have much interest in the music industry as a source of creative output. His assertion, and Martin's to a lesser extent, is to favour amateur footage on the grounds that it is comparable in quality and does not involve funding the 'behemoth' that is the music industry.

There are those who insist that amateur footage cannot compete in terms of quality and that this discrepancy is inherent to the distinction between amateur and professional concert footage. It is on this basis that professional and official become metaphors for authenticity. Here Clayton from Queensland and Anthony from Washington express their views on amateur concert videos:

Some footage is good. But the majority doesn't compare with recorded footage. The people recording the concert for the DVD use much higher quality recording equipment. It'd be sweet if there was a mobile phone that could record live sound really well. YouTube videos would get so much better.

Clayton

Some YouTube concert footage is better to watch than official footage, (but) mostly there is too much background noise in YouTube videos. I prefer to watch footage off of artists from their official YouTube channels.

Anthony

These two viewers of YouTube concert videos seem to admire the integrity of the professional product. Anthony goes so far as to admit that some amateur footage is actually better to watch than official footage but then qualifies this by expressing a preference for official footage on YouTube almost as a compromise or as symptomatic of no clear view as to what is better. Anthony articulates a level of ambivalence, but ultimately defers to officialdom as a marker of quality and distinction. Clayton is clearer about the superiority of professional footage and uses the exact rationale that advocates of the 'rawness' of YouTube footage use as rationale for not enjoying it. What links Clayton and Anthony is their preference for the integrity of the text. Unlike other viewers they do not want to be reminded that they are watching amateur footage filmed from the crowd at a concert. They want to be able to see and hear the performance contained within the video without this 'fourth wall' being broken down at any point.

Third notion of authenticity: Unique

This is the notion of authenticity that values objects and events because they break out of established cultural forms and formats. It is also the formulation of authenticity that it is tempting to fit live concerts into on the basis they are unique events. Here, Robin from Las Vegas compares live concerts with other forms of music consumption:

I'd have to say the experiences are completely disparate. Recorded releases are generally over-produced to the point of someone's version of perfection. Live events are very dynamic and, at times, unpredictable. Apart from (the US heavy metal band) TOOL who are the epitome of perfection in concert, everyone else generally comes up short of pre-set expectations. That's not to say that all live performances are poor, far from it, they just aren't pitch-perfect recreations of what you may expect. For example, Sting has completely reformatted his and the Police's original tunes to suit his purposes. Oftentimes the energy level overcomes any issues. The Red Hot Chili Peppers keep various keyboardists and drummers hidden away behind a screen to affect more of the sound from an album but it's their energy on-stage which makes up for hundreds or thousands of studio-perfected sounds. U2 are mind-blowing live. Their stagecraft is what I always imagined a live show should and would be like.

Robin

Robin refers to one band that achieves what he considers to be perfection in concert and so might fit the professional notion of authenticity. This band is, however, cited as the exception

to the rule. Robin seems to value the fact that the vast majority of concerts fall short of his expectations. Typically this would mean dissatisfaction but he appears to prefer the fact that concert performances are not perfect. The studio recorded versions of the songs are 'perfect' and deviations from these versions are what make concerts unique experiences. He also suggests that he finds striving for perfection fallacious as it could only ever be one person's version of perfection. If a performance is perfect by his criterion then it will likely fall short of other peoples' expectations. The unpredictability of live concerts means that no audience member's expectations will be met but this unpredictability is a value that all audience members can have satisfied at a concert. The concert will not be perfect but will be unique and this is something that all audience members can appreciate.

Robin also distinguishes between music and performance. He seems to place significant stock in the physical performance of the musicians while harbouring suspicions as to the validity of the music being performed. It is possible that he holds U2 as his personal yardstick for stage shows at concerts in the same way that he holds TOOL as his yardstick for musical performance. Other bands and musicians will invariably fall short of these yardsticks but this is preferable to him as if they met the yardsticks then they would encroach on his reverence for these two bands. U2 and TOOL perform specific functions within his music taste as perfect performers and musicians and so other bands and musicians need to perform other functions in order to exist in his music taste on their own terms.

Within the realm of YouTube, uniqueness can be found in the sheer diversity of material available. A live concert DVD will only show a select group of concerts filmed professionally whereas YouTube has amateur footage of potentially any concert that has taken place. All that is required is for someone at the concert to film a segment and upload this footage to YouTube. It means that music fans have access to a much wider range of performances, as Sonya from Santiago in Chile explains:

I like them (YouTube and official DVDs) both, on one hand you have usually illegal footage of live concerts recorded by just some fan which means that probably you will find many videos of one concert that wasn't officially filmed. On the other hand you have a much better quality video which is also official so you're not breaking the law, but these are harder to find because not all concerts are filmed and released on DVD. Besides, on YouTube you can find either fan filmed videos or official videos illegally uploaded, so you have more options, but I still prefer buying the DVD and keeping it in a collection.

Sonya

Sonya refers to collecting live DVDs but not YouTube videos. It is as though YouTube videos are less tangible and consumed more as mini events that occur in real time as opposed to being collected and archived. DVDs are objects to be possessed where YouTube videos are cultural ephemera to be enjoyed perhaps as fleetingly as a concert. So not only do they refer to a wide

range of concerts but also play out as concerts do, playing and then moving on to the next song / video. There is once again a distinction between the industry and grass roots production where the grass roots are deemed, without any real corroborative argumentation, to be more authentic. The fact that many YouTube videos feature artists and concert spaces not often filmed adds a sense of uniqueness to the videos. This is uniqueness in the sense of inverting popularity as a metric of value. The manner in which this plays out in cultural terms will be explored in the next chapter. What is of interest here is the manner in which scarcity as a value contributes to the authenticity of cultural products. Scarcity contributes to the uniqueness of a cultural product and so a video of a band that receives little mainstream media attention or even a video shot at a concert venue which is rarely filmed at becomes more authentic than those musicians and venues that are widely covered.

Another facet of the diversity of YouTube videos is the availability of multiple performances. It affords the possibility of comparing different performances of the same song at different concerts, different videos from the same concert, and so forth. This serves to reinforce the uniqueness of each performance and mitigates against the canonising of the official version.

Because there are so many YouTube videos, it captures different performances and cool moments of the same song, so it's really good. DVD is obviously better quality, but I would rather watch videos online then pay for a DVD.

Frank

There is the sense that Frank from New Zealand has chosen quantity over quality on the basis that quantity is available for free whilst quality must be paid for. The ability to see different performances and compare readings of songs at different concerts is valorised as a means of justifying not paying for the DVD and choosing to browse YouTube videos for free. It is questionable if he would be so positive about the different versions of songs available if he had to pay to see each of them.

Walter Benjamin's notion of authenticity

Benjamin's notion of 'aura' (1999) seems to resonate with the raw formulation of authenticity outlined above. There are similarities between rawness and Benjamin's concept of aura as both refer to the ephemera outside the text as placing it in context. The professional formulation works in contrast to Benjamin's notion of the aura insofar as the professional strips away the external ephemera in order to present the text in a clean and clear form untainted by external influences. 'One might subsume the eliminated element in the term 'aura' and go on to say: that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art' (Benjamin, 1999; 215). The removal of the aura through professional recording techniques creates a reified text that can be put into context and have meaning attributed to it

by the consumer. The professionally recorded music text does not refer to any space or time and so these facets of contextualisation are left blank for the consumer to fill in.

Many interviewees expressed sentiments attributable to the professional paradigm. At face value this would mean that these consumers simply do not value authenticity or the aura that Benjamin so valorises. Another way of looking at this phenomenon, though, is that these consumers are fully immersed in an age of media communication. If the vast majority of entertainment a person consumes comes via the media then it cannot be surprising that visual or aural references to the production process are treated with bemusement or disdain. The notion of having to go through rituals or pilgrimages in order to be entertained does not fit with modern life and so many people would prefer entertainment that can be meaningful no matter where or under whatever circumstances it is consumed.

What is represented here is a contradiction. Some interviewees want to be shown the process of music production in order that they can verify the authenticity of the music. These people embrace the imperfections that can occur when a group of musicians perform together and without the ability to go back and correct any missed notes or loss of rhythm or synchronicity. Other interviewees want seamless performances that are rhythmic, synchronous and hide their production process. Authenticity in this case refers to a pure instance of music. This hiding of the production process is arguably the withering of the aura that Benjamin (1999) refers to. Uniqueness, on the other hand, is an interesting third perspective that serves to clarify the distinctions between the first two positions. At face value, unique live music moments seem to combine the attributes of rawness and professionalism. They are events that confound the routine of live music and so disrupt the sequence of events of a concert as they are expected by audience members. Equally, however, these moments are intentional acts on the part of the musicians and so do not impact on the perceived professionalism of the musicians.

Since the time of Benjamin's writing, industries have developed that are founded upon the mechanical and digital reproduction of art and culture. Benjamin's notion of the aura therefore refers to a time that predates these industries and so is a powerful weapon for those who oppose the industrialisation and commoditisation of art and culture. The widespread indifference to this notion of authenticity amongst my interviewees is indicative of the widespread acceptance of this commoditised reproduction of art and culture. For these people, authenticity refers to the integrity of the text as it is delivered to them at a time and place that is suitable to them as consumers. Benjamin's notion of the aura is shared by a particular type of consumer who probably shares his post-Marxist ambivalence towards mass production. Uniqueness may make sense as a form of authenticity but seems to operate here more as a means of distinction. Uniqueness is not a value inherent to a particular text but a matter of how often the text or what is contained within the text occurs. A YouTube video of a musician rarely or never filmed may convey a sense of authenticity based on its uniqueness

but if the number of videos available were to proliferate then this uniqueness would diminish. Uniqueness is not, therefore, an attribute inherent to a piece of music culture. Uniqueness is a marker of the scarcity of music culture. The process of a live video losing its uniqueness is allegorical for the withering of the aura that Benjamin (1999) refers to.

The pursuit of professionalism is, furthermore, a facet of 'cultural capital'. The following chapter will put forward the argument that some amateur filmers are motivated by cultivating a reputation as highly skilled film-makers who are capturing live music and making it freely available to music fans via YouTube. These filmers can be considered 'prosumers' as outlined in the opening chapter. Being a 'prosumer' means embracing mass distribution and, consequently, opposing Benjamin's (1999) notion of 'aura'. These filmers are not necessarily calibrating professionalism as part of their sense of authenticity. These filmers tended to speak reverentially of the live concert experience, thereby implicitly critiquing the authenticity of their videos. Some of these filmers were clear in accepting that their videos could not adequately capture the experience of attending a concert in person. Filmers often attempted to recuperate a sense of authenticity in their videos by claiming that they are of a superior quality to the majority of live concert videos available within the ether of YouTube. These filmers are invoking uniqueness as an attribute as a means of claiming some level of authenticity for the product. Once again, however, this serves as an implicit critique of the authenticity of concert videos. The selling point of the videos is that they are of a rarefied standard rather than having any ability to invoke a sense of authenticity.

Benjamin's concept of aura provides a version of authenticity against which the three notions of authenticity articulated by interviewees can be calibrated. These notions of authenticity likewise provide a means of re-contextualising Benjamin's ideas. Ultimately it is a matter of either viewing the concert as part of a bigger meta text or respecting the integrity of the concert as text. The meta text is the production of culture itself. Those who see authenticity in rawness can only accept the authenticity of the text if the nature of its production and performance is apparent. Those who prefer professionalism do not want the integrity of the text to be undermined by references to its production or consumption. The sight of audience members or the noise from the crowd serve to reinforce the point that music texts are the product of human intervention and not abstract. The moments in which an amateur video goes out of focus or loses the clarity of the sound recording are the moments in which the camera and filmer become noticeable and this detracts from the integrity of the video as a text capturing a piece of music. Professional production and reproduction techniques are designed to make the producers invisible and whilst this may make the resulting text seem somewhat abstract this is what many consumers value. It is a matter of consumption in the age of digital reproduction.

Conclusions

This chapter has set out to classify the different music texts under discussion throughout this project and identify three different notions of authenticity espoused by interviewees. The intention has been to identify different music texts available to consumers in an era of amateur digital reproduction and explore the impact of this cultural turn on notions of authenticity amongst music consumers. Walter Benjamin's notion of the 'aura' has been used as a frame of reference in the calibration of the authenticity of different live music texts. Recordings of live performances can offer a reading of a piece of music but cannot recreate the full emotional experience of being present at the performance of these songs. Live music in the age of digital reproduction is consequently an authentic way of consuming music; experiencing firsthand the production of music culture and sharing a space with the producers.

