

WHAT IF HEWLETT AND PACKARD HAD STARTED A BAND INSTEAD?
DENTON, TEXAS' MUSIC SCENE AS ECONOMIC CLUSTER
AND ITS BROADER IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE CITY'S ECONOMY

by

MICHAEL SEMAN

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Urban and Public Affairs

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

May 2014

Copyright © by Michael Seman 2014

All Rights Reserved



Acknowledgements

This dissertation represents an immersive several year process wherein I was equally involved as a participant in the community I observed and the classroom where I made sense of my findings. I would like to thank those who had patience with my admittedly dynamic lifestyle during my doctoral studies and fostered my intellectual growth during the process. Carl Grodach understood my research agenda and challenged me to take what I observed in the field and learned in the classroom and frame it in a broader context shared by other arts disciplines inhabiting the urban landscape. Richard Florida also immediately understood my work and generously offered insight, support, and guidance concerning it and my career – facts made even more substantial as his work and career inspired me to enter a doctoral program. My committee members, Enid Arvidson and Rod Hissong demonstrated great patience during the completion of this project and were always ready to lend insight when asked.

My completion of both this dissertation and my doctoral program is also due to people outside of the University of Texas at Arlington who offered their time and consideration in varying ways. Terry Clower served as an unofficial member of my committee often lending insight on my research tactics and methodology. Terry also offered much needed financial support and hands-on economic development research experience by including me in a dynamic range of projects at the University of North Texas Center for Economic Development and Research. Bernard Weinstein offered career guidance, financial support, and similar hands-on research experience through his

work at Southern Methodist University. The work of Thomas L. Bell, Elizabeth Currid-Halkett, Charles Heying, Brian J. Hracs, and Richard Lloyd provided a direction forward for mine and all were very generous with their time regarding my questions before, during, and after this project. In a similar manner, Donald Lyons, Murray D. Rice, and Leo E. Zonn consistently provided helpful advice concerning my time as a doctoral candidate.

Finally, the completion of this dissertation and my doctoral program would not have been possible without the support and generosity of the citizens of Denton – music scene participants or otherwise. I never met resistance to my inquiries, was never barred access to any situation, and have always had a place to live, eat, and sleep during my arguably marginal existence throughout the process. I hope that my work will in-turn help the City of Denton and similar cities with thriving music scenes to better understand one of their greatest economic and community development resources – the clusters of creative, entrepreneurial residents who are as fervent about music as the cities in which they live.

April 1, 2014

Abstract

WHAT IF HEWLETT AND PACKARD HAD STARTED A BAND INSTEAD?
DENTON, TEXAS' MUSIC SCENE AS ECONOMIC CLUSTER
AND ITS BROADER IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE CITY'S ECONOMY

Michael Seman, PhD

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2014

Supervising Professor: Carl Grodach

A growing body of research examines the production processes, economic activity, and symbolic value of the arts in the urban economy. This research often broadly considers all arts disciplines together, masking structural and operational differences amongst them. Research detailing popular music and its relationship with the urban economy is minimal. Prior research tangentially acknowledges that local music scenes function as economic clusters, but little detailing of their dynamics as such exists. The bulk of attention is paid to how these clusters operate in the framework of the broader music industry and not how they develop or impact their surrounding urban economic landscapes. Denton, Texas is a city of just over 100,000 in the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan region and home to an internationally recognized music scene.

This dissertation examines Denton's music scene through qualitative research and answers the question, does Denton's music scene operate as an economic cluster?

Answering the overarching research question while analyzing the structural make-up of Denton's music scene will offer other researchers a basis to define their claims of clustering when referencing the economic dynamics of music scenes, address the existing research gap that leaves unexplored the economic development value of music scenes, and add to the growing body of literature detailing the necessary conditions for a music scene to develop – all of which will help policymakers better address their local music scenes. In addition, this research will also further the discourse concerning appropriate methodologies to use in assessing cultural sector employment.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	v
Chapter 1 Denton’s Dreaming	1
Chapter 2 A More Formal Introduction.....	6
Chapter 3 Music Scenes in the Urban Economy	9
3.1 Human Capital, Clustering, and the Arts.....	9
3.2 Not Just a Cog in the Machine: Music Scene Dynamics	15
3.3 Connecting the Dots with Questions.....	20
Chapter 4 Methodology, Understanding, and Analysis	23
4.1 Methodology.....	23
4.2 A Quantitative Understanding	24
4.3 A Qualitative Understanding	28
4.4 Analysis.....	33
Chapter 5 Keep Denton Beard – A Brief History of Denton’s Music Scene	35
5.1 Space Rock on Fry Street and the Fraternity of Noise in Hell’s Lobby	40
5.2 Rubber Gloves, Dan’s Silverleaf, and Shifting Landscapes	44
5.3 The Majestic Dwelling of DOOM Books the World, Chris Flemmons Starts a Festival, and Midlake Opens a Studio.....	49
Chapter 6 Sort of like Silicon Valley, but Different	55
6.1 Productivity.....	59

6.1.1 “The university definitely hasn’t taken the scene and helped itself...”	59
6.1.2 “...it seems like the better musicians go to the art school, not the music school.”	62
6.1.3 “There are probably some thrift stores in bigger cities that don’t even have pedals.”	64
6.1.4 “Are you in town? Are you out of town? Are you going out of town? Have you just come from out of town?”	65
6.1.5 “Man, five of my favorite bands are playing... double stages!”	70
6.1.6 “...it’s very obvious when something is not working or sucks... people know what’s up”	75
Chapter 7 Living Rooms of Incubation + Garages of Innovation = A Community of Participation	83
7.1 Innovation and New Business Formation	83
7.1.1 “I don’t think a lot of people realized it was an actual house.”	84
7.1.2 “And I had figured out really quick that people loved 80’s music...”	93
7.1.3 “...you know how it is; the bands all have interchangeable parts...”	95
7.1.4 “I thought it was a bad move and secretly thought he was crazy... turns out he was a visionary.”	98

7.1.5 “...Ah, you’re in that band? Man you should get on this job with me...”	103
7.2 Amenity and Community Development Catalyst.....	106
7.2.1 “I knew what I wanted to do. I wanted to be around music... That's why I ended up coming here.”	107
7.2.2 “Our second show... we go to a party-like environment at the Delta Lodge, knowing almost no one, it felt like we knew everybody.”	109
Chapter 8 Conclusion: From Economic Cluster to Catalytic Amenity.....	112
Chapter 9 How Do You Start Building a City on Rock and Roll?	119
9.1 Denton Wakes Up.....	119
9.1.1 “For the longest time we felt like... the red headed stepchildren...”	119
9.2 Meanwhile in Omaha, Flint, Manchester, etc...	129
9.3 Do Try This at Home – Policy Suggestions.....	144
Chapter 10 Epilogue: Their Own Personal Antiphons	150
Appendix A Survey Instrument	156
Appendix B Tables and Figures.....	160
References.....	180
Biographical Information.....	194

Chapter 1

Denton's Dreaming

It's just after midnight and I am at a packed house show in Denton, Texas. A local doom metal duo, Terminator 2 is churning through a nearly seven minute-long meditation on one monstrous riff that is near cathartic in totality. The ocean of low-end frequencies submerges the room like the soft lead-filled blanket a dentist places on you before stepping into another room to x-ray your dental transgressions. I am surrounded by a mix of undergraduate and graduate-aged students of various races and ethnicities dressed in band t-shirts with art evocative of Banksy's dystopian statements, limited-run retro sneakers, modified skate shoes, jeans, Dickies, variations of the ubiquitous all black alt.rock uniform, and clever mixes of fashions from the 80's to the present that would not be out-of-place in the section of the blogosphere dedicated to music, art, and the urban landscape that envelopes both. The overall effect suggests that the crowd is the usual combination of culture-savvy visitors from the greater Dallas-Ft. Worth metropolitan region and those enrolled in the popular art, design, and music programs of the University of North Texas, which is only a few blocks away from the cozy rental bungalow whose foundation the band is – I would lay money on – literally shaking at the moment.

The final song of the set trickles to a conclusion of dying feedback and is met with seconds of silence while the concept of sound without assault reappears to the tightly pack living room audience. Applause breaks out interspersed with whistles and hollers of approval. One of the taller members of the audience in a tweed jacket and bowler hat playfully booms, "Is that all you got?" and throws an empty cardboard box

used to carry a long-since gone 12 pack at the bassist. The box hits the intended target on the head. The bassist smiles, then responds with the international hand gesture saluting the box thrower as being “number one”... with dubious connotations.

I am friends with both the perpetrator, Nick Foreman – a graduate student and member of the Denton band, Dust Congress – and the victim as I am also a musician and part of Denton’s music scene for the past eight years. I play in the band Shiny Around the Edges, help release music through various Denton-based record labels, and, on occasion, book and promote shows throughout the city. Unlike my fellow scene members, however, for the same amount of time, I have also examined the value of music scenes as catalysts for economic development as a master’s student in geography and applied economics and now as a doctoral candidate in urban planning and public policy. Through my research and writing in academia and mainstream channels, I have – like the doom metal dirge that just ended – slowly refined a single idea... that a music scene is not entirely unlike an economic cluster such as Silicon Valley. In the case of music scenes as economic clusters, some transferable dynamics include bands filling the role of firms, DIY venues like house shows serving as incubators for innovation, and positive externalities resulting from entrepreneurial scene members who leverage the innovation and related knowledge spillovers into festivals with measurable economic and fiscal impacts or urban redevelopment projects. Admittedly, I am not the first person to examine the connection between music scenes and economic clusters as a handful of others in academia have addressed the issue, making broad suggestions about the connection – suggestions which will be discussed in a later chapter. My goal is to further

refine what has come before by getting as close as possible to the working parts of a music scene, examining how they interact, and understanding how those parts create positive externalities framed in the broader urban economies and landscapes music scenes occupy. This is why I am at a house party early on what is now technically Sunday morning.

The next band is Lechuguillas a noise rock trio from Chicago whose members I briefly met when Shiny Around the Edges played one of two shows in the city while on tour a few months prior. One of the shows was in The Moper, a cavernous, windowless loft where the drummer lived. The space resembled a bombed-out, post-apocalyptic Piggly Wiggly supermarket starkly lit by long white halogen lights. The residents created a tent encampment that occupied the south side of the second floor space; and, as a community, would host some of the most progressive noise rock and free jazz shows in the city.² Networks as they are in the world of music scenes, the band is now in a house in Denton plugging in and turning on their amps.

The instantaneous, concerted explosion of noise that coats the packed room can best be described by referencing the scene in *2001: A Space Odyssey* wherein an astronaut on a lunar landscape stands before a towering, minimalist black monolith clutching his helmet doubling over in pain because it emits a sound so ominously loud that it threatens to remix his DNA. There is no discernable melody and yet a schizophrenic rhythmic force propels the band forward while the guitarist pulls shards of

² As of this writing, the space that was formerly The Moper has been redeveloped and is now luxury loft condos.

sound fragments from his amp. It is the sound of the heart and soul of a machine deeply at odds with the world around it – impossible not to be moved by it in some form. Although I would like to continue my immersion in this sonic dichotomy of embrace and rejection, at 1:00 in the morning I know what will quickly come next. I make my way out of the cramped living room, through the equally packed kitchen swimming in a soft yellow glow, to the backyard outside in time to watch as the overflow crowd calmly yet quickly disperses in the wake of the police officer who passes me on his way to the steps of the back porch.

As I follow the crowd's lead, I look at my phone for the time and consider my options. The band Midlake is home from touring and I could make last call at "Paschall Bar" – the bar they recently invested in and opened. My walk would be short, just a few blocks to the historic city square where Paschall (its name usually shortened in conversation) is perched on the second floor of the northeast corner. Although having been open for barely two months, Paschall is already a popular place to have a cocktail and watch nightlife scenes as they unfold around the iconic courthouse anchoring the square.

I consider the effort needed to walk the few extra blocks (and contemplate if I should swing by my house to snag a jacket). I also check my phone to see if Chris Flemmons, the notoriously chaotic singer-songwriter behind the critically acclaimed and wildly eclectic folk rock band The Baptist Generals returned my text. I was hoping to continue what has become our never-ending conversation about the annual music festival he founded and that I volunteer at, programming the educational component. He hasn't

returned my text, but I remember that he mentioned he was either playing a solo set or seeing a band at Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios which is the small venue on the other side of the city square that once housed the office of a local cement factory. The current owner bought the venue and transitioned it from an adaptively reused living space and under-the-radar BYOB music venue with rehearsal spaces to a legitimate venue with a national reputation, full bar, and art gallery.

While I contemplate where to go next, it strikes me that at 1:30 AM on a Sunday morning that is bringing out December's finer traits, perhaps the best choice is to just go home and go to bed. With this thought, I power down my phone and make my way back to the holiday light-adorned rental cottage I call home while Denton's music scene undoubtedly continues buzzing, shifting amongst houses, venues, rehearsal spaces, bars, and studios overnight... waiting for me to rejoin it tomorrow.

Chapter 2

A More Formal Introduction

A growing area of discourse in economic, planning, and social science literature is the value of artistic production in the urban economy and its role in current economic development theory (Currid, 2009). One arts subsector that has received little attention in this discourse is popular music. Of specific interest are music scenes – the spatially-based cultural agglomerations of human and physical capital that include ingredients such as musicians, consumers, entrepreneurs, venues, and studios all working or operating (often in a volunteer, “Do-It-Yourself” or “DIY” nature) to facilitate the creation and performance of music (Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Connell and Gibson, 2003; Florida and Jackson, 2010).

Music scenes are recognized as part of the urban economy by some authors, but only superficially as economic clusters with emphasis on the roles those clusters play in the larger framework of the music industry (Florida and Jackson, 2010; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick, 2010; Scott, 1999). This practice obscures the scale and scope of a music scene’s role in its surrounding urban economic landscape by reducing it to an unexamined milieu contributing product to a larger industry. Other authors have examined the positive externalities generated by music scenes, placing them tangentially into the urban economic development discourse (Florida, 2002; Grant, Haggett, and Morton, 2009; Lloyd, 2006; Seman 2010); however, there still lacks a thorough understanding of *how* music scenes operate in the urban economy. Observing a music

scene through the lens of existing economic cluster theory and detailing the participants interactions would help one to arrive at that understanding.

The overarching research question is “are music scenes economic clusters?” And, if so, “what are their dynamics?” Do music scenes embody any or all of the traits of an economic cluster as detailed by existing research? Or, do music scenes have clustering traits that differ from what has been previously observed? As Porter (2000) would suggest, music scenes are dense networks of companies, suppliers, service providers, and institutions that are both cooperative and competitive with shared knowledge and skill sets facilitating innovation and positive economic externalities. Is this true – albeit in a modified way reflecting music scene participants and dynamics? Do music scenes have a guiding force such as Frederick Terman who spearheaded the development of Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 1996)? Is there an “incendiary event” or “catalyst organization” that ignites the growth and organization of music scenes as Smilor et al. (2007) argue is the case for high-tech centers? How important are “untraded interdependencies” and the “buzz” of face-to-face contact for music scenes (Storper, 1995, Storper and Venables, 2004)?

Answering the overarching research question and those supporting it will further define artistic production’s position in the urban economy while adding to the sizable literature concerning economic clustering. This inquiry will also address the existing research gap leaving unexplored the economic development value of music scenes, add to the growing body of literature detailing the necessary conditions for a music scene to develop, and further the discourse concerning appropriate methodologies to use in

assessing cultural sector employment – all of which will help policymakers engage their local music scenes for the benefit of their urban economies.

I selected Denton, Texas' music scene as a case study for this research as it is both vibrant and easily accessible. Denton is a city approximately 40 miles north of Dallas with two universities, a population of just over 100,000, and a thriving music scene with growing national and global recognition (Beehner, 2008; Rogers, 2007; Seman, 2012; Simmons, 2010; Sims, 2008). Denton's music scene is estimated to encompass "100 or more acts" at any given time and is "eclectic and artistically ambitious, with a high degree of musicianship and a strong DIY ethic" (Sims, 2008). Like Austin, Texas' music scene situated 230 miles to the south, Denton's music scene has a history spanning several decades and is recognized and addressed by local policymakers. In addition, my eight-year history as participant in the music scene allows for unparalleled access to contacts and insight potentially unavailable in another geographic area.

Research methods used in this study were primarily qualitative and data gathering largely consisted of conducting structured and semi-structured interviews with scene participants. Quantitative research leveraging data obtained from the U.S. Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics via Economic Modeling Specialists International helped establish a baseline to detail the qualitative findings. The following chapters of this dissertation will review relevant literature, describe the methodology in detail, give a brief history of Denton's music scene, and offer an analysis of the findings.

Chapter 3

Music Scenes in the Urban Economy

3.1 Human Capital, Clustering, and the Arts

As the 20th Century came to a close, the manufacturing sector in the United States continued its decline. The opening of trade channels and foreign investment opportunities in comparatively under-developed economies in countries such as Mexico, China, and Vietnam helped facilitate a global shift of lower skill manufacturing jobs from the United States to elsewhere. At the same time, information technology-based industries developed and expanded in the United States. Neoclassical economic models were increasingly unable to explain growth. Work by Weber (1929/1968), Harris (1954), Isard, (1956) and others concerning the competitive advantage of firms based on economies of scale, resource availability, minimization of input costs, transport access, and the geographic aspects of agglomerations still accounted for some aspects of growth, but how and where those firms formed agglomerations and the human capital involved began to receive more attention. Romer (1986) and Lucas (1988) argued that as industrial paradigms shifted, the economic models in question were flawed. Both suggested that technology and educated, highly skilled human capital were important, overlooked modeling variables helping to explain why certain regions were more competitive than others in a time of rapid globalization (Fujita & Thisse, 1996; Glaeser, 1994).

The positive externalities brought about by the interaction of human capital in agglomerations has its antecedents in the work of Marshall (1890/1990) who notes that with concentrated skilled labor:

The mysteries of the trade become no mysteries; but are as it were in the air... Good work is rightly appreciated, inventions and improvements in machinery, in processes and the general organization of the business have their merits promptly discussed: if one man starts a new idea, it is taken up by others and combined with suggestions of their own; and thus it becomes the source of further new ideas (Marshall, 1890/1990, p. 225).

Jacobs (1970, 1961/1992) also details the importance a concentration of educated, highly skilled labor can have on an urban economy, suggesting, like Marshall, that it facilitates atmospheres of innovation.

More recently, successful agglomerations in Silicon Valley and the California wine region are comprised of firms that are parts of fluid, geographically concentrated networks, simultaneously competing and cooperating while employees share this fluidity professionally and casually. The co-location of firms, dense socialized networks of labor in both competing and cooperating firms, continual face-to-face contact or “buzz,” and “untraded interdependencies” facilitate knowledge spillovers encouraging innovation and development beneficial to the firms, industry, and host region (Porter 2000; Saxenian, 1996; Storper, 1995; Storper and Venables, 2004).

Porter (2008) states “the modern, knowledge-based economy creates a far more textured role for clusters,” suggesting that “competition is dynamic and rests on innovation” not the comparative advantages offered by factors of input and economies of scale (2008, p. 224-225). Stressing the importance of educated, highly skilled human capital, knowledge spillover effects, technology, and building on existing linkages, Porter (2000) establishes a cluster theory represented in a “diamond” that interprets “the effect of location on competition through four interrelated influences” (2000, p. 19). The

diamond highlights local context, factors/inputs, related and supporting industries, and demand conditions as overarching categories of ingredients necessary for a location to develop a competitive advantage.

The shift in economic growth theory is mirrored in economic development theory, which increasingly suggests that regions should concentrate on attracting and retaining the educated, highly skilled human capital post-Fordist firms need. The clusters of desired human capital will not only attract and organically develop firms, but will drive development in the surrounding urban economy (Clark, 2004; Currid, 2009; Florida, 2002; Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz, 2001; Mather, 1999).

Artistic production is increasingly incorporated into current economic development theory and strategies, as the milieu surrounding artistic production can function not only as an amenity attractive to this desired human capital, but also as a branding agent, redevelopment catalyst, and as a less rigid industrial agglomeration (Currid, 2009; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2006; Markusen and King, 2003; Scott, 2000).

Currid notes this duality stating:

And thus it is impossible to separate the distinct roles of art as both a growth pole in its own right and a means for generating growth in other spheres in its capacity as an amenity and indicator of quality of life for highly skilled human capital (Currid, 2009, p. 369).

This milieu is also examined through the lens of economic clustering. Rarely is the artist working in a solo capacity completing all of the tasks necessary to complete a project and bring it to market. A division of labor exists encompassing artists, facilitators, and gatekeepers in roles such as agents, managers, assistants, collaborators, financiers,

gallery owners, patrons, and editors. These participants operate in non-profit organizations, community art spaces, professional guilds, galleries, schools, studios, bars, and venues. Artists engage this network both socially and professionally with the resulting knowledge spillover and innovations contributing to endogenous growth in the arts sector, growth in tangential industrial sectors, and positive externalities in the surrounding urban economy (Becker, 2008; Caves, 2000; Currid, 2007; Grodach, 2011a; Markusen and Schrock, 2006).

Examples of artistic production as economic cluster can be found in the Minneapolis-St. Paul region which is home to a “rich mix of organizations, institutions, networks, and connections – public, private, and individual” offering artists multiple avenues for sales, employment, collaboration, and skills development (Markusen and King, 2003; Markusen and Johnson, 2006). Artists in New York City socially and professionally cross-pollinate in varying disciplines forming a dense and diverse network. This blurring of the social and professional enables collaboration, career development, establishment of forward and backward linkages, promotion of product, participation in formal and informal industry gatherings, a larger potential audience for sales, and flexible employment outside of the arts if necessary (Currid, 2007; Currid, 2009; Rantisi, 2004).

The Hollywood film and television industry is a similarly dense cluster, but one that is more organized around firms than individuals. Hollywood does rely on a thick labor market not averse to risk, but the industry’s output is project-based with a reliance on multi-employee firms to deliver inputs used in outputs often handled by multi-national corporations (Scott, 2000; Scott, 2005). In the cases of New York City and Hollywood,

the artistic production clusters are so vibrant and revered that the collective product is a symbolic commodity branding both the output and the city by quality and geographic location – artists earn cultural cache as part of the cluster while the city earns a brand attractive to more artists and the human capital who wish to be near them (Currid, 2007; Currid, 2009; Molotch, 2002; Scott 2000).

Music is a subsector of artistic production that also has a surrounding creative milieu (or “scene”) attractive to human capital while serving as a catalyst for urban redevelopment, branding agent, and industry in its own right (Botta, 2008; Botta, 2009; Brown, O’Connor, and Cohen, 2000; Florida, 2002; Grant, Haggett, and Morton, 2009; Lloyd, 2006; Seman, 2010a; Seman, 2012; Shank, 1994). Like the film and television industry, music scenes are also driven by firms responsible for the development, production, performance, and distribution of music. Although not a predominant theme in academic discourse, the concept of bands operating as firms within a scene is emerging.

Snow (2010) offers that bands exhibit many similar traits as start-up firms in the high tech industry. Both bands and start-up firms search for compatible, highly skilled human capital to collectively work on developing a new product. While in the developmental stage, both engage established networks to promote their efforts to local and regional gatekeepers and strive to monetize themselves in order to demonstrate proof of potential scalability. A band might demonstrate their ability to monetize by self-releasing an album of its songs and printing t-shirts to sell at shows while a start-up firm might leverage its product prototype into an application generating revenue, validating the potential of the firm’s business model. The next step is for both to find investment

capital in the form of an indie record label deal or angel funding allowing for band members and start-up employees to cease all other employment and foster product development, create a solid consumer base, and extensively network nationally and globally. Snow (2010) suggests the desired end result for both band and start-up firm is to receive substantial funding via a major label record company or venture capital firm in order to expand operations accordingly.

Blackwell, Stephan, and Stephan (2004) also strike comparisons between bands and firms by examining both in terms of brand development. The authors suggest that successful bands use an emotional connection with their audience as a foundation to create a brand consistent across all levels that “evolves” slowly in order not to alienate old fans while gaining new ones. Blackwell, Stephan, and Stephan (2004) conclude that, in terms of branding, the operations of iconic bands are similar enough to multinational corporations that the latter should pattern their efforts after the former.

Others detail concepts in business marketing and economics by examining the Grateful Dead as a firm. Guiney and Zheng (2012) offer that the band created a “unique business model” by leveraging its fan base (“Deadheads”) for economic success – being “institutional entrepreneurs” in the record industry’s existing institution. Krugman (2008) uses the Grateful Dead as an example of a cultural production firm whose business practice of giving away a core product (high quality recordings of live concerts) in order to establish a continuing desire for ancillary products (concert tickets, band branded clothing, etc.) in the decades leading up to the digitally-driven “New Economy” were prescient and to be emulated by firms in other sectors of the economy today.

Increasing analysis of bands operating like firms and the detailing of how music scenes operate as amenities, catalysts for redevelopment, tools for branding, and industrial sectors points to music scenes embodying economic clustering dynamics. However, when they are specifically situated in the urban economy, it is often with scant attention to their operational dynamics and an emphasis on the roles they play in the larger framework of the music industry – or as mere glimpses into a much larger and denser network of creative industries (Currid, 2007; Florida and Jackson, 2010; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick, 2010; Scott, 1999). The detailing of music scenes that does exist speaks to them embodying many characteristics of economic clustering, but not in a thorough and concise manner.

3.2 Not Just a Cog in the Machine: Music Scene Dynamics

It is important to understand how music scenes are defined and to consider their physical and social capital dynamics spatially before observing them in the framework of the urban economy as economic clusters. In addition, knowledge of music scene history and recent changes in music industry structure help inform the internal operations of present-day music scenes.

Florida and Jackson (2010) consider the history of music scenes in the United States and note their origins in the mid-twentieth-century migration of rural folk and blues musicians to cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Nashville in order to tap into larger markets and extensive music industry infrastructure. Florida and Jackson (2010) also acknowledge the development of smaller, “independent” (or “indie”) music scenes in the 1980’s located outside of the “major centers” typically thought of for cultural

production, i.e. Athens, Georgia, Seattle, Washington, Denton, Texas, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina (Florida & Jackson, 2010, p. 3). These indie scenes are often located in college towns where Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick (2010, p. 786) offer “music talent is located, students have free time to form and play in musical acts, and there is considerable demand for live music performance.” Indie scenes are the antecedents of the UK punk rock movement and its opposition to the corporatization of the music industry in the 1970’s. A growing number of bands made a conscious DIY effort to operate outside of the increasingly corporate-owned music industry and control all aspects of their career from pressing records to booking shows (Crossley, 2009; Thompson, 2001). Independent bands and record labels gained traction in the UK and their influence spread to music scenes in the United States where the DIY ethos quickly took hold blossoming into established touring, distribution, promotion, and communication networks crisscrossing the country by the 1980’s (Azerrad, 2001; Botta, 2009; Thompson, 2001). Recent advances in communication and production technologies have helped bolster indie music scenes to the point where they are as culturally vital and economically viable as scenes in traditional cultural production capitals (Grant, Haggett, and Morton, 2009; Hracs, 2012; Leyshon, 2009; Seman, 2010a)

In the most pragmatic sense, music scenes are usually spatially-based cultural agglomerations of physical and human capital that include ingredients such as musicians, consumers, entrepreneurs, technicians, venues, and studios – some would also argue a university presence – all operating in concert to facilitate the creation and performance of music (Bell and Johansson 2005; Connell and Gibson, 2003; Florida and Jackson, 2008;

Kruse, 1993; Straw, 2005). Straw (2001) notes that a scene's "precise boundaries are invisible and elastic" and capable of referring to "highly local clusters of activity" that are "geographically specific places for the articulation of multiple musical practices," but acknowledges the "slipperiness" of his definition (Straw, 2001, p. 248/249). In his research detailing how cultural hybridity fails to explain the comparative differences in punk rock music scenes internationally, O'Connor (2002) acknowledges Straw's definition, but offers that a music scene's perceived boundaries can be genre-based within an urban location. O'Connor offers that "when punks use the term 'scene' they mean the active creation of infrastructure to support punk bands and other forms of creative activity" (O'Connor, 2002, p. 226). A music scene can also be completely devoid of geographic boundaries and touchstones within an urban area as demonstrated by the electronic music scene in Santiago, Chile. The scene operates in a free-floating manner throughout the city with participants completing various elements of production, performance, distribution, and networking via laptop computers and access to the Internet resulting in an internationally recognized scene both physical and virtual (Tironi, 2012).

The knowledge spillovers, flexible specialization dynamics, and untraded interdependencies that are indicative of economic clustering are suggested in some analyses of music scenes. Scott (1999) finds that a dense, localized geographic location offers music scene participants "a relatively high probability of finding just the right kind of input within easy access at just the right time" leading many to play "important roles at many different stages of the production process" (Scott, 1999, p. 1971/1974). Scott (1999) also offers that a music scene may be "sustained by educational and training

institutions” focusing on local needs and that music scene members become repositories for local scene traditions with the scenes themselves functioning as “arenas of socialization” (Scott, 1999, p. 1975).³ Straw (2005) sees the social as the scene itself noting that “scenes emerge from the excesses of sociability that surround the pursuit of interests” and finds the “lines between professional and social activities are blurred, as each activity becomes the alibi for the other” (Straw, 2005, p. 412/413).

Straw (2005) also suggests that scenes are replacing formal institutions for knowledge transfer and are a form of urban infrastructure supplying channels for “exchange, interaction and instruction” (Straw, 2005, p. 413). Straw does not completely discount the role of formal institutions in music scene dynamics and posits that they “are important sites for the accumulation of social and cultural capital” which in turn interact with the “subcultural capital” that music scene participants provide allowing for university departments and programs to become more creative and “cutting-edge” as scene participants circulate through both spheres (Straw, 2005, p. 414/415).

Analysis of the fertile music scene in Athens, Georgia during the 1980’s offers further itemizing of music scene components and how they may operate in a manner evocative of economic clustering. Athens was initially unrecognized by the established, corporate music industry, yet fostered the development of such iconic bands as the B-52’s and REM. Jipson (1994) details the core components of Athens’ scene – which are the

³ It should be noted that while Scott (1999) states that he is analyzing U.S. recorded music industrial clusters – primarily in New York, Los Angeles, and Nashville – his operational definition of those clusters represents the music scenes established in those cities. For the purposes of providing foreground for this research, the implied music scene connotation of his work is utilized.

same human and physical capital items comprising most scenes – then examines them through the lenses of structure, organization (or lack thereof), and community.

A university town, Athens offered a density of potential audience members, a low cost of living, several places to perform with lax booking policies including a plethora of house parties, an active radio station playing local artists and promoting local shows, a recording studio, a well-respected art department attracting a continual supply of students turned musicians focused on creative innovation, and a geographically and socially tight-knit community of scene participants. Of particular note for the Athens scene was a lack of competition amongst bands, a decided bent towards having fun while playing over achieving technical proficiency; and, once bands broke through to the mainstream, a collective feeling amongst those remaining that larger successes were possible if so desired (Jipson, 1994).

The Athens music scene's ingredients and the structure, organization, and community that govern them are repeated in varying ways across the world, often with substantial positive economic externalities. Whether it is fleeting in inception, but lasting in terms of cultural capital like the "Madchester" scene in Manchester, England (Crossley, 2008; Botta, 2008) or Seattle, Washington's "Grunge" scene (Bell, 1998; Humphrey, 1995), or an entrenched institution such as the multi-tiered country music scene in Nashville (Lloyd, forthcoming; Porter et al., 2012) or Austin, Texas' "Live Music Capital of the World" (Shank, 1994), music scenes are the result of multiple actors collectively working with a definable set of inputs in a localized network bolstered by shared institutions. An understanding of how music scenes operate internally and how

those operations produce innovation, knowledge spillovers, and positive economic externalities is yet to be fully explored.

3.3 Connecting the Dots with Questions

The end of the 20th century saw a much different national economy in the United States than at the start of the century. Increased globalization of some existing industries and the emergence of new ones based on information technology forced a rethinking of how to construct models explaining regional economic growth. These new models such as the ones proposed by Romer (1986) and Lucas (1988) focus more on the value of educated, highly skilled human capital and technology as drivers of growth than previous models (Weber, 1929/1968; Harris, 1954; Isard, 1956) primarily concerned with the geographical aspects of firms. Drawing from both sets of models, Porter (2000) suggests regional economic growth is the result of a competitive advantage derived from the geographical co-location of firms in addition to how those firms interact within the cluster via the actions of the educated, highly skilled human capital employed. Porter (2000) builds on insights from Marshall (1890/1990) and Jacobs (1970, 1961/1992) concerning the value of specialized knowledge emerging from dense agglomerations of human capital working in the related industries and suggests it offers a competitive advantage across co-located firms in terms of productivity, innovation, and new business formation.

The translation of these urban regional growth theories into current economic development practices manifests in strategies aimed at attracting and retaining educated, highly skilled human capital. The thought is that this human capital will provide

established firms with innovative ideas and practices in addition to starting new firms – both of which helping to drive growth (Clark, 2004; Currid, 2009; Florida, 2002; Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz, 2001; Mather, 1999). Artistic production is placed into this urban economic framework as an amenity that helps to attract the desired human capital and as an economic cluster with urban branding, redevelopment, and industrial properties (Currid, 2009; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2006; Markusen and King, 2003). Various authors such as Becker (2008), Caves (2000), Currid (2007), and Scott (2000) address the clustering dynamics of artistic production but not specifically detailed through the lens of Porter’s (2000) work. Music scenes enter into this urban economic discourse but are not given more than cursory attention outside of their role in the broader music industry or as part of a city’s overall cultural economic landscape (Currid, 2007; Florida and Jackson 2010; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick, 2010; Lloyd, 2006; Scott, 1999).

The operational dynamics of music scenes are not entirely absent from literature, but are detailed in the course of geographic, historical, policy, or sociological inquiry – not through an urban economic lens. The development of independent, D.I.Y. music scenes in the 1970’s, 80’s, and 90’s illustrates how the concerted efforts of multiple players in a geographic region results in an economic cluster with positive economic externalities (Azerrad, 2001; Botta, 2009; Grant, Hagggett, and Morton, 2009; Seman, 2010a; Thompson, 2001). How cities seek to address their music scenes – often with dubious results – is documented in Manchester and Sheffield, England (Brown, Cohen, O’Conner, 2000), Austin, Texas (Shank, 1994), and Omaha, Nebraska (Seman, 2010a). Thought on which structural elements are necessary for the success of a music scene

(dense agglomeration of artists, supportive local audience, university presence, venues, radio stations, etc...) and how those elements interact and complement each other is offered, often with a sociological slant focusing on how and why scene participants interact with each other, institutions, and the public (Bell and Johansson 2005; Jipson, 1994; O'Connor, 2002; Straw, 2001, 2005).

When synthesizing research across a spectrum of disciplines, music scenes are detailed as dense agglomerations of actors in various firms working together resulting in positive economic externalities for the host cities. Despite this, no research has specifically asked the question, are music scenes economic clusters as defined by Porter (2000)? This study will answer that question and fill a research gap that has left music scenes a nearly nascent presence in the discourse concerning cultural production and urban economics. In the process of answering whether or not music scenes are economic clusters, this study will examine the actors involved, their backgrounds, and their motivations – all of which may provide insight to policymakers on how to address music scenes as potential catalysts for economic development, as they would any other economic cluster. The close examination of music scene participants will illuminate another gap in research – the flaws of using quantitative methods without qualitative methods to analyze scenes of cultural production. Answering the overarching question and documenting the activities supporting that answer will finally connect the many dots provided by previous research.

Chapter 4

Methodology, Understanding, and Analysis

4.1 Methodology

This research employs an extended case study methodology as the phenomenon studied is entirely independent of research control, of a popular culture nature, and has a history of multiple actors interacting in a “sequence of events” over multiple years (Mitchell, 1983, 193; Yin 2003). The case study method allows for diverse means of gathering data and can rely solely on previously published historical data if appropriate, with additional augmentation via qualitative research if needed (Yin 2003). Additionally, as Padgett (2008) states, “when the object(s) of inquiry requires holism over disaggregation, case study analysis is most likely the route to take” (Padgett, 2008, p. 34). It was necessary to consider a holistic approach as music scenes resemble living organisms operating locally and regionally, with their traces sometimes part of national and global networks. A wide lens was needed to capture that dynamic.

I selected Denton, Texas as the case study location as I’ve resided in the city for eight years, am an active participant in the city’s music scene, routinely interact professionally and casually with all levels of City government, and have an extensive network of contacts throughout the country comprised of former Denton music scene participants. It was my thought that this immersion in the case study location may give me the perspective and access needed to complete an examination of the topic similar in nature to the book length works by Currid (2007) and Lloyd (2006), which examine their cities’ respective cultural economies.

A discourse exists concerning the validity of using one case study as the basis for research of a given issue. Small (2009) notes that the quantitative turn in many disciplines places pressure on researchers in the social sciences to conduct large sample studies to ensure their findings are generalizable to support research by those in other disciplines. This is a moot point in research that addresses music scenes for two reasons. The first is that, when isolated, a comparatively small fraction of a given urban population comprises a music scene. The second reason is that although music scenes may have slight functional differences when considered comparatively nationally and internationally, they all have the same inputs and participatory actors (M. Barnhart, personal communication, February 19, 2012; O'Connor, 2002; S. Patel, personal communication, March 8, 2012). Small (2009) supports the validity of using only one music scene as a case study by stating that “there is a place for a small interview study to make meaningful contributions to knowledge, providing the language and assumptions through which it is interpreted differ” (Small, 2009, 15). The use of a “small interview study” will also add to existing literature concerning the position of artistic production in the urban economy by offering an understanding of who the participants are in a given process, their motivations, and the intra-personal interactions that help shape the observed outcomes.

4.2 A Quantitative Understanding

Using quantitative methods to establish the parameters of and participation in a music scene is questionable at best. Hracs et al. (2011) highlight this methodological shortcoming in their work on music scenes in Toronto and Halifax, while Markusen,

Schrock, and Cameron (2004) make a similar observation concerning the use of U.S. Census data to quantify the scale and scope of artistic activity in a given area. The root of the problem in the arts subsector of music lies in the fact that readily available quantitative data are largely industrial based as opposed to occupational. As such, quantitative methods are better suited for discerning whether or not a music *industry* is present in a certain location, not capturing the scope of who is involved in a music scene and in what way he or she participates. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' (BLS) Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) captures the number of music-based firms and their employment numbers, yet music scene members are often gainfully employed in an occupation (have a "day job") at a business or institution that is unrelated to their musical activity. In addition, many musicians successful enough to be self-employed would not be captured by the QCEW. Finally, in a city the size of Denton, employer supplied data are often masked making it hard to accurately portray the size and scope of an industry presence – a problematic situation also noted by Florida and Jackson (2010).

Taking an occupational approach using self-reported data collected via the U.S. Census' American Community Survey (ACS) Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) helps mitigate the undercounting circumstance present in the industrial approach, but is also flawed. The PUMS is a collection of files that is either a 1% or 5% detailed sampling of individuals who have filled out the U.S. Census' long form in a specific geographic area. As the information is self-reported, this method captures the self-employed musician and those that claim as such, even though he or she may rely on other

employment like waiting tables to pay bills. The occupational approach is helpful, but still does not adequately capture all of the musicians, fans, and entrepreneurs who comprise a music scene yet do not self-report in any official manner. For example, a computer professional who promotes shows, records bands in his spare time, and runs a small record company may not report any of these activities, yet he still plays a supportive role in the local music scene. This scenario is a reality in Denton's music scene (M. Briggs, personal communication, December 29, 2012). Framing the inadequacies of quantitative methods in terms of clusters, Porter (1998) notes that "Clusters rarely conform to standard industrial classification systems, which fail to capture many important actors and relationships in competition" (p. 79). It is these "important actors and relationships..." that form the basis of music scene activity.

In order to illustrate the shortcomings of using quantitative methods in the analysis of music scenes, I focused on occupational data in order to provide a location quotient (LQ) for Denton's music scene. An LQ is the most common quantitative method of estimating the concentration of arts employment in a geographic location (Grodach & Seman, 2013; Markusen et al., 2004; Markusen and Schrock, 2006). For the purpose of this study, the LQ is calculated by dividing the employment in an occupation (e_i) in the study area by the total employment in all occupations in the study area (e) then dividing that value by the value achieved when dividing the national employment in an occupation (E_i) by total national employment in all occupations (E) (Figure 4.1). The end result is a value giving a relative idea of how concentrated an occupation is in a given study area.

An LQ value of 1.00 represents the national average, while an LQ exceeding 1.25 represents a significant concentration (Blakely and Greenleigh, 2010).

I used Economic Modeling Specialists International's (EMSI) "EMSI Analyst" data analysis tool to aggregate PUMS data from the zip codes 76201 – 76210 for the BLS's Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system codes 27-2041: Music Directors and Composers; 27-2042: Musicians and Singers; and 27-4014: Sound Engineering Technicians.⁴ I chose these three SOC codes for their direct representation of who would most likely participate in Denton's music scene and their use as proxies individually and as a group for music scene participants in prior studies (Florida and Jackson 2010; Leithart, 2012); however, as the literature discussed previously and my research findings will suggest, these codes capture only a fraction of who actually participates in a music scene.

The occupation-based data reveals the city of Denton as having what can loosely be described as a "music scene LQ" of 1.15. This number is anemic in light of the scene's several decade history, international recognition, and high concentration of bands – all of which is well-documented and discussed in the following chapter of this study. Perhaps most telling is that Denton musician Chris Flemmons has never claimed to be a musician for census or tax purposes – ensuring his SOC code absence in PUMS files and elsewhere – even though his band the Baptist Generals is signed to one of the largest record labels in the industry, enjoying product sales and critical acclaim nationally and internationally.

⁴ EMSI is an industry standard economic analysis firm specializing in employment data gathering and analysis.

Flemmons is also the founder of the 35 Denton music festival (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 12, 2012). Although the data are ineffective at holistically illustrating music scene participation, they do reflect the strong growth the scene has experienced in the last decade (Table 4.1). With the flaws of using quantitative methods to estimate the size and breadth of a music scene highlighted, consideration will next be given to the qualitative methods used to execute the research presented in later chapters.

4.3 A Qualitative Understanding

By now, it should be evident that to understand the “important actors and relationships” driving Denton’s music scene, it is imperative to go beyond the numbers and statistics best left to measuring Denton’s music industry and engage in qualitative research methods in the form of interviews. Due to my history as a participant in Denton’s music scene and my established relationships, I had no difficulty in securing interviews. In addition, despite its robust productivity, the Denton music scene is still under-represented in academic and mainstream literature. Participants were eager to talk about their experiences for an academic project and were very supportive of my desire to utilize their insights as the potential groundwork for an academic press book or book chapter in a trade paperback.

I constructed a convenience sample in a manner very similar to Becker (1963), whose immersion via participation in Chicago’s jazz music scene allowed him immediate access to the subjects he sought to study. Due to my experience in the music scene as well as the literature reviewed in previous sections, I specifically targeted certain individuals in the music scene as sample participants thus defining my convenience

sample with an undercurrent of purposive sampling. My final sample consisted of 26 individuals who are musicians, venue owners, promoters, label owners, booking agents, and City representatives – or some combination thereof. The people who fill these occupations, whether formally or informally, are intrinsic to the functioning of the music scene and offered insight on the dynamics of scene operations, the relative importance of various structural elements, and perceived economic value of the scene to the City of Denton. My initial intention of using the qualitative research technique of “snowballing,” (Longhurst 2003) or asking interview subjects to suggest additional contacts outside my sphere of knowledge, quickly became a moot point as I already knew everyone suggested and some interviewees took it upon themselves to tell others to contact me.

My greatest difficulty was limiting the number of interviews (and interview requests) due to the time and resources needed to transcribe the oral data. However, the final number of participants in my study met the conditions of an exhaustive purposive sample set forth by Rubin and Rubin (1995) – “Completeness” and “Saturation.” The information and perspectives offered by the 26 subjects (Table 4.2) established an “overall sense of the meaning of the concept, theme, or process” and at the end of the interview stage of qualitative data gathering, no new information or perspective was offered (Rubin and Rubin 1995, p. 72/73).

To address the possible critique that the sample was too small to sufficiently answer the research question, one need only to consider Currid’s (2006) excellent dissertation concerning the art, fashion, and music scenes in New York City. The author’s analysis is based on interviews with “over 70 people,” a sample just more than twice the

size of the one in this study, yet addressing three distinct scenes that arguably eclipse Denton's music scene in absolute numbers. Despite this proportional difference, Currid's dissertation produced an oft-cited, peer reviewed article in *the Journal of the American Planning Association* and was later transformed into the successful, mass-market, trade paperback, *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Drive New York City*.

I attempted to capture perceptions of the scene from participants both established and emerging and from across a wide range of musical genres in order to have a purposive sample "representative of the range of points of view" (Rubin and Rubin 1995, p. 66). As such, members of the touring band Midlake who would be recognized through quantitative data analysis and play a strain of folk rock that sells significant amounts of units in the United Kingdom were interviewed alongside members of Terminator 2, a doom metal band comprised of musicians whose primary occupations are in the food service and trucking industries and whose debut album for the indie label, Handmade Birds, is in the preparation stages. Other representative dichotomies in the interview sample include Matthew Barnhart, a sixteen-year veteran of Denton's music scene, former owner of Quality Park Records, Grammy-award winning sound engineer, and co-owner of the venerable Echo Lab recording studio being interviewed a few weeks before Donovan Ford, bassist in the fledgling noise rock band, Eccotone who has participated in the Denton music scene for just over a year.

My initial form of contact with interview subjects was predominantly via face-to-face conversations at locations across Denton, often the "third places" inhabited by members of the music scene – most notably the venues Rubber Gloves and Dan's

Silverleaf, the Midlake-owned, Paschall Bar, and the “University Kroger” grocery store where on any given day and time, many music scene members can often be found prowling the aisles. On occasion, I had to send a formal email. I resorted to the most ubiquitous form of communication amongst participants in music scenes, texting, to follow-up on my initial communication and maintain the logistics of individual interview appointments – which changed frequently. Texting was optimal for several reasons. First, many music scene members have service class jobs where talking on the phone is not an option. Second, there is a distinct possibility that the music scene participant you want to reach may be in the studio or at a show where it is easier to text than talk. Finally, texting elicited a quicker response time due to what I can only perceive as a generalized disdain for talking on the phone, which may or may not be a trait specific to music scene participants.

I scheduled and conducted a series of “structured” and “semi-structured” in-person interviews (Bernard 1988) with the twenty-six subjects during the course of one month. Interviews lasted from 30 to 90 minutes and were conversational in nature. Questions both subjective and factual were asked in order to understand the development of the scene in terms of A) whether or not it operates as an economic cluster as defined by Porter’s (2000, p. 20) “diamond metaphor” and B) if it operates structurally in accordance to the existing body of literature concerning music scenes. A survey instrument tool (see Appendix) includes both questions of economic clustering and structural operation. Topics covered include:

- 1) Occupations of music scene members.

- 2) Barriers to entry including gender-bias.⁵
- 3) Presence and dynamics of cooperation and/or competition.
- 4) Professional and social interaction of musicians and bands and the extension of these interactions with other individuals and companies i.e., screen printers, graphic designers, instrument retailers, label owners, booking agents, venue owners, and other employers.
- 5) Geographic boundaries of the scene (is it local or does it have regional elements?).
- 6) Innovation and new firm creation (including new bands, venues, festivals, and other entities non-music related).
- 7) Role of institutions (universities, local media outlets, local government).
- 8) Relative value (and types) of physical space for socializing, performing, and rehearsing.

The interviews were informative and most went well beyond the insight needed to answer my overarching research question. Subjects often gave brief oral histories of Denton's music scene in the midst of answering questions. These oral histories helped augment my initial qualitative research wherein I established a modern historical framework of Denton's music scene (1990 – present) by gathering all available background materials (i.e. magazine and newspaper articles, websites, etc.) concerning it.⁶ As previously stated, there is a dearth of information published about Denton's music

⁵ Answers may help to illuminate if women are an under-acknowledged critical component to the music scene and its surrounding economic development activity; or, if the presence of women in the scene is as nascent as popular perception would suggest – the latter standing in contrast to other successful scenes in locations like Olympia, Washington and Portland, Oregon.

⁶ Sources included the archives of the *Denton Record-Chronicle*, the *Dallas Observer*, and the *NT Daily* along with various national and international magazines and blogs, the latter of which were accessed through search engines provided by the both the University of Texas at Arlington and the University of North Texas.

scene and what is published does not capture some relevant details. For example, the importance of the Good/Bad Art Collective as music scene catalyst is only briefly noted in published materials and the effect of City liquor laws on the developmental years of Denton's music scene are not discussed in print. In the macro sense, the brief oral histories also reinstated my initial conclusion that while Denton has had significant music activity for several decades, the foundation for the scene currently operating has its origins in the 1990's.

4.4 Analysis

The final stage of research was analysis of the qualitative data collected during the interview process. Theoretical memos were created to help spot trends and themes in the information gathered. These extended notes made it easier to compare the results outwardly to the literature initially reviewed as well as to the other qualitative data accumulated during interviews. Both methods of continual comparison or "analytic induction" allowed for trends and "interesting relationships" to emerge (Bernard 1988; Crang 2005). Maps constructed with GIS technology are also utilized to help frame the qualitative data gathered and explain Denton's music scene spatially.

To avoid limitations in perspective and potential bias while analyzing the data (and, to some extent, gathering it), I enlisted a colleague versed in the dynamics of music scenes to monitor my progress. In detailing the dynamics of gender in nursing baccalaureate programs, Tillman (2006) suggests that credibility in qualitative research can be obtained by enlisting a colleague as a "peer debriefer" as detailed by Rossman and Rallis (2003, p. 68) who state that such a person "serves as an intellectual watchdog for

you as you modify design decisions, develop possible analytic categories, and build an explanation for the phenomenon of interest” (as cited in Tillman, 2006, p. 36). Denton music scene participant, Matthew Barnhart served as my peer debriefer. Barnhart’s extensive background in the music industry and current work as tour manager and sound engineer for bands gives him invaluable insight into music scenes across the country and internationally. This study benefited from his guidance during several informal discussions throughout the project’s lifespan.

Chapter 5

Keep Denton Beard – A Brief History of Denton’s Music Scene

At first glance, Denton’s music scene is just another college town with a music scene like the many that developed in the wake of the DIY punk rock movement that swept across the United States in the 1980’s. Bands, venues, entrepreneurs, recording studios, and fans all work together in Denton and with others far removed via the elaborate communication, touring, and distribution networks established by the DIY punk predecessors. But, like O’Connor (2002) notes, not all music scenes are carbon copies of each other. Denton’s is idiosyncratic in a number of ways.

The scene is highly concentrated with the number of bands in operation at any given time estimated at over 100 while the city’s population is just north of 100,000 (Sims, 2008; U.S. Census, 2013). The scene has an oceanic depth and breadth with artists and bands mining a wide variety of genres. Collections of scene members form “micro” scenes around genres such as experimental noise, indie rock, and punk, yet still often interact within the broader scene and self-identify as part of it. This supports Straw’s concept that music scenes are areas of “multiple musical practices” and is reflected to a degree in cities such as Seattle, Washington, Austin, Texas, and Omaha, Nebraska (R. Gomez, personal communication, January 2, 2013; R. Buttrum, personal communication, January 13, 2013; Straw 2001, p. 248).

Another trait not found in many other music scenes in cities of similar population size is the routine national and international recognition for the scene’s participants. Midlake, Centro-matic, Baptist Generals, Slobberbone, Neon Indian, Sarah Jaffe, Brave

Combo, and Lift to Experience have all enjoyed widespread success, in some cases selling well over 100,000 copies of a release globally, licensing songs to national commercials and television shows, and playing to capacity crowds in venues and theaters in the United States and overseas.⁷ Additionally, there are also Denton-based bands such as the Eli Young Band and Bowling for Soup that have exponentially greater commercial success while not considered part of the scene by active participants due to their long-standing absence in both presence and action, ultimately connected to Denton by residence only.⁸

There are also a number of musicians who spent time in Denton, did not participate in its music scene (or were residents when one wasn't present), and left to find success in other regions of the country, such as Don Henley, Norah Jones, Roy Orbison, and Meat Loaf. In contrast, there are many musicians who participated in Denton's music scene in various bands that went on to perform and record with successful bands in other places. Examples of this phenomenon include Earl Harvin and his work with Seal, The The, MC 900 Ft. Jesus, The Psychedelic Furs, and Air; and Matt Chamberlain, who has worked with Edie Brickell and the New Bohemians, Pearl Jam, and Tori Amos among

⁷ For perspective concerning album sales, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) certifies an album as "Gold" in the United States if 500,000 copies of it are sold.

⁸ During the course of my immersive participatory observation leading up to the formal design of this study, casual discussions with scene members across differing genres of music yielded no imperative to include members of Bowling for Soup or the Eli Young Band as study participants due to their absence from scene activity – a situation somewhat similar to the one encountered by Moore (2010) when analyzing San Diego's music scene and his not including the band Stone Temple Pilots. Conversely, I include Neon Indian as a representative of Denton's music scene despite the leader of the band relocating to New York City due to his significant, initial immersion in the scene while developing material, continual interaction with it through repeated visits, and employing members of it for his band, as artistic collaborators, and as support crew. Later chapters of this study will illustrate that both study design decisions ultimately reflect facets of Porter's (2000) definition of an economic cluster.

many others. Both musicians were involved in Denton's music scene for several years as members of the Denton band, Ten Hands (Head, 2011; Liles, 2009; Tama, 2006).

The root of this concentration, diversity, and circulation of musicians is the presence of the University of North Texas. The university contributes to the music scene in two ways. The first is through the College of Music and its Division of Jazz Studies, which began granting degrees in 1946. Both the College of Music and its Division of Jazz Studies are commonly acknowledged as premier music education programs in the United States, attracting high-caliber musicians nationally and internationally. However, it should be noted that the value of the College of Music to the music scene is somewhat dubious as many suggest a gulf exists between the two. My results discuss this perceived gap in greater detail (G. Farris, personal communication, January 11, 2013; Pan, 1995).

The second way the university fosters the music scene is by hosting competitive programs in art, design, and film attracting students throughout the state and in neighboring ones. These students are often musicians, becoming highly active music scene participants – a situation similar to that described by Jipson (1994) in his analysis of Athens, Georgia's music scene in the 1980's, which was intertwined with the University of Georgia's art program. As my results detail, in the case of Denton, a cross-pollination of music school students, musicians studying other disciplines, and musicians and participants attracted to the city for the existing music scene, but who are not students, collectively form the city's music scene.

The history of Denton's music scene is best told through detailing a handful of key entrepreneurs, gatekeepers, musicians, and critical performance spaces. Analysis of

the performance spaces offers a spatial narrative that works as a framework helping to explain the development and actions of the key entrepreneurs, gatekeepers, and musicians in the scene's history. The venues emerged in a contiguous, cyclical fashion experiencing birth, life, then and death repeatedly as the scene matured and a select few established solid foundations in the scene. Like the redevelopment of the city, the cyclical path of the venues stretches east from the University of North Texas and the once thriving, cultural Mecca of Fry Street on the west side of the city's downtown core, past the successfully redeveloped square to Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios, which is situated only feet from the city's recently built commuter rail station on the downtown core's east side. Critical performance spaces include The Argo, Hell's Lobby, The Yellow House, The Delta Lodge, Kharma Cafe, Rubber Gloves, Mr. Gatti's/J and J's Pizza, Dan's Silverleaf, Fra House, Secret Headquarters, Lion's Den, 715 Panhandle, House of Tinnitus, and Majestic Dwelling of DOOM (See Figures 5.1 – 5.3).

Denton has a legacy of being an enclave of creativity in the Dallas-Ft. Worth metropolitan region, largely due to the influence of the University of North Texas' music, art, and film programs. As early as the 1980's, notable bands with widespread recognition like Brave Combo and Ten Hands emerged while venues like Slum Manor, the Gravity Room, and the Library played host to local bands, but there was an absence of a cohesive, integrated network of support (Liles, 2009; Reese, 2002). Denton's music scene did not hit critical mass until the 1990's – as was the case for many music scenes across the country after the Seattle scene birthed the band Nirvana and the “grunge” sound (Moore, 2010).

While the figural and literal ascension of Nirvana to an international stage is commonly accepted as the marker defining the point at which music scenes working independently of the corporate controlled music industry became fully realized, productive entities, the story is much more elaborate. A full detailing of the process would be outside the scope of research for this study, but it is important to understand the basics of how DIY (Do It Yourself) punk rock scenes established in the early 80's transitioned into the independent (or "indie") rock scenes of today.

As the 1980's came to a close, the corporately owned major labels noted a steady decline in sales. In response, the industry looked for a new sound that would boost sales as it had at the end of the 1970's when genres such as new wave and hip hop were co-opted by the major labels (Azerrad, 2001; Lopes, 1992). Industry representatives in the late-1980's looked to the indie scenes that punk rock had helped established earlier in the decade. These cities were far removed from New York and Los Angeles – the traditional cultural production hubs housing the major labels that drive the music industry. Husker Du and The Replacements from Minneapolis were two of the initial indie bands that signed recording contracts with major labels. Other bands from what was formerly the underground of the music industry received major label deals in quick succession, but the most defining moment of this trend was when the Seattle scene and "grunge" were "discovered" and the band Nirvana moved from the then indie label, Sub Pop to the major label Geffen, quickly selling millions of its major label debut, *Nevermind* in 1991 and displacing Michael Jackson from the top of the music industry sales charts (Azerrad, 2001; Moore, 2010).

The success of Nirvana encouraged major labels to sign en masse bands fostered by indie scenes across the country, broker deals with or buy indie labels; and, perhaps more importantly, encouraged an entirely new generation of youth to take part in indie scenes. While not all the deals were beneficial to the parties involved and most bands were commercially unsuccessful, the resulting effect in the music industry was one of a subtle, marginal decentralization from the industry cores of New York and Los Angeles. The attraction of new participants to indie scenes across the country resulted in an increase in new bands and labels (Azerrad, 2001; Florida and Jackson, 2010; Oakes, 2009; Moore, 2010).

By the end of the 90's, the addition of inexpensive digital tools for communication, marketing, and music production further fueled these scenes creating an expanded economic geography of the music industry. Fledgling scenes in cities like Omaha, Nebraska along with established ones in cities such as Athens, Georgia offered bands, record labels, and entrepreneurs the opportunity to garner levels of critical and commercial success not easily attainable twenty years prior. In Denton, this shift in the music industry found its ignition switch in the 1990's on the strip of Fry Street bordering the University of North Texas campus (Florida and Jackson, 2010; Pan, 1995; P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 9, 2013; Seman, 2010a; D. Willingham, personal communication, February 2, 2013).

5.1 Space Rock on Fry Street and the Fraternity of Noise in Hell's Lobby

As early as the 1960's, Fry Street was home to crowds of university students seeking nightlife options in Denton. In the 1990's, several venues opened on or adjacent

to the street booking increasing numbers of local acts in Denton that fell outside of the funk genre which previous venues primarily booked. Kharma Café and, to a lesser extent, Rick's Place on Fry Street facilitated shows with local bands of varying genres often attracting crowds that would overflow outside of the venues on any given evening (P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 9, 2013; D. Willingham, personal communication, February 2, 2013; Pan, 1995). Perhaps most instrumental in fostering an integrated scene for local bands was the venue, The Argo. With a decidedly much more Denton-centric booking policy than Rick's Place and the ability to host more shows than Kharma Café, The Argo, with the help of booker, band member, and general scene promoter, Wanz Dover, soon became a cauldron of creativity spawning Denton's "space rock scene" which gained national exposure in national magazines like *Rolling Stone*, *Magnet*, and *Option*, and included bands like Light Bright Highway, Thorazine Dreams, MK Ultra, and Dover's own Mazinga Phazer (J. Baish, personal communication, January 15, 2013; Chamy, 2001; Chamy, 2002; Pan, 1995).

In addition to The Argo and its booking policy, another initial scene building block was Denton's Good/Bad conceptual art collective. A forward thinking group of University of North Texas art students that collaborated on conceptual pieces/events free to the public and lasting no more than one day, the Good/Bad group often incorporated music into their work as a way to help raise funds. The music-based events were usually housed at The Argo – where Good/Bad member Chris Weber booked bands – and designed to incorporate musicians from across Denton's rapidly multiplying micro scenes. These events, while ultimately conceptual art, had many elements of a typical

rock show. An example of a music-based event is the (now nationwide) concept of a “Rock Lottery” where twenty-five pre-selected local musicians meet in the morning, randomly form five new bands, write and rehearse thirty minutes of music, then perform entire sets at night. The music events were designed as fundraisers for the collective and a “scene building exercise” for the musicians (Rash, 2012; Rees, 1999). Mike Rudnicki, guitarist in the band Baboon, details the extent to which the Good/Bad functioned as a facilitator and collaborator within the music scene:

The Good/Bad Art Collective was Ground Zero for musician/artist collaboration. Bands would do benefits to help it pay its bills so it could have art openings, and the collective would return the favor by helping out the bands in various capacities. For example, they once rented a large screen television (quite the luxury back then) for the premiere of Baboon's “Walker, Texas Ranger” appearance. Todd Ramsell, one of Good/Bad's founders, made some great flyers for us, as well as a couple of T-shirt designs for Brutal Juice. Also, he was nice enough to let us use his painting and its title “Secret Robot Control” for the cover and title of our second full-length CD (Liles, 2009).

Along with the three legitimate venues on and adjacent to Fry Street, there existed alternative spaces that routinely hosted shows. Many of the bands playing the new clubs on Fry Street were developed in part while members lived on campus as art and music students in Bruce Hall. The dormitory often hosted impromptu shows along with hosting the annual Bruce Hall Jam – a successful one-day festival. The most notable band from Bruce Hall is Tripping Daisy whose following quickly expanded beyond Denton, dominated the thriving Deep Ellum scene in Dallas, and eventually found national success in a matter of a few years before tragedy sidelined the band, later reforming as the Polyphonic Spree (P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 9, 2013; Wilonsky, 1998). The Delta Lodge at the tip of Fry Street enlisted Denton bands to play their parties

as well as hosted the annual day-long Fry Street Fair music festival which attracted thousands, gave needed exposure to local bands, and encouraged waves of musicians to start bands. Ben Burt, the drummer of Brutal Juice elaborates:

...I took in my first and last Fry Street Fair as a spectator. It was the first one to take place not on the street. I was blown away that day. Yeah, the acid had a bit to do with it, but seeing all those bands: Loco Gringos, Ten Hands, Billy Goat, Last Rites, etc. What a day! Again, I said to myself, "I want to be a part of that!" It was the next year that my little band Brutal Juice was invited to play. Funny thing. Until the very night before that fair, we couldn't even pay our friends to come see us. That all changed after that show. "Holy Shit! I'm a part of this!" – That's what I was thinking a year later as we took the stage at the fairgrounds at dusk on the main stage (Liles, 2009).

It should be noted that the festival's booking practices of progressively including a higher percentage of bands that primarily played Dallas spawned the Mulberry Street Fair held in the Mulberry Street House on the same day, booking only Denton bands that focused their energies on playing in the city. Also actively hosting shows at this time was the basement of Mr. Gatti's pizzeria on the city's square (which later became J and J's Pizza) (M. Barnhart, personal communication, December 26, 2012; Barge, 2007; Pan, 1995; Sutlief, 1999).