The first conclusion that can be drawn is that, when it comes to concert footage on YouTube, different people hold different views on what can be considered more authentic. This means that authenticity is not a matter of an essentialist perspective on popular culture. In a manner this resonates with Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) concept of the *habitus*, as authenticity can be said to be the objectifying of a person's world view in popular culture. This world view might be a post-Marxist antipathy towards the industrialisation of music culture or a media saturated valorisation of the precise and coherent music text. As such, authenticity is a matter of taste. This leads on to the next chapter that explores filming concerts with respect to taste and distinction, which are other tropes associated with Bourdieu (*ibid.*). Authenticity is a way of characterising the relationship between people and culture and another conclusion that can be drawn is that significant cultural or media technological turns require reappraisals of received wisdom as to how people relate to culture. Amateur YouTube videos are a new music media product and their arrival shifts the landscape of the music mediascape in such a way that it poses questions of music consumers and invites them to make decisions as to how they prefer to consume music. The lack of consensus demonstrates that there are no right or wrong answers or correct decisions to make but that there is equal conviction backing up whatever convictions are held.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that authenticity is in part a matter of making the most of what is available. This chapter goes some way to highlighting the criticisms made by consumers of music culture and the surprising level of dissatisfaction expressed towards much music culture by some music fans. Authenticity tends to operate as an ideal that is rarely if ever satisfied but serves as a yardstick against which music culture can be measured. The YouTube viewers interviewed and quoted in this thesis have experience with amateur concert videos of many 'types' and varying standards and so have willingly consumed products that do not meet their criteria for authenticity. Authenticity is simply a way of crystallising tastes and preferences; the occasional satisfying of these tastes and preferences leads consumers to

believe in the authenticity of some music culture but without dismissing music culture that falls short.

Chapter six – Taste and Recognition: an economy of YouTube

The aim of this chapter is to explore the various motivations of filmers for the unpaid contributions they make to YouTube; with a view to proposing an ‘economy of YouTube’. Filmers are not paid for submitting their concert videos and YouTube viewers interviewed for this project overwhelmingly rejected the idea of paying to watch them. There are other motivations at work. The intention in this chapter is to calibrate a notion of cultural capital specific to amateur live concert footage shared via YouTube. The chapter will also explore cultural learning as it is facilitated and demonstrated in the filming, sharing and viewing practices of YouTube users. Cultural capital is valuable here as it explains both the attraction of concert filming for participants but also the structuring of their engagement with YouTube and other music fans through YouTube. Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and cultural capital have been identified as valuable in exploring identity and social difference. ‘Identity movements... may aspire to new political rights and equality in law or to resist cultural devaluation through recognition claims that take place through symbolic struggles. It is suggested that Bourdieu’s field, capital and habitus toolkit provide the possibility to also consider the instrumental and expressive aspects of different movements’ (Hanna-Mari Husu, 2012; 2). In this chapter I am going to use the same toolkit to explore recognition claims within a cultural field and examine the relationship between amateur cultural producers (filmers) and their audiences. It is a toolkit that has been used by many scholars and this chapter will refer to several contemporary treatments of cultural capital such as Hanna-Mari Husu’s (ibid.). In so doing, the chapter will both apply a ‘cultural capital’ approach to the phenomenon of concert filming but will also clarify the value of this approach by referencing several ways in which this approach has been utilised to explore contemporary cultural phenomena.

YouTube is a relatively new phenomenon that can be bracketed as part of what is broadly termed digital media. Previous chapters have outlined how it has contributed to the creation of a new approach to the production and consumption of media texts. This has set filming up as an ideal case study for reassessing the concept of cultural capital with regards to patterns of consumption and production. The chapter begins by exploring the contribution that YouTube has made to the various cultural learning processes of its users. This means learning about popular culture but also learning how to create popular culture. The chapter moves on to setting out four motivations for contributing footage to YouTube: seeking *recognition*, *connecting* with global audiences, *collaborating* with like-minded fans, and finally using YouTube as an *archive* and as a result remaining distant from any sense of connection or collaboration with other people. The chapter will conclude by setting out an economy of YouTube that is centred on a specific form of cultural capital that is founded on recognition and learning. In other words, using YouTube as a forum for enacting social difference through amateur cultural production.

Filming and learning

Outlined in the second half of this chapter are four ways of engaging with YouTube as both a filmer and a viewer. Above all, the relatively new phenomenon of amateur concert filming offers an opportunity for a reappraisal of 'cultural capital' (Pierre Bourdieu, 1984) as a concept. As Michael Meyen et al states of Bourdieu, '(h)e assumes that every individual strives to be better than others – a process present at all times and one that we are not necessarily conscious of. Bourdieu uses the term 'capital' to describe the extent to which development is possible' (2010; 874). This chapter suggests four specific iterations of 'cultural capital' at work in amateur concert filming. Cultural capital can be identified as a currency in an 'economy of YouTube' with regards to this culture of amateur filming. The website relies on user generated content and access to videos is ostensibly free, aside from occasional advertising placed on the website and sometimes at the front end of a video. Producers are, therefore, not paid for their contributions to YouTube and cultural capital serves as a different kind of incentive for contributing. This chapter presents four different ways in which people can court recognition from others; all of which utilise cultural capital in different ways.

To begin, however, it is useful to explore how YouTube can be used as a resource for learning about popular culture and gaining access to cultural phenomena not available elsewhere. Shelley from Los Angeles was identified in a previous chapter as a filmer who wants to broadcast her experiences going to concerts in Los Angeles. Shelley herself made use of YouTube prior to moving to Los Angeles in order to gain access to the music culture of this city.

Before moving to Los Angeles I always heard of the great club shows going on practically every night. I was always searching YouTube, vimeo and other video websites for fan shot videos of the performances I wanted to see. One of my favourite musicians is Dave Navarro and when I began going to see him perform in various settings I would tape portions of the show to share with other fans not living in the area.

Shelley

It is unlikely that Shelley moved to Los Angeles as a direct result of what she had found on YouTube but it is clear that the website helped her to discover more about this city and its music culture. Dave Navarro is himself from Los Angeles and so there is a sense that YouTube helped bridge a gap between Los Angeles and the place Shelley resided previously. Now that she does live in Los Angeles she can go to these concerts in person and upload her videos from these concerts for those who are in the same position she was previously, outside of Los Angeles. '(A)gency is always the result of a coming together of the habitus and the specific cultural fields and contexts in which agents 'find themselves', in both senses of the expression' (Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, 2003; 541). Shelley's case exemplifies both senses of this expression and demonstrates the increased agency afforded by proximity to culture. Equally,

her case demonstrates the vitality of YouTube as a resource for bridging geographical music culture gaps. Agency, here, equates to cultural capital; specifically, improved access to culture.

The more concerts a person goes to the better that person understands concert spaces. Each concert venue is different in layout and the human geography of every concert will be different but experience will teach a person increasingly profitable ways of negotiating the space to their advantage. 'This knowledge allows agents to make sense of what is happening around them, and to make decisions as to how 'the game' should be played – which practices, genres, discourses, moves or forms of capital are appropriate to the moment' (Schirato and Webb, 2003; 541). Learning about being at concerts is indicative of this treating of cultural knowledge as a game. Roberta, for example, learnt from a young age that the best concert videos are filmed from as close to the stage as possible.

I've been attending gigs as often as possible ever since I was five, so as soon as I got a digital camera I'd film for the memory, and as I started getting older, around 13, and ever since, I've always been usually in the first ten or so rows, so the video's are better, and have a decent quality, so that's how (I started filming concerts) basically.

Roberta

Filming has, therefore, modified Roberta's behaviour and contributed to her understanding of concert spaces. Katrina on the other hand has taken this a step further and developed strategies as a result of attending a number of concerts.

I have a sort of formula I use if I'm in a seated or calm audience: any intros are normally interesting, the opening song gets a great crowd response but the sound is often not quite right, so most bands will go into their favourite track straight after so I try and get the first couple of songs. Likewise, the main set closer and the encore opener are often the best songs so I try and get those too. If it's a long set I'll try and get another couple in between.

Katrina

This formula is likely to have evolved over a period of time and seems to have helped Katrina to develop an understanding of concert narratives; such as the order that songs are performed in. It is questionable whether she would have paid attention to these details were it not for her filming. In both cases it is a matter, up to a point, of Roberta and Katrina viewing concerts through the lenses of their cameras.

The upshot of this is also that these filmers are learning to film in a coherent, if not necessarily professional, way. 'Cultural capital plays a vital role in determining the economic and social success of the cultural producer, for the acquisition of forms of cultural capital is often undertaken in the expectation of the improvement of status or life chances' (David Lee, 2011;

556). So, cultural capital is steadily accrued by filmmakers, which contributes to their own sense of status as a filmmaker but also how they perceive their work in relation to other filmmakers. This point is highlighted by Harry who is both an amateur concert filmmaker but also working in the video production industry. His entrance into concert filming actually came in part as a result of his interest in filming as well as live music.

(It was) July 2008. I had graduated from the University of Texas at Austin two months earlier. I had taken a video course in my last semester and totally loved the process of filming and editing video. I was looking for an excuse to continue my personal education in video and I thought filming live music was the obvious choice, since going to shows was already my favourite pastime. Also, I was living in Dallas at the time and despised that city, so I used filming Austin shows as an excuse to leave Dallas on the weekends, when I wasn't working. But now I'm living in Austin full time again and I continue to film shows.

Harry

His professional aspirations and his interest in music combine to create a hobby that Harry frames as a way of learning about filming. Live music is probably a challenging but also visceral medium to work with for someone who is learning to film. His experience, however, can inform professional aspirations; the amateur filming of concerts being an initial step towards a career in video production.

Another aspect of filming and uploading to YouTube is learning about participatory culture. For younger users this is perhaps a natural facet of Internet technology that comes as easily as face to face communication or any other socialising. Older users, however, can find participatory culture an unexpected element of filming and approach it as more of a learning curve. Teresa is Canadian and in her fifties, living in North Vancouver. She approached YouTube as a way of sharing her videos with friends and family but found out that they were of interest to a far wider demographic of people.

I got into filming and posting gigs a little over a year ago. I purchased a new digital camera with the intention of taking still photos at concerts, largely so I could post them on my blog www.bunklelife.blogspot.com as part of a review of the concert; the camera had video capabilities, so I tried videoing more as a whim than anything. The videos turned out much better than I expected, and much better than the stills. I posted the clips largely as a way of letting my brother who I went to many gigs with and who had been instrumental in my choice of camera and other friends see them. I did also think that they may be of interest to fans of the band but I didn't expect them to be of much interest. But it turned out that some of the posts got a whole lot of interest; they got posted on the band sites, or fan sites, or whatever, after I had put them on YouTube. I was very surprised. And left with the feeling that what I had done was actually of interest to others, and judging by the feedback of better quality than a lot of the videos posted. And I was

really enjoying the fact that I could go back and 'relive' the experience by watching the videos though really the video 'experience' is necessarily different.

Teresa

The entire process of deciding to start documenting the concerts she goes to has helped Teresa learn about the participatory possibilities of digital technology. Her initial plan to take photographs and show them on her blog has transformed into filming videos and broadcasting them on YouTube, which is much more ambitious. Writing a blog is a means of reaching out to people but it seems that Teresa has learnt that videos are in higher demand than blogs on the Internet⁴². As an extension to this she has found out about the feedback network that is inherent to websites like YouTube. She has also followed the digital footprints of her videos onto other websites and realised that popularity in participatory culture operates through the kind of linking and networking that Clay Shirkey (2008) and others celebrate. Teresa avoids downplaying the importance of the experience of watching concert videos relative to being at the concert. She has bought into the culture of amateur concert filming and does not wish to denigrate the product that she offers by suggesting that it is in any way inferior to the concert itself.

Teresa likes to watch her videos on YouTube rather than watching the raw footage she captures by connecting her camera to her computer or television. She wants to share the experience with other people and so reliving the concert via YouTube is a way of sharing this experience.

So, continued motivation for posting is a combination of wanting to capture a moment to share with friends, family, whoever as part of my blog. To re-watch, replay the experience myself and to post for other fans to experience. I know myself I often watch live footage as a way of determining whether or not I will go watch a band I am not all that familiar with, as well as watching footage of bands I am a big fan of, so post so others can do the same.

Teresa

It is clear that Teresa is now both a producer and consumer. From a somewhat accidental introduction to filming at concerts she is now using other people's footage to help her decide what concerts to go to in the future. This ability to use YouTube, and the Internet in general, in this way is indicative of her broadened cultural horizons. Her habitus, as per Bourdieu (1984), is now somewhat mapped out by her use of the Internet; certainly where music culture is concerned.

The digitisation of elements of Teresa's habitus requires an exploration of how she enacts her sense of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). As outlined later in the chapter there are several ways of rationalising the producer / consumer dynamic that operates on YouTube. Teresa is

⁴² In the case of live music.

both a producer and consumer but when operating as producer she is concerned with the popularity of her videos.

I have also developed a bit of a curiosity around what acts will get a lot of hits or not; a bit like throwing a lure into the water and seeing how many fish you'll catch, so I enjoy watching to see the level of interest the videos generate. In some instances, more people view the videos I've posted online than saw the concert originally. One video I've posted has over 20,000 hits, which is twice the attendance. A bit of a head shaker to think that 20,000 have experienced *my particular view*⁴³ of the event. It makes me feel like the effort and at times pretty sneaky stealthy filming is worth it.

Teresa

Teresa's interest in viewing figures is combined with a somewhat philosophical perspective on what it means to experience a concert through YouTube. Her intent is to give as much credence to the value of viewing her videos. She legitimises her view of the concert and positions herself as advocate for her viewers; she attends and films the concert as a means of allowing more people to watch the concert on YouTube than were able to attend the concert in person. There are a good deal of assumptions made here in terms of why other people are watching her videos and how much value they are taking from them. It is debatable, given what YouTube viewers I spoke to said, that viewers will watch her videos with the mindset of enjoying her 'particular view' of the concert; more likely viewers will simply take advantage of a free means of watching a musician in concert. Nevertheless, Teresa affords herself cultural capital as a means of compensating herself for the time and effort she puts into filming concerts. Moreover, she learns about filming and broadcasting by paying attention to the popularity of her videos. What she learns from this analysis is bound to directly or indirectly affect her future filming. What this represents is the pursuit of cultural capital laid bare. This particular system of cultural capital is entirely of her own making and maintaining. At no point does she actually ask her viewers for feedback; instead preferring to make inferences as to the motivation and gratitude of her audience.

Some filmmakers prefer to distance themselves from the people who watch their videos. On the basis they are looking to create a system of cultural capital founded upon an assumed enthusiasm from other people then it is perhaps logical for filmmakers to enact this distancing. Teresa, for example, makes a clear distinction between real life friends and family and any virtual community she may participate in.

My brother also films and posts on the same YouTube site as I do; there are other people that I have connected with through YouTube who also post that I have ongoing discourse about gigs etcetera with, but I wouldn't say I 'know' them.

I guess for me that (filming community) would be YouTube, though I haven't thought of it as being part of a community. I guess I am, reluctantly, now I think

⁴³ Her emphasis.

about it. From a user, participant experience, I appreciate the ability to check out the live experience of bands that I like or am looking into; if I hear about a new artist, YouTube and MySpace are the first places I hit to find out more. I think these sites are also great for the artists as they provide a no-cost way for a band to market themselves to a much larger audience than they could any other way. My interest in YouTube and MySpace 'communities' doesn't involve connecting with other viewers really; that isn't the motivation for me. That being said, there are a couple of YouTube 'posters' that have similar tastes in music to me, and I have learned about some bands that I would be unfamiliar with otherwise by keeping an eye on what they are posting.

Teresa

When people are encountered frequently on YouTube and it becomes apparent that they share Teresa's taste in music then their status is elevated. In the main, though, she seems more interested in engaging with YouTube and other websites as amorphous cultural phenomena. It is YouTube that recommends music to her rather than the people who upload videos to the website. This runs contra to her system of cultural capital though; as if other viewers took the same stance she does then her view of the concert would hold considerably less significance. The implication is that Teresa's system of cultural capital is pointedly self administered. She refers to receiving positive feedback regarding the superior quality of her footage and perhaps uses this feedback as a rationale for assuming the cultural capital YouTube viewers afford her as attendee and filmer of concerts that they did not attend or attended but did not film. Her reference to the value of YouTube as a marketing tool for musicians suggests that she views the website as a space oriented towards self-promotion. She points to the lack of a financial element to YouTube and so implies that YouTube is also a space in which musicians can gain cultural capital.

Jonathan was one of the most interesting people interviewed for this project; his take on the various issues was inevitably lengthy and seemed to come from a different mindset than most other filmmakers interviewed. He also gave probably the most complex and intriguing back story with reference to his interest in filming concerts. His story is one of starting out recording live music performances from television onto blank VHS cassettes and progressing to now attending free concerts in his local area and filming quite obscure musicians; possibly providing the only recordings of some of these musicians that are widely available. Jonathan is in his forties and lives in New York.

I started about fifteen years ago. I started by recording concerts with a Sony cassette walkman recorder three years ago then I wanted to upgrade to a digital recorder. I got an invite to this store The Stereo Shop for their annual sale of their open stock and display products. They did not have a digital recorder so I started looking at their digital camcorders figuring digital is digital I could just hold the camcorder and still get digital sound. It never entered my mind to video tape the concerts as I thought I wouldn't be allowed. I have been recording live musical performances from TV like the David Letterman Show, The Tonight Show and so on .The list goes on and on. If a performer played live on TV I probably have it. Anyway doing this for so long I had a good idea of how I could record concerts. All the concerts I go to are free and outside so I just gave it a shot and started videotaping and wasn't stopped. So now it's just my thing! I always try to ask the bands if it's alright to record and have only been turned down once, by the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra. Most of the bands are thrilled that I want to record them and most ask if I'd send them a DVD. The biggest thrill for me is when they post one of my videos on their MySpace or YouTube pages.

Jonathan

Jonathan also talks elsewhere about consciously working on his filming technique and using each concert he goes to as an opportunity to gain experience as a filmer. There is, as such, a discourse of learning filtered through an enduring fascination with filming and capturing live performances. He appears to have dedicated a significant amount of time to working out how to film concerts effectively. There is also an interesting juxtaposition between his early television recordings of live performances to now having his footage shown on the YouTube or MySpace web pages of some musicians. As his knowledge of filming has developed so his tastes have become more esoteric. In a sense his learning about filming has run parallel with learning about music culture. His means of consumption have developed from mainstream television programmes such as The David Letterman Show to free concerts performed by little known musicians. Jonathan makes clear that his biggest reward comes in the form of being recognised by musicians themselves and afforded cultural capital by being featured on these musicians' websites. Jonathan's sense of cultural capital seems more tangible than Teresa's as the recognition of others is articulated much more clearly and unequivocally in this case. Equally, however, his overall approach seems somehow more modest; he makes no reference to chasing viewers or taking an interest in which of his videos is most popular.

YouTube viewers interviewed for this project made little or no reference to filmmakers. A few inferred gratitude towards them for sharing their videos but more spoke harshly of those filmmakers who upload poor quality videos. YouTube viewers tend to view concert videos, perhaps understandably, in terms of their use value. They are seen as a convenient and free means of consuming music and many YouTube viewers speak of enjoying being able to watch videos from concerts they have been to. From a learning perspective, however, the prime value of videos for YouTube viewers is as a way of researching new music and getting an idea how musicians perform live before purchasing tickets to experience these musicians at concerts.

Nicholas and Clinton from the United States and Mallory from London are three such YouTube viewers.

I got started watching concert footage because I was going to attend an Incubus concert and wanted to see what it would be like.

Nicholas

I mostly started a few years ago. I would search for live footage of bands that I liked, to judge whether or not they would be a good band to see live in person. There are also a lot of bands that I like that I can only see live via YouTube, because they don't tour around where I live.

Clinton

If I wanted to see if a band I like is worth going to see I would search them to see if they are good. Nowadays so many bands are rubbish live so it's nice to be able to check you're getting your money's worth.

Mallory

This use of concert videos has little if anything to do with filmers. Many filmers have constructed systems of cultural capital that are not borne out by the thoughts of their viewers. The viewers quoted above are much more concerned with the standard of the musicians in the videos. Very few YouTube viewers interviewed were straightforwardly complimentary of filmers and so this predilection towards broadcasting to global audiences and gaining the respect and kudos of viewers around the world is somewhat problematic. This resonates with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital in the sense of competition between actors within a given field. YouTube viewers do not necessarily want to cede credibility to filmers as this would be an attack on their own lack of filming. 'The most important determinant for the habitus is the social position of the actor. According to Bourdieu, the fight for status is literally a synonym for being human' (Michael Meyen, 2010; 874). To fulsomely acknowledge the contributions of filmers to music culture would be to denigrate and demote their own status as mere viewers rather than actors. Nevertheless, it is in the interest of filmers to assume or expect gratitude from YouTube viewers as this has the opposite effect of elevating the status of filmers. With this in mind what follows is a typology of approaches to engaging with YouTube as enacted by different filmers.

Seeker of recognition

Most filmers want to reach as wide an audience as possible. '(I)n every field subjects compete with one another for recognition, places in the field, and capital' (Schirato and Webb, 2003; 545-6). Recognition seeking is a specific rationale for uploading concert footage to YouTube; looking to gain recognition as the filmer and uploader of live concert footage. It allows people to identify themselves as having been to the concert and by extension being a fan of the music

being performed. It also allows people to contribute to the media presence of musicians and moreover offer footage of musicians performing new or infrequently performed material or performing in new or unusual circumstances. This is not recognition seeking in the overtly political sense that theorists such as Axel Honneth (1995) are interested in. It does, however, seem to emanate from the same conditions that Honneth identifies; the fracturing of cohesive physical social networks by social groups borne of representation and virtual sociality (Honneth, *ibid.*). A relevant example would be the perceived undermining of cohesive social groups based on music culture by more fractured and transitory alliances. Where a young person may once have considered themselves a 'punk', with this identity permeating every aspect of their lives, now young people are more likely to listen to punk music as part of a wider interest in music culture and may adopt one or two visual signifiers associated with punk culture amongst an appearance that cannot be tied to any particular music culture or subculture. This fracturing of cohesive social and cultural groupings allows for individual agency in the area of recognition seeking. In short, people are looking to stand out from the crowd as opposed to studiously embodying a particular cultural identity.

Robin is a filmer from Las Vegas who framed many of the responses given in his interview around a particular video that he is especially pleased with; recognition being as much of a concern when talking about his videos. This is his response to the question of why he started uploading his videos:

Essentially to share the live event with a global audience as soon as possible after it happened. By their very nature, live events are limited in terms of audience, unless they are broadcast live or professionally recorded for later distribution i.e. DVDs. Tastes certainly vary, but there is a niche audience for any genre and a fan base for every group or solo artist. The upload I am most proud of is the opening of Oasis' Dig Out Your Soul tour. I flew to Seattle to see the first performance of the tour, knowing that it was my intention to capture the opening. I didn't know whether the venue would allow cameras inside, but I was hopefully optimistic. I began to shoot the moment the lights dimmed and carried on for about 7 minutes or so. I also attempted to record audio via an application on my iPhone, but the audio did clip out on that device, so I was grateful for the video/audio functionality on the point and shoot still camera. I uploaded the raw footage to YouTube as soon as I returned to Las Vegas then the comments began to fly.

Robin

The comments Robin received are evidence that the video was a success and had achieved his aims. He was not simply trying to identify himself as a fan of Oasis but to be the first person to upload footage of Oasis' tour of America to the Internet. It is the initial scarcity of this footage that attracted a large audience to it as evidenced by the high number of comments he received. Comments are even better than raw viewing figures as they demonstrate that people have not only watched the video but also engaged with the material and formed opinions that they feel compelled to share. Robin stands at the head of this online meeting of Oasis fans as facilitator of the meeting. Many filmers refer to uploading rare and exclusive material;

whether this is footage of musicians who are rarely filmed or, as in this case, footage of high profile musicians performing new material or under new circumstances. Whatever the specifics, it is a case of the filmer looking to be recognised as provider of material that is not available elsewhere.

These filmers can often be identified as they try to continually bring the conversation back to the filming achievements they are most proud of. Here, Robin discusses what he films at concerts:

I try to film either one complete song or in the case of Oasis, a historical capture of the opening of a tour.

Robin

Some people may query the use of 'historical' in this case but it simply demonstrates the level of importance Robin wants to attribute to this event that he was able to capture and share with other fans. He draws a distinction between songs and important events; to film a song is to film something that occurs routinely at concerts. The Oasis video is more than just a song even though a song is what the video comprises. The exclusivity of the material offers added value.

What distinguishes the recognition seekers is that they see themselves as the producers of distinctive texts. They are looking for recognition for their filming efforts and do not simply see themselves as conduits in providing access to this material. The musicians are still the focal point of the videos but these recognition seekers wish to claim at least some of the credit for broadcasting interesting and unusual footage. This can be seen in the way that Robin looks to answer criticism from YouTube viewers of his prized footage. It turns out that his footage of Oasis' tour opening performance received some criticism but here is how Robin rationalises this criticism; as he explained when asked how he feels about the comments he receives for his videos:

Apt question given the back and forth commentary on the Oasis footage. It seems that many Brits were dismayed at the lack of enthusiasm by the crowd in Seattle. I initially deleted the first negative comment, but then I left it wide open for discussion. I never commented myself. However, I think what many people that are diehard fans in the UK don't realize is that this was a theatre venue with reserved seats and tight security. There was no (mosh) pit per se, so the audience was tightly controlled. Even more telling is the fact that Oasis isn't viewed as a rowdy band here as they might be in Manchester, etcetera. Oasis have always been rather melodic. We have extreme music which certainly elicits the type of response that I believe many people wished they would have witnessed with the Seattle crowd. Rage Against The Machine is a perfect example. When they played Coachella a couple of years ago there were riot police on hand. The crowd was intense but broke up very peacefully afterwards. Nine Inch Nails comes to mind as

another extreme example. The music of these two types of bands and the hundreds of other hardcore performers just doesn't merit an apples-to-apples comparison with Oasis, who are more Beatleseque. Overall, I'd say that comments are provocative with potentially positive and negative bias yet productive.