Perhaps as influential on the formation of Denton's music scene as The Argo, Kharma Café, and Rick's Place were house shows. Until the passage of City Ordinance 96-014 on January 16th, 1996, venues in Denton's city limits were unable to sell alcohol after 12:00 AM, effectively closing them at midnight. This practice encouraged the hosting of "after-parties" in homes within walking distance of the university (J. Baish, personal communication, January 13, 2013; P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 19, 2013). The most famous of these houses was Hell's Lobby. The house was

similar in nature to The Argo in that it had a Denton-centric booking policy. Hell's Lobby was also one of the first houses to begin the tradition in Denton where the residents of a long-running house show venue will brand it with an established name (with Slum Manor possibly being the first). The "Fraternity of Noise" micro scene emerged from the residents and friends who played Hell's Lobby and included bands such as Caulk, Baboon, and Brutal Juice. Notable members of those bands that fostered Denton's music scene in other ways include Brutal Juice bassist, Sam McCall who started Resin Recording Studios, helping to document much of what was happening sonically in Denton at the time and Caulk's Aden Holt who founded the One Ton Records label (albeit from Dallas) which also help document the scene (One Ton Records, 2013; Pan, 1995).

Existing on the outskirts of the scene at this time was Deep Blue Something, one of the first Denton bands to sign a major label deal resulting in a gold record and the hit song, "Breakfast at Tiffany's." Years later, the drummer of Deep Blue Something, John Kirtland would launch Kirtland Records and help place Denton musician, Sarah Jaffe in the national spotlight (Freedman, 2010b; Tarradell, 2006).

5.2 Rubber Gloves, Dan's Silverleaf, and Shifting Landscapes

As the 1990's transitioned into the new century, many Denton bands integrated in the burgeoning scene had signed recording contracts with either major labels or large indie labels. Brutal Juice, Baboon, Slobberbone, Centro-matic, Lift to Experience, Mandarin, Jetscreamer, Midlake, and the Baptist Generals all received help from record labels to promote their work globally with varying results. In the cyclical fashion that

would come to define the scene, new entrepreneurs entered the scene in the late 90's, replacing prior ones who moved on literally and figuratively. These new entrepreneurs offered a more stable framework for the scene's future growth.

Matthew Barnhart ran Quality Park Records from 1998 to 2002 (with a brief relocation to St. Louis early in its lifespan) and in doing so, provided a career stepping-stone for several Denton bands in addition to releasing another popular, genre spanning Denton compilation, *Band-Kits: A Compilation of Denton, Texas Music ca. 2000*. Barnhart also collaborated with David Willingham and Centro-matic's Matt Pence to open the recording studio, The Echo Lab in 1999. Technically located in Argyle, the next town south of Denton's border, the studio was initially designed to primarily record Denton bands much like the former Resin Recording Studios. The studio has since become a popular recording spot for bands and artists regionally, nationally, and internationally (Crain, 2000a; M. Barnhart, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

The music scene's geographic shift towards the east side of downtown started with the opening of Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios in 1997. The venue began as the former offices of a cement company turned into band rehearsal rooms and a sparse industrial living space for married scene members, Jason and Memory Wortham. When The Argo abruptly closed, the large open space next to the couple's bedroom became a makeshift all-ages DIY venue hosting shows originally slated for The Argo. Josh Baish, a bartender at Rick's Place (which closed in 2000) and frequent patron of The Argo saw the potential in transitioning the DIY venue into a legitimate one, leveraged his trust

fund, and went into partnership with the Worthams. Baish soon bought out the Worthams' stake and continued shepherding the venue into legitimacy with the City while booking shows nightly. Rubber Gloves almost immediately became as instrumental to the development of the music scene as The Argo due to its Denton-centric booking policy and ability to attract regional and national acts that routinely interacted with local musicians providing contacts for career development and further opportunities. The venue also helped in luring Matthew Barnhart and Matt Pence back from their brief stint in St. Louis (Crain, 1999; Knecht, 2005; J. Baish, personal communication, January 15, 2013).

Making a similar, yet unexpected move east was the venue Dan's Bar which served as the unofficial home to the micro scene of roots rock/Americana bands that included Centro-matic, Slobberbone, and Little Grizzly. Located one block south of the historic square, in the heart of the downtown core, Dan's Bar was owned by Dan Mojica and slowly became a fixture in Denton's music scene during the latter half of the 90's. Unfortunately, due to financial concerns and management issues, Dan's Bar abruptly closed in 2001 leaving only Rubber Gloves as a venue consistently booking shows on a nightly basis along with bars such as Mabel Peabody's and Cool Beans that would host shows sporadically (Crain, 2001; D. Mojica, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

Within a year of closing, Mojica found investors and a new space on the eastern side of the downtown core within walking distance to Rubber Gloves. However, like the Rubber Gloves facility and surrounding environs, the new location for what became Dan's Silverleaf was at best an ambitious adaptive reuse project situated in what some

might refer to as a blighted section of the city. This move did not go unrecognized by the City, as the new location was part of a suggested arts corridor under the comprehensive plan, *A Vision for Denton: the 21st Century*. However, the significant challenges facing Mojica were of such magnitude that he was advised against making the move. “So when Dan moved down there and it was like him, the feed store, the lawn mower store, and that was pretty much it, I tried to talk him out of it,” Julie Glover, the City of Denton Economic Development Program Administrator states, adding, “secretly, I thought he was crazy.” Undeterred, Mojica’s foresight and the overwhelming success of the new venue single-handedly sparked the surrounding area’s redevelopment. “Turns out he was a visionary” Glover notes (Carlisle, 2009; J. Glover, personal communication, January 4, 2013; D. Mojica, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

The physical shift of Denton’s music scene to the east side of the city was accompanied by a shift in its mental landscape. Following the high profile, yet commercially unsuccessful one-off signings of bands like Brutal Juice to the major label Interscope and the Baptist Generals to indie powerhouse, Sub Pop, an independent record label from England, Bella Union – owned by members of indie rock scions the Cocteau Twins – signed the apocalyptic power trio Lift to Experience. The band’s debut, double album was an explosive success both critically and financially, introducing a new element to the scene.

Lift to Experience’s meteoritic rise on the international stage and then mysterious demise was well documented in multiple media outlets with band’s leader, Josh T. Pearson staunchly promoting Denton as a musical nexus during his own elevation to role

of a “strange, almost mythological figure” by many in the press (Caraeff, 2008; Lyday, 2001; Tonry, 2010). Due to the sheer volume of press the band received, Josh T. Pearson and Lift to Experience solidly placed Denton’s music scene on the map. What the band also did was pass along demos of other bands to Bella Union’s owners who were looking to further extend their success with Lift to Experience and the new Denton, Texas brand. Bella Union signed the Denton bands Jetscreamer, Mandarin, and Midlake, releasing their albums in the early-2000’s.⁹ This developmental step brought with it a subtle shift in the scene wherein participants realized their efforts had a much larger chance than ever before to transcend local and regional channels. The most successful at transcending these channels was Midlake.

Formed in 1997, Midlake was largely a product of the University of North Texas School of Music’s Jazz Studies Division. The band gave the drummer of Lift to Experience a copy of demos they recorded in the Denton home the members shared – a week later they were starting the process of signing a recording contract with Bella Union. Soon after their entrance into the Bella Union fold, they filled the vacuum created by Lift to Experience’s implosion. Almost immediately, Midlake met with international acclaim, significant album sales, and a high volume of press interviews, wherein, like Lift to Experience, the band routinely discussed the merits of the Denton music scene. (Freedman, 2010a; Rogers, 2007; M. Smith, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

As the first decade in the new century passed the midway mark, Denton’s music scene was firmly rooted in the eastern boundary of the downtown core with a geographic

⁹ Bella Union also signed Denton solo artist Robert Gomez, but not until 2007.

footprint extending to the city's historic square. Entrepreneurs, bands, studios, gatekeepers, and venues were all firmly established in the mix. The years leading to the close of the first decade in the new century found Denton's music scene blossom in activity, recognition, and as an economic catalyst for the city.

5.3 The Majestic Dwelling of DOOM Books the World, Chris Flemmons Starts a Festival, and Midlake Opens a Studio... and then a Bar... and then another studio

From 2005 onward, Denton's music scene expanded in ways both artistic and economic. Gutterth Productions was formed by two music fans in Denton as a way to book shows by their favorite bands, but that quickly turned into a label, recording studio, house venue, and platform for a popular video blog featuring concerts by artists from Denton and those on tour visiting the city.¹⁰ In addition to Gutterth's compilation series distributed regionally, two compilations focusing on Denton bands were also released within months of each other in 2009. Shiny Around the Edges curated the genre-spanning digital compilation *20 Bands/74.4 Minutes!* as part of their deal with the Long Beach, CA record label, Sounds Are Active, while Denton's Play Pinball! Records released *Denton, Denton, USA!* on vinyl focusing on the city's punk rock micro scene (Ayo, 2013; M. Briggs, personal communication, December 29, 2012; Rodrigue, 2009a; Rodrigue 2009b).

The explosion of house venues northeast of the university and east of the historic square from 2007 to 2010 helped foster a surge of activity in Denton's music scene. With

¹⁰ At the time of writing, the Gutterth facilitated video blog, "Violitionist Sessions" has logged over one million unique visits globally.

a precedent set by now legendary houses Hell's Lobby, the Mulberry Street House, and the Yellow House, a new group of house venues emerged fueled by a steady stream of local bands, savvy entrepreneurs, detailed coverage by the regional music blog, "We Shot J.R.," and the advent of online social networking applications allowing house residents to book bands nationally and internationally. It was not uncommon for the residents who booked the house venues to receive multiple e-mails daily inquiring about show availability (Monzingo, 2010). Rob Buttrum, the founder and booker of the House of Tinnitus, which specialized in experimental and extreme noise acts, sums up the heights of popularity that Denton house venues reached noting it was not uncommon for national and international touring acts to contact him about playing his home and a few hundred people would be in attendance (R. Buttrum, personal communication, January 13, 2013). Long-running house venues of note include, Fra House, 715 Panhandle, Lion's Den, House of Tinnitus, and the Majestic Dwelling of DOOM. The houses also served as creative cauldrons laying the groundwork for the career development of scene gatekeepers, entrepreneurs, and members of bands such as Neon Indian and Fergus and Geronimo who found varying levels of success on national and international stages years later (C. Crosswhite, personal communication, December 27, 2012; Monzingo, 2010; Odom, 2012).

In addition to house shows, the all-ages DIY venue, Secret Headquarters opened in "early 2006." The venue was short lived with an almost planned obsolescence as it was located in the rapidly redeveloping area surrounding Dan's Silverleaf, east of the downtown square, just blocks away from Rubber Gloves and the planned commuter rail

stop that would soon link Denton to Dallas. The irony of opening an all-ages DIY venue in such an area in a city that is continuously compared to Austin, Texas due to its music scene was not lost on the owners. Cody Robinson took it upon himself to coin the phrase, “Keep Denton Beard” as a tagline for the venue. The phrase deftly recognized the fact that Denton’s downtown core, like Austin’s over a decade prior, was poised for rapid urban redevelopment in a city with a history of counter-culture practices intertwined with a thriving music scene.¹¹ Despite hosting a considerable number of shows by local, national, and international bands, as self-prophesied, Secret Headquarters closed in 2007. “Keep Denton Beard,” however, can routinely be found on newly printed T-Shirts and stickers throughout the city (C. Robinson, personal communication, October 2, 2011).

While the DIY ethos that pervades Denton’s music scene was fueling the resurgence of house shows and the creation of an all-ages DIY venue, Baptist Generals’ Chris Flemmons was funneling it into the creation of a music festival seeking to highlight the city’s culture of music and the walkable downtown that was now its focal point. The Denton music scene had a long history of festival activity starting with the Fry Street Fair and encompassing shorter lived events like Melodica, The Big Get Down!, Wake Up, Red Velvet Deception, The Long Con, and Strategies of Beauty, but there was no long-running event similar in scale and scope to those in other cities like Austin, Texas, Seattle, Washington, and Athens, Georgia. The festival started in 2005 as the North-by-35 (NX35) day party at the South-By-Southwest (SXSW) music festival in Austin, Texas.

¹¹ For reasons beyond the scope of this study, male musicians in Denton’s music scene often grow beards. This practice is documented in various social media outlets including Facebook (www.facebook.com/KeepDentonBeard), Tumblr (<http://beardsofdenton.tumblr.com/>), and the web (www.beardtopia.com).

Flemmons used his clout as a recording artist for arguably the largest indie record label, Sub Pop to gain a foothold at SXSW, while building relationships with the City of Denton in order to eventually bring the programming to Denton (Rodrigue, 2010; Seman, 2012).

Energized by the civic protest against the redevelopment of a large swath of Fry Street, which was instrumental to the development of Denton's music scene (and which later fell victim to arson), Flemmons decided it was time to move his day party to Denton and launch it as a festival in 2009. The festival slowly gained in popularity and size until 2010 when the members of Midlake – now a critically acclaimed and commercially successful band internationally – brokered a deal for their friends, the Flaming Lips, a top concert draw, to headline the festival. This arrangement was a double-edged sword. With the Flaming Lips onboard, the decision was made to expand the festival to include many bigger independent acts, more local bands, and expanded daytime programming. These changes required a substantially larger risk in terms of finances, an army of volunteers, and a greater reliance on City representatives, some of who were not quite ready to address the festival's exponentially greater needs (Rodrigue, 2010; Seman, 2012).

Despite the learning curve, in 2010 the festival attracted an estimated 20,000 attendees resulting in an estimated economic impact of over \$2 million dollars for the city of Denton. The success of the festival (officially named "35 Denton" in 2012 after several prior iterations) moved it closer to being established within the framework of City policy, helped retained creative professionals and their entrepreneurial pursuits in the city, and led to the hiring of two volunteers from the music scene as full-time employees

– one being Natalie Dávila, who formerly ran the Majestic Dwelling of DOOM house venue (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 27, 2012; Rodrigue, 2010; Seman, 2010b; Seman, 2012).

35 Denton was not the only way the music scene served as a catalyst to the city's economy. After a string of critically and commercially successful albums and extensive touring in the United States and the UK, the members of Midlake decided to reinvest in their careers and Denton. The result is the band opening a studio one block north of the historic square wherein they work on their own material and record outside projects and the launching of Paschall Bar on the northeast corner of the square. Both ventures have met with immediate success, providing employment opportunity for scene members. The studio routinely attracts clients nationally and internationally and Paschall Bar employs musicians from the scene along with various members of Midlake when they are not on tour. Additionally, Midlake drummer, McKenzie Smith built and operates an additional studio behind his home to handle the overflow from the band's main studio (E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; M. Smith, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

Denton's music scene continued its string of appearances on late night television programming when Sarah Jaffe appeared on "Jimmy Kimmel Live" in December, 2012 with several fellow Denton scene participants as her backing band. Before her, Deep Blue Something appeared on both "Late Night with Conan O'Brien" and "The Tonight Show with Jay Leno" in 1995, Slobberbone was a musical guest on "The Late Late Show with Craig Kilborn" in 1999, Midlake appeared on "The Late Late Show with Craig Ferguson"

in 2005, and most recently, geographically fluid Denton scene members Neon Indian performed on “Late Night with Jimmy Fallon” in 2010 and 2011.

As the title states, the aforementioned is only a brief history of Denton’s music scene. There are players and dynamics that are either underrepresented or entirely absent from consideration due to the scope and intent of this study. For example, the short-lived house venue People’s House, and spin-off all-ages DIY venue, Green Means Go! are not discussed due to their short lifespan in the early 2000’s and negligible lasting effect on the music scene. At the same time, one of the principal members involved in the punk micro scene surrounding both venues, Mike Wiebe, went on to front the Riverboat Gamblers – one of the more popular bands to have roots in the Denton music scene (Abreu, 2000; Crain, 2000b).

My intent in providing a history of Denton’s music scene is not to intricately detail all of the players involved, but to offer the reader a better understanding of the magnitude of the scene and how its dynamics developed historically, influencing both participants and the city. Denton’s music scene does not have the same name recognition as similar scenes in Seattle, Washington, Omaha, Nebraska, or Athens, Georgia due to a lack of artists who have remained in the city, selling millions of albums while entering into pop culture consciousness. Like those other scenes, though, Denton’s music scene has a rich and vibrant history of musicians, entrepreneurs, gatekeepers, venues, recording studios, and fans operating en masse to facilitate the creation, performance, and distribution of music. It is against this historical backdrop that I examine Denton’s music scene.

Chapter 6

Sort of Like Silicon Valley, but Different

It is an early spring day in March with the sun shining in an expansive, cloudless sky – the kind of day in Texas where one can comfortably wear shorts and a T-shirt while less geographically savvy friends and relatives curse your clothing options via text messages sent from behind walls of snow in Minnesota and sheets of ice in New York. My destination this afternoon is Dan’s Silverleaf, the second incarnation of a popular bar and music venue that is somewhat of a nexus for the collection of genre-specific micro scenes that comprise the larger Denton music scene. Like the crowd of engineers and entrepreneurs that routinely socialized at Silicon Valley’s fabled Wagon Wheel bar and restaurant during that region’s formative years, on any given night you will find a cross-section of the talent and entrepreneurs that drive Denton’s music scene intermingling with lines of business and pleasure blurry at best. This afternoon is no exception.

I make my way from the front door through the venue’s showroom, once a cavernous storage space for a feed store, now decorated in what may be best described as American Southwest folk art meets eccentric elderly lady estate sale. I pass by Craig Welch wearing baggy pants and a band t-shirt exposing tattoos resembling landing strip instructions for alien aircraft locked into discussion with Joe Cripps at the bar that lines the far wall. The former is an electronic musician and DJ who is also the singer of the recently reunited psych punk band, Brutal Juice. The band’s performances were so aggressive and confrontational – it was not uncommon for Craig to extinguish lit cigarettes on his head mid-song – that by 1995 they had a rabid local following, national

tours under their belt, a major label contract, and MTV airplay. The latter is a percussionist who was a graduate student in ethnomusicology at the University of North Texas in the 80's when he decided to join the topic of his thesis – Brave Combo, the Denton-based “nuclear polka band” which has since won two Grammys and appeared in illustrated form on “The Simpsons.” Years later, Joe has gone on to play in various Denton bands, work with legendary musicians across the country, and leverage his percussive abilities into a meeting with Fidel Castro. The visual evidence of this meeting quickly turned into a show flyer now immortalized on the wall of the Echo Lab recording studio's bathroom – an unofficial museum of Denton music scene ephemera. Scott Danbom gives me his usual low key nod of acknowledgement from behind the bar. I am surprised to see him as he is often on tour with his own band, Centro-matic or as a sideman for several other touring acts he met through his Denton connections.

I offer my regards to all and continue to the back patio where amongst the picnic tables, and partially shaded by the corrugated steel awning, I see my intended target of conversation, Chris Flemmons, blonde hair disheveled and dressed in his familiar black and crimson striped dress shirt underneath a black vest at once suggesting both indie rock troubadour and a black jack dealer from a 19th century Ft. Worth saloon. As the songwriter and leader of the band, the Baptist Generals, Chris was able to parlay playing on street corners in Denton for beer money to releasing a critically acclaimed debut album in 1993 on the influential record company that spawned grunge rock, Sub Pop. Fast forward ten years and after a J.D. Salinger like silence, Chris is finally releasing his follow-up album and will be soon be flying to Seattle to discuss marketing strategies

along with fellow Denton resident, bandmate, University of North Texas graduate, and commercial photographer, Pete Salisbury. While his absence was mysterious to music fans outside of Denton, those in Denton knew Chris was busy participating in community organizing activities, primarily launching the 35 Denton music festival. Our discussion today won't involve the music festival, but if it were to, there is no shortage of contacts present to help along the conversation. One table to the left of us nestled next to the turquoise wall and worn wood lattice work supporting a waterfall of vegetation that is already beginning to bloom white and buttery orange, the festival's creative director, Kyle LaValley holds court amongst friends who are a mix of musicians and festival staff members. Two tables behind her, Julie Glover, musician and City of Denton Economic Development Program Administrator and Kim Philips from the Conventioneers and Visitors Bureau are seated. Both women have addressed the festival in their official roles representing the City. Moving beyond the festival, sprinkled amongst the other tables are musicians representing at least a dozen bands along with other participants in the music scene. In other words, another typical afternoon happy hour at Dan's Silverleaf.

Locations of concentrated social and professional interaction are both an externality of and a driving force behind economic clusters ranging from high tech to the culture industries, helping to spawn innovation, refine ideas, and enhance productivity (Currid, 2007; Jacobs, 1970; Saxenian, 1996; Storper & Venables, 2004). The typical happy hour at Dan's Silverleaf gives insight into how that dynamic plays out in Denton's music scene. Human capital-driven externalities are perhaps the most visible aspects of

an economic cluster, but they are just one part of an underlying interactive network.

Porter (2000) defines economic clusters as:

...geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions (e.g. universities, standards agencies, trade associations) in a particular field that compete but also cooperate (Porter, 2000, p. 15).

The locations housing these clusters have a “locational competitive advantage” based not on minimization of costs and the success of individual firms, but on how the firms actively engage with each other and leverage existing resources in the region. This engagement marked by competition and cooperation, advancing the entire cluster through “innovation” and “strategic differences,” ultimately increasing productivity (Porter, 2000, p. 19). For a location to foster a dynamic, successful cluster resulting in a competitive advantage, Porter (2000) suggests certain elements must be in place and interact within a framework the author refers to as a “diamond metaphor” (Figure 6.1). If these elements work together, Porter (2000) theorizes that the cluster will advance to a performance level offering competitive advantages in productivity, innovation, and new business formation.

Using Porter’s cluster theory framework to examine Denton’s music scene is not always as easy as standing on the back patio of Dan’s Silverleaf and making observations. While the qualitative research design afforded the opportunity for lengthy interviews providing detail and insight into how Denton’s music scene functions, there were times when even a nuanced understanding of both the theory and the dynamics of the music scene were not enough to help connect the two via conversation. Much of this disconnect is due to the theory not being designed to describe cultural activity where

firms – in this case, mainly bands – are far less capitalized and often not as singularly focused on business-oriented success. However, when the responses of music scene members are considered holistically as a group and augmented by research observations, Porter’s theory is adequately detailed, albeit as though looking through a telescope backwards. In essence, as I will explain in this chapter, Denton’s music scene is sort of like Silicon Valley, but different.

6.1 Productivity

Porter offers that clusters give a location productivity advantages in five ways via “access to specialized inputs and employees,” “access to information,” “complementarities,” “access to institutions and public goods,” and “incentives and performance measurement” (Porter, 2000, p. 22/23). Denton’s music scene capitalizes on all five with resulting productivity gains. What drives Denton’s music scene is the University of North Texas (UNT) – but not in the manner that would invoke comparisons to Stanford and Silicon Valley.

6.1.1 *“The university definitely hasn’t taken the scene and helped itself...”*

UNT’s College of Music is one of the consistently top-ranked post-secondary music schools in the country but it generally does not actively engage with the music scene that exists in the city. For example, of the 26 people who I interviewed, six of them spent time in the College of Music’s programs and only one noted that a professor, since departed, was actively interested in the bands she and her fellow students had outside of the university environment. This stands in stark contrast to Stanford’s engineering department which fostered the development of Silicon Valley through the efforts of then

professor (later administrator) Frank Terman who encouraged his students and department to actively engage with the surrounding business community, going so far as to set-up incubator spaces to help bridge the gap (Saxenian, 1996). In their analysis of how high-tech economic clusters emerged around some universities, Smilor et al. (2007) develop a “framework for development of high-technology centers.” This framework includes “visionary leadership” as a necessary internal university ingredient that mixes with external ingredients such as local businesses, organizations, and government to catalyze an “incendiary event” kick starting a technology cluster and a “culture for innovation” (Smilor et al., 2007, 205).

The focus of this research is not to directly compare high-tech economic clusters to music scenes, but it is worth noting that other universities have embraced their surrounding music scenes. In comparing Denton’s music scene to the arguably much more successful scene in Athens, Georgia, Scott Danbom, a founding member of Centromatic and professional touring musician with several international acts offers:

I always talk about the Athens-Denton connection. It’s unavoidable to be in that school (University of Georgia) and not be like, oh it’s Athens music... it’s knowledge... it’s like this is where R.E.M. started and Of Montreal and Neutral Milk Hotel, Drive by Truckers, all those people. So they have programs, there’s a music mixing class that David Barbe teaches. David Lowery of Camper Van Beethoven teaches courses there. I talk to David about a lot about this and it’s nice to see that these things do work. It’s possible to have a university and a scene and they’re good for each other and necessary.

Glen Farris, a musician and production manager for the Dallas-Ft. Worth booking agency Spune states that, “The schism between UNT music and the rest of Denton’s music has been massive and wide...” This sentiment was echoed by the majority of

people I interviewed. The musicians who spent time in the College of Music generally tempered their responses with the fact that what they learned in their programs helped them as professional musicians. Danbom spent a significant amount of time in the College of Music's Jazz Studies program and in comparing Denton to Athens notes the dichotomy of the program as it relates to the scene, hinting at its greater value as a recruiting tool:

The university definitely hasn't taken the scene and helped itself, which I think is sad... Of all the parts of the university, I think the music program overlooks some of the awesomeness, but that's not black and white. That's why I came and that's why I stayed. I took a lot out of it. I was 18 and I didn't really know what I wanted. I wanted to tour around and make music. Probably wasn't until my later 20's that I really took away from what they taught me. I didn't ever want to do just jazz. I learned that pretty fast. I really did love the language and how it opened me up to be a fuller potential musician. I did get a lot out of it and I've used it a bunch.

Rob Gomez, a musician like Danbom who records and tours internationally with his own projects and as part of other bands such as Sarah Jaffe also notes that the university's College of Music helped him be a part of the scene simply by "getting me here." Like Danbom, Gomez's program sharpened his skills in jazz and classical guitar performance, but he states, "I wouldn't say I was part of the scene... after I stopped going to school and doing other things... is how I got to know people and stuff." He adds, "Unfortunately for the school, I don't think they really know a lot of what is going on because they're kind of insulated over there, more focused on jazz education or classical education."

Chris Flemmons solely frames the university's College of Music as an institution feeding the music scene through its success as a recruiting tool and failure as a training

ground for musicians. Like many others interviewed, he sees the music scene operating independently from the music program and the scene having reached a critical mass that it is a talent magnet in its own right. “Their program is so rigid about the type of jazz that they’re teaching that many of the musicians come to the school and get frustrated with the program and then move out of the program to do their own thing,” Flemmons states. He adds, “I think that our music scene exists and has a life of its own at this point... there are people that move here now that have no intention of getting into the music program; they just want to be a part of this vibrant music community.”

6.1.2 “...it seems like the better musicians go to the art school, not the music school.”

A profile of those I interviewed supports Flemmons’ insight and speaks to Porter’s suggestion that productivity is boosted by a location having “access to specialized inputs and employees” (Porter 2000, 22). Of the 25 people I interviewed from the music scene,¹² only seven (28%) moved to Denton to attend the College of Music. Ten (40%) moved to Denton to attend UNT for programs other than music including five in film and two in art. Of those ten, four attended UNT due to the existence of the music scene regardless of their majors. Another eight people (32%) I interviewed moved to Denton for reasons not related to the university, yet seven of those selected Denton due to the music scene. The significance of examining these details is multi-tiered.

First, “Employees” with specialized music knowledge from UNT’s College of Music form bands, but there are also students in the Department of Radio, Television,

¹² Although I interviewed 26 people for this study, one interviewee is not considered a member of Denton’s music scene and was specifically interviewed only to give additional perspective concerning the nature of the City’s interaction with the scene.

and Film (RTVF) and the College of Visual Arts and Design (CVAD) programs that have specialized knowledge in their fields, providing specialized services and inputs to existing bands while students and after graduation as freelancers and firm owners in their own right. Examples of this include Peter Salisbury, a graduate of CVAD's photography program and a successful commercial photographer. On occasion, he will shoot videos and promo shots for Denton bands at a small fraction of his fee. Chuck Crosswhite, a graduate of the Department of RTVF operates in a similar manner in terms of shooting videos for bands. Matthew Barnhart dropped out of UNT after three semesters, but developed his specialized knowledge of the music industry and recording techniques while volunteering his time to help bands he liked, eventually starting both a record label and recording studio facilitating the development of local bands.

A secondary, yet important dynamic of the non-music program human capital UNT trains is that a percentage of it also plays in bands, further underscoring the fallacy of only using a quantitative lens to estimate cultural activity and the size of economic clusters. Of the ten that attended UNT in non-music majors, all of them lend their specialized knowledge to the music scene while in firms or as freelancers with eight of them also participating as active musicians. One interviewee even offered that "...it seems like the better musicians go to the art school, not the music school." This situation is not without precedent. Jipson's (1994) analysis of the commercially and critically successful Athens, Georgia music scene of the 1980's also emphasized the University of Georgia's art program as an important structural element. Before that, the British

Invasion of the 60's saw bands like the Beatles, The Who, Rolling Stones, and The Kinks populated by art students (Kitts, 2008).

These insights support Scott's (1999) observation that a music scene may be "sustained by educational and training institutions that focus on local, agglomeration-specific needs," but also refine it by detailing the lack of UNT's proactive engagement with the Denton music scene (Scott, 1999, p. 1975). A better interpretation may be to further define Scott's observation offering that, in some cases, an institution sustains a surrounding scene through a more generalized, cross-disciplinary training of participants preparing them to be multidimensional participants in what Scott suggests is an "arena(s) of socialization" where the institutionalized, formal knowledge meets Straw's "subcultural capital" (Scott, 1999, p. 1975; Straw, 2005, p. 414/415).

6.1.3 "There are probably some thrift stores in bigger cities that don't even have pedals."

An externality of having a large pool of human capital with specialized training (official or not) in the creation and performance of music is the increased availability of equally specialized inputs in the form of musical equipment. Porter (2000) describes this phenomenon stating that "the presence of a cluster not only increases the demand for specialized inputs but also *increases their supply*" (Porter, 2000, p. 22). With four music instrument stores and two pawn shops specifically catering to musicians in the city, there is a lot of musical equipment exchanging hands (Figures 6.2, 6.3). Rob Buttrum, bassist for the touring doom metal band, Terminator 2, Out of Body Records label owner, and experimental noise performer in projects such as Vaults of Zin and Filth notes the

selection and quantity of musical equipment found in Denton rivals that of a much larger city:

There's just a lot of off-the-wall sort of things in this area that are becoming harder to find outside of it. It seems pretty easy for me as a musician to get anything I need in town without having to travel. For as small a town as Denton is, it has several music stores, several... almost boutique, if you will... pawn shops like McBride's. You can get so many weird pedals there and stuff that comes through there. There are probably some thrift stores in bigger cities that don't even have pedals. It just seems to me there is a definite concentration of arts and music equipment availability in this area.

To visualize the anatomy of Denton's music scene, qualitative results concerning the interplay amongst specialized inputs and employees in the scene were considered graphically (Figure 6.4). Porter (2000) notes that clusters cut across industries and occasionally geographies when a competitive service is unavailable locally and has to be "sourced outside of the cluster" (Porter, 2000, p. 22). Denton's music scene incorporates multiple industries and firms both local and international in order to function. Firms in the music, design, film, retail, and service industries are predominantly located in Denton with public relations firms, booking agents, and additional record labels located nationally and internationally.

6.1.4 "Are you in town? Are you out of town? Are you going out of town? Have you just come from out of town?"