Robin

This detailed responses moves far beyond the remit of the question asked in order to shift the issue to music culture itself. Robin was sensitive to the criticism being directed at his video; particularly as it is the video he is most proud of. 'For Bourdieu, fields are arenas of ongoing struggle in which each agent aims to either improve or conserve his or her own position' (Hanna-Mari Husu, 2012; 5). In this case Robin needed to rationalise his status within this debate. He had created and shared the video and so was the architect of the space, or perhaps in this case field, in which this debate took place. He, therefore, needed to rationalise this criticism and deflect it away from the video itself and onto other factors. Recognition is not simply about reaching a number of people but also having a positive impact on those people. The discussion that Robin refers to here is an example of how YouTube can bring fans together to discuss music. His initial instinct was to delete negativity that he perceived as being directed at him but he then realised that he had been the architect of an interesting debate; another event that he can claim recognition for creating. Many filmers speak of recognition in rather direct terms. Filmers often only appreciate comments in which they are specifically thanked for sharing their concert footage. YouTube viewers can also fall into this category of recognition seeking when they make comments on videos that are designed to show off their cultural knowledge, answer questions, or provide inflammatory opinions. Above all, recognition seekers are primarily interested in being acknowledged for their contributions to YouTube and, more widely, to music culture.

Tastemaker

This type of filmer likes to contribute to music culture without necessarily getting any recognition. In a sense, these people are happy to be the conduits between concerts, musicians and wider music audiences. The crucial difference from recognition seekers is that for these people it is the music that is of prime importance and not their role in uploading it. These filmers enjoy broadcasting footage of frequently overlooked musicians for the pleasure of getting recognition for these musicians rather than getting recognition for themselves as filmers. Mark from London is typical of the filmer who looks to contribute to music culture and gain recognition for underappreciated musicians.

I always thought it would be great to capture on film some of the great bands I was going to see, but rather than just buy a live video, it would be more personal to capture your own footage, from your point of view and then re-live the whole thing. Only the lack of equipment has prevented me from filming sooner, and I've been going to gigs since the late 80s. So I finally started filming when the

technology became practical and affordable. And the added motivation to do it is the joy of sharing your clips with friends, and more recently with complete strangers on YouTube and hearing and reading their comments. Also I think it's good to have some kind of footage of bands that mostly get ignored by the media, such as The Briefs, Cute Lepers, as well as legendary figures like Jayne County who only makes few appearances here and there. Now it's all there for future generations to investigate and enjoy. The Briefs funnily enough have used some of my footage on their official DVD, so that's an added bonus!

Mark

Mark frames his response as a broad enthusiasm for live music and music culture in general. He refers to musicians who he reveres but who get little coverage in mainstream media. By uploading concert videos to YouTube he is simply redressing this perceived imbalance. He does point to his footage being used in a band's official DVD but that is seen as a bonus and not indicative of what he is trying to achieve. The joy for him is in sharing music with strangers and reading their comments and also providing the music for future generations to enjoy.

Tastemakers are looking to broadcast the most interesting and exciting occurrences at the concert to a wider audience. As such, they will judge whatever has the biggest impact at the time and tend towards filming this.

I will film if it's one of my favourite songs or a song that I know will be of interest, stage lighting, effects, crowd reaction. Sometimes a lack of memory space means I'll only tape a few shorter songs instead of one long song.

Mark

Mark does not film performances that he thinks will be popular on the Internet but looks towards the most exciting moments of the concert. The intent is to provide something popular but as yet unseen outside of a musician's concert performances. A rote performance of a musician's hit single may, for example, appear to be an obvious choice but these filmmakers are more interested in offering something new.

Providing new material runs the risk of garnering negativity from fans expecting to see their favourite musicians in familiar circumstances. A tastemaker will often appreciate both positive and negative feedback and take both as symptomatic of debate about new material from musicians.

As for comments, everyone has an opinion. I like to see what people think; regardless of whether they like it or not. I only remove comments if they are offensive or not related to the video at all, adverts etcetera. But it's a nice satisfying feeling when someone likes your video.

Mark

There is a sense of recognition seeking here and it is fair to say that these two approaches to broadcasting are not entirely removed from one another. The primary concern, however, is with creating a discussion about new music or new performances and so positive and negative comments are welcomed but irrelevant comments are removed. Cultural capital in this case can be accrued as a fan and advocate of obscure music. These filmers are not competing with a large cohort of filmers, as an Oasis filmer is. These filmers need not go to the same effort of attracting recognition. Their taste preferences are sufficient signifiers of social difference as demonstrated through filming and uploading concert videos featuring this obscure music.

Collaborator

This is where people contribute to YouTube in an effort to engage with other people who share their musical tastes. Filmers upload their concert footage as offerings to other fans and do not expect any particular recognition. YouTube viewers make comments on these videos as a means of articulating fandom and mirroring the fandom of others. The impetus for these filmers is to upload a concert video and create an online space to discuss the musician and the performance.

I like the comments people leave because they're usually not negative. I also like to respond to any questions people leave on the comments, and participate in any discussion that gets started.

Lawrence

The point is that Lawrence participates in these discussions even though he is the person who filmed the video. Where some filmers like to demarcate their position in the process by not involving themselves in discussions about their videos these collaborators are happy to downplay their status as authors and focus attention on the subjects of the videos.

A facet of this collaborating is that these filmers will give equal credence to the views of others. The motivation is the articulation of cultural passions rather than to try and take any level of ownership over the text under discussion. This is the view of Kevin from Los Angeles on the comments he receives:

I enjoy them. It's nice to know that people are viewing my videos, but even more, it's interesting to hear what people have to say about the music or the artists. I'm pretty passionate about the music I enjoy, and I like to hear what others think.

Kevin

It is a matter of conceptualising the relationship between filmers and other fans as effectively equal as opposed to filmers trying to create an elevated status for themselves. There is,

moreover, a sense of willingness to be educated by others rather than be the broadcaster who is involved in the cultural education of others.

From a YouTube viewer perspective these videos offer an opportunity to both consume music culture but then also discuss music culture with like minded people. Alexandra from Athens in Greece and Sonya from Santiago in Chile are both YouTube viewers who appreciate the opportunity to connect with fans from other parts of the world by contributing comments to YouTube videos. This is why they comment on YouTube videos:

The enthusiasm to find people who love the same music and moreover because they spend time and effort to share stuff.

Alexandra

To be honest I'm not sure, I suppose I just feel part of the fan community of a determined (particular) group or musician, so I like to share what I think with people that have something in common with me.

Sonya

What they both describe is the creation of fan collaborations through YouTube videos. As viewers they are bringing nothing more than their opinions as articulated through their comments. This serves as sufficient collaboration, however, for them to feel as though they are part of these communities and not existing at some inferior level to the filmer. These fan communities tend to be somewhat transient given that each video often only attracts a few comments and so it is more a matter of viewers fleetingly participating in a community before moving to another video and participating in the next transitory community. Filmers will also tend to upload a video and then move on to uploading the next video and then go to the next concert and create a new batch of videos to be uploaded, and so forth. The creation of these communities is not the core concern of the filmer and the fact that videos tend to receive only a few comments means that it might be a stretch to refer to them as communal loci. It might be more helpful to think of these videos and their ensuing discussions as collaborations that form part of a sense of community. Making a comment on a YouTube video is not indicative of community membership but is an instance of what is involved in belonging to online fan communities. This is in contrast to the fight for recognition and status detailed above but can be rationalised as a form of networking that is also Bourdieusian in nature. Cultural capital in this case means 'creating a large network of contacts, a process which invokes perceiving one's self as flexible, enthusiastic and mobile' (David Lee, 2011; 552)⁴⁴. Connecting with other people and viewing YouTube as, amongst other things, a network of music fans means that cultural capital can be accrued by proliferating these connections.

⁴⁴ Lee is discussing the role, informed by Bourdieu, of networking for freelance television producers but the same concept holds for YouTube and its users.

Being an archivist

Much of the academic literature on the Internet and digital technology has focused on its ability to bring people together (Christine Hine, 2000 and 2005, for example, along with many others). These notions of networks, networking and connectivity have been borne out by much of the activities and reflections of those participating in this study. There are, however, a demographic who pointedly eschewed these discourses. These filmmakers and YouTube viewers referred to the opportunities that YouTube offered to them as a means of distinguishing themselves and carving their own niche within YouTube. This notion does not necessarily stand counter to the idea of YouTube and other websites as networks but simply represents a different perspective on their value.

Some filmmakers, for example, framed their filming as a solitary activity. Alan from Manchester offers a perspective that is somewhat representative of these filmmakers.

I'm not involved at all (with other filmmakers). I've seen other people filming at gigs but I've never felt the need to enter into conversation with them. My filming at gigs isn't the reason I go to gigs; it's a supplementary activity to the whole experience, so I'm not really interested in forming, or being part of, a film maker's community.

Alan

Alan identifies the possibility of creating or joining a filmmaker's community but simultaneously rejects the idea. He clearly recognises that YouTube and the Internet in general make this a quite realistic possibility. Nevertheless Alan uploads his footage to YouTube and so forms a connection with other filmmakers and viewers that he perceives as operating in a different way. His attempted downplaying of filming as a secondary activity is an effort to calibrate the relative value of being at the concert, filming the concert and watching the concert on YouTube.

This calibrating can be seen in Alan's opinion of the comments he receives for his videos. The views of people watching on YouTube are ostensibly not relevant to him.

I read them but I can't say that I'm too interested in them. I have to say that on the whole they're mainly positive although I have had some negative ones which I don't really mind. Everyone has the right to an opinion.

Alan

There seems to be something paradoxical about not caring about comments but still choosing to read them. Viewers are relevant but their views are not. Alan as filmmaker operates at a higher,

detached level and so does not consider his relationship with YouTube viewers to be any form of collaboration.

In Alan's case specifically his reasons for initially uploading footage to YouTube do not mesh with any sense of networking or connectivity. In his case he is just using YouTube as a convenient archive for his concert videos.

After a while I had lots of little films on CDs that I didn't really do anything with except dig them out occasionally look at them. But, one day I was surfing the web and by chance came across a site called YouTube. I had a look around and saw that it would be a perfect home for all the films I'd accumulated, so uploading what I had up to that point, and I've basically carried on recording and archiving.

Alan

Alan is not the only filmer to have spoken of using YouTube as an archive. There still seems something incongruous, however, about using a website oriented towards broadcasting as a space for archiving. There are other websites that offer the ability to archive large amounts of data in a way that would result in the videos remaining private. Utilising YouTube means engaging with the concept of broadcasting on some level but pointedly disregarding the opinions of YouTube viewers is to place him above the people he is broadcasting to. Alan may hope or presume that his absence from any debates about the videos in their comments sections may serve to solidify this hierarchy. This is a case of using YouTube to display cultural capital as a form of pseudo class distinction; with filmers as a higher cultural class to YouTube viewers. '(T)he same website can be visited for different reasons and therefore contribute to different sorts of capital enhancement' (Michael Meyen et al, 2010; 874). YouTube can be used in different ways to the same end: cultural capital. These archivists use a position of non-collaboration to enact a form of social difference that is self-constructed. It is hard to see YouTube viewers caring if the filmer is 'active' on YouTube. Filmers such as Alan seem to simply be more comfortable and in-character not participating.

Conclusions: an economy of YouTube

This chapter has sought to explore filming from a cultural studies perspective. It has used Bourdieu's (1984) notions of the 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' as a means of understanding how and why people become involved in filming and also using filming as a way of reassessing these notions in light of the introduction of YouTube and the digital media sphere that the website has emerged from. The chapter began by looking at the process of cultural learning. It is perhaps inevitable that new cultural phenomena such as YouTube will elicit and require modified behaviours. What this chapter has demonstrated is that YouTube and filming has had a significant effect on some peoples' relationship with the media. It has turned consumers into producers and also blurred the boundaries between these two roles given that YouTube users

are now both producers and consumers. Moreover, it has also been demonstrated how YouTube has broadened the horizons of some users by introducing them to a plethora of new music and the opportunity to watch musicians in concert before deciding to see these musicians in concert in person. The habitus of an individual is therefore significantly shaped by engagement with YouTube and the website also works as a visual metaphor for the network of cultural ephemera that contribute to a person's habitus.

The second half of this chapter was given over to setting out four different reasons filmers have for uploading their footage to YouTube. Some are seeking recognition in the form of messages of thanks from other users in the comments section beneath each video. Others are willing to quantify recognition by noting the number of viewers each of their videos receives. Some filmers like the opportunity to reach out to global audiences. This is different from recognition seeking inasmuch as there is much less emphasis on viewers liking the videos and more just a curiosity or fascination with the global reach that their videos are able to achieve. Some filmers, alternatively, like to collaborate with other YouTube users. This means contributing videos to the website and then getting involved in any ensuing discussions about these videos and their content in the comments sections for the videos. The network of people created by these discussions can loosely be thought of as a fan community. These communities are fairly transient, however, and filmers of the collaborative type do not seem to position themselves as superior in any way to YouTube viewers. The final significant reason for uploading concert footage to YouTube is simply that the website can be utilised as a convenient archive for concert footage wherein the filmer can upload their films and have them easily available to re-watch on the website. Different reasons for watching YouTube videos were also indicated throughout the chapter. Some viewers wish to watch footage from a concert that they attended themselves whilst YouTube can also be used to research new musicians in deciding whether to attend their concerts. YouTube viewers also utilise the website as a free, convenient and plentiful resource for consuming music from their favourite musicians. YouTube viewers interviewed for this project overwhelmingly rejected the notion of having to pay to watch the videos.