The concentration of scene members with specialized knowledge also helps raise productivity in Denton's music scene by fostering an atmosphere of knowledge allowing for "access to information." The social scenes like the one on the back patio of Dan's Silverleaf illustrated earlier facilitate a flow of information amongst band members as

well as between bands, gatekeepers, booking agents, venue owners, and other members of the scene who work in the firms that help propel it. Storper and Venables (2004) suggest that this type of “face-to-face” exchange of knowledge is invaluable as it strengthens economic clusters and their related urban economies while Rice, Seman, and Green (2007), and O’Hagan and Green (2002) also stress the value of in-person tacit knowledge transfer suggesting that such face-to-face connections amongst interlocking corporate directorates inform and influence the business decisions of multinational corporations. While Denton’s music scene operates on an arguably much smaller scale than multinational corporations, this research does answer the question posed by Storper and Venables (2004, 353) of what comprises the “interactions” of “agents” in a particular “milieu” – or, more plainly, what do scene members talk about during the course of these social interactions?

The knowledge exchanged extends from the social to technical know-how to business development and strategizing, with even the social framed in business. Robert Gomez explains:

Yeah, there’s definitely a lot of talk about music, especially local music. A lot of it is, “Are you in town? Are you out of town? Are you going out of town? Have you just come from out of town? Where did you go? Where did you play?” These types of things. We’ve had a lot of touring bands this year (from Denton). A lot of people were out of town. It’s kind of interesting to catch up with people, find out how the tour went, how their travels went, how they were received.

The inquiries about markets elsewhere are just one aspect of the thickness of the information pool in Denton’s scene. Scott Porter, an advertising copywriter who has played in bands and booked shows in Denton for 13 years claims that “everything is a

phone call away, from knowledge to a loaner amp. There is always a gearhead-type... that is willing to talk shop with you.” Gomez agrees stating, “...if I want a T-shirt made, I just call up a band and ask them where they get their T-shirts from.”

Porter sees the existing pool of information as a “free-flowing exchange,” if one is willing to insert themselves in the milieu. He also notes that members of the scene are often willing to help new members – “When you meet someone new in town, you want to hook them up with that information.” This help extends beyond music and into the community at large. Jennifer Seman, a founding member of Shiny Around the Edges states that “when someone needs a job, everyone sort of... helps” adding that she has known several people who have received jobs outside of the music scene because of connections established inside of it – a common theme amongst those interviewed.

As noted by Gomez, this sharing of information extends to larger questions of business development and the dynamics of “buyers” outside of the scene. These exchanges allow firms – mainly bands – to remain close to what Porter (2000) terms, the “productivity frontier” (Porter, 2000, p. 22). Eric Pulido, guitarist in Midlake and co-owner of Paschall Bar, offers insight into how Denton’s existing pool of information has developed over time and continues to reach new scene members:

We were lucky to kind of solidify some things early on where it didn’t always maybe come from a Dentonite. Like, “Okay, how do I tour the country?”... But, at the same time, there are a lot of people that have done that (in Denton), or have booking agents that have solidified those things for them that now they know. I’ve shared myself what I know to people and have booked little stints for bands before. It’s priceless really, because I sometimes take that for granted. I’ve shared with folks... and have kind of gone back and forth with people like, “Oh yeah, that venue,” and, “that booking agent,” or, “oh yeah, that label.” It’s kind of like a community that exists outside of us...

Gomez also freely imparts the knowledge he has gained from his fourteen years in the scene through face-to-face contact with younger scene members. He offers, “I started a label here and I have a lot of musicians coming up and asking me about that... how you make a vinyl record, how much does it cost, and how do you sell a record, and what does a publicist do?” It is through this no-cost knowledge exchange that younger firms are able to better position themselves to address the marketplace outside of Denton’s music scene, while in turn strengthening the locational competitive advantage of the scene. “It’s a natural thing for... the music community,” Pete Salisbury offers, adding, “It just pushes the whole thing forward.”

It is important to note that many scene members did offer that the internet was a valuable resource in the quest for information; however, the majority mitigated that perspective with the point that information gleaned online was less valuable than first-hand knowledge provided by other scene members. Multi-instrumentalist Jeremy Buller relies on technical knowledge gained in person to help him refine his equipment choices when he records and tours with Bosque Brown. He sums up the difference in the value of online versus first-hand knowledge observing that if he wants to adjust the tone of his guitar with an effects pedal he can use the Internet for basic research, but only as a means to an end. “A lot of those people (in Denton), I’ve heard what they’ve recorded or I’ve heard their guitar sounds or their pedals in use, so that information I think is a lot more valuable...” Buller offers, adding, “I mean I can get stats on a pedal that I’m thinking about all day... but, unless someone in town has it or a store in town has it, and I can go try it out, then you don’t really know.”

The majority of people interviewed for this study noted that Dan's Silverleaf is a place where musicians and various scene participants from across the micro scenes of Denton meet and share information. "You hang out at Dan's Silverleaf and every musician in town pretty much hangs out there regardless of genre," Midlake drummer, Paschall Bar and Redwood Studios co-owner, McKenzie Smith observes.¹³ However, Dan's Silverleaf is not the only place where concentration breeds interaction. Music scene participants painted a picture of a concentration so great that it permeates the entire city. Locations as diverse as venues, coffeehouses, bookstores, record stores, churches, house parties, the UNT campus, and the "University Kroger" grocery store are all places where conversations are held. Kyle LaValley, the creative director of the 35 Denton music festival sums up this permeation noting, "I think it's pretty much unavoidable to go anywhere in Denton without running into a musician." She adds lightheartedly, "Really, even driving around, at the gas station... I mean, it is kind of awkward sometimes when you're out and trying to buy a pizza or something."

The locations where concentrations of scene members facilitate knowledge transfer updates Jacobs' (1961/1992) notion that such activity only happens in concentrated urban areas facilitated by foot traffic and the "sidewalk ballet" (Jacobs, 1961/1992, p. 153). While many of the locations where knowledge transfer do take place

¹³ It is important to note that while interviews do support McKenzie Smith's observation, an argument could be made that Mr. Smith is not completely cognizant of the socialization patterns of all the micro scenes that comprise Denton's broader music scene. Peter Salisbury, a scene member and Dan's patron noted that those in Denton's extreme noise micro scene might not frequent the bar often, if at all. Observations made while researching this project support that members from all of Denton's micro scenes spend time in Dan's, but members from some micro scenes such as extreme noise or hip hop are at best infrequent patrons.

within the walkable “downtown core” of the city, others like the gas station that LaValley notes or the popular grocery store in the city are generally accessible only by driving. Denton, Texas is similar to many other urbanized areas of the American West and Southwest in that denser, walkable urban/suburban areas are interspersed with sprawling suburban and exurban development. While Jacobs scathingly marginalizes areas such as this – in particular, Los Angeles – Denton’s music scene, like Los Angeles’ film cluster and Silicon Valley’s hi-tech cluster, successfully incorporates creativity, knowledge spillovers, and information transfer in areas both walkable and primarily accessible by car. Midlake’s Eric Pulido sees all space in the city potentially repurposed by scene members as temporary places for information exchange:

It’s almost that the place is the place because of the people who inhabit it, whether it’s at the grocery store or the bar. When you put the community of people that we’re talking about into four walls, it becomes that... and those conversations do happen, and those relationships happen everywhere.

6.1.5 “Man, five of my favorite bands are playing... double stages!”

The economic and geographic clustering of firms and individuals also breeds opportunity for complementarities. Porter (2000) offers that complementarities come in the form of product purchase, marketing, and more productive use of linkages with suppliers. The scope of complementarities Porter details speaks to the earlier observation that although economic cluster theory is applicable to cultural production, it doesn’t always perfectly describe it in every permutation. For example, in terms of sales of “complementary products for the buyer” offered by different industrial sectors (Porter, 2000, 22), Denton’s music scene only minimally fits that description. While the music

scene attracts “buyers” who attend live shows, purchase items in local record, book, and clothing stores, and dine at local restaurants, the purchasing activity is not robust enough to represent a stand-alone industrial sector of tourism, as it does in scenes of much greater magnitude such as those found in New Orleans, Nashville, and Austin.

Denton’s music scene offers firms the ability to capitalize on the “efficiencies” in “joint marketing” that Porter (2000, 22) suggests and to an extent, complementarities emerging through the leveraging of linkages also exists. The most efficient way firms engage in joint marketing is by co-hosting shows. Bands working with one another to program evenings – or all-day festivals in some cases – in order to increase and cross-pollinate their audiences is a common practice amongst those I interviewed. Matthew Barnhart, co-owner of the Echo Lab and guitarist in Tre Orsi provides theoretical insight on the practice by stating, “...you’re using the additional gravitational force of all these people together to promote generally what you’re doing in a way you couldn’t do if you were just trying to reach out yourself.” He finishes, “That’s the way scenes work.” Musician Scott Porter simply observes, “Everything a band does is to market themselves.” Eric Michner, the nucleus of the band Fishboy offers that co-developing shows is a two-way street for bands in terms of marketing. He notes that working on shows with bands new to Denton’s music scene is a way to offer the type of help he received from established artists when new to the scene as well as to potentially tap into a new market segment as the newer artists “might have fans that haven’t heard Fishboy yet.” A point Gomez echoes when noting the scale and scope of Denton’s music scene:

You'll have a lot of bands that play the same shows together and kind of have a little scene amongst themselves and not even know about a whole other group of musicians... there are insulated pockets... tiny little scenes.

Midlake's Pulido views the process as one that not only benefits the bands involved, but leads to community development and residual economic impacts:

...setting-up shows and feeding off of each other's crowds. The cool thing about it is it just doesn't help you or the other band, it helps the venue, and it helps the city at large and the community... I think the bigger picture is sometimes missed. You setting that up not only brings the community out, it brings an aesthetic to wherever that is... and it also bring commerce to where you are and around it, because you go get a coffee or go get a beer... I think there is a bigger thing that overflows from that.

Bands joining forces to cross-promote an evening is often facilitated by promoters, labels, and venues looking to propel the scene further in addition to reaping financial rewards (Figure 6.4). Local promoters often work with bands and venues in an effort to align both with shows that are mutually beneficial. In his work with Spune Productions, Farris notes that locally-sourced, thematic, multi-band evenings of music in Denton, like the annual "Christmas Show" or "Winter Dance Party" are very advantageous to his company and reflect the nature of the scene (Figure 6.5):

Those types of shows are always successful, more than like a single big national band playing because it's more like, "Man, five of my favorite bands are playing... double stages!" Denton really likes the homegrown, grassroots, shoot-from-the-hip style of collaboration. That stuff has always been real successful for me.

Venues willingly participate in crafting multi-band evenings and often host benefits, give up their stages to programming by the 35 Denton music festival, and work with local record labels for specialized "album release" nights. Rubber Gloves has even co-hosted shows with what many would see as their competition – all-ages DIY house

venues. Dan Mojica, owner of Dan's Silverleaf, offers that his venue has worked with so many bands and organizations for benefits that "it's almost like a community center." Mojica's participation in joint marketing is both community-minded and focused on extending his firm to new customers. "Any way I can get people exposed to the bar... I think that once they've seen it, they will keep coming back."

Joint branding by firms within the scene extends across industrial sectors. Rubber Gloves has worked with local screenprinting and design company Pan Ector Industries and record label Gutterth Records to co-brand an annual evening of live screen printing and music. LZX Industries which produces video synthesizers routinely taps Denton bands for songs to accompany their promotional videos. Amandus Films and the 35 Denton music festival formed an unofficial partnership that resulted in mutual promotion of each other's firms in both formal and social settings. These activities also speak to efficiencies gained by cluster participants leveraging linkages in a complimentary fashion.

Centro-matic's Scott Danbom notes that the crossing of industrial sectors for marketing in Denton's music scene is not without an antecedent that is now recognized nationally:

The Good Bad Art Collective was genius about that. They realized it was easier to fund art projects and get everyone together because people want to see shows... it was easier to get people to see shows. I don't want to discount the art projects because they were awesome, but I think it was smart of them to incorporate the whole gamut, music... they were really fun. It brought bands together, made venues more creative. It was really ahead of its time. They're the ones who sparked "Rock Lottery." I think that Denton has done pretty well at that (joint marketing). I wish it would do it more often.

Rock Lotteries – the one-day only part conceptual art, part rock concert events – are now held nationwide largely under the auspices of the Good/Bad Art Collective, which is still active despite the majority of individual members relocating to areas scattered across the country.

Like Scott (2000) Currid (2007), and Molotch (2002) who note that commodification of place through cultural production is a powerful branding agent for the items produced, Porter (2000) suggests complementary marketing efforts enhance the reputation of a cluster, helping to brand it and the location it inhabits, increasing productivity and adding to the competitive advantage of the location. The joint marketing activities in Denton’s music scene have helped developed bands who in turn have branded Denton’s music scene internationally as a nexus of high-quality musical creativity and production.

“I’ve recorded with guys because of the reputation of Denton,” Danbom claims. “I’ve recorded with two Dutch bands who came here and they were big fans of Denton, not just Centro-matic. They were like, ‘We want to do something *here*.’” Midlake’s Smith sees a similar international brand recognition stating, “There are a lot of successful bands from this area and the world has now heard of Denton because of the music scene.” He adds, “There is no denying that... there’s a reputation here.”

6.1.6 “...it’s very obvious when something is not working or sucks... people know what’s up”

Porter (2000) offers that successful economic clusters have productivity benefits through incentives and performance measurement driven by competition amongst firms.

He argues that peer-pressure, a “desire to look good in the local community,” and the need to differentiate products “on other dimensions” due to similar inputs and costs incentivizes firms to compete and deliver high quality products. Clusters that are not advanced have little local rivalry, and what does exist is based on imitation, not innovation with imports providing the competition (Porter, 2000). Competition driving innovation and productivity in economic clusters is not only a supply side dynamic but also a function of local demand. Porter (2000) observes that “Demand conditions at home have much to do with whether firms can and will move from imitative, low-quality products and services to competing on differentiation,” adding “The presence or emergence of sophisticated and demanding home customers presses firms to improve...” (Porter, 2000, 21). Thinking of these dynamics theoretically one could argue that an unsophisticated local audience with low demands in musical entertainment may help foster an unproductive music scene where local bands mine similar genres, play a high percentage of cover songs, and rely on touring bands to present evenings of innovation.

Placing music scenes in this framework of competition yields mixed results. Jipson’s (1994) structural analysis of Athens’ prolific music scene of the late-70’s and 80’s points to there being no competition amongst firms. “Another organizational factor (non-factor?) is the lack of competition.” Jipson notes, adding, “In the late 1970’s and early 80’s, Athens bands cited the non-drive for success” (Jipson, 1994, 26). Jerry Cantrell, Alice in Chains’ guitarist and participant in Seattle’s music scene from the 1980’s to the present offers that in Seattle’s scene during the 80’s competition was a strong incentive to innovate and achieve:

Within our own community, there was always a little bit of nose snubbing. When we were coming up, it gave us more impetus. We were inspired by all of those bands, especially Soundgarden, but we have our own voice. Seattle wasn't like a lot of musical communities I've seen where everybody is doing what's hot. We were all rocking, and it was hot, but nobody was trying to cop someone else's thing. It was a respectful competition (Yarm, 2011, 272).

Denton's music scene falls somewhere between the non-competitive milieu of the similar-sized city of Athens and the "nose snubbing" and "respectful competition" of the much larger city, Seattle. When asked if the Denton's music scene was competitive, 61% of scene participants in this study confirmed that it wasn't while 39% replied that it was. Of the confirmations, 89% tempered their responses observations that the competition was "positive," "healthy," "friendly," or marked by equally amounts of cooperation, being a "mix." This grey area of data is best defined by the responses themselves. For example, Pete Salisbury offers that it is a mix leaning towards the competitive:

...it's a mix. It's definitely competitive – a friendly competition. It's always been competitive... That's a good thing I've always felt... Especially, like... if a friend's band... you see them, and they write some new song, you're like "Man, that's killer. We have to practice." You know, we definitely pushed each other. So, you know, a bit of both. I think it was pretty healthy... In general, there was a lot of cooperation.

Scott Danbom also acknowledges that Denton's music scene is competitive, but in a healthy manner and that it is inevitable noting that "it just happens." Jeremy Buller, like Salisbury, sees a mix and feels that, "there is a healthy amount of competition, but not in any adversarial way." He finishes, "I think largely people are cooperative." A sixteen-year veteran of Denton's music scene, Matthew Barnhart suggests that the scene has advanced to where suppliers and the market rely on innovation for productivity gains;

there is cooperation amongst suppliers with competition directed inward, focused on innovation to differentiate products. He states:

We're not talking about cover bands trying to play in bars for uninterested people. Your product is not that you're a band – the product is the art you make. And you're only competing with yourself in that regard. In all the years I've been in bands, there have been other bands that we felt a kinship with, that we share resources with, and we're really friendly with and I consider friends. In that regard, I feel like things are really open and are not competitive at all.

Firms outside of bands share Barnhart's view and all stated that Denton's music scene is cooperative, noting that competition has driven them to specialize, in effect competing internally to offer the best version of their respective products. Rubber Gloves owner Josh Baish shares this the near-Federalist perspective of competition offering that other venue owners are mostly cooperative and "supportive" on a number business and operations issues with competition focused inward as, "everybody kind of has had their own niche for a while." Barnhart observes a similar inward competition amongst a cooperative landscape regarding recording studios in Denton. He offers this perspective as co-owner of the Echo Lab:

Speaking from the recording studio, for me personally, I've never felt competitive with other recording studios in town... Like, if I get a recording project it doesn't necessarily mean I won out. I mean, in a small view, yes, it's that way. But to me, the way I view things in terms of the service we provide at the recording studio, compared to other recording studios, the actual service of recording an album is not what we're selling. We're selling the insight of the particular person recording the record. And that's a resource that none of the other studios have. And they have the same thing, they have the experience and the inclination and the taste of all the people that work there. And that's what sells a recording studio, because the room itself, the gear, all those are helpful, but that's not what sells bands making albums with you. So in my view, a recording studio, locally, only competes with itself.

Demand conditions in Denton are equally as dichotomous. The presence of UNT's College of Music in addition to the plethora of musicians enrolled in the RTVF and CVAD programs combines to saturate most audiences with what Porter (2000) would label as "sophisticated and demanding home customers" (Porter, 2000, 21). Rob Gomez details how this audience facilitates innovation:

I feel like the Denton audience is very attentive, they do listen, and they will quiet down... I feel their taste is somewhat sophisticated. It seems like your average Denton listener that goes to shows knows a lot of cool bands and a lot of cool music. You are not going to get up there and just play some middle-of-the-road rock and roll – that's not going to come off very well. Even if not ready for prime time, you have to be a little bit more creative than a lot of places. It's not just about having a band, or having live music, it's about having some sort of a sound, some sort of a cool thing going on. It's a tough audience here.

Donovan Ford observes similar traits in Denton's audiences and attributes it to the number of musicians who comprise the audiences, "because they know the threshold of being in a band... they can appreciate what the band is doing a lot more." He then notes, "But if the bands are terrible or show that they aren't really trying, they can just sort of tell." Glen Farris concurs, stating "...it's very obvious when something is not working or sucks... people know what's up." Others interviewed noted audiences are "reverent," "focused," and "sophisticated" with a heightened level of expectation in music performance resulting in "a higher standard" and "a lot to live up to" when playing a show in Denton.

At the same time, audiences expecting a band to have what Gomez describes as "having some sort of sound, some sort of a cool thing going on" are willing to play a role in fostering experiments in innovation as well as support bands that may be having an

off-night. “I’ve seen some bands’ first shows, and I’ve played some first shows that were pretty lack luster, but it wasn’t held against us, so there can be a certain level of acceptance,” claims musician Sarah Alexander. Eric Michener of Fishboy describes Denton audiences as “forgiving.” Musician and entrepreneur Rob Buttrum acknowledges that audiences in Denton “recognize good musicians and good bands when they come along,” but also “want to have fun.” He observes that a Denton audience will be supportive and accepting if a band is giving their all and “having a blast” while performing even if they are having an off-night sonically or still developing their sound. The Baptist Generals’ Chris Flemmons offers that while audiences – who are often filled with members of Denton bands – are supportive of emerging local bands trying new things, they are less forgiving to touring bands:

I’d think they’d be forgiven – for bands that aren’t ready. For the most part, everybody wants to be encouraging about what’s going on. But... you get a touring act here... I mean, I say all of that, and you do have this higher level of what you expect performance-wise. I don’t think it’s directed towards the locals. I think people are pretty constructive with others about what they are doing – they’re fair. But at the same time, you go to a show here with a touring act, it is a room full of musicians. And if somebody has a show and they’re not on, you are probably going to hear about it.

Shows hosted by Rob Buttrum in his living room under the House of Tinnitus banner perhaps best illustrate the combination of sophistication and support that characterizes audiences in Denton’s music scene. While designed to cater to the small niche market of experimental and extreme noise, the house venue was popular across a broad swath of the micro scenes in Denton and at any given show a cross section of the larger scene could be found participating as audience members. Buttrum explains:

Most of the shows I put on were extremely experimental... The type of venue I was doing, in other cities, even in the cities that were considered a “must hit” city, were having 20 or 25 people – and that was considered a killer gig. There were hundreds of people coming to shows at my house and bands were like, “I can’t believe this many people are coming to the show and they’re into it.” I was surprised at how many people were into it and wanted new things. There were people that didn’t get it, but there were way more people that were wanting to come find out what it was, not necessarily liking it, but saying that they’ve never heard anything like this and were willing to open their minds to it... I think Denton’s got a pretty open mind as far as going to shows and seeing shows and what they expect out of bands. I don’t think there are too many people out there that are super-critical of bands. Everyone’s respectful of everyone’s art for the most part.

The competitive nature of Denton’s music scene places it into Porter’s (2000) cluster framework, but despite this, a strong argument could be made that Denton’s scene is not nearly as successful as Athens’ where, as Jipson (1994) notes, there is a lack of competition. Porter states, “Moving to an advanced economy requires that vigorous local rivalry develop” (Porter, 2000, 20). Is the level of competition in Denton’s music scene too low? 35 Denton Creative Director, Kyle LaValley suggests the scene isn’t “competitive enough.” Are there other economic factors in play? Promoter and musician Glen Farris notes that unlike when Athens’ music scene hit critical mass, the fundamental economics of the music industry have shifted to the point where the scene isn’t competitive. Farris states:

It would be really competitive, but it isn’t because the pie is very tiny and if you can get your tiny slice and believe in it, that’s kind of what people are okay with at getting at this point. People aren’t selling records. People aren’t selling tickets. I mean, there are a lot of bands with a lot of talent coming out, but the foundational economics aren’t there...

Mathew Barnhart also sees a lack of competitive and diminished economic opportunity as roadblocks to the scene’s success, but additionally offers that Denton

status as a college town with limited scene infrastructure as limiting factors. He views Denton's scene in comparison to Austin's and offers the following:

I've always felt bands in Denton... compared to say... Austin or Dallas, have had a lack of ambition comparatively speaking. Some of that is just the transient nature of the town, because you're here for college, you don't really think you're going to stay here very long – not a lot of people stay here for a long time. And there aren't a lot of obvious commercial opportunities. For instance, in Austin there are so many venues, they have South By Southwest, now they have all these festivals. They have gigantic music infrastructure there that doesn't exist here. If it does, it's in a very, you know, like, small state.

These insights help explain structural forces that may be limiting the success of Denton's music scene, yet they don't completely explain the comparative success of Athens' scene. Like Denton, Athens is what many would consider a “small college town” yet it has a much healthier music scene infrastructure with record labels, management companies, and public relations firms supporting and coexisting with bands that are household names – all of this accomplished without competition according to Jipson (1994).

There are several possible answers to this conundrum. The first would be that Jipson's (1994) analysis of Athens' music scene may not have captured existing competition due to its focus on structural elements and not clustering dynamics. If viewed through the structuralist lens of Smilor et al.'s (2007) work on high-tech center development, an “incendiary event” or “catalyst organization” might have been present in Athens, but not Denton. For example, did the B-52's seemingly overnight worldwide success influence other scene participants and firms? Did R.E.M.'s even larger success turn them into a catalyst organization for the scene? There are several such events and

catalyst organizations in the history of Denton's music scene, but none reaching the stratospheric levels of those in Athens. This leads to a broader possibility that Denton's music scene is still in a beginning stage of cluster development while Athens' is in a more advanced stage – despite both being roughly the same age.

All of these scenarios call for further research that is outside the scope of this study, but the qualitative data gathered for this section demonstrates that Denton's music scene realizes productivity benefits through innovation due to incentives and performance measurement driven by competition amongst and within firms in a market that is sophisticated and discriminating. In the next chapter, a closer examination of how Denton's locational competitive advantage fosters innovation is offered in addition to detailing how that innovation – along with productivity – translates into new business formation.

Chapter 7

Living Rooms of Incubation + Garages of Innovation =

A Community of Participation

7.1 Innovation and New Business Formation

Porter (2000) argues that innovation, which helps drive productivity and leads to new business formation, primarily happens in economic clusters. As discussed in the previous sections, innovation helps firms compete beyond differences in basic business dynamics such as input costs, labor, and location to market, resulting in firms that experience success in local, national, and international market spaces. Porter (2000) states that economic clusters foster innovation through a number of different ways. Clusters help firms “perceive new buyer needs” because of the density of firms with “buyer knowledge and relationships;” the density of firms and employees allows for sharing of information and insights concerning “new technological, operating, or delivery possibilities;” and ready availability of assets within the cluster allows firms to “experiment at lower cost or delay large commitments until there is greater assurance that a new product process, or service will pan out” (Porter, 2000, 22/23). New business formation is driven by innovation in addition to other cluster traits afforded by locational competitive advantage such as lower barriers to entry, abundant physical and human capital inputs, local finance options, and an established local market. As the following analysis details, firms formed in Denton’s music scene, bands included, have leveraged many of these traits.

7.1.1 *“I don’t think a lot of people realized it was an actual house.”*

As discussed previously, the influence of UNT on Denton’s music scene looms large as an institution attracting and offering specialized training to scene participants. In this capacity, and placed in Porter’s (2000) framework concerning productivity, UNT functions as a public good directly responsible for development of the quasi-public goods in the scene such as the previously detailed atmosphere of information, the value of Denton’s place as a branding agent for cultural production, and the joint marketing opportunity milieu. One quasi-public good that is also attributable to the university and a critical ingredient in Denton’s music scene in terms of innovation is the abundance of inexpensive rental housing in the city’s downtown core.

The primary function of this housing is to meet the demand of students looking for off-campus residences while attending UNT or Texas Woman’s University (TWU); however, an unintended consequence of this inexpensive housing is it facilitates a developmental eco-system for firms in the scene. For example, according to those interviewed, it is not uncommon for a band to live and rehearse in a rental home, record in the living room of a friend’s, have T-shirts printed in the garage of someone else’s, shoot a video in a different garage, and play shows hosted in any number of the branded, quasi-venues that scene members operate in their rental homes.

The effects of inexpensive rental housing influence the dynamics of Denton’s music scene eco-system in varying ways depending on the type of firm. For bands, the housing stock represents a way to live inexpensively while developing and preparing to take their product to market. Midlake drummer, McKenzie Smith notes that in Denton,

“...the rent is still affordable and people can get work done if they want to... People can rent a house, set-up a studio, and work on an album. You can afford a rehearsal space. A lot of bands rent houses together – that’s what we did.” Inexpensive rental housing also allows for bands to test the viability of their product in front of an audience without the responsibility of adding to a legitimate venue’s bottom line for the evening – often a venue gatekeeper’s ultimate concern – while also taking risks, building personal relationships with an audience, and developing the atmosphere of information. “There’s definitely less pressure than playing in a normal venue,” offers Sarah Alexander, a musician who has played with multiple bands over her 13 year participation in Denton’s scene. Donovan Ford, a new participant in the music scene and member of the bands New Science Projects and Eccotone also sees the value of house venues as an important developmental tool stating, “...it’s like a woodshed sort of thing, so it’s not like ‘we’re doing this and it doesn’t matter,’ because you’re playing in front of people.” He adds, “It’s just an easy way to expose yourself to a bunch of people.”

Pete Salisbury has played countless shows in house venues over the course of his 21 years in Denton’s music scene in addition to touring nationally and internationally in bands such as Mandarin, Mind Spiders, and Baptist Generals. He still prefers playing house venues over shows at legitimate ones for intangible, perceptual reasons relating to benefits derived from the temporary urbanism of a residential place shifting to a space of performance:

House parties are like my favorite places to play, personally... There just seems to be a different connection you can get with people when you’re playing in a living room like that. You know, as opposed to the separation of a stage and a PA and

lights and that kind of stuff. There's almost like a wall that gets put up... in a weird way. And that wall's just like non-existent in house shows...

Chuck Crosswhite, a member of the band Secret Cakes and co-owner of Amandus Films has participated in Denton's scene for nine years as a musician and filmmaker and at one point lived and helped run the Fra House, one of the higher profile house show venues the scene fostered (Figure 7.1). He also notes the difference between house shows and legitimate venues as one of an intangible atmosphere created by the people in attendance and an undercurrent of economics:

I have a very personal place for house shows because they're fun, your friends are there, crazy things can happen... they've got a vibe to them. It's not a venue or a business. You can do awesome, weird stuff at them. We used to have a DVD of dogs playing in shredded paper during our shows. And then, you go to Rubber Gloves where they need to keep the lights on and it's a bit different, but I love them too. It's just different than a house show, though.

The intangible difference between house show venue and legitimate venue and the value of house shows for developing both bands and audiences is not lost on the gatekeepers of legitimate venues and others in the music scene. Several interviewed noted that house venues are an integral piece of the eco-system in terms of holistic development of Denton's music scene. Michael Briggs co-owns a record label and a promotions company that routinely book evenings at legitimate venues but he also operates a house venue, Macaroni Island (Figure 7.2), and sees it as an important ingredient in terms of developing the connection between younger bands and audiences that will eventually translate into attendance at established, legitimate venues:

...house show venues are very important for younger people especially, minors, who either can't get into some shows because they're underage, or just can't afford to or want to pay a cover for a show – they can see the younger bands

they're into. Hopefully, a year or two later, they'll grow up and they will continue going to shows at more traditional venues. I think it's very important for the scene as a whole. There are the different levels that fit together like a puzzle. You need all of them for everything to work ideally and function very well... A strong house show circuit is important to the music scene overall.

Josh Baish who owns Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios, a legitimate venue that was once an all-ages DIY space, agrees that his venue is not in competition with house venues out of necessity to further strengthen the music scene that propels his business. "If you treat it as a competition, then it falls apart," he says. "If you integrate it and support one another, a piece may fall off here and there, but ultimately it's going to be a lot stronger."

The value that music scene participants place on the quasi-public good of inexpensive housing as venue is notable. While inexpensive rental housing clustered around college campuses used as performance space is not a new phenomenon – it can be traced back to the 1960's in locations like Ann Arbor, Austin, Athens, Seattle, and Chapel Hill – the level to which it is leveraged as such in Denton is almost unprecedented (Trynka, 2008; Cook, McCaughan, and Ballance, 2009; Jipson, 1994; Yarm, 2011). A better comparison can be made if one looks to the genre of jazz and its experimental "out" and "free" permutations that propelled the "Loft Jazz" scene in several pre-gentrified Manhattan neighborhood of 1970's New York City. Musicians such as Ornette Coleman, Anthony Braxton, and Sam Rivers lived, rehearsed, recorded, and hosted shows in their lofts establishing a thriving scene amongst numerous spaces that augmented legitimate venues in the city that booked more traditional forms of jazz (Hermes, 2012; Zukin, 1982). Donovan Ford refers to the number of house venues as a

“circuit,” explaining their success in terms of the walkability of the downtown core adjacent to the university:

...there are all of these old houses in the neighborhood above the university that aren't expensive to live in, but have just a good floor layout for house shows. It just facilitates the whole thing. And the best part it is, there's so many students here that once a house gets shut down, another one pops up two blocks away in roughly the same neighborhood because it's cheap to live there and everybody wants to do shows, and you can walk to them, and it's close to the university so you can get freshmen who live in the dorms, people that are interested in doing shows who just moved here... they can walk to these shows that are just north of where they live.