This leads to the idea of identifying an economy of YouTube in the absence of financial compensation for contributors to the website. YouTube viewers overwhelmingly see the videos as belonging to YouTube as an entity or being part of the website's framework more than belonging to the filmer. Some viewers do recognise the efforts of filmers and are grateful to them for sharing their work but, more often, viewers will be critical of the quality of the videos and compare them unfavourably to official, professionally filmed concert videos. Many filmers, as a result, speak somewhat despondently of receiving very little in the way of comments for their videos. Some filmers state that the only comments they take any notice of are those that clearly articulate the gratitude of the viewer with other comments being ignored. A few filmers refer to noting the viewing figures for their videos. These are the only interactions that filmers speak of having with the viewers of their videos. A few filmers refer to receiving requests to share raw video data by post but all who receive these requests stated

they were ignored. All the evidence, therefore, points to an economy of YouTube that is based upon the receipt of cultural capital in the form of recognition; either in the form of a comment thanking the filmer or simply by virtue of every viewer adding a digit to the viewing figure for the video. This idea is corroborated by the fact that some filmers who received comments for their videos that did not include any message of thanks or gratitude chose to take these messages, at least in part, as evidence that people were watching and caring in some way about their videos. In the absence of financial compensation this sense that other people are paying attention to the work of filmers must suffice as continued motivation for their contributions to YouTube. The precise nature of these transactions relates to the proclivities of the filmer as per the four approaches discussed in this chapter. All bound by the utilisation of cultural capital in enacting different forms of distinction and social difference.

Chapter seven – Different Ways of Consuming Music

This thesis has identified and explored a new means of producing and consuming music. In so doing, it has opened up the possibilities of recalibrating the relative values of different ways of consuming music. When talking about amateur filming both filmers and viewers have tended, necessarily, to compare and contrast this new means of consuming music with pre-existing means of consumption. As a result, interviewees also had much to say about other ways of consuming music and their value relative to concert footage on YouTube. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to undertake a recalibration of the relative value of various ways of consuming music. The chapter begins with the consumption of concert videos on YouTube and this is followed by discussions of private, close listening to recorded music and then music as background noise. Overall, the chapter will argue that familiarity plays a crucial role in determining how music is consumed and deployed in various aspects of people's day to day lives. It is the shift from music as event to music as soundtrack to everyday life that marks out the distinction between different forms of listening and notions of authenticity in music.

Experiencing the concert through YouTube

These are the amateur concert videos filmed and uploaded to YouTube by concert attendees and then consumed by YouTube users. This form of music consumption is an extension of the concert experience rather than an autonomous way of consuming music; in other words, these videos operate as an extension of the narrative of the concerts that they represent. Some YouTube viewers speak of enjoying these videos in their own right and many of these viewers have not attended the corresponding concert and have not seen the musicians in question performing live. Invariably, though, there is always some kind of link to the concert; for example, watching a YouTube video because the viewer was unable to attend the concert in person. In effect the concert is always the referent.

Another approach to conceptualising the value of YouTube concert videos is to reconsider the narrative of the concert as a text. As set out in a previous chapter there are a number of possible beginnings to the concert narrative. Seemingly the most obvious is the moment the sound technicians leave the stage and the lights are dimmed, noted by Richard Witts (2005) as the 'expectant void' and symbolic start of the concert. This is certainly the beginning of the concert itself but the narrative for fans can stretch back to the moment tickets are bought for the concert or perhaps even when the concerts are announced by the musicians. For some, part of this narrative includes using YouTube to preview concerts before actually going to them. This is how Fabian, born in Wroclaw in Poland but now living in Barcelona in Spain, became involved with YouTube.

Before I started recording concerts myself I was downloading concert recordings from the Internet. Many times I've been using YouTube and other sites to watch live videos; if they were good I was going to see the band live, if they weren't good sometimes I didn't go. When I started recording live videos I thought they might be helpful for some people. And of course live recording is a great souvenir from the gig so why keep it just for myself?

Fabian

In effect the videos serve as previews or advertisements for the concerts themselves. A number of filmers and YouTube viewers referred to deciding whether to see particular musicians based on what they had seen on YouTube. The videos, consequently, form part of the overall narrative of the concert. For those who were at the concert they are also ways of reminiscing and reliving the concert so help to extend the narrative of the concert beyond the moment when the musicians exit the stage and the venue lights are turned back on.

It is not just filmers who are able to indulge in this reminiscing though. Anyone who was at the concert can make use of these videos as a way of recapturing the excitement. A number of YouTube viewers who do not film themselves stated that they do not bother to do so because they know other people at the concert will be filming; whilst only one filmer expressed any annoyance at these viewers' lack of contribution. Overall, this reinforces how filming has become part of a discourse about live music in the current music culture climate but also points to how ingrained this idea of utilising YouTube to extend the concert narrative has become. Prior to the availability of YouTube, fans would have been restricted to tracking down audio bootlegs or using their actual memory to recall events from a concert. As set out in a previous chapter, though, the concert experience is necessarily not about analysing what is happening and so memories are often tied strongly to emotions. YouTube provides the opportunity to reconnect these emotions to the musical performances that elicited them. They allow people to sit back and take in moments that had a powerful emotional impact on them. YouTube videos are more useful in this regard because, at their best, they are able to capture both the performance of the musicians but also the experience of the fan in the crowd at the concert. Official DVDs are more like studio recordings and so are akin to listening to a musician's recorded album as a means of reliving a concert they had performed.

Another way of looking at this is to consider YouTube videos as a means of getting other peoples' perspective on the concert. Attending a concert is a subjective experience and so there is an attraction to effectively going inside another person's head and experiencing a memorable event from that person's perspective. This is one of the reasons Abbas, who is from Bahrain but studying in Oxford, enjoys YouTube concert videos.

I wanted to relive a concert I went to before, so I looked it up on YouTube. It was one of my first concerts by Foals in Oxford. The whole experience was amazing. Looking it up on YouTube was a look back, really. And trying to see the concert

from someone else's point of view. I also watch concert footage to get an idea how good a band is performing live, before deciding to pay to see them in the flesh.

Abbas

This idea of seeing the concert from another person's perspective is indicative of the impact that YouTube videos have in terms of being able to represent the concert. It is as though these videos can be tied to concert attendees; it does not matter that the viewer probably does not know the filmer. There is a relationship of trust between filmers and viewers that does not exist between viewers and professional filmers. YouTube viewers are better able to relate to amateur filmers and so find it easier to adopt the position of the filmer in the context of a YouTube video. The inferior quality can be an impediment to enjoyment but Abbas, as stated elsewhere, feels that it contributes to an energy and vitality that polished professional productions do not possess. There is also the issue that experiencing concerts in person is not always a polished and refined experience. Concerts are often discordantly noisy and chaotic affairs so perhaps YouTube videos are better representations of being at a concert.

Another way of conceptualising this is to propose that amateur YouTube videos operate more like documentaries on the experience of going to a concert. These videos are better placed to show certain details from concerts rather than a general overview of the concert. Some YouTube viewers speak of using the videos in order to pick up tips for their own music playing. The fact that YouTube videos tend to hold a relatively static and limited view of the concerts means they can be useful in picking out and focusing on certain elements of a concert. Jacob from Toronto, for example, watches videos that will aid in his development as a drummer. This is one of the reasons he watches amateur YouTube concert videos:

Inspiration due to my interest in playing musical instruments. I play drums, so I try to pick up info on any interesting moves or anything (that) could be done (when playing drums). YouTube videos show some info, while official live concert videos or DVDs show most (of the) instrumental parts. YouTube mostly only shows personal detail, such as mosh pits, fights, or single songs.

Jacob

A YouTube video that focuses on the performance of a drummer during a concert may be of limited use to most people who would probably prefer a more panoramic overview of the concert. A professional presentation that is continually cutting from one view to another is, however, going to be more frustrating for Jacob as he tries to concentrate on what the drummer is doing. There is a sense in Jacob's words that he is explaining how a YouTube video is a representation of the attention of one person. The filmer may be particularly interested in one of the musicians on stage or something that is happening in the crowd. The upshot, however, is that the filmer's attention will hold for a relatively long time and that they will not be driven by any pseudo professional impulse to provide an overview of all of the elements of the concert. As Jacob articulates, the specific interests of the filmer can be mirrored by the

specific interests of the viewer and so these YouTube videos are often a better way of experiencing specific elements of a concert.

Another feature of YouTube is the sheer variety of material available. Like Jacob, Fernando from Bastrop County in Texas is a practicing musician who uses YouTube to watch other musicians in order to get ideas for his own performances. Samuel from Australia simply likes to experience a different version of the music he loves to the version presented in the studio recorded albums he owns.

I am a practicing musician, so I like to watch as many types of musicians playing live as often as I can. YouTube affords me this ability.

Fernando

A couple of days after I saw a concert, I really loved them (the musicians) and wanted to see them in the same way I saw them before, with the additional quirks of it rather than the normal audio track I would regularly listen to.

YouTube concert footage is more from the crowd and showing what it was like from the audience's perspectives, rather than having a perfect quality video of the band, and personally I'd probably prefer the YouTube concert footage.

Samuel

Their specific motivations are quite different. What links them, though, is that YouTube is utilised as a free and plentiful resource for popular music culture. Something that is scarce in other fields of popular culture is freely and easily available on YouTube.

This leads on to the issue of completism; in other words feeling compelled as a fan to track down and consume, within reason, every available media text containing a certain musician or music group. The issue only manifested in one interview. In this interview the interviewee framed every response he gave in terms of his enthusiasm for the American pop star P!nk⁴⁵. Yannick, thirty one years old and from Nice in France, uses YouTube to access additional material on P!nk and to fill the void prior to official recordings becoming available. This is how he started watching amateur concert videos:

I found on Google search everything on P!nk!

Yannick

Does he film concerts himself?

Yes I went to Nice, France where I live, and to London to see P!nk. I film with a little camera some parts for the memories, waiting to buy the official DVD.

⁴⁵ Widely known as 'Pink' but officially demarcated as 'P!nk'.

My main motivation (for commenting on YouTube videos) is to share my passion for P!nk with others fans.

Official live concert DVD's are better quality than YouTube video. The most important (aspect) for me is you can use it for pleasure on TV screen and home cinema sound! If you are a real fan you always prefer the official stuff.

Yannick

Yannick views YouTube as a secondary resource and is unequivocal in his preference for official music industry products. For him, YouTube serves as a means of filling the gaps that are left by P!nk's record company and the passages of time between official releases of music or P!nk ephemera; gaps that are filled, for example, by watching footage from a concert tour prior to an official live DVD becoming available or listening to a new song being performed in concert before P!nk's new album is officially released. Once these gaps are filled by the record company then YouTube becomes somewhat superfluous. There is, however, also a sense of duty on Yannick's part to search for and consume as much as he can that is related to P!nk. He also uses YouTube as an opportunity to express his fandom for P!nk and also connect with other fans of her. Fandom for him means buying official products and, consequently, buying into the P!nk media persona. Many YouTube viewers speak of eschewing the music industry when they consume amateur concert videos but Yannick feels as though he is eschewing the musician when he consumes via an amateur filmer. Official P!nk products come directly from P!nk the music industry persona, not the person, and so purchasing an official concert DVD means receiving a concert film approved by P!nk and directly from the industry that transformed a young American woman into the pop star P!nk. Official products come from the musician, via a studiously discreet industry, where amateur concert videos come from an identifiable amateur filmer.

Official content from the media industry is widely available on YouTube with most media companies and corporations having a presence on the website (Burgess and Green, 2009). Searching for this official content can often lead YouTube viewers to discovering the plethora of amateur concert videos available on the website. This is how Frank from New Zealand, Matius from Manila in the Philippines and Ashley from Irealnd started watching YouTube concert videos:

After watching bands music videos online, there were links to live footage.

Frank

I don't really recall but I'm sure that the 'related videos' panel had something to do with it. I browse music videos on YouTube everyday and live concert versions of the song pops up on that list all the time.

Matius

I visited YouTube one day and did a search for one of my favourite bands. That's when I discovered how much concert footage is available on YouTube.

Ashley

One of the features of YouTube is that it seemingly does not discriminate between amateur and professional content. Another function of the website is that it recommends videos to viewers that are related to the video they are watching. YouTube is just as likely to recommend an amateur concert video as it is to suggest the latest official music video for a musician whose name or moniker is entered into YouTube's search facility. Consuming music culture on YouTube is to dip into a melting pot with no firm idea as to what will be retrieved and where it has emerged from.

This uncertainty plays out in the manner in which many viewers engage with YouTube. Most media products will be consumed with a degree of reverence or even ritual but YouTube videos only register fleetingly with viewers before returning back to the ether.

I don't usually leave comments on videos, I'm often ready to go to another video after a bit. I do like to check the little thumbs up/down on other people's comments, if they've already said something interesting.