Between the years of 2005 to 2010, there were so many simultaneously active house venues with established, branded presences that one interviewee noted “almost every night you could go to a DIY show and it was insane.” These house venues booked local, national, and international acts, routinely fielding multiple booking requests per day and often interacting with booking agents across the country (Diaz, 2010; Monzingo, 2010; Odom, 2012). Rob Buttrum operated the House of Tinnitus house venue in his living room for over five years (Figure 7.3). At first, the venue catered to Denton's experimental and extreme noise micro scene, only to quickly expand regionally, nationally, and internationally before the practice overwhelmed his space and he shifted to booking and promoting the shows in legitimate venues like Rubber Gloves. He explains:

I was getting to the point where I was outgrowing my house and I was getting contacted by bands... their booking agents were contacting me for like big bands, and I'm like, “I'm a living room.” I don't think a lot of people realized it was an actual house. After six years, I was getting riders and stuff from like booking agents with huge bands saying, “Here, this would be the guarantee” and that kind of stuff, and I'm like, “I'm a house venue.” And they're like, “Oh, whoa... crazy,

crazy! We didn't realize that, but they really want to play there so we can waive it..."

House of Tinnitus was not the only Denton house venue to host regional and national touring bands, with the practice widespread and continuing to the present (Diaz, 2010; Monzingo, 2010). Touring bands from across the country routinely playing in Denton's house venues differs from the programming in house venues in other parts of the country. Kyle LaValley, the creative director of the 35 Denton music festival comments on the advanced programming of Denton's house show "circuit" by observing:

It's different than how the house show scene is in Detroit, or Flint, or Chicago... the bands aren't as *from* here. In these shows, there are a lot of touring bands and a lot of bands from Dallas... from Austin.

The operational sophistication exhibited by many house venues in Denton is similar to more established all-ages DIY venues that dot the national landscape. All-ages DIY venues can take various forms – from the temporary spaces in band members' homes operating completely off-the-radar of local policymakers to established non-profit or not-for-profit entities with performance space, recording studios, and after-school programs that receive funding and attention from local policymakers (Culton and Holtzman, 2010; Stewart, 2010). A common theme that cuts across the varying types of these venues is that the majority of operations such as booking, promotions, sound, box office, security, and maintenance are handled by volunteers who are either participants in or have strong ties to the local music scene (Stewart, 2010).

Minichini (2011) points to Boles (2009) who offers that all-ages DIY venues serve as an "incubator" for not only musicians, but the "next generation of promoters and

bookers” in a music scene adding one “...might be surprised at how many of Toronto’s behind the scenes movers and shakers got their start throwing all-ages punk gigs” (Boles, 2009, p. 1). Stewart (2010) notes that it is not uncommon for all-ages DIY venues to operate as unofficial job training and placement programs for volunteers as well as the impetus for them to successfully launch additional ventures after leaving. Seman (2011) furthers Stewart’s (2010) observations, pointing to all-ages DIY venues in Seattle and Omaha that fostered successful music scenes in their respective cities and launched the careers of both volunteers and performers in differing facets of cultural production.

House venues in Denton also offer a chance for incubation and career development. LaValley suggests that the 35 Denton music festival “is kind of like a giant DIY venue,” adding, “...it’s a microcosm of all those people that operated those spaces, spent time in them, kind of wanting something like that to succeed.” A good example of this connection is Natalie Davila who made the jump from booking and operating the long-running Denton house venue, the “Majestic Dwelling of DOOM” (Figure 7.4) to becoming 35 Denton’s Director of Programming (Rodrigue, 2012). Glen Farris sees house venues as “the spring training of the scene.”

...there are all these roles that need to be filled. Someone’s got to run the PA; someone has to manage the stage... things that they’re doing not realizing the roles they’re performing as a piece of the production. It’s really interesting to see people take charge of the situation, or not... when the cops come, who does what. People’s true nature comes out of these moments. So it’s like the Petri dish of Denton. It’s where things start to grow.

The scale and scope of DIY all-ages venues and their impact on volunteers and music scene participants is similar in nature to the community spaces that focus on more

traditional fine arts. Markusen et al. (2006) detail how artists' centers offer artists at different career levels a place to develop in an environment that is supportive with opportunities for feedback, mentoring, and network building. The authors state artists' centers "act as forums for synergy and interaction that encourage artists to pursue their art form, plan their careers, and share their work in multiple venues" adding that "successful centers deftly bridge between artists just beginning their work and those who have launched careers..." (Markusen et al., 2006, p. 28). These observations mirror how house venues in Denton foster both emerging and established talent in the same evening – onstage and in the crowd – while on occasion hosting a successful national touring band that specifically chooses to play a house venue (Culton and Holtzman, 2010; Stewart, 2010). In the case of Buttrum, running the House of Tinnitus in his living room helped establish a national network of social and professional contacts facilitating his current national touring efforts with the band Terminator 2 (R. Buttrum, personal communication, January 13, 2013).

Inexpensive rental housing helps incubate firms outside of the music sector in differing ways. Chuck Crosswhite of Amandus Films finds the low cost of housing beneficial in terms of comparable economics in other cities noted for cultural production. As Currid (2009) suggests in her analysis of cultural production in New York City, social networking is a primary driver of the creative production process from finding collaborators to securing project-employment. Crosswhite details how the rental housing in Denton speaks to and supports Currid's (2009) insights in addition to noting the importance of affording the equipment needed to act on these insights:

The more money you are not spending on rent means the more money you have to socialize which means making connections, the more money you have to spend on equipment, which is your life. People come here to visit us from different places in the country, and other countries, and they are just amazed at how inexpensive it is... the drinks, the food, the rent, the space we have to live in. I think it is a huge, huge part of it. If you're broke and living in New York, you are stuck in your apartment and you can't do anything. If you pay \$300 a month to live in an awesome house with a backyard in Denton, then you can go out, meet people, socialize, and network.

Pan Ector Industries is a screenprinting and design firm originally housed in the garage of the house several company founders lived in while finishing their programs in art at UNT. The firm quickly blossomed with several employees and multiple contracts. Michael Little, Pan Ector Industries' co-owner welcomed having an ample amount of space to develop their services with low- to no-overhead, but observed that eventually the benefit of inexpensive space was mitigated by his firm's success. Little states, "We had gotten to the point where it sucked living with the business. The mental separation alone was difficult, plus the physical encroachment on our house." Pan Ector Industries now occupies a commercial space in Denton's downtown core, a few streets away from the owners' rental home.

Inexpensive rental housing functions as defacto incubation space fostering innovation for a number of firms in Denton's music scene. This mirrors Porter's (2000) suggestion that key to innovation in a cluster are firms that have the ability to "experiment at lower cost or delay large commitments until there is greater assurance that a new product, process, or service will pan out" (Porter, 2000, 22/23). Or... in broader terms, according to Jacobs, "new ideas must use old buildings" (1961/1992, p. 188).

7.1.2 *“And I had figured out really quick that people loved 80’s music...”*

In some instances, facets of economic cluster theory did not perfectly translate to cultural production. The primary instance of this in terms of innovation was the concept of “new buyer needs.” While the music industry has a history of supplying songs and bands to meet the demands of consumer trends, Denton’s music scene (like many others) is organic in nature with bands developing aesthetically over a period of time without a specific focus on meeting specialized consumer demands. When discussing innovation with musician scene members, the concept of “new buyer needs” was a moot point, but the concept is applicable to other firms in the scene.

Again referencing the power inexpensive rental housing has on innovation, Glen Farris quickly understood the revenue generating potential of the house parties he hosted in his garage; as a fledgling promoter, he migrated them to a legitimate venue, Hailey’s where he was employed to run sound.

In the early days of me being in Denton, I lived off Broadway and had a garage, a couple of mixers, and would throw like dance parties. And I had figured out really quick that people loved 80’s music, like Tiffany, people tore it up... So we’d have these massive house parties where I’d be DJ-ing the Clash mixed in with Interpol. When I was booking, we needed a weekly dance night at Hailey’s and I was like... 80’s night obviously. I mean 250 people show up to my house, that’s a good crowd at Hailey’s. So I started an 80’s dance night at Hailey’s and did that for a couple of years and that grew into a really massive thing.

The legitimate venue where Farris worked directly benefited from being in a cluster environment. Because of the atmosphere of information and numerous competing entities, in this case, a house venue, Farris learned what buyers in the marketplace

desired, then transferred that perception to the other firm resulting in a financially successful, long-running night for that firm.

The “juxtaposition of firms in related industries” also enabled the screenprinting and design firm Pan Ector Industries to “perceive new buyer needs” while helping the firm in “perceiving new technological, operating, or delivery possibilities” (Porter, 2000). The founders of Pan Ector Industries discovered while testing the concept of “live printing” at a night of local bands they co-hosted as art students at a Denton venue that buyers prefer to choose merchandise made to their specification on-site. After officially starting their firm, the founders of Pan Ector Industries utilized this knowledge and developed their now popular live-printing method. The firm has since leveraged this innovation beyond an annual night of local bands to festivals and other outdoor events promoted and developed by a number of different firms in Denton and the larger Dallas-Ft. Worth metro area (M. Little, personal communication, January 23, 2013).

Bands operating as firms also experience perception in what Porter (2000) describes as “new technological, operating, or delivery possibilities” via the atmosphere of information Denton’s music scene fosters. Numerous opportunities for scene members to discuss trends in how to produce, distribute, and market music exist on a continual basis. Conversations documented include advice exchanged concerning what tools are the best for specific tasks in production and the best ways to distribute and market music in a rapidly changing business climate (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; R. Gomez, personal communication, January 2, 2013; P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 9, 2013).

7.1.3 *“...you know how it is; the bands all have interchangeable parts...”*

Saxenian (1994) observes innovation in Silicon Valley’s economic cluster occurring due to fluidity amongst employees and firms. It is not uncommon for employees in Silicon Valley to move from firm to firm sharing their expertise developed during the course of employment or start new firms based on the skills they developed at previous firms resulting in innovative new products or processes. Saxenian (1994) offers that this cooperation in the face of competition is due to shared university ties, socialization in the community, and the relative geographic density of firms – all traits that Denton’s music scene embodies.

The fluidity described in Silicon Valley’s economic cluster is also apparent in Denton’s music scene fostered by the concentration of musicians and the non-competitive nature amongst bands. It is uncommon for a musician to be in only one band. Often a musician will play in multiple projects until either one reaches a national or international level of success or the musician decides to take what he or she has learned in the competing firms and start a new project. Julie Glover, a former scene participant and current City of Denton Economic Development Program Administrator states, *“...you know how it is; the bands all have interchangeable parts...”* Chris Flemmons details the reality of Glover’s statement by giving insight on what it’s like to be in a developing band with a fluid nature and why it is ultimately important to embrace it, *“...it really bothered me because they all had other projects they were working on... but it just made everybody a better musician.”*

Finding a certain amount of success does not necessarily curtail this fluidity. Some musicians continue to participate in multiple projects while active in a successful project. This participation may branch out across differing firms at the same time. Examples of this include Midlake who continue to work recording other bands in the two studios the members own while also on occasion playing as backing musicians for those projects; Centro-matic – a start-up songwriting project by a drummer of another band that became a successful entity on its own – now has members involved in several different bands and recording projects; and the Baptist Generals whose members continue to play in and produce other bands (S. Danbom, personal communication, January 4, 2013; C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 8, 2013; M. Smith, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

This fluidity amongst bands – like the benefits of inexpensive rental housing – supports Porter’s (2000) observation that firms need the ability to experiment with little financial and long-term contractual responsibilities that could impede innovation. These thoughts extend to firms other than bands. Mathew Barnhart notes that the studio he co-owns, The Echo Lab (Figure 7.5), is the result of he and his two partners recording projects elsewhere until generating enough business to make building their own studio a viable idea (M. Barnhart, personal communication, December 26, 2012; Firstley, 2010). The 35 Denton music festival was tested and refined for several years first as a Denton-centric dayparty held during the South-By-Southwest music festival then in Denton as a much smaller version of what is offered currently (Rodrigue, 2010).

The qualitative data point to Denton's music scene fostering innovation with resulting productivity gains. One manifestation of this innovation-driven productivity is the formation of new firms offering products and services locally and beyond. Before examining how innovation in Denton's music scene facilitates positive economic externalities like new business formation, it is important to consider research documenting the dynamics of the connection elsewhere in the arts. This consideration will help one understand the finer details of this study's research results.

Markusen and Schrock (2006) suggest that artists provide a regional "artistic dividend" as their work can boost local economies as well as be exported helping to foster the artists' development as an economic engine and the development of companies supplying the creative process. Markusen and Schrock (2009) detail this concept further examining how this artistic dividend fosters "consumption-driven" economic development with successful artistic activity driving regional growth through local spending on the arts moving beyond import substitution and igniting new business formation, attracting tourism, and catalyzing urban redevelopment. Jacobs (1961/1992), Markusen and Johnson et al. (2006) and Grodach (2010) also offer that arts centers and museums can be catalysts for urban redevelopment and economic vitality in their surrounding neighborhoods. But how does this process happen and does it happen in Denton's music scene? By examining new business development through Porter's (2000) cluster framework, a greater understanding of how Denton's music scene fits into the city's creative economy may be achieved.

7.1.4 *“I thought it was a bad move and secretly thought he was crazy...turns out he was a visionary.”*

Examples of how Porter’s (2000) suggested ingredients come together in varying ways to spawn new businesses and how Markusen and Schrock’s (2006, 2009) “artistic dividend” and “consumption-driven” economic development theory manifest are plentiful in Denton’s music scene. When also considering bands as firms, the numerous examples of abundant human capital interacting (often as members of several different firms simultaneously) in a cultural production milieu with a low barrier to entry while serving an established local market are overwhelming.¹⁴

The material needs of those bands and other firms combined with those same parameters enabled Amandus Films to succeed as a film company. Founded by graduates of UNT’s RTVF program – three of whom are in the band, Secret Cakes – the company started shooting videos for other bands in the scene (Figure 7.6), moved up to shooting events like the Good/Bad Art Collective’s Rock Lottery, eventually leveraging their talents and contacts in the scene to secure the video production contract for the 35 Denton music festival, then larger clients in Dallas and Oklahoma (C. Crosswhite, personal communication, December 27, 2012). Pan Ector Industries, the screenprinting and design company formed by UNT CVAD students, got their start servicing the plethora of bands needing T-shirts (Figure 7.7). The company then, as discussed previously, branched out

¹⁴ Nearly all of the scene participants interviewed responded that there was a low barrier to entry into the scene. All of the female participants interviewed responded that their gender was not a problematic issue in gaining entry into the scene. It is important to note that two of the female scene participants interviewed detailed incidents of gender bias while participating in the scene – but those incidents were not to the overall detriment of their participation (S. Alexander, personal communication, January 17, 2013; K. LaValley, personal communication, January 2, 2013; J. Seman, December 28, 2012).

into the performance-esque aspect of live screen-printing for various live music events in Denton and the broader DFW region. In addition to their music scene-based pursuits, the firm also secured more standard printing contracts for governmental agencies and private industry (M. Little, personal communication, January 23, 2013).

The venues Dan's Silverleaf (Figure 7.8) and Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios (Figure 7.9) are additional firms outside of bands that utilize scene members as employees and rely on Denton's established market for music. Dan's Silverleaf also supports Markusen and Schrock's (2009) insight that arts-focused, consumption-driven economic development can result in redevelopment of the immediate surrounding urban landscape. Dan's Silverleaf is the second venue owned by Dan Mojica. The first, "Dan's Bar" was the breeding ground and nexus for what is one of Denton's most popular micro scenes – the "Americana" genre – via the international success of the bands Slobberbone, Centro-matic, and the Baptist Generals. After financial difficulties were further exasperated by the 9/11 tragedy, Dan's Bar closed in 2001 (D. Mojica, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

Mojica was not out of a venue long. An investor immediately approached him to reopen at another location, and Mojica set his sights on a former grocery store storage space in low-slung industrial strip just southeast of the historic downtown square in an area that was, at best, struggling. Mojica describes the area at the time:

So, this (the building) was pretty much lying dormant, nothing was down here but the two feed stores at the end... a parking lot over there... there was just nothing at all down here. Nothing. I felt the locale was cool, off the beaten path to a degree, and cheap... We had to redo the whole thing. It was basically a white room with a toilet over there – that's it. Not even a wall on the toilet. At the time

it was a woodworking shop of some kind. It had been a radio shop, a storage room for Wolf's Groceries. Anyway, we got it cheap... It was kind of a long road to hoe for a couple of years... just the feed stores and me... The cash register place became a gun shop that turned into a church, so that was constantly changing.

The area was designated the "East Hickory Entertainment District" in the City of Denton's master plan, *A Vision for Denton: The 21st Century* since 1995, but no action by the City or a private investor had been taken to realize the master plan's goals. In fact, Julie Glover, the City of Denton's Economic Development Program Administrator had serious reservations about Mojica moving his business to the area. "I tried to talk him out of it," Glover states. "I thought it was a bad move and secretly thought he was crazy," she adds, but then admits, "...turns out he was a visionary." Within a few years of Dan's Silverleaf opening, the bleak surrounding landscape gave way to significant redevelopment of nearly every adjacent property, including new-construction, lifestyle town homes directly across from the venue (Figure 7.10, 7.11). While some of this activity is attributed to the recently opened commuter rail station nearby, it is acknowledged that much of it was driven by the opening and success of Dan's Silverleaf (Carlisle, 2009; J. Glover, personal communication, January 4, 2013; Wagner, 2012).

The 35 Denton music festival also elicits Porter's (2000) traits and incorporates some of Markusen and Schrock's artistic dividend and consumption-driven urban development dynamics (Figure 7.12). 35 Denton was developed by the Baptist Generals' Chris Flemmons after reading Florida's (2002) *Rise of the Creative Class...* Flemmons repeatedly watched his friends who were creative professionals leave Denton for employment outside of Denton after graduating college, then witnessed the historic Fry

Street area dismantled by developers. Flemmons hoped a music festival held in the city's downtown could help in retaining and attracting creative professionals while highlighting and further developing the city's walkable downtown. Drawing from scene participants, the festival is built on core volunteers who have specialized knowledge in various aspects of Denton's music scene and the music industry (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; Seman, 2012).

After a few initial years as a Denton-branded dayparty in Austin while Flemmons worked on establishing relationships with the City, the festival moved to Denton to build on the city's established local audience for live music events and the plethora of existing bands. With the help of local financing, the festival blossomed into a regional and national draw adding to Denton's emerging brand, delivering an estimated \$2 million dollar economic impact to the city through production and tourism, providing employment for local creative professionals as direct employees as well as contractors such as Amandus Films and Pan Ector Industries, and influencing creative firms to remain and grow in the city (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; Seman, 2010b; Seman, 2012).

The band Midlake also incorporates many traits from both Porter's (2000) and Markusen and Schrock's (2006, 2009) work. Like other bands in Denton's music scene, Midlake (Figure 7.13) is a product of human capital with specialized skills coming together to serve a thriving local market after negotiating a low barrier to entry. True to Markusen and Schrock's (2009) consumption-driven urban development theory, Midlake's success in the local market fostered their growth to a level where their live

concerts and recorded music – essentially, their product – is in high enough demand to situate the band and their output as export products with the occasional help from a local financial institution as Porter (2000) would suggest. Their success also generated the artistic dividend Markusen and Schrock (2006) detail through members of the band creating two independent recording studios (Figures 7.14, 7.15) that serve their own company, Midlake, as well as others in the scene, in addition to internationally recognized acts like John Grant and Beth Orton (E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; M. Smith, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

Midlake's other fostering of consumption-driven economic development includes a "revitalizing" of Denton's urban landscape via Paschall Bar (Figure 7.16). While not an extensive urban redevelopment project in the vein of R.E.M.'s adaptive reuse efforts in Athens, Georgia, Paschall Bar is the result of the band rehabbing an underutilized loft space on the city's historic square – or "Main Street" as Markusen and Schrock (2009) would refer to it – into a thriving bar that is part of a business arrangement with the owner of the entirely separate bar below it. Paschall Bar serves the dual purpose of being a viable business serving the public in addition to a place where the band's members can socialize, conduct business, and provide employment for themselves as well as other members of the scene. Midlake further details consumption-driven urban development theory by attracting musicians from across the country to relocate to Denton to be permanent members of the band. Midlake also takes a hands-on role in the development of fledgling artists such as Sarah Jaffe, a role which Porter (2000) notes is common in economic clusters (E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; M. Smith,

personal communication, January 8, 2013). Midlake's drummer, McKenzie Smith notes that all of the business ties and offshoots of the band are closely interwoven with personal relationships, pointing to Saxenian's (1996) work on Silicon Valley. He offers:

It's very intertwined with the connections we have, and it extends beyond business to personal connections and friendships. It's great to have so many musicians that are here that you can pull from as an opening act or we could be an opening act for or whatever. These personal connections extend way beyond a business level.

Midlake's two studios are not the only new firms that have spun-off from the band. Guitarist and singer, Eric Pulido formed a commercial music company, Mannequin Music, with Denton musician and scene participant, Robert Gomez. In addition to starting Redwood Studios in his backyard, drummer McKenzie Smith has also leveraged his work and contacts in Midlake to position himself as a top session drummer for recording and touring. Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios has also fostered spin-off businesses, albeit regionally, through two in-house booking agents breaking away and forming their own booking agencies, Daughter Entertainment and Tactics Productions respectively (E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; J. Baish, personal communication, January 15, 2013; M. Smith, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

7.1.5 "...Ah, you're in that band? Man you should get on this job with me..."

Denton's music scene also helps develop independent contractors who are self-employed. Much like McKenzie Smith, Jeremy Buller leveraged his work with Bosque Brown to land studio and touring work with artists such as Robert Gomez and Sarah Jaffe while at the same time using Denton's music scene network to gain web development work for Denton artists, venues, restaurants, media outlets, and the 35 Denton music

festival (J. Buller, personal communication, January 15, 2013).

Veteran scene member Pete Salisbury, a successful commercial photographer and a member of the Baptist Generals and the Mind Spiders, benefits from the scene's artistic dividend. He offers that he routinely takes band promo pictures and that his "output grows because of it." He states, "The scene adds to my business and to my repertoire." Salisbury's more lucrative work is often a product of his professional network mixing with his participation in Denton's music scene. As a commercial photographer, Salisbury mostly works in Dallas due to the city's high concentration of advertising activity. The flexible network of creative professionals responsible for the production of advertising content is comprised of many former Denton music scene members along with scene members in Dallas and Ft. Worth who are all familiar with each other's musical projects (P. Salisbury, personal communication, January 9th, 2013)

Salisbury explains the details of these dynamics mirroring Scott's (2005) insights on the flexible nature of employment in the Hollywood film industry:

...everyone is freelance, or mostly freelance. There are some agencies that have groups, but it's still kind of freelance. So, that plays in really well with the musician lifestyle. Hence, a lot of musicians can be found in the photo industry in Dallas... You can make your own schedule... Say you've got a tour coming up, well you just won't accept a job that comes in. That sucks when that happens because you really need that job, but you aren't going to get fired for going on tour. So over the years, I've hung out and work with a lot of other musicians. Sometimes that leads into putting shows together, playing with different groups. Sometimes that leads to other jobs because they work with another photographer I work with. All of the sudden, "Hey, we play music. Ah, you're in that band? Man you should get on this job with me; I've got this job next week why don't you hop on? We need one more person."

Sometimes scene participants create new businesses with the main connection to the scene being employment for other participants. Liz Larsen, who has played in numerous bands during her ten-year participation in Denton's music scene, employs three people from the music scene in various capacities at her company, LZX Industries, which designs and manufactures video synthesizers to an international clientele (L. Larsen, personal communication, December 30, 2012). A finding in this vein that is not touched on by Markusen and Schrock (2006, 2009), Porter (2000), Saxenian (1996), or Scott (2005), but is present in Denton's music scene and others is the nature and value of human capital interaction in firms that are entirely unrelated to the cluster.

For example, in the Denton music scene, Funimation and the former E-Instruction are firms that play no direct role in scene dynamics, yet employ a significant amount of scene members. These companies provide a place where scene members can find employment (and, once inside, help fellow scene members find employment), discuss scene activity, extend the scene's atmosphere of information, and form new bands (J. Buller, personal communication, January 15, 2013; S. Porter, personal communication, December 29, 2012).

Although some scene members transition into careers at places like these, often work completed at these firms is perfunctory at best and treated as a temporary situation while scene members continue to focus on their musical projects. Framed in Oldenburg's (1989) concept of the "third place," the firms in question operate as a hybrid of a "second" (work place) and "third" (neither home nor work) place as the scene member is only at the firm to work in a nominal capacity with a good amount of time spent socially

interacting while simultaneously working (or, at least, presenting a passable facade of such) with other scene members gaining additional “face-to-face contact” that Storper and Venables (2004) suggest helps propel economic clusters. The activity in the “hybrid place,” while officially taking place in the traditional second place of work is much more similar in nature to activity that scene members would engage in at a traditional third place like a bar, venue, or coffee shop. The most notable example of the hybrid space phenomenon in a music scene is during the late-80’s when many participants of Seattle’s “grunge” scene worked at Muzak, the company that creates and distributes ambient background music to retail outlets. Members of the bands, TAD, Mudhoney, and Love Battery among others worked at Muzak, often discussing scene activity and critiquing demo tapes from bands that would later go on to find critical and commercial success. Bruce Pavitt also worked at Muzak during this time, co-founding Sub Pop, the now seminal record label that released albums from many of the bands whose demos he heard while working at this hybrid space. He explains:

Obviously it was an extremely ironic situation that the break room at Muzak would become kind of the testing grounds for underground Seattle music. Bands would come in with their demos, play them, and we’d all critique them. Mark Arm and Chris Pugh worked there. Tom from Feast and Chris from the Walkabouts. That’s where I first heard Mudhoney’s “Touch Me I’m Sick.” It’s where I first heard the Nirvana demo that Jack Endino had passed on to Jon Poneman (Yarm, 2001, p. 125).

7.2 Amenity and Community Development Catalyst

Two externalities not expected but supported by associated literature include Denton’s music scene functioning as an amenity attracting educated, highly skilled human capital and it fostering community development. These externalities help answer

the question that lies just beyond economic cluster theory – *why* the human capital that Glaeser (1994) points to as propelling these clusters is drawn to the regions where they emerge. Florida's (2002) creative capital theory and Markusen and Schrock's (2009) consumption-driven urban development theory address this question and posit that the local amenities which Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz (2001) and Clark et al. (2002) suggest drive urban and regional growth are deciding factors in the attraction and retention of educated, highly skilled human capital and related firms. More specifically, Florida (2002) and Markusen and Schrock (2009) note that music scenes function as amenities. Markusen and Schrock (2009) offer, "Once New Orleans, Nashville, Branson, and Austin became distinctive music venues initially based on their local markets, they were able to draw patrons from farther away and attract new residents, both musicians and music lovers" (Markusen and Schrock, 2009, p. 363).

7.2.1 "I knew what I wanted to do. I wanted to be around music... That's why I ended up coming here."

Denton's music scene is an amenity that attracts and retains educated, highly skilled human capital that not only fuels the scene itself, but also helps propel the broader economy surrounding it. Of the 25 people interviewed, ten did not move to or return to Denton in order to attend college and stated that the music scene was the primary factor in his or her decision to live in Denton. Another five of the interviewees stated that they moved to Denton in order to attend college, but chose UNT due to it being in proximity

to a thriving music scene.¹⁵ Of that combined 15 who moved or returned to Denton due to the music scene, 24% have bachelor degrees and 16% have advanced degrees. When factoring in the other ten interviewees who choose to live in Denton due in some part to the music scene, yet were initially drawn to the city for other lifestyle choices or in order to attend UNT solely for its educational programs – 44% of the entire sample has bachelor’s degrees and 16% have advanced degrees. Perhaps most impressive is that all 25 interviewees are not from Denton, but their decisions to reside in the city were influenced in varying degrees by the presence of the city’s music scene.

The sample’s scope of employment includes a broad range of occupations including musician, photographer, educator, web application developer, gallery manager, library associate, event production manager, and advertising copywriter, in addition to several small business owners, and a doctoral candidate on scholarship at a prestigious Dallas university. Most of these occupations are defined as part of the “creative class” by Florida (2002), who suggests that the cohort drives regional growth. These numbers, while supporting assertions by Florida (2002) and Markusen and Schrock (2009) also support Chris Flemmons suggestion documented earlier in this study that “our music scene exists and has a life of its own at this point... there are people that move here now that have no intention of getting into the music program; they just want to be a part of this vibrant music community.” This insight is echoed by many interviewed. For example, Audio engineer and Echo Lab co-owner, Matt Barnhart offers:

¹⁵ As noted on Page 63, I interviewed 26 people for this study, one interviewee is not considered a member of Denton’s music scene and was specifically interviewed only to give additional perspective concerning the nature of the City’s interaction with the scene.

I didn't actually spend a lot of time in college. I maybe spent two or three semesters total. I came here (Denton) specifically for the music scene itself. I was actually enrolled in another college in Massachusetts, and then literally on the last possible day I applied to UNT because I decided I wanted to stay in Texas and to hang out with these bands I liked. I knew what I wanted to do. I wanted to be around music, and this was the music I liked, and these were the people I knew. That's why I ended up coming here.

Eric Michener, a freelance video editor who also records and performs as Fishboy, notes that he and his wife, an elementary school teacher, returned to Denton “mostly because of the music scene” and bought a home after having lived closer to her employment in another city in the Dallas-Ft. Worth region. Kyle LaValley, 35 Denton’s creative director, moved from a neighboring city after seeing a Flaming Lips concert at an earlier incarnation of the music festival as it signified to her that “something exciting was happening in Denton” (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; K. LaValley, personal communication, January 2, 2013; E. Michener, personal communication, January 2, 2013).

7.2.2 “Our second show... we go to a party-like environment at the Delta Lodge, knowing almost no one, it felt like we knew everybody.”

Denton’s music scene functioning as a community development agent was another positive externality not anticipated – although not entirely without precedent as similar situations have arisen across the country in places like Flint, Michigan and Buffalo, New York (Conaway, 2004; Seman, 2013). In the research sample for this study, several people are either former members of the music scene that have moved into policymaking positions in the City such as Kevin Roden who represents District 1 on the Denton City Council and Julie Glover who is the City’s Economic Development Program

Administrator, or they serve on public commissions and boards, or they are people who leverage their positions in the music scene to do everything from organizing and playing shows raising thousands of dollars for local charities to finding employment opportunities for fellow scene participants (J. Glover, personal communication, January 4, 2013; S. Porter, personal communication, December 29, 2012; E. Pulido, personal communication, January 8, 2013; K. Roden, personal communication, January 8, 2013; J. Seman, personal communication, December 28, 2012; Watts, 2013).

The community dynamics in Denton's music scene also suggest that it may work as a theoretical bridge between Putnam's (2000) social capital theory and Florida's (2002) creative capital theory – despite the oppositional content of them. The “strong ties” – both professionally and socially – that exist amongst participants in Denton's music scene may help propel its growth and positive economic externalities as Putnam (2000) would suggest. The density of these ties are described by Peter Salisbury of the Baptist Generals and Mind Spiders as initially seeming “incestuous” to one who is not in a band due to the close friendships many scene members have; yet, in the next sentence, Salisbury affirms that entry into the scene was still, “easy.” Chuck Crosswhite of Amandus Films and the band Secret Cakes claims the scene was “immediately welcoming” even as a high school senior ducking out of his UNT dorm room during a weekend orientation to play a show with his first band who traveled from College Station, Texas to meet him at the venue. He explains:

Coming to a place like Denton, and playing a place like Rubber Gloves, we were kind of nervous, but everybody was so nice to us and cool. Our second show... we go to a party-like environment at the Delta Lodge, knowing almost no one, it

felt like we knew everybody.