Lorrie

Lorrie from the United States demonstrates what might be termed transient consumption. Her attention is fleeting and there is no wish to capture or hold on in some way to the text. There is also a sense in which these videos must battle to maintain her attention or resonate sufficiently in order for her to leave a comment or not simply move on to another video. Her interest is only held if her peers have deemed a comment made beneath the video to be sufficiently interesting. Lorrie is the exception to the YouTube viewers and filmmakers explored in this project in that her relationship with the website is relatively passive. It is clear that she does not actively involve herself in music culture and is content to consume it and refer to what other people think about it. This is a facet of music consumption on YouTube inasmuch as these videos occur in amongst a plethora of other videos on any number of subjects. Music consumption on YouTube can be incredibly interactive and passionate but can also be fleeting and detached.

Yannick, quoted above, identifies another role of YouTube as being a space for relatively new music culture and music culture not available officially. This means that YouTube can be utilised when official platforms such as the radio, music television or record shops have failed to provide material. The relative scarcity of live music in relation to other forms of music culture, as outlined in previous chapters, means that a wish to see musicians performing live can lead people to YouTube.

I started out (watching YouTube videos) by wanting to see my favourite bands play live.

Billy

Probably the first YouTube footage I watched was a Paolo Nutini video. This was the only video available to watch before he started performing in the US. Some YouTube concert footage is better to watch than official footage, mostly there is too much background noise in YouTube videos. I prefer to watch footage off of artists from their official YouTube channels

Anthony

Billy and Anthony, both from the United States, use YouTube in order to gain access to a space simply not available to them any other way. This issue is handled in more detail in a previous chapter but is worth restating here in terms of the specific value of YouTube in relation to other means of consuming music. Jamie from Milford Haven in the United Kingdom develops this value of YouTube further.

I don't know (why I watch YouTube videos), just because people have put them up. Sorry pretty crap answer! I suppose I like to watch the Muse *Haarp* concert at Wembley, just because I wish I was there... so, 'to watch the performance from the comfort of my own home, and in case I can't make it'. Hope that's a bit better! And because I couldn't make it to *Reading 08*, YouTube was the only place to watch any Rage Against the Machine stuff because of the stupid BBC! Grrhh!

Jamie

BBC music festival coverage is a good example of official live concert footage. The band Rage Against the Machine actually refused the BBC's request to broadcast any of their performance at the Reading Festival 2008 in spite of the BBC being in situ as broadcasting official coverage of the festival for television audiences. Nevertheless, this is another example of YouTube stepping in to fill a gap left by other media outlets. Fans at the Reading Festival that year had filmed portions of Rage Against the Machine's concert and so Jamie was able to watch this footage on YouTube. The Muse *Haarp* concert is actually a live DVD released by the band's record company but has been uploaded to YouTube by fans of the band and so is available without having to purchase the DVD. What comes through from this overview of consuming music through YouTube is the frequency with which this form of consumption is actually a compromise from a more idealised form of consumption; whether that be actually going to the concerts depicted in the videos or owning the DVD that has been surreptitiously uploaded to the website.

Listening in private

Private listening refers to any situation where a person listens to music not intended to be heard by other people; in their house via a radio or CD player and other similarly private and domestic modes of consumption. This project is about live music and so any discussions of these other ways of listening to music were invariably framed in relation to live music. This explains why private listening to music is described in terms marking it out as a binary opposition of experiencing music at concerts. So where concerts tend to be loud and visceral, private music listening is described as contemplative and peaceful. This is irrespective of the genre of music being listened to. Whilst there are likely to be nuanced differences as to how different genres of music affect a private listener it seems that the mode of consumption has a much greater effect on how the music is engaged with and understood.

When you are listening to pre recorded music, the way you assess quality is really different than going to see a live performance. Listening to a CD you are assessing quality of the song writing and recording; you also have to a certain extent control over the experience; what songs you listen to, how loud the music is, what order things are played, what environment you are listening to the music in. The experience is infinitely reproducible.

Teresa

The dichotomy set out by Teresa from Toronto is a dichotomy between the naturalised environment of the concert and the contrived laboratory like set up of private listening environments. It is as though private listening affords too much control over the music and so allows the listener to partly author the sound of the music. It seems incongruous as this would surely create a stronger connection between music and listener but live music is universally preferred by those participating in this project. Nevertheless, recorded music has its benefits and as Walter Benjamin (1991) foresaw is infinitely reproducible. Here reproducibility is taken as a positive attribute given that it allows the music to be scrutinised and analysed. The upshot is that music played privately is the listener's version; played at the volume and in the order the listener prefers. Concerts are the musicians' versions of their music played under the conditions and in the atmosphere they wish to create.

Background listening

Music is well known to be used as the soundtrack to any number of activities such as gym work, running or ambient noise whilst studying. This leads to considering the usage of recorded music as background noise whilst carrying out other tasks. This mode of listening is in contrast to listening to music and paying explicit attention to it. The distinction between these modes of listening is best conceptualised as a continuum given that even background music is likely to have some level of affect on a person and, equally, it is unlikely a person would easily

be able to shut out all other stimuli whilst listening closely to music. Another way of looking at this is to propose that different music has different use values when deployed as background ambience. The secret filmer from London, discussed at length in an earlier chapter, has developed strategies for deploying music in different situations.

I now very rarely put on a CD at home and just sit there and listen. Most of my listening to recorded music occurs whilst I'm doing something else. I listen to music all day, every day at work through an iPod dock and in the car driving to and from work or anywhere else for that matter; through a Griffin FM iPod adapter. I choose what I listen to and when I listen to it carefully; dependent upon how much attention I expect to be able to pay to what I'm playing. Obviously, if I am busy at work I will choose something that I've heard loads of times before or shuffle a playlist of familiar stuff. I will usually listen to newer material when driving as there are fewer distractions, particularly when stuck in traffic.

The secret filmer

The use value of the music is highly subjective. It is actually less a matter of genre and more a matter of familiarity wherein familiar music is well suited to providing a familiar ambience within which to carry out other tasks where unfamiliar music demands a little more attention from the listener.

Familiarity is the key inasmuch as music that has been heard many times before will have less impact and demand less attention from the listener. A live concert is a unique event and so attendees at a concert will be required to pay full attention to the music in order to appreciate it. A CD that has been played many times will not require this level of attention even if it is a favourite recording. It is equally notable that both filmers and YouTube viewers make no reference to the habitual or repetitious consumption of concert videos. These videos are watched once or twice and then discarded. The logistics of YouTube as a website that streams videos rather than downloading them to the user's computer ties in with the notion of transient consumption. YouTube videos are treated in the same way as concerts insofar as they are attended and then moved on from; repetitious viewing of concert videos would be akin to attending the same concert over and over again. This is avoided in order that concert videos do not fall into the category of background music. The point of live music is that it is an immediate, sharp burst of music that has a profound effect on the listener; repeatedly consuming the same live performance by the same musician would undermine this value. YouTube viewers tend to 're-live' a concert only once via YouTube. The technology exists to download these videos and extract the audio thereby creating an audio track that can be utilised in the same way as any other recorded music; YouTube viewers made no mention of doing this.

Private listening in public

A number of interviewees made the point that there are no straightforward correlations between musicians' live performances and their recorded output. It is possible to enjoy their recorded music but not enjoy their concerts and vice versa. It is a point that Arne from Norway makes.

It's (going to a concert compared to other forms of listening to music) a totally different thing. I have discovered bands live that I don't like on CD that are awesome live. It's usual rougher live than on a CD. I have also experienced that bands who produce a fantastic CD suck big time live. And some of the music I listen to I don't want to hear live, that's for headset and stereo only (such as) club house rave.

Arne

It is ironic that it should be 'club house rave' music that Arne prefers to listen to privately given this music is designed for public, communal consumption (see Thornton, 1995 and Malbon, 1998 and 1999) but this demonstrates the subjective nature of taste and values. The overall point is that different genres of music have their use values and, as Arne demonstrates, these use values are not obvious facets of the genre. Equally, different means of consumption have their use values. Listening to music through headphones can be seen as a way of blocking out the surrounding environment and creating a 'bubble' within which the listener can go about their day to day business without being distracted or having to engage in unnecessary interactions with other people (Michael Bull, 2007). The insistent beat and electronic sonics of 'club house rave' music may well be very suited to Arne in his efforts towards blocking out the surrounding environment. This type of music also does not lend itself to being performed live. There are some musicians who will recreate electronic music 'live' but it is more commonly played by DJs who mix studio recorded songs into continuous streams of music at clubs and raves. A person, such as Arne, who enjoys live rock music may see this sort of electronic music as more of a novelty and something to be consumed in private moments when he feels like hearing something other than what he tends to listen to.

The impact of portable, private music on everyday life has been explored in much more detail by Michael Bull (2000, 2003, 2007). Interviews for this project made occasional references to this type of consumption in relation to live concerts. The core issue is the transformation of the city using portable music devices to superimpose a different soundtrack over the existing soundscape of the city (Bull, *ibid.*). This is precipitated by the forming of urban cities where increasing numbers of people are brought together to live in close proximity but, due to the transient nature of their occupancy of city spaces, actually have less of a relationship or companionship with one another than would be the case in more rural or suburban settings. Private listening therefore fills the space left by this lack of companionship for people with those around them. There is also the issue of using private listening to override the

unwelcome cacophony of urban noise alongside the fact that it is harder to close the ears than it is to temporarily close or avert the eyes (Bull, 2007). This technological closing of the ears is assisted by modern listening devices with the capacity to hold a huge volume of music and so provide a soundtrack to every occasion and every mood (Bull, *ibid.*).

This issue of soundtracking everyday life leads to ritualised listening wherein certain genres of music are associated with certain activities; as explored more thoroughly by Bull with regards to using portable music devices in the car (2003). In this case music provides a link between public spaces negotiated in the car and the private cocoon afforded by the car. Private music listening in public helps to transport the listener in part to a private sphere that affords an increased sense of comfort and safety (*ibid.*). The car effectively becomes an extension of the home (*ibid.*). The car is an enclosed space inaccessible to the wider public but having the radio playing provides the marginalised occupant with a sense of companionship. More generally, listening to the radio provides a sense of nostalgia inasmuch as it broadcasts music familiar to the listener but controlled by the radio presenter (Jo Tacchi, 2003). Above all, however, private listening in public is a way of subverting the sounds of the city in order to create a soundtrack that suits the tastes and requirements of the listener.

Conclusion: calibrating the different ways of consuming music

This chapter has set out the different ways of consuming music that have been referenced throughout this thesis. The purpose of this calibration of music consumption is to identify the impact that the emergence of amateur concert videos has had on music culture and explore the specific use values of these videos in relation to other forms of music consumption. The thesis has focused attention on live music and footage of live music but other ways of consuming music were utilised by interviewees as a frame of reference for describing live music. The other notable ways of listening referred to by interviewees were private, close listening and music as background noise. Given the focus of the thesis on live music and amateur concert videos there was relatively less material on other forms of consumption to provide a treatment of these other forms of consumption in the same in depth that concerts and concert videos have been. Nevertheless, interviewees frequently related their enjoyment of concerts and concert videos to other types of music consumption. There has, furthermore, been much written by academics on other forms of music consumption and some of this material supplements the interview material.

One of the key benefits of amateur concert videos is that they are free to enjoy on YouTube. The website serves as a huge library of videos on every conceivable subject as well as a significant library of amateur concert videos. YouTube viewers are able to browse this library free of charge and search, for example, for footage from a concert they have been to or for concert footage from musicians who have no official concert DVD available for purchase. The

flipside is that the quality of the videos varies widely and so viewers are required to search through a mass of material in order to find videos suitable to their needs. YouTube viewers hold different views as to what constitutes good amateur concert footage so there is no straightforward ranking or recommendation system that can send the best material to the top of any list and make it more visible to viewers. The videos actually seem to perform best as catalysts for those who were at the concert to remember the experience. Close listening is undertaken with these videos in order to analyse and familiarise a person with the musical content of a concert they have been to in a way probably not possible under the circumstances at the concert itself. Having said that, the videos can offer alternative versions of songs compared to what has been released officially and may also be consumed as a form of completism wherein fans feel the need to consume as many texts as possible featuring a particular musician they are especially interested in.

Background music is music that has become familiar enough to be deployed by the listener as a soundtrack to other activities. Background music that has not been chosen by the listener falls into a different category again but this project very much focuses on people's first hand relationships with the music they listen to and not 'tertiary' exposure to music. It seems that familiarity is a decisive factor in deciding the use value of music. Live music, furthermore, renders recorded music that is familiar to be unfamiliar to the listener on the grounds that it does not sound the same as the recording released officially. Many interviewees refer to the subtle differences and reworked versions of songs as a significant value of live music. Modern digital technology also affords the listener the option of drowning out the sounds of their environment in favour of a soundtrack of their choosing. Digital technologies have made recorded music so easy to access that it widens the spectrum of scarcity that leads to live music becoming even more valued.