This dichotomy suggests that these “ties” are also porous and “weak” as Florida (2003) would suggest is necessary to incorporate “newcomers and thus promote novel combinations of resources and ideas” (Florida, 2003, p. 6). This openness in the dense network of scene participants is noted by the majority of scene participants interviewed who, as noted in the previously, responded that there was a low barrier to entry and it was easy to become involved in the scene no matter what genre of music you played.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: From Economic Cluster to Catalytic Amenity

Denton's music scene functions like an economic cluster as defined by Porter (2000). Prior chapters detail the many influences that give Denton a locational competitive advantage resulting in comparative gains in productivity, innovation, and new business formation. The presence of "specialized inputs and employees," a thick atmosphere of information, firms that work together on projects, the public good of UNT, and the quasi-public good of inexpensive rental housing foster productivity. UNT and inexpensive rental housing also help drive innovation as the university helps attract scene participants and the housing provides space for them to incubate ideas. Scene participants and firms sharing information concerning "new technological, operating, or delivery possibilities" for music also helps drive innovation as well as sophisticated local audiences expecting bands to push creative envelopes while playing live and tolerating their imperfections during the process. This innovation leads to new business formation as does a low barrier of entry to the scene, an established local market, a high number of scene participants with specialized knowledge utilizing available tools, and financial institutions willing to invest in firms.

In the course of answering my overarching research question, I observed how the city of Denton and its economy benefit from the presence of a robust music scene functioning as an economic cluster. This study was structured to answer a specific question in a specific theoretical framework; as such, any externalities were noted but efforts to place them in additional theoretical structures or substantiate with quantitative

data were limited to what would help explain or substantiate the initial question. The most obvious positive economic externality is the number of new firms created just from scene members who participated in the study. The 25 former and active scene participants represented 16 bands, 3 recording studios, 2 music venues, a bar, a film company, a screenprinting and design company, a video synthesizer company, and a music festival. Some of these firms are more financially successful than others. For example, of the 16 bands, only four have significant sales figures and the ability to employ members, but all of the firms outside of the bands employ Denton residents, contribute to the City's tax base, and generate revenue – a portion of which is presumably pumped back into the local economy.

The only published documentation quantifying economic activity generated by the Denton music scene is the City-issued report, "From Rodeos to Indie Rock: The Economic and Fiscal Impacts of Selected Cultural Events in Denton, Texas" which profiles the 35 Denton music festival among other cultural events taking place in Denton's city limits (Seman, 2010b). The report, based on information provided by the festival, estimates 35 Denton as having 20,000 visitors over four days in 2010 at a cost of \$180,000 to produce.¹⁶ Attendees and performers are estimated to have spent more than \$1.7 million dollars during the festival. Adding the production costs and the estimated spending together gives a direct spending total of just over \$1.9 million dollars. According to the report, this spending generates "indirect" and "induced" spending which

¹⁶ Please note that 35 Denton was entitled "NX35 Music Conferette" during the time the report was written and published.

is the result of the direct spending filtering down from the festival attendee to the people who support the festival such as food and beverage vendors in addition to people who work in the city's various establishments during the festival such as waiters and book and record store employees. The direct spending allows these people to spend more for supplies that help their companies facilitate the festival and for personal spending that would not have occurred without the festival's economic boost impacting their employment. The total of the direct, indirect, and induced spending gives an overall economic impact of \$2,009,824 for Denton over the length of the festival. In addition, there is an estimated boost of \$659,931 in labor income and \$23,035 in additional tax revenue for the City (Table 8.1). 35 Denton built on its success in 2010 to grow as a firm – employing two people from the music scene full-time; and, as an amenity – being directly responsible for the retention of an advertising firm with several employees (Seman, 2012).

Closely examining the estimated economic impacts of a facet of Denton's music scene helps highlight two significant differences between what Porter (2000) documents as an economic cluster and what this study found when placing his framework on a music scene. First, although functioning like an economic cluster with many of the traits detailed by Porter (2000), music scenes are arts-based with participants not always seeking financial gains as a reward for aesthetic production. In some cases, aesthetic production is the reward. As Matthew Barnhart was quoted earlier in this study, "Your product is not that you're a band – the product is the art you make." This disconnect is mirrored in some of Porter's (2000) dynamics that are prominent in his work, but are less

emphasized or entirely absent in my study sample. For example, bands did not offer incentives internally “for achieving high productivity” nor did they tailor their aesthetic output in order to satisfy “new buyer needs.”

Competition is a dubious point as well. Porter (2000) suggests that while there is a high level of cooperation in clusters, there is also a high level of competition amongst firms. Denton’s music scene is not without a competitive nature, but it is overwhelmingly cooperative. Using Porter’s theoretical framework, it could be argued that this is a trait of a cluster that isn’t advanced, but if one looks to the arguably more successful cluster in Athens, Georgia, the same emphasis on cooperation is present (Jipson, 1994). The reason for this disparity could be that arts-based economic clusters are more successful as the level of competition is reduced. Another reason could also be the financial level at which Denton’s cluster operates. Midlake is one of the most financially established firms in the study sample, but their economic success is nowhere near the level of a Hewlett Packard or Apple – to make such a comparison would be similar to comparing a golf ball to the planet Jupiter. This extends to all the firms in the study sample. Examination of additional music scenes – and other types of cultural scenes – within Porter’s (2000) economic cluster framework is needed to better understand the competition dynamic.

The second major difference between how Porter (2000) details his cluster theory and how Denton’s music scene operates as an economic cluster is that the clustering process in Denton doubles as an amenity, an urban redevelopment catalyst, and a community development catalyst – in addition to facilitating employment networks as Scott (2005) and Currid (2007) note is true in the film and fashion industries. Porter

(2000) alludes to the potential for a cluster to have indirect economic effects – such as fostering tourism – but does not explore this facet of the cluster equation.

Cultural production activity functioning in the aforementioned ways is not a new finding in the broader scope of literature concerning the creative industries and economics; this study helps further that dialogue and provides additional support for existing theories. What is significant is the consideration of music scenes in these arenas. This study helps support and further defines Florida's (2002) creative capital theory by demonstrating that music scenes are amenities attracting educated, highly skilled human capital while also operating as economic clusters offering opportunities for positive externalities to local economies – facts Florida (2002) suggests broadly. The findings in this study also provide greater detail to Markusen and Schrock's (2009) consumption-driven economic development theory by examining how the economic cluster dynamics of music scenes facilitate development of the consumable products the authors suggest drive local and regional economies.

Music scenes functioning as catalysts for urban redevelopment is briefly explored elsewhere in literature and this study adds to that growing body of knowledge. Although a minor point in the findings, Denton's music scene is responsible for the adaptive reuse of the former offices of a cement company into a venue and instrumental in actualizing the entertainment district that the City's master plan suggested. Neither event is on the scale of catalytic projects examined in Omaha, Nebraska (Seman, 2010a) or Manchester, England (Botta, 2008; Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen, 2000), but each further the emerging discourse on the subject.

More broadly, these instances of urban redevelopment along with Denton's house show "circuit" phenomenon described earlier add perspective to how local arts activity can proactively engage the built environment, sometimes resulting in the development of "informal" or "unplanned" arts districts (Campo and Ryan, 2008; Chapple, Jackson, and Martin, 2010; Stern & Seifert, 2005). Although a tangential point outside the scope of the primary research question, the results connecting Denton's music scene and the urban landscape combined with future work addressing the same connection in other cities may lead to the construction of a typology of urban redevelopment projects local music scenes might catalyze.

Analysis of Denton's music scene also offered insight into the social interactions that take place in the physical spaces facilitating cultural production. A result of this insight is this study illuminating a music scene's strength as a community development catalyst – a finding not covered in previous literature. Denton's music scene produces a number of people who hold public office or benefit the city while participating in the music scene or working with other scene members outside of it. This speaks to Denton's music scene exhibiting characteristics of both creative and social capital theory in terms of ease of entry into the scene and the alternately strong and porous ties within it.

Denton's music scene is a fluid network intertwined with the community at large. This scenario is mirrored somewhat by a similar duality in Silicon Valley which finds tech workers "side-by-side" with musicians, artists, urban planners, community organizers, and others "hacking" everything from personal artistic creations to community systems in order to create better versions of the originals benefiting the

interwoven communities – a process entitled, “socialstructuring” (Gorbis, 2013). Grodach (2011a) and Markusen, et al. (2006) begin to address this topic in their respective work on artist centers and the beneficial influence they have on artists, the scenes they inhabit, and the neighborhoods surrounding them. Further analysis in Denton and other cities concerning music scenes as catalysts for community development would present a new direction in research for cultural production, extend Grodach (2011a) and Markusen, et al.’s (2006) work, and explore the concept of “socialstructuring” in more detail.

This study offers that Denton’s music scene is an economic cluster as defined by Porter (2000); it also supports the author’s observation that not all clusters operate in a similar manner. Additionally, this study demonstrates that a cultural production-based economic cluster may also function as an amenity and a catalyst for urban redevelopment and community development. Despite these subtle differences, there are still many direct comparisons that can be made between Denton’s music scene and other economic clusters such as Silicon Valley.

The findings of this study suggest that local policymakers in Denton and elsewhere should address their music scenes like they would any other economic cluster in order to foster existing economic externalities in addition to igniting new economic possibilities. In order to facilitate that suggestion, the following chapter provides a brief analysis of how other cities address their music scenes through policy initiatives – essentially, a beginner’s guide to developing initiatives that best address a music scene as an economic cluster. The practical application of the knowledge in this study will be the true measure of its success.

Chapter 9

How Do You Start Building a City on Rock and Roll?

9.1 Denton Wakes Up

Having established that Denton's music scene operates like an economic cluster with numerous positive economic and community development externalities, the next step to consider is does the City of Denton address it through policy in any meaningful way? Although Porter (1998, 2000) states that the majority of "clusters form independently of government and sometimes in spite of it," he also suggests that for a cluster to "upgrade," becoming more productive and innovative, government should first recognize that, "a cluster is present," then concentrate on "removing obstacles, relaxing constraints, and eliminating inefficiencies" (Porter, 2000, p. 26). The fact that Denton's music scene is as robust as it is supports Porter's (2000) observation that clusters often emerge below the radar of local governments. Unfortunately, much like the gulf that exists between music scene and UNT, there has historically been a disconnect between it and local policymakers.

9.1.1 "For the longest time we felt like... the red headed stepchildren..."

Glen Farris, a musician and also production manager at Spune, one of the top concert promoters in the DFW region, sums up the disconnect between Denton's music scene and local policymakers as late as 2003 stating, "When I got here, the City had no idea. The only band from Denton in their mind was Brave Combo." This disconnect has not been entirely black and white, however. Both venue owners in the interview sample noted the outstanding difficulties in initially navigating the permit and code enforcement

process when establishing their clubs several years prior. This speaks to both the City's formerly adversarial relationship with the music scene and generalized difficulties in starting a new business within its boundaries. Josh Baish, owner of Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios details the difficulties he encountered when transitioning his venue from a DIY all-ages space into a legitimate venue in 2000:

It was long and arduous and completely draining because I had no clue. And the City of Denton at that time did nothing and was, "Who is this punk kid trying to start a live music venue? We shut down the Argo a long time ago..." The City hated the Argo. Hated it. The fire marshal was in there all the time. It was a little more wild I guess, because it was very kind of DIY, punk rock sensibility. The cops were there all the time. I don't know for a fact, but I believe Rob had a lot of problems with the TABC at the time. They didn't have liquor, but they did have beer and wine. They viewed me as an extension of that. I got no love and no help from them (the City). It took me just jumping through their hoops and their hurdles. And no sooner would I complete a task... and none of this was written down, "Okay this is what you have to do next and then we're good." No. They would give me a task and I would complete it, then they would give me another task to go back and correct that task, and then they would throw me another task. They had absolutely no love for Denton DIY, or the music scene, or whatever. Which is funny because if you look at how Denton loves to congratulate itself now... on the City of Denton website... Oh, our music scene! Oh, Denton music! And they did everything back in the day to make it as difficult... at least to me... They didn't want it to be a DIY thing... we'll make it as difficult as possible to make that transition happen, and they did.

Rob Peters, former owner of the DIY venue, The Argo – which many point to as the focal point and catalyst for Denton's music scene as it operates today – confirms the friction that Baish details and offers that consistent police harassment was a significant factor in the venue ultimately closing its doors (R. Peters, personal communication, June, 21 2013). Dan Mojica, the owner of Dan's Silverleaf, had a more mixed relationship with the City starting out and is now one of the reasons the City has improved relations with the music scene. Mojica's difficulties speak to the onerous process of starting a business

in Denton. Although stating that the “City has been pretty good to me,” he does offer that “there is somewhat of an adversarial nature to working with them.” This friction is the result of navigating the “nuts and bolts” of running a business relating to code enforcement and suggests that the City could be “a little more business friendly” (D. Mojica, personal communication, January 24, 2013). Mojica’s difficulties are perplexing in that his opening Dan’s Silverleaf in what some would identify as a blighted section of the city was the catalyst that finally ignited the arts corridor and associated redevelopment in the area as suggested for years in the City’s comprehensive plan, *A Vision for Denton: the 21st Century*.

The lack of City representatives to address Denton’s music scene in any meaningful manner hit an apex and a turning point simultaneously with the scene’s output. The 35 Denton music festival is arguably the highest profile event associated with the music scene garnering substantial press regionally and nationally and enticing thousands of visitors to attend. As such, it is often a proxy for the entire scene in the eyes of the City of Denton. Festival organizer, Chris Flemmons, intended the festival to be a vehicle to market the city of Denton more in a fashion more representative of the city’s reality as home to many that participate in its creative economy, not as City representatives had been for years, he explains:

One of the things I wanted the festival to do was to have the City think about itself in a more sophisticated manner. I didn’t want them running ads in *Southern Living* magazine where the average age of the reader is above 55. I wanted them to devote more of their budget to talking about the vibrant music community here as opposed to horse tours you can take in Pilot Point.

Despite the altruistic, civic-minded ideals of the festival (promotional materials even prominently highlighted the City's walkable downtown), one of the biggest challenges faced in the planning and execution of it in the initial years was the inability of City representatives to fully engage proactively with the organizers despite people such as the mayor touting the benefits of it to the city in the press (C. Flemmons, personal communication, December 29, 2012; Rodrigue, 2010). Of particular concern to Flemmons was (and still is) the lack of support in the form of in-kind donations of City services, which he states is standard in cities such as Austin during their massive South-By-Southwest music festival. Again, Flemmons explains:

I can tell you right now, the festival, there is still an outflow of money for City services. I'm talking blocking streets and police and fire that needs to stop, because it's still the largest portion of money we spend on anything. At the same time, on a City level, I feel like the amount of sales tax revenue the festival generates, the kind of profile our festival generates... we are doing a lot of free promo for the town and providing sales tax revenue over four days and we're getting charged for those services. A town like Austin would not charge for those services on something they saw as having such a value. They (the City) throw us bones. I mean that's just me being blunt about it. They like to think they are doing us this huge favor, but when we have \$30,000 flowing out for City services, it's like, other towns don't charge for this when you're providing this much of a boon for the economy of your place. That's something that will get worked out. We are all close and can talk to each other bluntly about this stuff. But it's us getting into our fifth year of this stuff and still making payments, it's not right.

Glen Farris initially ran into similar problems in 2005 with the City of Denton while working for Spune and booking, managing, and promoting the first of what has now become a string of music festivals in the city:

Well, the first Wall of Sound was a nightmare. All we wanted to do was put barricades on the street... do a street closure. It was a nightmare what they put us through just to do a street closure on a Saturday on a street where Hannah's wasn't there yet – that was an empty building... it was insanity. They almost

didn't let us do it... I had to talk to the police chief, the fire chief, and it was like none of them would sign off on anything... my view of that stuff is that you have to jump through the obvious hoops, like get your food trucks inspected and it's like, okay, we don't want people to get sick either. But in Denton, my early experience was like... there is no reason. It felt like they were just trying to make it as hard as possible to do anything, not for any reason, not for safety's sake, there was just no reason behind it

This early lack of attention to the music scene by City representatives extended to successful bands as well. Coinciding with 35 Denton's rise in profile and influence, Midlake grew as a band and developed an international audience. Once a group of college-aged friends sharing a rental house, Midlake is now not only a successful band, but responsible for two studios, a bar, and a music production company. Guitarist and singer, Eric Pulido, like Flemmons and Farris, feels that initially the City of Denton was unaccommodating to their pursuits, stating, "For the longest time, we felt like, and maybe a lot of bands felt like this, that we were the red headed stepchildren to the Denton grey hairs of Denton politics." Pulido then details the change in his thinking towards the subject, in part facilitated by a recent shift in thought by City representatives:

...there came a point when I realized that kind of attitude isn't going to get them or us anywhere. We have to find a middle ground so it's not like "You have your side of town and we have ours." We should want the same things and share the same goals and try to figure out strategically together. They (the City) can't deny what's going on and we can't deny an establishment exists in a city or government. Denton puts out like a traveler's brochure of Denton and Kim Phillips, who heads up the Denton CVB, had a quote in there that said something like "Bands like Midlake are great for our city because they're kind of a liaison for our city around the country and around the world because they talk up our city for free"... I didn't even know she knew who we were. That was so cool. At that point, I started to connect some of these dots and met Kim and Julie Glover and Mark (Burroughs) and I already knew Kevin (Roden).

Those in the study sample that are City representatives mirror the recent change in Pulido's perspective. Although there are no formal policy initiatives in place specifically aimed at fostering Denton's music scene, the success of 35 Denton and Midlake and the substantial amount of press garnered by both as well as the scene in general have forced the topic into general conversation in certain City offices. Denton's Convention and Visitor's Bureau (CVB) entertains the conversation and sees the value of the music scene in terms of a mix of Florida's (2002) creative capital theory and Markusen and King's (2009) consumption-driven urban development theory wherein Denton's music scene helps brand the city as "creative" and "independent," attracting tourists and educated, highly-skilled human capital or retaining the same human capital that has recently graduated from one of the two universities in Denton. But how the CVB addresses the music scene is problematic (K. Phillips, personal communication, January 11, 2013).

The CVB acknowledges the value of Denton's music scene as an amenity and branding tool for the city, but the only official channels through which it addresses the music scene speak to the disconnect mentioned earlier and a city just now attempting to foster a functioning economic cluster in its own backyard. The CVB officially decided to facilitate DentonRadio.com, an "Internet radio station" designed to "create a forum for the whole world to hear Denton," helping to brand and market the city. On the surface, the CVB leveraging Denton's music scene in this manner makes perfect sense as Florida (2002) suggests that local music scenes are valuable tools for city branding and marketing. Unfortunately, this welcome first step comes via an anachronistic delivery method. In the age of Web 2.0 where recent college graduates and music fans primarily

embrace music through personally curated channels like Spotify and Pandora and are informed about music and scenes via blogs like Pitchfork and Gorilla Vs. Bear, the act of dedicating time and money to foster DentonRadio.com is akin to paying dinosaurs to travel the globe in steam-powered locomotives, handing out 8-track tapes with recordings of Denton bands on them. Leveraging the same idea, but in a way more suitable with modern technological advances is Austin's Music Division who is developing the "Austin Independent Radio Smartphone App" in conjunction with representatives from the city's technology cluster (Titan Music Group, 2012).

The other official channel through which the CVB addresses Denton's music scene is the 35 Denton music festival. The CVB views 35 Denton as an event emblematic of the "creative culture" of the city with significant growth potential in terms of economic impact, but still considers the festival in an embryonic stage despite its documented \$2 million dollar economic impact in 2010 (Seman, 2010b). The CVB kept its distance from the festival in its initial years due to the act of offering support at that time being "a little bit difficult" because it was "a very low budget event." The CVB reasons that 35 Denton didn't "spend a lot of money in its production" and the performers and audience members were "on the lower-spending end for the most part." The festival has only recently reached a size large enough for the CVB to officially address. From a policy standpoint, Heying (2010) suggests that the CVB's hesitancy to interact with 35 Denton is detrimental, offering that policymakers should foster local creative producers and entrepreneurs as they develop to "give them some advice; help them out; stick with them when they make mistakes" (Heying, 2010, p. 284). The CVB's interaction with the 35

Denton music festival in 2013 consisted of helping festival organizers secure blocks of hotels rooms at a discounted rate and “partnering” with them on promotions. While the hotel room connection provided a perceived benefit by festival organizers, all local, regional, and national press – save for one obscure trade magazine article – was garnered by the festival’s in-house promotional staff. This stands in stark contrast to the close relationship that the Austin City Limits Music Festival has with the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau (ACVB). The festival and ACVB work together to garner press in national travel magazines in order to boost tourism and help define the City’s brand. This relationship was established in the “early years” of the festival’s development (K. LaValley, personal communication, September 18, 2013; K. Phillips, personal communication, January 11, 2013; Titan Music Group, 2012).

Fully cognizant of the disconnect between the music scene and the City and working to mitigate it is Julie Glover, a former music scene participant and current Economic Development Program Administrator for the City of Denton. Glover has recently pushed the subject to the forefront of her conversations with various City representatives, admitting that Denton’s music scene as part of an economic development strategy is a subject just now gaining attention. “I think it’s kind of one that gets overlooked,” she says. “When you say economic development people think Peterbilt, Apple, Dell, they think these huge things. Deals like that come along once a decade... it’s your small businesses and your grassroots people that are your bread and butter of the economic development movement.”

Glover notes the difficulty in tracking the economic impact of the music scene and the lack of any attempts on the City's behalf to quantify it as impediments to her being able to more proactively incorporate it into her office's official mission. Glover does actively address the music scene through assisting venues, most notably helping Dan's Silverleaf relocate, and has reached out to 35 Denton during its earliest incarnation as an unofficial "liaison," solving problems for the festival on the City's side. One of the first meetings Glover had with the City's recently hired Director of Economic Development concerned the music scene and its value as catalyst for economic development, specifically the 35 Denton music festival. "I think 35 Denton is very, very important to the future of where we are and what we've become as a city," she says, but concedes that policy is heavily influenced by the members of City Council. Glover is optimistic, however, as current council members are "younger thinking" and "see the value" in the music scene (J. Glover, personal communication, January 4, 2013).

Kevin Roden is one such council member that is "younger thinking." Also a former active participant in Denton's music scene, Roden is now the council representative for District 1 – a position he admits holding due to overwhelming support from the music scene during his campaign. As a representative of District 1, most of the city's venues and the footprint of the 35 Denton music festival are under his political jurisdiction. Roden sees a multi-tiered value in Denton's music scene. Like Phillips, Roden feels it operates as an amenity attracting and retaining recent college graduates that Florida (2002) suggests drives regional growth – a point this study supports. Roden also thinks the music scene is an amenity that retains creative professionals with

established careers who are also active musicians – another point this study supports. Finally, Roden values the music scene as an entrepreneurial incubator; and, like Porter (2000), acknowledges that as a cluster it cuts across several industries with unintentional spillovers of talent and knowledge in other creative industries. Due to these understandings, Roden’s office officially incorporates Denton’s music scene into its policy initiatives. Results of this include the Denton Creatives Initiative aimed at facilitating the development of entrepreneurs and their projects in creative industries, active participation in advising and developing educational content for the 35 Denton music festival, and steps taken to help develop official City policy concerning Denton’s music scene. (K. Roden, personal communication, January 8, 2013).

After decades of what Pulido describes as a divided city of music scene participants versus politicians and policymakers, the City of Denton is finally cognizant of its music scene. Actions taken by Phillips, Glover, and Roden to facilitate this cognizance span from the well-meaning, but misguided internet radio marketing attempt by Phillips to Roden’s holistic networking of music scene participants with Denton’s broader creative economy – a mixed bag, but a way forward. All three view Denton’s music scene as a catalyst for economic development – as this study also suggests – and are incorporating that angle into the City’s administrative discourse. The work by the three City representatives also points to the possibility of Denton’s music scene officially finding a place on the City’s policy agenda. If that were to happen and City representatives actively sought to help in “removing obstacles, relaxing constraints, and eliminating inefficiencies” for the music scene, Porter (2000) suggests that as an

economic cluster it may “upgrade” (Porter, 2000, p. 26). This could result in a more robust and economically beneficial scene such as the one found in the similar sized city, Athens, Georgia.

Theoretically, Markusen and Schrock (2009) support the actions of Phillips, Glover, and Roden by suggesting that fostering cultural activity and programming already present in the community “may be as important to economic development as export-oriented programs” (Markusen and Schrock, 2009, p. 346). Florida’s (2002) work also supports the recent efforts by the three City representatives as he offers that music scenes reflect cities that are “open to new ideas, new people and creativity,” in turn making them attractive to the educated, highly-skilled human capital that he suggests drives regional growth. As such, Florida (2002) encourages local policymakers to facilitate them because doing so can be “just as important as investing in high-tech business and far more effective than building a downtown mall” (Florida, 2002, p. 229).

9.2 Meanwhile in Omaha, Flint, Manchester, etc...

While the City of Denton is in the beginning stages of acknowledging its music scene, other cities are a few steps further in the process, realizing the potential of these economic clusters and addressing them through formal policy in varying ways. Like the positive externalities discussed in the last chapter, policy analysis is outside the scope of this study and is not intrinsic to answering the overarching research question. However, as there is little research concerning how music scenes and cities may mutually benefit from addressing scenes in policy initiatives and this study points to scenes operating as economic clusters with positive economic externalities, the following is meant to give the

reader perspective on how to apply the knowledge gained from this study and encourage further research on the topic.

There is no shortage of literature suggesting and critiquing policy aimed at cultural production. Evidenced by the wealth of articles, books, and news items this study cites, the focus of the discourse is largely cultural production's value to a city's economy and how city policymakers might better address this production for economic development and the urban redevelopment of their respective cities. A dominant theme of this focus is that mandated "top-down" policy prescriptions of physical infrastructure development are less effective than policymakers identifying existing networks of cultural producers and finding ways to facilitate their efforts in organic, "bottom-up" approaches to facilitating cultural production. Garcia (2004), Mommaas (2004), and Power and Scott (2004) point to formalized, top-down projects failing to connect with existing arts scenes, ultimately not fostering the continued development of scene participants individually or as a group (in some cases, alienating them altogether) and subsequently curtailing the positive economic externalities these scenes often produce.

A major driver in the recent proliferation of top-down tactics in cultural policy initiatives dates to 1997 and the opening of Spain's starchitect designed, flagship art museum, Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. The museum met with critical acclaim and experienced immediate success as a tourist magnet, helping to boost the city's flagging economy and image (Plaza 2000, 2006). The success of this urban redevelopment project and a general shift in cultural policy favoring economic development and city branding ignited a wave of similar flagship projects focusing on culture and looking to replicate the

“Bilbao Effect” (Grodach, 2010; Kong, 2000). However, Grodach (2008, 2010) suggests that a lack of planning regarding how to best integrate these projects in the existing urban landscape and with local cultural producers may lead some to fail at their prescribed goals of catalyzing tourist dollars and furthering urban redevelopment.

As this study suggests, music scenes rarely make an appearance in literature addressing the intersection of economic development and cultural planning and policy; it is almost entirely absent in the discourse concerning top-down versus bottom-up policy strategies. This is not to say that what is published is not helpful, just that until more research is completed, one needs to synthesize the scarcity of what has been published with what is currently happening in order to offer policy suggestions. For the purpose of framing the knowledge presented in this study in a way applicable for policymakers to address emerging scenes in their cities, smaller to mid-sized scenes rooted largely in the rock genre were considered for analysis.¹⁷

The most important step in addressing music scenes through policy is to take a bottom-up approach and simply listen. If city representatives have no idea what is happening in their backyard, they are not likely to embrace it in any meaningful way, no matter at what volume the scene is operating – Denton is a prime example of this. In

¹⁷ Nashville provides perhaps the best example of a music scene operating as an economic cluster. It is not addressed in this section of the study for two reasons. First, Nashville’s scene operating as an economic cluster has evolved to an industrial level dwarfing Denton’s scene. The size, long history, and current industrial nature of Nashville’s scene necessitates more room than is appropriate in this study to detail its development then suggest applicable policy options for developing scenes – as it is, including Austin is pushing the envelope. Second, like many other scenes, there is a lack of literature placing Nashville’s into the framework of Porter’s work on economic clustering, especially outside of the scene’s industrial aspects. It should be noted Richard Florida (and to an extent, Richard Lloyd) has forthcoming work exploring the economic clustering dynamics of Nashville’s scene.

order to address a music scene as an economic cluster, representatives must first recognize that one exists in their city. Once representatives hear their local scene whether literally in person or conceptually through media outlets, co-workers, or friends, the next step is to locate stakeholders in the scene and listen to them to understand what would help the cluster to be more productive. As this study demonstrates, there may be multiple stakeholders representing various micro scenes and genres comprising the larger scene – an attempt should be made to incorporate all subsectors of the scene in the same way that Porter (2000) suggests that addressing economic clusters requires consideration that clusters spillover amongst multiple industries. Cities in which these steps had fruitful consequences include Omaha, Nebraska, Flint, Michigan, and Manchester, England (Brown, O’Connor, and Cohen, 2000; Seman, 2010a; Seman, 2013).

Omaha’s music scene developed like many others in the wake of indie rock’s emergence in the United States and then the Nirvana explosion with an all-ages DIY venue, the Cog Factory, operating under the radar supplying the needed space and networking for a collection of bands and an influential indie record label to emerge. After hitting critical mass globally, Saddle Creek Records looked to reinvest in Omaha and develop a venue, larger office, and warehouse space. Unbeknownst to the label, the Mayor’s office had an “informal policy” to monitor and help the music scene in the city (which Saddle Creek Records and their Omaha-based bands drove) and immediately offered their resources in order to make the development project a reality. The \$10.2 million dollar mixed-use project, “Slowdown,” was an immediate success and satisfied the goals of both the label and the City while helping the scene by offering more

performance space, greater leverage for the label, and employment for scene members (Seman, 2010b).

Throughout much of the 1990's and early 2000's, the music scene in Flint, Michigan orbited around Flint Local 432, an all-ages DIY venue responsible for drawing thousands of participants annually to the city's failed downtown core. Like Denton's music scene, Flint's acted as an amenity attracting residents, provided positive economic externalities in the form of new businesses and tax revenue, helped catalyze urban redevelopment, and facilitated community development with scene participants taking positions in local government due to their experiences within the scene. Also like Denton's music scene, Flint's operated largely under the radar of the City until its nucleus, Flint Local 432 closed its doors. The absence of thousands of visitors annually to Flint's downtown core attracted the attention of a major stakeholder in the city, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. A dialogue was established between the Foundation and the former director of the all-ages venue, needs were assessed, and a substantial grant was awarded to reopen the venue as well as expand its programming capacity. Mirroring the immediate success of Slowdown in Omaha, the reopened Flint Local 432 exceeded everyone's expectations (Seman, 2013).

Manchester, England has a history of successful music scene activity. In the 1980's the scene thrived in a neglected section of the city helping to spawn a successful cultural economy responsible for venues, bars, restaurants, and retail. As in Denton, the City of Manchester lagged in recognizing the music scene and its economic clustering dynamics. A collective effort by stakeholders in the "Northern Quarter," where the

cluster thrived, opened the dialogue between the stakeholders and the City. Unsure how to help the music scene, the City listened to stakeholders who recommended the it take a “hands-off” approach regarding firms within the music industry instead focusing on how to use already established machinations to help the industry succeed. Specific recommendations included addressing transportation and venue licensing issues while broader sentiment supported removing barriers to running small businesses. One City initiative directly targeting the local music scene and music industry was an offer of “modest” financial support to start an international music convention in Manchester (Brown, O’Connor, and Cohen, 2000).

The independent gathering of stakeholders in Manchester for the purpose of interacting with city representatives is not uncommon. Before Austin, Texas self-identified as the “Live Music Capital of the World,” it took a concerted effort amongst stakeholders and city representatives to shepherd music into official city policy strategies. In the early 1980’s, several music scene participants initiated a dialogue with Austin’s Chamber of Commerce and its Austin Visitors and Conventions Bureau arm in order to encourage the Chamber to incorporate the city’s small, but highly productive music scene as a tool for economic development. It was suggested that Austin’s music scene was an amenity and business development catalyst, not just a hook for tourism. The adhoc committee also wanted the Visitors and Convention Bureau to update the imagery of the scene they used – the once dominant “Progressive Country” genre had receded in popularity and the Austin scene had expanded into a collection of micro scenes much like Denton’s is today. The Chamber agreed with the scene participants and this lead to it

forming the Austin Music Advisory Committee in 1984 (later transitioning into the Austin Music Industry Council) in order to help incorporate the music scene in economic development efforts of the city and the broader economy as an industry in its own right (Shank, 1994).

The continuing dialogue between scene members and city representatives reaped measurable benefits for Austin's music scene and the city. Initial efforts of the City and the Committee helped garner national media attention via music trade magazines, magazine articles, and MTV programming giving national exposure to the scene and its artists. In 1990, the Austin City Council created the Austin Music Commission designed to meet with the Council monthly to detail current challenges in the music scene and help develop policy to offer solutions. One of the first collective decisions of the Council and Commission was to create a "music liaison" position to act as a full-time bridge between the City and the Commission, funded by the City's general fund. The liaison became a staff member of the City's Department of Planning and Development with the responsibility of marketing the music scene's efforts, handling publicity, and mitigating all music-related disputes between the scene, city residents, and the City. Eventually, the liaison position moved over to the Austin Visitors and Conventions Bureau and gained a budget for marketing expenses (Langer, 1996; Shank, 1994; Titan Music Group, 2012).

The success of the Austin Music Commission helped it facilitate the Live Music Task Force in 2008 as a response to the influx of new residents in the city's downtown core who were pressuring the Austin Planning Commission to institute a new sound ordinance that would effectively curtail operations at many live music venues in the heart

of the city's music scene. The Live Music Task Force was comprised of 15 members with 12 representing the music scene and three representing neighborhood associations. The Task Force was instructed to develop policy suggestions to help Austin's City Council address the live music controversy in the downtown core and better address live music in the city in general. The Task Force had a predetermined lifespan of six months and was dissolved after it presented its policy suggestions to the City Council (Titan Music Group, 2012).

Along with recommendations to help mitigate the sound problem in Austin's downtown core, the Task Force delivered an array of other recommendations, the most substantial being that the City create a Music Division separate from other cultural departments within its existing organizational structure. The Task Force reasoned that Austin's music scene operates in a for-profit capacity playing a role in the city's economic development pursuits so policy directed towards other cultural activity in the city may not be appropriate due to that activity being largely non-profit in nature. The City agreed with this recommendation and instituted the Music Division under the Economic Growth and Redevelopment Services department with three full-time employees and a budget of \$374,000 (Titan Music Group, 2012).

The Music Division is perceived as a success by both the City and residents and functions as "...an economic development accelerator and centralized resource center for Austin's music industry, and an active community partner for Austin's citizens, community groups, and neighborhoods," while also focusing its efforts on "job creation, talent export, trade development, and industry revenue growth" (City of Austin, 2013;

Titan Music Group, 2012). The Music Division facilitates programs spanning education, financing, promotion, and business retention and development for music scene participants and those who want to become involved. The Division has shaped City policy initiatives addressing issues such as loading and unloading zones for musicians and the noise from downtown venues. The Division also works with many other public and private groups acting as an intermediary and networking hub while in some cases helping to facilitate their programs. The Music Division in conjunction with the other initiatives both public and private previously detailed have propelled the exponential growth of Austin's music scene from one in the early 1980's that was slightly larger than Denton's is today into an estimated \$1.6 billion dollar industry in 2012 (Austin Music Commission, 2012; Austin Music People, 2013; Titan Music Group, 2012).

Perhaps the biggest outcome from the partnership amongst music scene participants, City representatives, and those representing the city's economic interests is the South-By-Southwest (SXSW) Music and Media Conference. It was the Austin Chamber of Commerce's idea (with the support of music scene participants) to develop SXSW. Together with the alternative newsweekly the *Austin Chronicle* and help from the Austin Visitors and Conventions Bureau, the Chamber helped the conference debut in 1987 with support financial and otherwise from the three main entities. As SXSW was barely a blip on the radar its inaugural year, presumably its economic impact was tiny. Since that first year, SXSW has grown to a point where its annual economic impact for Austin in 2012 was \$190 million dollars. This success has encouraged other music festivals to blossom in Austin and the City's Economic Development Department

provides liaison service between festival organizers and the City (Austin Music People, 2013; City of Austin, 2013; Shank, 1994).

The development of SXSW stands in stark contrast to the reluctance of Denton's Conventioneers and Visitors Bureau to support the 35 Denton music festival in any meaningful way. As detailed in a prior chapter, the Conventioneers and Visitors Bureau perceived the economic impact of 35 Denton to be too small in its initial stages to lend support. Had the Austin Chamber of Commerce and Austin Visitors and Conventions Bureau made the same decision, a valuable economic opportunity for the city would have been lost – an observation supporting Heying's (2010) conclusion that policymakers should foster cultural producers and their activities in their earliest steps. Conversely, Julie Glover's efforts as an unofficial liaison between the City of Denton and 35 Denton while employed in the City's Department of Economic Development are prescient and represent a best practice for other cities hosting music festivals.

Taking a cue from Austin is Seattle, Washington. A regional scene that found its nucleus in the city in the mid-1980's, Seattle scene participants navigated a city hostile to their efforts even after the "grunge" explosion a few years later propelled Seattle into households worldwide. At the heart of the matter was the "Teen Dance Ordinance" (TDO) requiring promoters, venues, or bands looking to host shows accessible by those under 21 years of age to purchase \$1,000,000 worth of liability insurance, employ off-duty police officers, and adhere to a narrow age policy requiring attendees to be between 15 and 18. This drastically curtailed the presence of scene incubators, all-ages DIY venues and forced shows to take place in neighboring cities with many local and touring

bands avoiding the city entirely. It is telling that the Metropolis, an all-ages DIY venue that opened and closed before the TDO was enacted, was an incubator for Seattle's grunge micro scene with manager Susan Silver, photographer Charles Peterson, Sub Pop Records co-founder Bruce Pavitt, and members of Nirvana, Soundgarden, and Pearl Jam among many others pointing to the venue as crucial to the scene's development (Curtis, 2008; McMurray, 2009).

Tiring of the City's antagonism to a music scene that was internationally recognized and responsible for a growing portion of the city's economy, the bassist of the multi-platinum selling grunge band, Nirvana and other scene members formed the Joint Artists and Musicians Political Action Committee (JAMPAC) in 1995 to lobby for the music scene in city policy matters. The organization's initial, primary focus was repealing the TDO, which eventually led to their lending support to a scene-friendly mayoral candidate. Concurrently, the Seattle City Council formed the Seattle Music and Youth Task Force to better understand issues impeding the city's music scene, while the City gave \$20,000 to seed the Vera Project, an all-ages DIY venue catering to a wide range of music genres within the scene that is also a community building catalyst. The Vera Project has since become a paradigm others across the country seek to replicate (Curtis, 2008; Stewart, 2010).

Despite the proactive policy steps taken by the City, the fight to repeal the TDO was several years in length and mired in divisive politics and lawsuits. By 2002, the more amenable All-ages Dance Ordinance (AADO) was finally approved and the election of scene-friendly mayor, Greg Nickels helped continue the City's trend of incorporating its

music scene into policy. The City of Seattle via their Office of Film and Music launched an extensive “City of Music” initiative in 2008 promoting a holistic consideration of music in Seattle’s economy and channeled into three main topics – musicians, live shows, and the business. Guiding this initiative is a formal relationship between the City and the Seattle Music Commission comprised of 21 scene participants. The Commission is tasked with “advising City officials regarding leadership and support in the music arena, and also serving as a forum for City employees and departments to share information on upcoming issues and opportunities of relevance to Seattle's music sector.” Items the Commission has addressed with the City include expanding busking and public performance opportunities, integrating local music in the Sea-Tac airport, establishing venue loading zones, advising the Chamber of Commerce concerning their “music industry sector strategy” and outreach events, and facilitating educational opportunities with local schools and universities (Curtis, 2008; Seattle City of Music, 2014; Seattle Music Commission, 2013).

The above are examples of cities incorporating their music scenes into policy agendas, either formally or informally and by their own volition or at the urging of scene participants. Considered in light of this study’s results, these examples point to the benefits of facilitating a music scene as one would an economic cluster with resulting positive economic externalities. As discussed earlier in relation to Denton’s music scene, these examples validate Porter’s (2000) suggestion that often policymakers are unaware that a cluster exists and the development of them happens without, or in spite of, attention from city representatives. Additionally, certain aspects of the examples also speak to

Porter's blanket suggestion that for a cluster to upgrade, policymakers need to first recognize that a cluster exists, then focus on "removing obstacles, relaxing constraints, and eliminating inefficiencies that impede productivity and innovation in the cluster" – dynamics of a bottom-up approach to cultural policy (Porter, 2000, p. 26).

Placing music scenes into policy frameworks doesn't always produce positive results. Even in the best-case scenarios just discussed, problems can arise. Austin's music scene and the policies supporting it are still at odds with the city's continued success and its other cultural industries. Despite the efforts of the City's Music Division, the high concentration of venues in Austin's city core continue to feel pressure to mitigate their sound output as substantial residential redevelopment projects flood the area and gentrification of the immediate surrounding neighborhoods has resulted in record numbers of noise complaints. In addition, the formation of the Music Division was not without controversy as some Austin arts organizations felt slighted by the proceedings. In Seattle, the methods JAMPAC used during their pursuit of altering the City's music policy were critiqued publicly as being inefficient and potentially damaging (City of Austin 2012; Dunbar, 2012; Feit, 2002; Grodach, 2011b; Kanin, 2012).

Executing public policy initiatives regarding cultural production is not an exact science and sometimes top-down and bottom-up efforts can meet at a middle ground. Omaha's urban redevelopment project, Slowdown, was the result of intense City interaction and ultimately located exactly where policymakers wanted it in order to catalyze further redevelopment. At the same time, the project was driven and managed by scene participants who found working with the City a positive experience. The resulting

Slowdown mixed-use entertainment redevelopment project is a balanced mix of top-down and bottom-up approaches facilitating existing cultural production networks and entrepreneurial activity while providing the City of Omaha with a desired catalyst for economic development and urban redevelopment (Seman, 2010). In Sheffield, England, the outcome was much different with a physical infrastructure project meant to benefit the local music scene left expectations unfulfilled, validating the critics of top-down cultural policy initiatives.

Sheffield, England's music scene was highly productive in the late-1970's and early 1980's with several artists such as the Human League, Cabaret Voltaire, and ABC earning international recognition and accompanying album sales. In an effort to stop the trend of successful musicians migrating to London once they met with critical and financial success, Sheffield's policymakers opened a dialogue with the city's music scene in order to ascertain what it needed to grow while retaining its participants within city limits. Of paramount importance was the availability of space for rehearsing, performing, and recording. Over the course of a decade, the City adaptively reused a collection of buildings in the city's core, dubbed it the "Cultural Industry Quarter" (CIQ) and provided the spaces requested by music scene participants in addition to developing spaces for other creative industries such as film, television, and design. The CIQ was also used by the city as a tool to rebrand the city from an aging industrial area to a creative hub and leveraged for related tourism (Brown, Cohen, O'Conner, 2000).

Sheffield's Cultural Industry Quarter met with success, but not across the board. While the film, television, and design industries utilized the space to their respective

advantages, the music industry was much less successful in this pursuit. Some entities from the music scene did leverage the CIQ for positive gains, but overall the location of the buildings outside of the music scene's natural geographic circulation proved too problematic. Firms that successfully emerged from Sheffield's music scene after the CIQ was developed either used the facilities early in their careers, then moved to a different part of the city – or outside of it entirely – to build on their successes, or they never utilized the area at all. Other problems associated with the failure of the CIQ to catalyze the city's music scene include initial regulations imposed in conjunction with use of the facilities (hours of operation, non-smoking policy, etc.) and the failure to incorporate a music business educational component offering instruction in legal, financial, and marketing arenas (Brown, Cohen, O'Conner, 2000).

A better approach to incorporating physical infrastructure in policy targeting music scenes is to take a bottom-up approach and facilitate the infrastructure that is most likely already being utilized by scene participants in some form – the all-ages DIY venue. As detailed earlier in this study, all-ages DIY venues operate in a similar manner to the labs and business incubators that dot Silicon Valley. The success of music scenes in cities like Seattle, Omaha, Flint, and Denton can all be traced back to volunteer run spaces that were open to scene participants who were under the age of 21. This phenomenon extends nationally and internationally and is mirrored in the success of community art spaces providing skills and career development for emerging artists along with functioning as an amenity attracting other artists as residents and having an “appreciable, positive impact

on... regional economies, and neighborhood development” (Markusen and Johnson, 2006, p. 12; Stewart, 2010).

9.3 Do Try This at Home – Policy Suggestions

Music scenes as economic clusters will continue to develop and thrive whether or not policymakers address them. By examining Denton’s music scene, this chapter offers insight into the beginning stages of policy development, which includes both enthusiasm and trepidation from scene participants and policymakers. When focused on music scenes elsewhere, this chapter details the scope and scale of successes possible when music scene participants and policymakers work together. As music scenes are still gaining a foothold in the discourse concerning cultural production and the urban economy, formulating suggestions for best practices to foster their development based on research and analysis is difficult, but not impossible. What follows are those suggestions.

The first step is to listen. If you live in an urban area with even some of the locational competitive advantages described in this study, chances are you already have a music scene operating within your city’s limits. Take some friends and go to a venue, see a show, talk with the bartender, door person, venue owner, band members. If you listen to them, they will point you in the right direction to begin a more detailed conversation. Next step, form an advisory group, committee, task force, commission, whatever you want to call it, but involve a cross-section of musicians, entrepreneurs, gatekeepers representing the many micro scenes of various genres that likely comprise the music scene in your city. The Seattle Music Commission includes a representative from the Seattle Symphony, an executive vice president of Sub Pop Records, and a community

coordinator from the city's hip hop micro scene. Your organization should be equally diverse. Listen to them, they will tell you what is working within the scene and what would help it.

Find ways to facilitate the efforts of your local all-ages DIY venue – it is the space that incubates the talent, firms, and networks that propel your scene. If you don't have an all-ages DIY venue in your city, obtain a copy of the *All-ages Movement Manualfesto*, a how-to guide filled with case studies from across the country published by the All-ages Movement Project. Read it and ask members of your advisory group to weigh in on the matter. There is a better than average chance that someone in your group has played any number of the venues in the guide and can offer more insight and possible introductions to the coordinators of the spaces.

You will note that several case studies in the *All-ages Movement Manualfesto* have educational components to their programming. Education is also part of policy initiatives targeting music in Austin and Seattle. By making in-roads with your local primary and secondary educational institutions, potentially looping in an all-ages DIY venue, you are engaging the human capital that will power your economic cluster in the future. Afterschool programs are a great place to start – think holistically. For example, a distinct possibility exists that the high school junior with the awesome trip hop project is also a talented screen printer – maybe he could be the connecting point bringing together the high school art department, the music scene, and your all-ages DIY venue for an informative workshop on the basics of screen printing one's own merch.

If you have a university in your city, these opportunities multiply. Keep in mind that not all universities are like Stanford who proactively engages with the local technology cluster it helped originate or the University of Georgia who designs and delivers classes that help train future music scene participants. As this study demonstrates, there can be a disconnect between the university and your music scene. There may also be a disconnect between the university and your various City departments (J. Glover, personal communication, January 4, 2013). If possible, take time and attempt to establish a line of communication with representatives from your local university's music department as well as other departments such as art, design, and film that also produce scene participants. Is there an internship program that could be facilitated by one of your City's offices with any of the firms in your music scene? Would your local music festival benefit from having interns? Would it benefit the interns? The City of Austin sponsors a music internship program through its Music Division in conjunction with the Austin Music Foundation with the targeted result being to retain musical entrepreneurs in the city (Titan Music Group, 2012).

An army of volunteers runs the 35 Denton music festival with some making multiple decisions a day in often stressful situations. These decisions are not insignificant and impact the festival's attendance, finances, and performances. During the course of research and writing this study, several 35 Denton volunteers leveraged their time at the festival into full-time positions within the festival and elsewhere due to the skill sets they developed while volunteering and recommendations provided by festival management. It

could be argued that not only does 35 Denton offer a positive economic impact for the city, it is also an unofficial job training program.

Introduce your advisory group to representatives from all of your city's departments. The economic clustering dynamics of music scenes provide ample spillover across varying industries. You may not think your city's electric department would benefit from an introduction to the local music scene until they are producing promotional materials and looking to highlight the vibrant culture of the city; or vice-versa, when a local promoter is looking to minimize the carbon footprint of his festival in the city and wants to strategize with your municipal waste department on green solutions. Both of these situations happened in Denton during the course of completing this study. In addition, as this study demonstrates, it's not uncommon for music scene participants to eventually transition into roles within city government. Why not facilitate the eventual intersection or social structuring of these networks?

The Austin Music Commission's mandate specifies that it "advise the City council on music economic development issues" and the City of Austin officially incorporates music into its economic development office (Titan Music Group, 2012). Following the advice in the prior paragraph, your city should do the same if it wants to foster its music scene as an economic cluster. The first step may be to encourage an economic development representative to participate in regularly scheduled meetings between the council and your advisory group. Keep in mind that by addressing your music scene formally through economic channels and not just cultural channels you may cause friction with your existing arts groups as it did in Austin (Grodach, 2011b; Titan

Music Group, 2012). Granted, if you have never addressed your music scene in any capacity previously and you are not yet providing funding for any policy initiatives, the friction should be minimal.

Finally, in keeping with the theme of cross-pollinating your music scene with various City departments and framing it in the idea of social structuring where participants in many different clusters and scenes coexist, interact, and often overlap, find ways to facilitate the interaction between your technology and music clusters. This study illustrates that a music scene operates like an economic cluster similar in nature to one based on technology. This study also shows that Denton's music scene has many participants who already operate in both worlds; via personal experience, one could reasonably project the same being true in other music scenes. Porter et al. (2012) note that the City of Nashville is negligent in leveraging its existing music economic cluster to benefit high technology activity in the city. The authors suggest Nashville find a way to encourage a symbiotic relationship between the two clusters as Austin has with the technology component of its SXSW festival – programming that now draws more participation than the core music activity (Gallaga, 2010; South-By-Southwest, 2013).

Scaled back to a smaller, yet rapidly growing city just waking up to the existence of a music scene within its borders, the City of Denton has an excellent opportunity to facilitate existing relationships between its technology and music clusters. It would be advantageous for the Department of Economic Development and Denton's Convention and Visitors Bureau to leverage Councilman Kevin Roden's ongoing work at fostering such relationships in the city and find ways to help the 35 Denton music festival

incorporate a technology component into its programming. There is no similar cultural event in the Dallas-Ft. Worth metropolitan region, which is home to a substantial concentration of high technology companies, employees, and entrepreneurs. Another way to leverage Roden's existing work and the Convention and Visitor Bureau's initiatives would be to refocus the DentonRadio.com program. The efforts and funding behind DentonRadio.com could be redirected into developing an app designed by members of Denton's technology cluster.

Not all cities have the locational competitive advantages described by Porter (2000) necessary to support a music scene that is productive, innovative, and rife with new firm formation just as not all cities have the basic ingredients necessary to become a technology hub. However, if some of the competitive advantages are present, addressing a music scene through public policy initiatives in a holistic manner may be a way to help establish the missing competitive advantages and foster the development of a culturally-based economic cluster in your city. Engaging existing participants and networks by simply establishing a dialogue is the first step in what is a low-cost way to develop a cultural Silicon Valley – and you will be surprised how inexpensive it can be to foster a music scene... sometimes it's as simple as closing a street for an afternoon.

Chapter 10

Epilogue: Their Own Personal Antiphons

In most parts of the country, September 5th would be considered the beginning of fall. In Texas, it is the most brutal part of summer and today is par for the course. Thankfully, I have found an air conditioned way to pass the excruciating part of the day – when the Sun makes its final descent further scorching Denton’s prairie land a retribitional shade of beige. Thankfully it will be one of the Sun’s final attempts to hang onto everyone’s psyche before the cool air seeps in between memories of October’s agricultural past. I am at Paschall Bar as an invited guest for the private listening party of Midlake’s new album. The night also serves as a way to celebrate the facts that the new album is being released on the successful ATO record label owned by multi-platinum selling artist Dave Matthews and that the band will soon embark on a tour opening for Pearl Jam, one of the most critically celebrated and commercially popular rock bands in the world. All three of these items are impressive individually, collectively they speak to the fact that Midlake’s profile will most certainly increase exponentially on national and international levels. Keep in mind that I am contemplating all of this while standing in a bar the band owns which in the two years since opening its doors has become so popular that if you don’t arrive before 10PM on a weekend night, you will most likely encounter a line to enter.

But tonight is invite only and designed to foster community development in addition to celebrating several years of the band’s hard work. A central focus of the evening is a silent auction to raise funds and awareness for a “splash park” in the city as

another option for parents to mitigate the summer Sun's unrelenting rays. The event is catered by Dan Mojica's wife, Pam Chittenden, a local chef with a rabid following. Along with catering this evening, Pam can often be found providing locally-sourced dinners and brunches according to a monthly schedule at Paschall. The crowd is capped at 49 people, Paschall's capacity, and is populated with the musicians, entrepreneurs, IT ninjas, photographers, educators, writers, and assorted civic leaders among others who are weaved into the city's music scene. Paschall's space is a cross between cozy British pub meets what I can only imagine the inside of Andrew Carnegie's personal library must look like – shelves of bound books in muted hues, aged leather furniture, and golden dimmed lighting drenching the mahogany landscape in a warm glow reminiscent of a forgotten 70's film. I order a Greenbelt Farmhouse Ale from the bar and turnaround to congratulate the owners of the new Denton-based craft brewery, Armadillo Ale Works – the ones responsible for this beverage.

I make my way from the bar with the Farmhouse Ale in hand, greet Chris Flemmons and Peter Salisbury of the Baptist Generals, fresh off of a successful tour of the West Coast, and immediately encounter Councilmember Kevin Roden. His tie is loosened underneath a butterscotch sport coat and his after-5PM navy blue retro New Balance running shoes providing a comfortable platform for the hours of conversation he often conducts during public events like these. I take this chance to have him update me about the Better Block project meeting I missed while giving a talk in Indianapolis. Almost immediately, Alyssa Stevenson joins the conversation in what can only be described as a pouncing action reserved for cheetahs taking down wounded gazelles on a

National Geographic television special. Alyssa is the managing editor of the *We Denton Do It* blog that covers cultural and civic activities of Denton. Alyssa defected from her food writing position at the local, corporately-owned news outlet, the *Denton Record-Chronicle* after their coverage of the city's cultural activities became so sporadic, unfocused, and mired in bureaucracy that it rendered itself irrelevant to the majority of Denton's creative community. With the addition of Alyssa, a firm understanding of social media networking, and a broader refocusing by the two other principals and music scene participants, Glen Farris and Will Milne, *We Denton Do It* seemingly transformed overnight from a blog covering the music scene to the city's go-to source for news concerning the cultural economy and related political and social activities – substantially increasing visitor statistics and advertising along the way.

The three of us discuss potential Better Block sites in the city, but the conversation veers to the fact that musicians are often at the root of so many urban redevelopment movements – Jason Roberts, the founder of the Better Blocks movement and former member of the Dallas band, The Happy Bullets, as a case-in-point. I note that in my personal experience, musicians are constantly interacting with the urban landscape. Either you are playing a show in a venue or going to a venue to see a show by one of your friend's bands – and these venues are rarely in the suburbs. You spend countless hours a day, week, month in the city you call home; you, more than most people, see what is working in the city and what isn't, what space is underutilized, what space could be an engaging place. If you tour, this engagement with the urban form is multiplied tenfold and opens up infinite possibilities for comparing and contrasting.

Kevin, Alyssa, and I continue our discussion until Eric Pulido gathers all of us around to thank the Denton community for supporting the band throughout the past few years and introduce the new album, *Antiphon*. The word's Greek origins interpreted by the band in its modern context as being their "response" to the last few years of internal growth and change. We take our seats throughout Paschall and I find a leather club chair next to an antiquated parlor table with an integrated chess board. The album, Midlake's fourth, is the culmination of their career so far – a dense, heavy, melodic exploration of the deeper meanings and personal politics behind communications sent between friends and nations. As if Black Sabbath had first attended UNT's jazz school then decamped to the rolling moss covered hillsides of England to dissipate the metal of their guitars across a field of audio sheen, *Antiphon* drifts out from Paschall's audio system sounding like Midlake's previous albums, wholly different than anything else circulating through various music blogs and my own iTunes library.

The album ends with Paschall erupting into a round of applause and the band members encouraging everyone to stay and enjoy the rest of the evening. I take them up on this offer and am able to connect with many people I haven't spoken with for a while due to conducting research and writing as well as playing shows with my own band. A few conversations pass and through the window tucked in between rows of books and a replication of a popular Elizabethan-era oil painting, I see the azure traces of the Sun's reign finally dissolve into the Magic Marker blackness of night. I give my goodbyes to the room, and my thanks and congratulations to Eric Pulido and McKenzie Smith. After descending the wide staircase that ushers one into the club – an act increasing in

precariousness the closer one is to the next morning – I hit the wide sidewalk that lines the square and navigate through the students, couples, and revelers, and head north. Passing Recycled Books in the adaptively reused opera house, I begin to make the slow descent down Locust Street. I check my phone, see that it's almost 10:00 PM, and then scroll through my various social media channels to see if there are any shows tonight. Nothing pops up, but surely somewhere in Denton someone is only minutes away from plugging their guitar into an amp, ready to start the process of trial and error, testing out ideas, formulating a new product. In a garage, a living room, the showroom at Rubber Gloves... somewhere in Denton the scene's next Hewlett and Packard are undoubtedly getting ready play a set and the audience is filled with their friends who are also musicians, graphic designers, filmmakers, audio engineers, website coders, and budding entrepreneurs taking a break from their own pursuits to play a part, make connections, and develop projects with the help of others in the room – creating their own personal antiphons to immersion in an economic cluster.

I continue north on Locust passing in quick succession Brave Combo's offices, one of Midlake's studios, and The Panhandle House recording studio all on the west side of the street in low-slung brick buildings once housing various automotive-related businesses. The tiny stand-alone vacuum cleaner store whose signage proclaims it to be the "Nation's Best" since a time before my memories of Denton existed comes a block before I round the corner onto West Congress. Skye Guitars, housed at the end of what is best described as a strip mall-ette with Mid-Century modern architectural styling, comes and goes a block later beginning the residential neighborhood where leafy trees with low

hanging branches partially obscure house venues past like The Barn, those of the present like 606 Congress, and those not yet named. I reach the porch of my rental cottage on the corner of West Congress and North Carroll and make a mental note to soon replace the white holiday tree lights adorning my porch with orange ones. As I open the front door, I feel the familiar buzz in my pocket and check my phone. Eat Avery's Bones is bringing their punk rock Dadaist circus of a live show to Rubber Gloves tonight and Cerulean Giallo, the band that runs 606 Congress at the other end of my block, is opening. I sit down at my desk to make some notes. The night is young.

Appendix A
Survey Instrument

Survey Instrument

Name?

Occupation?

Place of residence?

Establishing roles of scene participants and their perception of scene dynamics through cluster theory framework

- Q1: How do you/did you participate in Denton's music scene?
Band member? Venue owner? Studio owner? Some combination, etc...? Follow-up by asking subject how long they have lived in Denton; and, if not... where he or she lives.
- Q2: How did you get involved in Denton's music scene?
Did subject find the barrier to entry easy? Was the scene welcoming? If female, inquire about gender issues.
- Q3: Is Denton's music scene competitive?
If "yes," follow-up with questions tailored to the subject's specific area of interest (i.e., Is it hard to get shows? Do bands unofficially compete to be considered the best?) and leave it open-ended with a general discussion; If "no," go to next question as it may help the subject to elaborate.
- Q4: Is Denton's music scene cooperative?
If "yes," follow-up with questions tailored to the subject's specific area of interest and leave it open-ended with a general discussion.

Detailing intra-scene dynamics through cluster theory framework

- Q5: How easy or hard is it to recruit band members/employees via Denton's music scene?
Follow-up with questions pertaining to whether or not the subject ever encountered resistance from members of the scene regarding his or her chosen musical genre/business focus and if recruited members ever left to form their own bands.

- Q6: How easy or hard is it to secure necessary inputs and information for your band/business via Denton's music scene?
Follow-up with questions tailored to the subject's specific area of interest, i.e., buying instruments, gaining knowledge about music software, gaining knowledge about releasing recording products, finding screen printing services for t-shirts, guidance about liquor licenses, etc...
- Q7: Do you/did you ever collaborate with another band/venue/company in order to market your efforts?
Follow-up with questions tailored to the subject's specific area of interest, i.e., collaborating on a multi-band bill, venues working together to promote an event, etc...
- Q8: How do/did you socio-spatially interact with Denton's music scene? For example, do/did you frequently meet and spend time with members of the music scene at places and events in Denton that may or may not be music-centric (i.e., venues, restaurants, parties, church, etc...)?
If "yes," follow-up by asking what places in particular and inquire about what transpires in these situations. Do conversations concern new musical projects, gear, touring, recording? Do conversations concern business outside of the music scene such as employment, school work, social networking?
- Q9: Do/did you interact with people/companies outside of Denton when participating in Denton's music scene?
May need a follow-up redirect, i.e., Does subject's band play clubs in Dallas or Ft. Worth? Does subject have band members/employees from outside of Denton? Does subject work with input suppliers from outside of Denton?
- Q10: After participating in the Denton music scene, have you started a new band/project/business in Denton?
If "yes," follow-up by asking if being in the scene helped or hindered the venture. Probe for details concerning "how," i.e., Did the scene provide the necessary workforce and service providers to help get the band/project/business started? Was the idea an externality of other established activity (social or business) in the scene? If applicable, inquire if local financial institutions were helpful.
- Q11: Has local government played a role in your current project/business? Has it played a role in your prior project/business?
If "yes," follow-up by asking to what extent and if the role was positive or negative. If negative, ask how it could be positive, i.e., removing obstacles, relaxing constraints, or eliminating inefficiencies.

Evaluating importance of structural elements to scene development

- Q12: How important are/were house shows, DIY venues, and legitimate venues to your development as a scene member?
Follow-up by asking subject to elaborate, i.e., Are/were any spaces in particular influential? What about rehearsal space?
- Q13: How important is/was the presence of the University of North Texas or Texas Woman's University to your development as a scene member?
Did the universities attract the subject? If so, what program? Did the universities help train the subject? Facilitate a social network that helped ushered him or her into the music scene? Did the subject transfer what he or she learned in the music scene back to the universities in the form of projects, papers, or other forms of knowledge transfer? Were any professors instrumental in educating the subject about the local scene?
- Q14: How important is/was UNT's radio station, KNTU to participating in the scene?
Follow-up by asking subject if a website, blog, or social media tool was important.
- Q15: Is/was the cost-of-living in Denton (primarily rent) helpful or a hindrance to participating in the music scene?