The 'infinite reproducibility' of recorded music spoken of by one interviewee summarises the diminishing returns that recorded music offers. This can be taken further to suggest that the relative authenticity of music is demarcated by its shift from immediate experience and into the patterns of everyday life. An interesting confounding of this idea is that in my own experience some people go to concerts and talk with their friends for the duration of the concert. The people interviewed for this project are committed music fans and so cannot be placed into this category. It would be interesting to extend the remit of this project to try and reach those people and find out what the concert experience means to them. The chances are it will be more a matter of taste and cultural capital and less about authenticity and a genuine passion for music. The previous chapter demonstrated that taste and cultural capital are significant concerns for those who do seem to be passionate about music. It is equally obvious that people can be motivated into doing things for more than one reason. This notion of talking whilst listening to live music is nevertheless confounding as it relegates live music to background noise. In a sense, though, these people are the exception to the rule and are frequently subject of significant animosity both at the concert and in general music culture discussions about live music. This whole aspect of live music culture is under developed here

but perhaps worthy of exploring further as another way of being at a concert. As one interviewee put it there are broadly three ways of being at a concert: 'up front sweating, head banging, dancing and cheering, be in the middle of the crowd, or relaxing in the back' (interview with Arne, Norway). This project has focused on the first two of these ways.

Chapter eight – Conclusions

Several themes have recurred throughout this thesis. By way of conclusion this final chapter will identify each of these themes and the discussions about them present throughout this thesis. In so doing, this chapter will identify contributions to the understanding of the cultural practices discussed in the thesis. The first theme outlined in this chapter concerns what it is actually like to be at a concert. Much has been discussed throughout the thesis regarding filming concerts, not filming concerts and the emotional appeal of concerts versus the analytical imperative of listening to recorded music. The next theme is that of the appearance of live music on YouTube. This theme addresses how amateur concert videos appear on YouTube and how viewers relate to these texts in the context of other material available on YouTube. This is followed by the theme of the authenticity of live music. Understanding and articulating a sense of authenticity in live performance was a fundamental aim of this project and so this section is a recuperation of material collected to this end. Recognition, as a theme, emerged from interviews and so forms the deductive aspect of this project that emerged during fieldwork. Moreover, it emerged in a somewhat discursive fashion manifesting in various aspects of the project. The final theme to be summarised is that of cultural capital and the various ways in which it recurs throughout this thesis. The work of Pierre Bourdieu on cultural capital and Walter Benjamin on aura are the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis and so this concluding chapter summarises the relationship between these theories and the empirical work, as well as the relationship of the theories to one another. The chapter and thesis will end with suggestions for further research.

Being at a concert

Filming has transformed being at a concert; both for filmers and also those people who happen to be in close proximity of a filmer. The process of holding up a camera to film a concert will invariably cause a distraction to filmers. They will not be able to concentrate fully on the concert unless enacting an extreme form of filming that involves simply pressing record, paying no attention to the camera and accepting whatever footage is captured. The results of this method are inevitably variable and so very few filmers use it. What is more prevalent is an approach that results in attention being paid to the camera and so the filmer is distracted. The aura of the live concert is undermined, to be superseded by the logic of digital reproduction. The filmer is withdrawn from being immersed in the aura of the live event and embroiled in the reproduction of a part of the event, limited by the scope of the camera lens and the amount of time actually spent filming. The trade off for this distraction is the possibility of taking digital memories away from the concert that can also be shared with other music fans via YouTube in exchange for recognition by way of cultural capital.

Many people value the aura of live music and so refuse to film. They assume that other people will be filming so they will still have access to some footage of the concert. Filming, therefore, extends the concert experience but impacts upon the integrity of the concert experience by distracting the filmer and preventing full immersion in the moment. Digital reproduction offers the possibility of recognition but at the cost of losing the auratic experience of being at a concert. Some filmers counter this by only filming a certain portion of the concerts they go to or only filming a small portion of the concert and fully immersing themselves in the remainder of the concert.

Filmmakers also enact different tactics and techniques whilst filming. Filming tactics can involve filmmakers being 'determined' and ensuring that they get the footage they want even if this means disrupting other people in close proximity or only filming if they find themselves in suitable circumstances. Some filmmakers are more 'pragmatic' and only film when it is possible to do so whilst others will adopt 'furtive' techniques in order to get the footage they want without upsetting other concert goers. Concerts are often tightly packed with people and this mass of human bodies can obscure a view of the stage or might simply lead to a scenario where filming means holding a camera up in another person's eye line. Different filmmakers will adopt the different approaches when confronted with such circumstances, perhaps motivated by which value, recognition or aura, they hold in higher esteem. With experience of filming more and more concerts, furthermore, comes the development of tactics wherein filmmakers will choose where to stand within the concert space or make decisions in advance as to what portions of the concert to try and capture. Cultural capital, in this case, is manifested as a greater understanding of live concert spaces and how to navigate them. Filming has, as such, created a set of circumstances where many people have renegotiated their place within the concert and chosen to refocus their reasons for being at the concert and the manner in which they interact with other people at the concert.

Concerts are, by their nature, unique events that occur in a clearly defined space within a limited period of time and, as such, operate as discreet and framed moments. Filming is an attack on the coherence and boundaries of concerts. Filming recontextualises concerts within a time and space outside the boundaries of the concert as it occurs live; the periods of time in which the footage will be watched or uploaded to the Internet. A photograph taken at a concert can be captured in a moment but capturing a video means devoting a proportion of the concert to filming, somewhat at the expense of firsthand experience of the concert. The concert goers interviewed for this project frequently characterise concerts as experiences based upon the unity of a crowd of people with a shared music taste, experiencing music being performed live and at a loud volume in their presence and singing, dancing or allowing themselves to be carried away by the music. Many filmmakers, however, also concede that their filming limits the extent to which they are able to immerse themselves in these experiences. Filming metaphorically shines a light on the pleasures and logistics of the concert by providing insights into the relationships between audience members and also the musicians on stage. It

also highlights the experiential aspects of concert attendance identified when filmers calibrate the negative impact of their actions on their enjoyment of the concert.

Participation is a powerful motivation for attending concerts. Concert goers speak of both sharing a space with like minded people and also feeling more connected to the music as it is performed. This can be due to the sheer volume at which the music is played or due to the music being performed at that specific time and in their presence. The fact that filming tends to be prohibited at concerts immediately detaches filmers from the space by marking them out as outsiders not adhering to the ethos of the space. The logistics of filming can bring filmers into conflict with other audience members and the practice of filming can divert the attention of the filmer away from engaging with the music. Filming, therefore, has a negative impact on the ability to participate. This is how filmers characterise the drawbacks of their hobby and so it can be proposed that this is a key characteristic of live music. Experiences such as these are most keenly appreciated when they are no longer available. The fact that they are filming means that filmers are never entirely 'being at the concert'; their thoughts are drifting beyond the concert to how they are going to represent it on YouTube. The question of whether to film at concerts is a matter of balancing the value of an auratic experience at the concert with the hope of gaining recognition after the concert.

The specific case of live music on YouTube

Concert videos on YouTube serve as a way for people who were at the concert to reminisce about it. This can mean using the videos to trigger their own memories of the concert or experiencing it from another person's perspective. For many YouTube viewers, amateur concert footage is preferable to professional footage inasmuch as the single camera maintaining one view of events, the jerky camerawork and the variable audio track actually offer a better representation of being at a concert compared to the post production sheen of official concert footage filmed by professionals. The YouTube viewer is able to adopt the position of the filmer for the duration of the video and see the concert from the perspective of the filmer. This is not a universally held value, though, and many other YouTube viewers are looking for clear, audible videos that are not obviously filmed from the audience at a concert. The aesthetics of amateur concert videos are, as such, divisive. Many value the appearance of audience members in front of the camera lens and the sound of the audience cheering or singing. Other viewers, however, prefer a clean and clear representation of the music being performed as it is this performance, more than the sense of being at a concert that is of primary interest to them. Amateur videos are representative of the auratic qualities of live concerts, without necessarily having auratic qualities themselves, and professional standard videos are representative of the value of reproduction.

The live concert text on YouTube serves as a meeting point for people with a shared interest in the musicians performing. The website provides a space below each video where viewers can leave comments. This space is frequently utilised by viewers to express opinions about the skill with which the video has been produced or to discuss the concert in question. It is an opportunity for people who attended the concert to retrospectively engage with other people who were also there. This community is, however, transient in nature. YouTube viewing patterns tend to involve watching a video, possibly leaving a comment, then moving to another video. It is unlikely that viewers will habitually review the same videos and are certainly not likely to treat the comments section as a form of social media platform given that many more suitable and dedicated alternatives exist on the Internet. This is not the space for an ongoing dialogue about the concert but more of a visitors book in which people note their attendance and leave comments about their experiences. Some filmers utilise YouTube as a scrapbook or diary of sorts in which they can record their attendance at various concerts and compile digital memories. These diaries are in part for public consumption and some will use YouTube to feed videos into their blog. These activities are indicative of people utilising digital media as a broadcasting platform for seeking recognition for their vibrant cultural lives. Uploading a concert video to YouTube or even leaving a comment saying 'I was there' is demonstrating attendance at a scarce cultural event. This marks these people out as having participated in an event inaccessible to most, for various reasons such as location or the limited number of tickets, and so demonstrate the vibrancy of their cultural lives relative to others who lack access to these events.

On a more prosaic level YouTube provides a vast library of music that is free to consume. Many YouTube viewers rationalise their interest in YouTube ostensibly around its freeness. For these consumers it is a matter of exploiting an alternative means of consuming music that would likely incur a charge if accessed through traditional means; there is no need to purchase a musician's latest concert DVD when similar videos will be available for free via YouTube. These viewers often have not attended the concert they are watching and so have no nostalgic connection to the footage. The convenience of YouTube and the fact that it contains so much other material means that viewers can consume live concert videos as part of a much broader session of browsing through video content. The scale of YouTube means that it is an example of Chris Anderson's concept of the 'long tail' (2006) which argues that digital technology has allowed for the creation of vast libraries of content. The scale of these libraries is no longer constrained by the need to hold physical documents such as CDs or DVDs in such a way as to make them accessible. Viewers spoke of the pleasure of being able to browse YouTube to find footage from concerts they had been to and also having the ability to enjoy so many different versions of pieces of music performed at so many different concerts.

The filming and provision of this concert material on YouTube is a continuation and development of the phenomenon of bootlegging. Several older filmers interviewed for this project had graduated from bootlegging to filming. Intriguingly, one young filmer switched from filming to bootlegging when he realised it is the audio tracks that he particularly prizes.

The substantive difference is that YouTube has created a space where these recordings can be broadcast and also stored alongside material, such as music videos, that has a much more straightforwardly wide appeal. YouTube is something of a zeitgeist defining phenomenon and filming concerts has become bound up into the amateur broadcasting discourse associated with the website. Moreover, YouTube is widely used by traditional media companies and corporations. Amateur concert videos can be found categorised alongside the latest official music videos and so the boundaries between official content and amateur fan content is less clear than in other contexts. Compare this with a previous era in which concert bootlegs existed in stark contrast to official studio albums. The production values and means of distribution available to the most sophisticated bootlegging operation still demarcated specific spaces to each product. This demarcation is much less clear now and many filmers are quite strident in advocating the value of their work as promotional material for musicians in the face of the fact that it is an activity that is effectively prohibited by copyright law. The fact that their videos appear alongside official promotional material means that filmers can claim to be a part of the system that promotes musicians and provides access to music culture. Again this provides cultural capital through recognition by placing amateur concert videos alongside professional music media content, thereby implying that within the sphere of YouTube they are relatively equal. Many filmers and viewers speak of using YouTube to research musicians prior to purchasing tickets to see them in concert. It is the live experience in particular that filmers like to characterise themselves as helping to promote. This means promoting the musicians in concert more than any recorded products the musicians may have available and so live music on YouTube is in part a promotional device for live concerts.

The authenticity of live music

Concerts are spaces shared by both producers and consumers. Part of the appeal of concerts is the opportunity to bear witness to musicians whilst they perform music. Most interviewees articulated a preference for smaller concerts in clubs and theatres more than the large arena concerts that established musicians often perform at, given this allows for audiences to be in closer proximity to the musicians. By contrast recorded music can seem quite abstract given that the music occurs at the press of a button with no obvious connection to the production process. This abstractness is an example of the loss of the aura that Walter Benjamin refers to (1991). Mechanical, or in this case digital, reproduction removes the aura from the work of art and leaves a somewhat flat representation of that work of art. Live music can be considered to be more alive than reproduced music. Many interviewees characterise live music in terms of its vibrancy and vitality, both of which are auratic properties. Some interviewees went so far as to discuss the catharsis of attending a concert; the point being that attending a concert is an active experience where listening to recorded music is more passive. Live music is, therefore, a more auratic and, as such, authentic form of music consumption. This is not a sense of authenticity with any connection to aesthetic purity. Participants in this project are fans of a number of genres of popular music and there is no discernible difference in their qualitative appraisals of what live music means to them as individuals. Authenticity is not about trying to

create a musical hierarchy or discredit certain types of music. It is a means of calibrating the passion and commitment of individuals to the specific iterations of popular culture that they enjoy.

Digital technology in music culture is largely based on the premise of making music listening as easy and convenient as possible. Recent popular technological interventions, including the iPod and other similar portable music devices, can store a huge library of music and so allow the user to carry their music collection around with them and listen to it whenever they choose. By contrast, live concerts are difficult to access. Only a finite number of tickets are available for each concert and the concert must be travelled to. The relative inaccessibility of live music serves, however, to sanctify it to a certain extent and shield it from these technological interventions that are trying to make consumption as easy as possible. Live music is, therefore, out of step with modern consumption practices and is to an extent an archaic cultural practice. There is a sense of tradition to live music given that the basic logistics of gathering together a number of people to enjoy music being performed is as it always has been. Other forms of music listening have been substantially transformed by technological and cultural developments. This lends live music an aura in the sense that live performances are all tied together to a bigger and longer standing narrative about music performance. The scarcity of the performance means that being in attendance offers cultural capital which can be displayed for recognition via social media outlets such as YouTube.

A core distinction emerging from this project, between live music and other forms of listening, relates to how music is appreciated and engaged with. Live concerts tend to be appreciated on an emotional level. Many interviewees spoke of being overcome with emotion on occasions at concerts. There were also references to watching concerts on YouTube and being reminded of the thrill and excitement felt at the time of the concert. The discussions of live music throughout the fieldwork for this project can be bracketed as expressions of enthusiasm, excitement, joy and other emotions. Watching live concerts on YouTube also affords people an opportunity to replay the performance they witnessed live and construct a more considered response to the music. Interviewees refer to watching these videos to pick out details from the performances that they missed at the time of the concert. The engagement at this point is on more analytical terms. Interviewees also talked of listening to studio recordings as an intensely private affair that involves contemplating what they are listening to and developing considered thoughts on the value of what they are listening to. Live music is able to have an immediate and visceral impact on people even if the music they are listening to is not to their exact tastes based on the aura of the live experience. To bear this out interviewees referred to enjoying live performances of music they do not enjoy in studio recorded form and vice versa. Recorded music and live music are processed and appreciated in different ways and should be treated as qualitatively different objects in a manner more substantive than the differences noted between different forms of recorded music.

Another facet of sharing a space with musicians is the marginalising of the music industry. Most forms of music consumption are mediated by the music industry in one way or another; whether this be through the distribution of studio recorded albums, the playing of music on the radio, or similar. Concerts bring musicians and music fans face to face and several interviewees spoke of taking pleasure in not having to undertake any obvious transaction with the music industry or not having the industry apparent when consuming music. In a sense, the withdrawal of the music industry transforms music consumption into the experiencing of music. The industry is still active within the sphere of live music and so this is a rather problematic assertion. It was, however, spoken of by several interviewees and this suggests that a subsequent study of attitudes towards the music industry among music fans could be valuable with regards to aura and authenticity.

Instances of recognition in this project

Recognition has been an underlying theme implicit in many facets of this thesis. From the outset, recognition was central to the locating of and capitalising on a sample of people willing to contribute to the project. The project nearly did not get off the ground as it struggled to find people who were interested in live music and willing to participate in an interview. The reason was that the people and institutions being approached had no reason to contribute. No money was being offered for participating in what, to the best of their knowledge, could have been a lengthy and involved process. The concert venues in Brighton contacted to arrange participant observation had no reason to grant access to a researcher offering no financial contribution and who would have taken a valuable place in the total venue capacity that could have been taken by a paying customer. The people approached through various Internet forums also had nothing to gain from participating. Crucially, filmmakers wanted to talk about their filming and draw attention to their work. Participating in an interview for this project lent these people recognition for their efforts. There are many more filmmakers on YouTube and other video sharing websites than were interviewed for this project and so being approached gave the sense that they had been identified and singled out for attention. The approach was also evidence for them that someone was paying attention to what they were doing. This is borne out by the fact that response rates for filmmakers contacted was around fifty per cent with only two interviewees withdrawing from the online interview process once it had begun. Several interviewees were overtly enthusiastic about the project; some thanked me for asking them to participate whilst others initially responded by boasting of how they were the ideal people to talk to on the subject of concert filming. Filmmakers would directly reference their videos as a means of illustrating their responses to questions and one even included html links to his videos within his answers. The response rate for YouTube viewers interviewed was lower at closer to twenty five per cent. Nevertheless, some of these YouTube viewers expressed their enthusiasm for the project and framed their responses within their extensive knowledge and experience of live music.

Another facet of this framing within knowledge of live music culture manifested itself as filmmakers and YouTube viewers identifying themselves as people who regularly attend concerts. This means garnering recognition as people involved in live music culture more than people who have a passive relationship with music culture and only purchase recorded music, listen to the radio or similar. Several interviewees went to lengths to point out that they live in a geographical location well suited for access to live music such as London, New York or Los Angeles. These filmmakers also tend to view their videos as showcasing their local music scene. A filmmaker in Hong Kong spoke of her videos as an advertisement for the live concerts that take place in Hong Kong. She tends to go to concerts by Western musicians and so this was a chance to demonstrate the vitality of Hong Kong's live music scene and showcase the fact that famous Western musicians also perform in Hong Kong. This is a matter of seeking recognition for their geographical location on the basis that it forms an important part of the filmmaker's identity.

Filmmakers are in a strong position to pursue recognition inasmuch as they are the authors of specific spaces within YouTube. Filmmakers contend that a YouTube viewer will ostensibly recognise that they are watching content provided by an individual YouTube user even though YouTube viewers interviewed tended to attribute videos to 'YouTube' and, therefore, not recognise the efforts of individual filmmakers. YouTube viewers, though, cannot claim ownership of any space within YouTube but can contribute to spaces that already exist. The comments section beneath each video provides an opportunity for YouTube viewers to identify themselves as having also been at the concert along with the filmmaker but also the opportunity to display knowledge pertaining to the content of the video. Questions are often posed within video comments sections and being able to answer these questions affords recognition to the YouTube viewer in respect of their knowledge of music culture, a form of cultural capital. An example is that filmmakers will sometimes film a song performed at a concert but not know the name of the song. The video will be uploaded with a title of 'unknown song' or similar. A YouTube viewer can pursue recognition by providing the name of the song by way of a comment beneath the video. This specific occurrence allows the YouTube viewer to imply a more advanced knowledge of music culture than the filmmaker. What this points to is a community based upon a network of recognition seeking.

Cultural capital as a metric of YouTube participation

Most viewers interviewed for this project rejected the notion of paying to watch amateur concert videos. This is for a number of reasons. The variety of videos available means that many viewers consume them rapaciously to the extent that paying would be a hugely costly enterprise. Some viewers bracket YouTube within the digital media movement that has made a huge amount of user generated content available for free consumption; paying to watch YouTube videos would be out of step with other digital media forms such as social networking and websites showcasing amateur photography and music making. The upshot is that there is

no value in amateur filmmakers holding any ambitions towards being paid for their efforts. They need to find other rewards for their efforts; in this case gaining pleasure from broadcasting to audiences and commanding recognition for their place within music culture and their efforts at making music culture freely available.

This is recognition seeking as a form of cultural capital; a form of recognition that is more cultural than political or socio-political. There is less at stake than in the struggles for recognition documented by Axel Honneth (1995, 2003). Nevertheless, it is still a matter of people looking to establish a reputation and become recognised as knowledgeable and experienced in music culture. For many filmmakers it also means maintaining as high a quality as possible for their films. This also demonstrates skill with the camera and a pseudo professional commitment to quality control. With respect to music culture it means making decisions as to what to film at concerts. Several filmmakers spoke of deciding to film musicians performing certain songs on the basis that they felt these performances would be popular with YouTube viewers. One filmmaker claimed to have filmed a performance by Madonna in order to respond to fan demand that was circulating on YouTube and Internet fan forums. Many filmmakers refer to only taking an interest in comments from YouTube viewers that express their thanks to the filmmaker; these messages of thanks are the currency of YouTube for many filmmakers. By contrast YouTube viewers are broadly indifferent to the efforts of filmmakers and certainly do not frame their gratitude in the fulsome terms that filmmakers seem to hope for. Many YouTube viewers spoke of concert videos as effectively belonging to YouTube. This economy of YouTube is, as such, largely a construction in the mind of the filmmaker. It is often a case of taking the number of viewers as a calibration of the value and popularity of their videos. A number of filmmakers expressed an interest in seeing which of their videos would prove to be the most popular or comparing viewing figures with other filmmakers.

What this means for cultural capital is a substantive shift from subcultural capital (Sarah Thornton, 1997); being the most recent significant recalibration of Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital. Subcultural capital is based upon scarcity and exclusivity. Subcultures are splinter groups separated from larger cultural movements that seek to foreground their distinction from the larger cultural movement. Subcultural capital means demonstrating knowledge of the minutia of this subcultural movement and adopting a style that is demonstrably different from other cultural forms and, moreover, confusing and hard to understand for those excluded from the subculture. Cultural capital by way of recognition is more concerned with popularity and accessibility. Filmmakers want as many people as possible to watch and appreciate their videos. Scarcity is still a factor and in this sense comes from the fact that most viewers will not have physically attended concert. Many filmmakers speak of their role as being to introduce more people to the music that they enjoy and view their videos as promotional tools for their favourite artists. The filmmaker is utilising scarcity as an opportunity for displaying cultural capital and contributing to the cultural learning of others. Musicians are then, in effect, the chief beneficiaries of this recognition but filmmakers experience reflected recognition as intermediaries between music culture and its audiences.

Films are still enacting a form of social difference. In this case, however, it is the aura of live performance and its relative scarcity being used to identify different levels of involvement in music culture. Filmmakers, and to a lesser extent those viewers who leave comments, are displaying both knowledge of and participation in music culture but are also involved in broadcasting this music culture to others who do not have this level of knowledge of or access to music culture.

Opportunities for further research

The people interviewed during fieldwork are all passionate advocates of live music. Their enthusiasm for contributing to the project was due in part to their enjoyment of live music and a keenness to discuss this with another person. They are people who go to concerts and either film or immerse themselves in the experience. These are not the only ways of being at a concert though. My own experience going to concerts has made it clear to me that many people are content to attend a concert and stand towards the back of the venue and talk with their companions. These people were not reached in this project and so it would be profitable to find a way of reaching these people and taking their perspectives of the value of concerts as a counterpoint to the views expressed in this thesis.

The YouTube viewers referenced in this thesis were studied as a secondary sample. The bulk of time and effort was spent researching and interviewing filmmakers. YouTube viewers were only asked five questions where filmmakers were asked twelve. The opinions of these viewers are, however, equally interesting and valid on the turn towards the digitisation of popular culture and the dissemination of live music. A study that focuses solely on fieldwork with these viewers could expand upon the initial findings presented here; on the relative lack of recognition afforded by viewers to filmmakers for example. It would also be useful to conduct fieldwork with the more casual filmmakers who only occasionally film concerts and so only broadcast two or three concert videos on YouTube. Many YouTube viewers in fact fell into this category. The thesis has marked a sharp distinction between serious filmmakers who have broadcast over twenty concert videos on YouTube and those occasional viewers who, on the terms of this project, are demarcated as viewers. A study into this grey area between filmmaker and viewer would better clarify the relationship between the role of filmmaker and the role of viewer.

Nevertheless, the thesis has made three clear contributions to the fields of media and cultural studies. It has provided an insight into why people involve themselves in academic ethnography. To this end it highlights how to locate and design a study that is of interest to both researchers and participants alike. The thesis has given a formulation of aura and

authenticity for the digital era. It has identified that authenticity is the measure of interactions between people and culture. Authenticity calibrates the passion and commitment of people towards cultural ephemera; it is not a yardstick by which either people or culture is measured. The thesis has also offered a proposition as to the motivation for those who contribute user generated content. Similar to the motivation to participate in academic research, it is a matter of seeking recognition as an individual consumer of and contributor to popular culture. Authenticity and recognition are linked inasmuch as they are both concerned with mapping the place of individuals within popular culture and calibrating their relationship with it. As such, this thesis has explored a contemporary cultural practice that illustrates the role of cultural capital in recognition seeking, the aura of live performance, and how this aura can be harnessed in the pursuit of recognition through cultural capital.

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YouTube

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Appendix one – list of questions sent to filmmakers

Name:

YouTube username:

Where are you based?

How did you get started filming gigs?

What was your initial motivation for uploading the footage to the Internet?

How do people around you at the concert react when they see you are recording?

Do you always film the concerts you go to?

How do you decide what to film at the concert?

How do you feel about the comments people leave for your videos?

Have you ever deleted/thrown away any footage?

Do you always post the videos?

How, if at all, are you involved with other people that film gigs?

How do you compare live music with other forms of music listening?

How would you describe going to a concert to somebody who only listens to music privately?

Appendix two – list of questions sent to YouTube viewers

Name:

YouTube username:

Location:

How did you get started watching concert footage on YouTube?

Do you go to concerts and, if so, have you considered filming yourself?

Would you pay to watch these videos?

What motivates you to leave comments on videos?

How do you compare YouTube concert footage with 'official' live concert videos/DVDs?