Appendix B
Tables and Figures

$$LQ = (e_i/e) / (E_i/E)$$

Figure 4.1 Location quotient formula

Table 4.1 Change in employment for select music-based occupations in Denton, Texas

SOC	Description	2001 Jobs	2012 Jobs	% Change
27-2042	Musicians and Singers	90	185	105.6%
27-2041	Music Directors and Composers	25	51	104.0%
27-4014	Sound Engineering Technicians	9	35	288.8%
	TOTAL	124	272	119.3%

Source: Economic Modeling Systems Incorporated

Table 4.2 Interview subjects comprising study sample population

Name	Primary Employment	Music Scene Participation
Sarah Alexander	Library Associate	Musician: Solo, Cerulean Giallo
Josh Baish	Venue Owner	Venue Owner: Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios
Matthew Barnhart	Audio Engineer	Musician: Tre Orsi Studio Owner: The Echo Lab
Michael Briggs	Web Designer	Label Owner: Gutterth Records Promoter: Gutterth Productions House Venue Operator: Macaroni Island
Jeremy Buller	Freelance Web Developer	Musician: Bosque Brown, The Hope Trust, Sideman for various artists
Rob Buttrum	Waiter	Musician: Terminator 2, Vaults of Zin, Filth Label Owner: Out of Body Recordings House Venue Operator: House of Tinnitus
Charles Crosswhite	Videographer	Musician: Secret Cakes Film Production Company Owner: Amandus Films
Scott Danbom	Musician	Musician: Centro-matic, Sarah Jaffe, Sideman for various artists
Glen Farris	Production Manager	Musician: Solo, Doug Burr Promoter: Spune
Chris Flemmons	Entrepreneur	Musician: Baptist Generals Founder: 35 Denton
Donovan Ford	Student	Musician: Eccotone
Julie Glover	Economic Development Program Administrator	Representative: City of Denton Musician: Now inactive
Rob Gomez	Musician	Musician: Solo, Ormonde, Sideman for various artists Commercial Music Company Owner: Mannequin Music
Kyle La Valley	Creative Director	Creative Director: 35 Denton
Liz Larsen	Web Application Developer	Musician: Strange Towers Video Synthesizer Company Owner: LZX Industries

Table 4.2 – *Continued*

Michael Little	Gallery Manager	Screenprinting and Design Company Owner: Pan Ector Industries
Eric Michener	Freelance Video Editor	Musician: Fishboy
Dan Mojica	Venue Owner	Venue Owner: Dan's Silverleaf
Kim Phillips	Vice President, Denton Conventioneers and Visitors Bureau	Representative: Chamber of Commerce
Scott Porter	Advertising Copywriter	Musician: Strange Towers
Eric Pulido	Musician	Musician: Midlake Bar Owner: Paschall Bar Studio Owner: Midlake Studio Commercial Music Company Owner: Mannequin Music
Kevin Roden	Educator	Representative: Denton City Council, District 1 Musician: Now inactive
Peter Salisbury	Photographer	Musician: Baptist Generals, Mind Spiders Photographer
David Saylor	Mover	Musician: Terminator 2
Jennifer Seman	Student: Ph.D. Candidate	Musician: Shiny Around the Edges
McKenzie Smith	Musician	Musician: Midlake, Sideman for various artists Bar Owner: Paschall Bar Studio Owner: Redwood Studios

Table 8.1 Economic and fiscal impacts of visitor spending and production related to the NX35 Music Conferette

Description	Impact
Total Direct Spending [#]	\$1,927,156
Total Economic Activity	\$2,009,824
Total Labor Income (including benefits)	\$659,931
City of Denton Tax Revenues ⁺	\$23,035

[#]Includes retail sales and operating expenses ⁺Includes sales, excise, property taxes, fees, licenses. Note: Impacts calculated using IMPLAN

Source: Seman, M. (2010b).

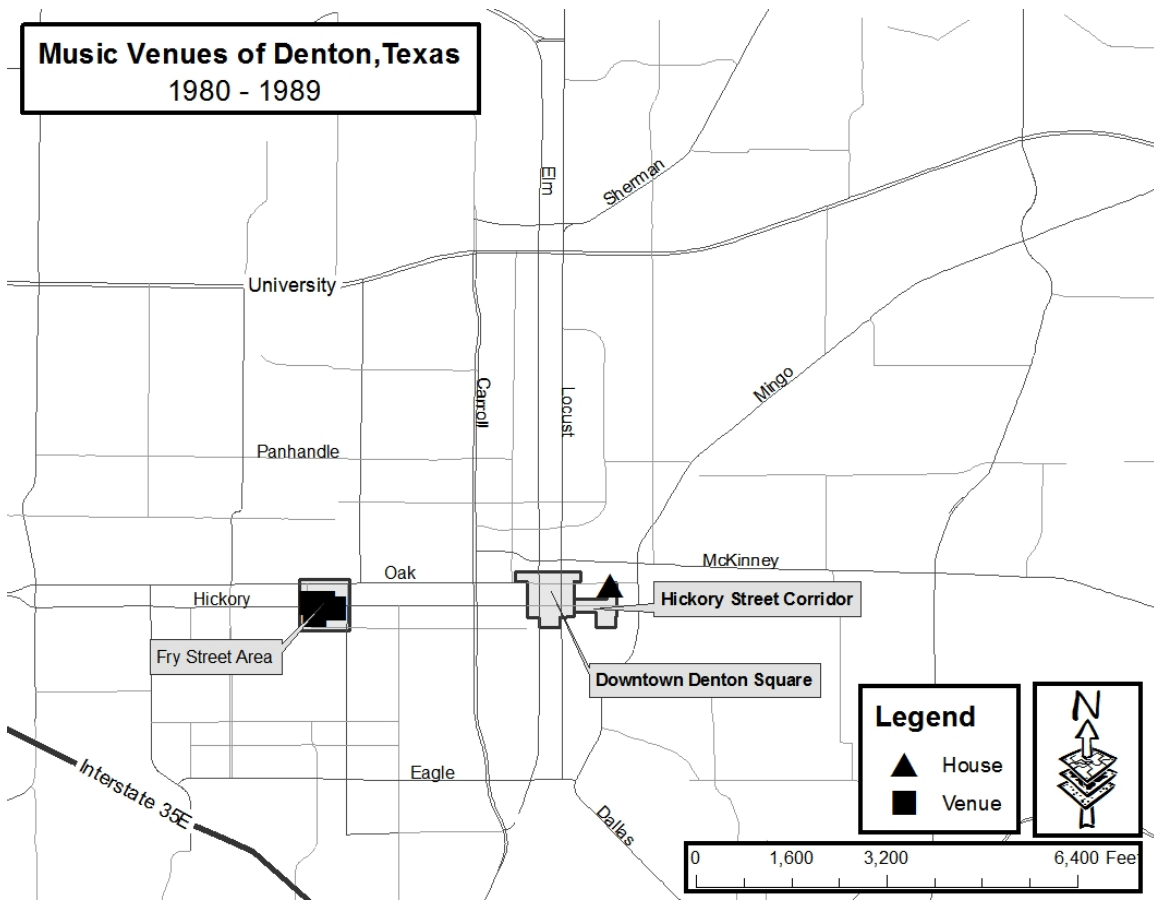


Figure 5.1 Location of legitimate venues and house venues 1980's.
 Map: Owen Wilson-Chavez based on data supplied by the author

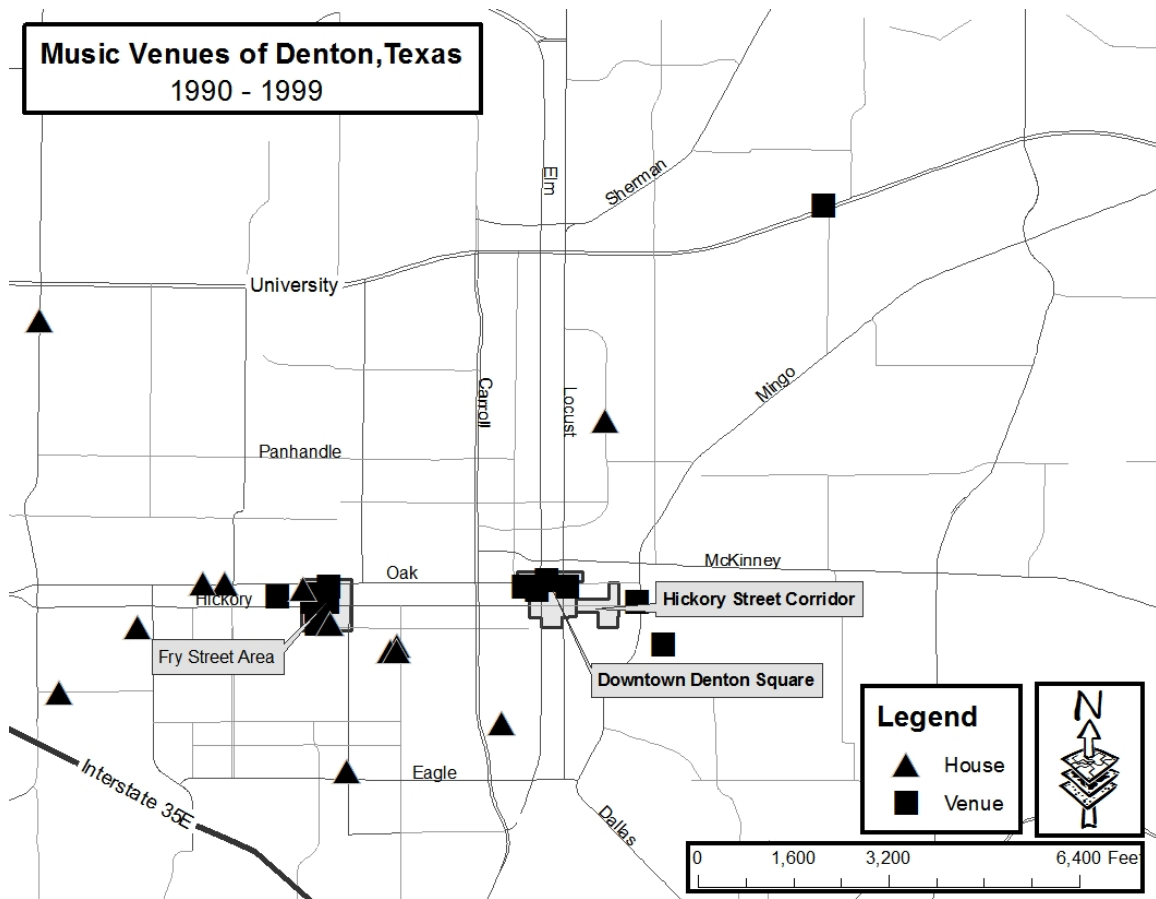


Figure 5.2 Location of legitimate venues and house venues 1990's.
 Map: Owen Wilson-Chavez based on data supplied by the author

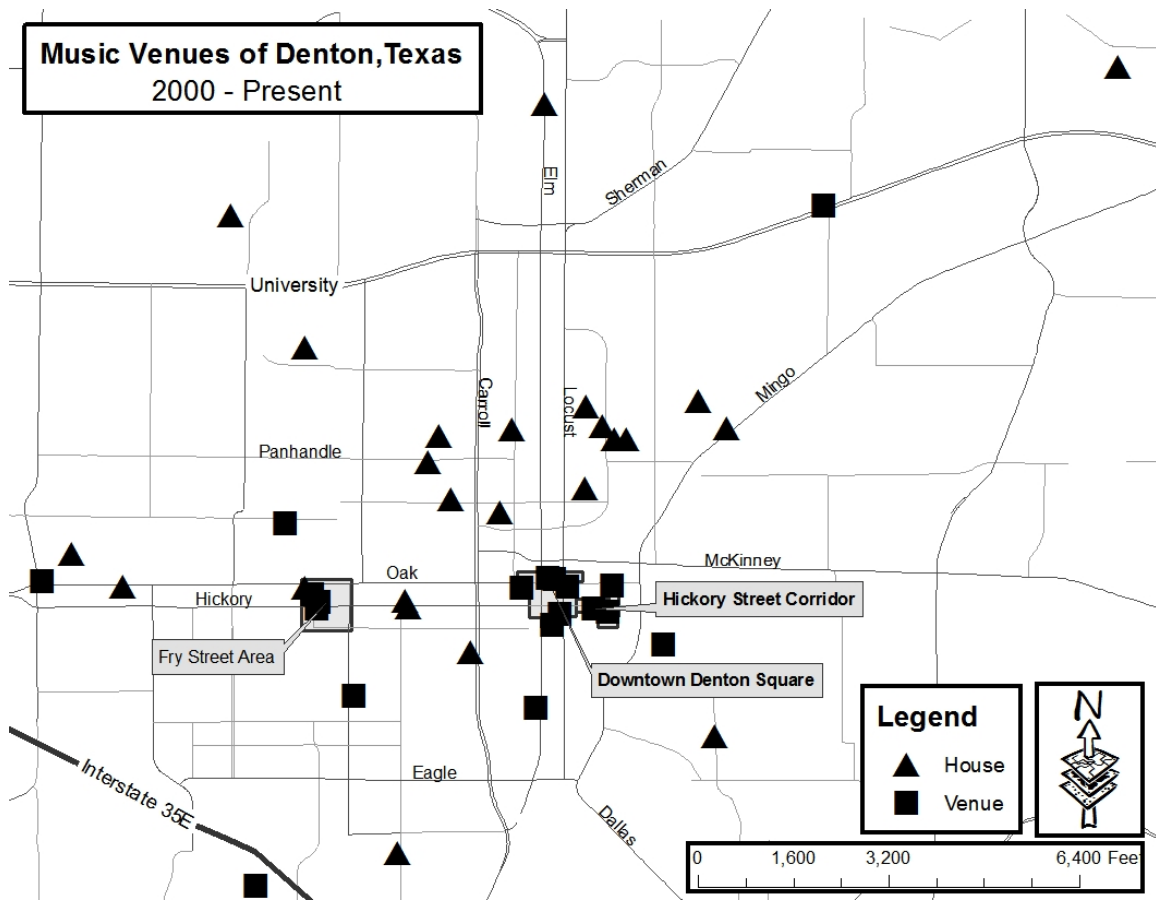


Figure 5.3 Location of legitimate venues and house venues 2000's.
Map: Owen Wilson-Chavez based on data supplied by the author

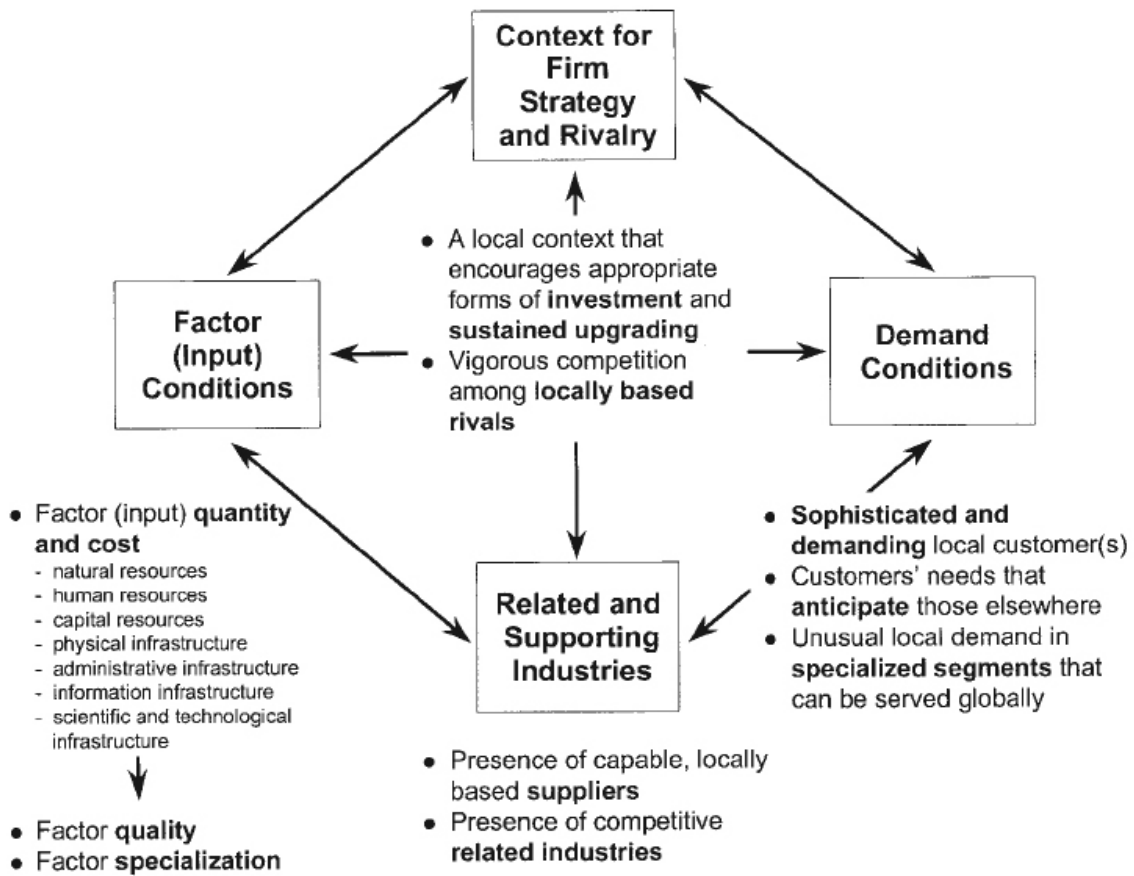


Figure 6.1 Michael Porter's "Sources of Locational Competitive Advantage" diamond.
 Source: Porter, M. (2000). *Economic Development Quarterly*, 14(1), 15-34.



Figure 6.2 New and used inventory at McBride's Music and Pawn.
Photo: Author



Figure 6.3 Used guitar pedals at McBride's Music and Pawn.
Photo: Author



Figure 6.4 Flyer for Gutterth Productions/Pan-Ector Industries
“Dead Week Print Show.”



Figure 6.5 Flyer for "A Spune Christmas."



Figure 7.1 Fra House exterior.
Photo: Author



Figure 7.2 Macaroni Island.
Photo: Michael Briggs



Figure 7.3 House of Tinnitus.
Photo: Amy Florence Pickup



Figure 7.4 Majestic Dwelling of DOOM.
Photo: Natalie Dávila



Figure 7.5 The Echo Lab's main room.
Photo: Matt Pence



Figure 7.6 Amandus Films music video shoot in a rental house.
Photo: Amandus Films



Figure 7.7 Live screenprinting at Pan Ector Industries' "Moving Party."
Photo: Author



Figure 7.8 Rubber Gloves Rehearsal Studios exterior.
Photo: Author



Fig. 7.9 Dan's Silverleaf exterior.

Photo: Author



Figure 7.10 Redevelopment surrounding Dan's Silverleaf facing north.

Photo: Author



Figure 7.11 Redevelopment surrounding Dan's Silverleaf facing south.
Photo: Author



Figure 7.12 35 Denton outdoor stage facing west towards the square.
Photo: Marcus Laws



Figure 7.13 Midlake.
Photo: Brantley Gutierrez



Figure 7.14 The control room of Midlake's studio.
Photo: Midlake



Figure 7.15 Redwood Studios' main room.
Photo: Redwood Studios



Figure 7.16 Paschall Bar interior.
Photo: Paschall Bar

References

- Abreu, A. (2000, February 10). Good to go! *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 14, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2000-02-10/music/good-to-go/>
- Austin Music Commission (2013). *Annual internal review*. Austin, TX. City of Austin.
- Austin Music People (2013). *Austin Music People white paper: Fact sheet 2013*. Austin, TX. Austin Music People.
- Ayo, A. (2013, January 9). Gutterth Productions Co-Founder Michael Briggs has the Coolest Living Room in Denton. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 11, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2013/01/gutterth_productions_co-founde.php
- Azerrad, M. (2001). *Our band could be your life: Scenes from the American indie underground 1981-1991*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Barge, A. (2007, June 21). Fry Street Fair calling it quits. *Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved February 6, 2013, from http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/ent/stories/DN-frystreet_0621gl.ART0.State.Edition2.437eba0.html
- Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Becker, H. S. (2008; Originally 1982). *Art worlds*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Beehner, L. (2008, May 11). An indie scene that comes with a Texas twang in Denton. *The New York Times*, pg. 10, Travel Section.
- Bell, T. L. (1998). Why Seattle? An examination of an alternative rock culture hearth. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 18(1), 35-47.
- Bell, T. L. and Johansson, O. (2005). Birth of the cool: Modern rock, local music scenes, and the ephemeral nature of global popular culture. Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Denver, CO.
- Bennett, A. and Peterson, R. A. (Eds.). (2004). *Music Scenes: Local, translocal, and virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Bernard, H. R. (1988). *Research methods in cultural anthropology*. Newbury Park, NJ: SAGE Publications, Inc.

- Blackwell, R., Stephan, T., and Stephan, K. (2004). *Brands that rock: What business leaders can learn from the world of rock and roll*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Boles, B (2009, December 10). Big Bop closes shop. *Now Toronto*. Retrieved July 8, 2013, from <http://www.nowtoronto.com/music/story.cfm?content=172848>
- Botta, G. (2008). Urban creativity and popular music in Europe since the 1970's: Representation, materiality, and branding. In M. Hessler & C. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Creative urban milieus: Historical perspectives on culture, economy, and the city*. (pp. 285-311). Frankfurt, Germany: Campus Verlag GmbH.
- Botta, G. (2009). The city that was creative and did not know: Manchester and popular music, 1976—97. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 12(3), 349-365.
- Brown, A., O'Connor, J., and Cohen, S. (2000). Local music policies within a global music industry: Cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. *Geoforum*, 31, 437-451.
- Caraeff, E. (2008, January 14). Let's talk about Lift to Experience. *The Portland Mercury*. Retrieved February 9, 2013, from http://blogtown.portlandmercury.com/2008/01/lets_talk_about_lift_to_experi.php
- Carlisle, C. (2009, September 19). The night comes alive: Area east of Square getting boost from restaurants, clubs. *Denton Record-Chronicle*. Retrieved October 1, 2011, from http://www.dentonrc.com/sharedcontent/dws/drc/business/stories/DRC_Biz_Main_0920.198aa92c4.html
- Campo, D. and Ryan, B. D. (2008). The entertainment zone: Unplanned nightlife and the revitalization of the American downtown. *Journal of Urban Design*, 13(3), 291-315.
- Caves, R. (2000). *Creative industries: Contracts between art and commerce*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Chamy, M. (2001, April 27). The new Rites of Spring: The last word in instrumental rock, Austin and otherwise. *The Austin Chronicle*. Retrieved February 6, 2013, from <http://www.austinchronicle.com/music/2001-04-27/81557>
- Chamy, M. (2002, May 31). Cloud 9 and Rising: Denton's Lift to Experience head for the promised land, with gun in hand. *The Austin Chronicle*. Retrieved February 6, 2013, from <http://www.austinchronicle.com/music/2002-05-31/93935/>

- Chapple, K., Jackson, S., Martin, A. J. (2010). Concentrating creativity: The planning of formal and informal arts districts. *City, Culture and Society*, 1(4), 225-234.
- City of Austin (2012). *The economic impact of the creative sector in Austin – 2012 update*. Austin, TX. City of Austin.
- City of Austin (2013). *Programs*. Economic Development Department. Retrieved December 12, 2013, from <http://austintexas.gov/department/economic-development/programs>
- Clark, T. N. (2004). *The city as an entertainment machine*. Oxford, England: Elsevier, Ltd.
- Conaway, J. (2004). An exchange with Ani DiFranco. *Preservation*. November/December. Retrieved September 17, 2013, from <http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2004/november-december/an-exchange-with-ani-difranco.html>
- Connell, J. and Gibson, C. (2003). *Soundtracks: Popular music, identity and place*. London: Routledge.
- Crain, Z. (1999, February 11). Built it, and they will indie-rock. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 8, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/1999-02-11/music/built-it-and-they-will-indie-rock/>
- Crain, Z. (2000a, March 9). Welcome back to Hell's Lobby. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 8, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2000-03-09/music/welcome-back-to-hell-s-lobby/>
- Crain, Z. (2000b, March 16). Green means stop? *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 14, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2000-03-16/music/green-means-stop/full/>
- Crain, Z. (2001, November 22). Too much of a good thing. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 8, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2001-11-22/music/too-much-of-a-good-thing/>
- Crang, M. (2005). Analyzing qualitative materials. In R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (Eds.), *Methods in human geography: A guide for students doing a research project*, (pp. 218-232). Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Crossley, N. (2009). The man whose web expanded: Network dynamics in Manchester's post/punk music scene 1976-1980. *Poetics*, 37, 24-49.

- Culton, K. R. and Holtzman, B. (2010) The growth and disruption of a “Free Space”: Examining a suburban Do It Yourself (DIY) punk scene. *Space and Culture*, 13(3), 270-284.
- Currid, E. (2006). *The “new” New York scene: How and why fashion, art and music happen in New York City*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (UMI No. 3213497).
- Currid, E. (2007). *The Warhol economy: How fashion, art, and music drive New York City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Currid, E. (2009). Bohemia as subculture; “Bohemia” as industry. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 23(4), 368-382.
- Curtis, B. (2008, February 4). Punk and politics: A high-maintenance relationship. *The Nation*. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/punk-and-politics-high-maintenance-relationship#>
- Diaz, R. (2010, June 24). Denton DIY thrives with DOOM. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved July 7, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2010-06-24/music/denton-diy-thrives-with-doom/>
- Dunbar, W. (2012, January 31). What will Austin’s soundproofing program do for downtown clubs? *Kut.org*. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://kut.org/post/what-will-austin%E2%80%99s-soundproofing-program-do-downtown-clubs>
- Evans, G. (2003). Hard branding the cultural city—From Prado to Prada. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (2), 417-30.
- Firstley, A. C. (2010, September 20). Denton county recording studio gives bands creative freedom. *Pegasus News*. Retrieved August 2, 2013, from <http://www.pegasusnews.com/news/2010/sep/20/denton-county-recording-studio-bands-creative-free/?refscroll=171>
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: And how it’s transforming work, leisure, community, and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. *City and Community*, 2(1), 3-19.
- Florida, R. & Jackson, S. (2010). Sonic city: The evolving economic geography of the music industry. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(3), 310-321.

- Florida, R. & Mellander, C., and Stolarick, K. (2010). Music scenes to music clusters: the economic geography of music in the US, 1970 - 2000. *Environment Planning A*, 42, 785-804.
- Freedman, P. (2010a, January 28). Is Midlake's *The Courage of Others* the most important record ever to come out of Denton? Possibly. Retrieved February 9, 2013, from *Dallas Observer*. <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2010-01-28/music/is-midlake-s-the-courage-of-others-the-most-important-record-ever-to-come-out-of-denton-possibly/>
- Freedman, P. (2010b, December 16). Sarah Jaffe continues earning impressive year-end nods, as Kirtland Records confirms new "early 2011" release from the rising star. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 9, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2010/12/sarah_jaffe_continues_earning.php
- Fujita, M., and Thisse, J. F. (1996). Economics of agglomeration. *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*, 10(4), 339-378.
- Gallaga, O. L. (2010, March 17). Confirmed: SXSW Interactive paid registration surpasses music. *The Austin American-Statesman*. Retrieved January 18, 2014, from http://www.statesman.com/blogs/content/shared-gen/blogs/austin/digitalsavant/entries/2010/03/17/confirmed_sxsw.html/
- Garcia, B. (2004). Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: Lessons from experience, prospects for the future. *Local Economy*, 19, 312-326.
- Glaeser, E. (1994). Cities, information, and economic growth. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, 1(1), 9-47.
- Glaeser, E., Kolko, J., and Saiz, A. (2001). Consumer city. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 1(1), 27-50.
- Gorbis, M. (2013, April 9). The reality of what makes Silicon Valley tick. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved December 1, 2013, from <http://blogs.hbr.org/2013/04/the-reality-of-what-makes-sili/>
- Grant, J, Haggett, J., and Morton, J. (2009). *The Halifax sound: Live music and the economic development of Halifax*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Dalhousie University, School of Planning.
- Grodach, C. (2010). Beyond Bilbao: Rethinking flagship cultural development and planning in three California cities. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(3), 353-366.

- Grodach, C. (2011a). Art spaces in community and economic development: Connections to neighborhoods, artists, and the cultural economy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 31(1), 74-85.
- Grodach, C. (2011b). Before and after the creative city: The politics of urban cultural policy in Austin, Texas. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(1), 71-97.
- Grodach, C. and Seman, M. (2013). The cultural economy in recession: Examining the U.S. experience. *Cities*, 33, 15-28.
- Guiney, J. A. and Zheng, C. (2012). Community building as institutional entrepreneurship: Exploring the emergence of a popular music community. *Entrepreneurial Executive*, 17, 25-48.
- Harris, C. D. (1954). The market as a factor on the localization of industry in the United States. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 44(4), 315-348.
- Head, A. (2011, February). Denton after dark. *Texas Highways*. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from <http://www.texashighways.com/index.php/component/content/article/46-prairies-and-lakes/6201-denton-after-dark>
- Hermes, W. (2012). *Love goes to buildings on fire: Five years in New York that changed music forever*. New York, NY: Faber and Faber.
- Hracs, B. J., Grant, J. L., Haggett, J., and Morton, J. (2011). A tale of two scenes: Civic capital and retaining musical talent in Toronto and Halifax. *The Canadian Geographer*, 55(3), 365-382.
- Humphrey, M. C. (1995). *Loser: The real Seattle music story*. Portland, OR: Feral House.
- Isard, W. (1956). *Location and space-economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jacobs, J. (1992; Originally 1961). *The life and death of great American cities*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Jacobs, J. (1970). *The economy of cities*. New York: Vintage.
- Jipson, A. (1994). Why Athens? Investigations into the site of an American music revolution. *Popular Music and Society*, 18(3), 19-31.

- Kanin, M. (2012, January 27). Trying to hit the right note: City's sound ordinance back on front burner. *Austin Chronicle*. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2012-01-27/trying-to-hit-the-right-note/>
- Kitts, T. M. (2008). *Ray Davies: Not like everybody else*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Knecht, L. (2005, October 28). "Little D" tries to grow up: As Denton continues to evolve, will the independent music scene that helped put it on the nation's radar be embraced or forgotten? *North Texas Daily*, pg. 32.
- Kong, L. (2000) Culture, economy, policy: Trends and developments, *Geoforum*, 31(4), pp. 385-390.
- Krugman, P. (2008, June 6). Bits, bands, and books. *The New York Times*. Retrieved January 10, 2014, from http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/06/opinion/06krugman.html?_r=1&
- Kruse, H. (1993). Subcultural identity in alternative music culture. *Popular Music*, 12, 33-41.
- Langer, A. (1996, November 22). Musical chairs: Austin music liaison quits. *The Austin Chronicle*. Retrieved January 17, 2014, from <http://www.austinchronicle.com/music/1996-11-22/525664/>
- Leithart, C. (2012, August 13). America's music scene. Economic Modeling Specialist International. Moscow, Idaho. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from <http://www.economicmodeling.com/2012/08/13/americas-music-scene/>
- Liles, J. (2009, March 13). Echoes and reverberations: Mad chops and culture jamming on Fry Street. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2009/03/echoes_and_reverberations_mad.ph
- Lloyd, R. (2006). *Neo-Bohemia: Art and commerce in the postindustrial city*. New York: Routledge.
- Longhurst, R. (2003). Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In N.J. Clifford and G. Valentine (Eds.), *Key methods in geography*. (pp.117-132). London, England: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Lopes, P. D. (1992). Innovation and diversity in the popular music industry, 1969 to 1990. *American Sociological Review*, 57(1), 56-71.

- Lucas, R. (1988). On the mechanics of economic development. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 22, 3-42.
- Lyday, R. (2001, February 1). Waiting to hit. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 9, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2001-02-01/music/waiting-to-hit/>
- Markusen, A, Johnson, A., Connelly, C., Martinez, A, Singh, P., and Treuer, G. (2006). *Artists' centers: Evolution and impact on careers, neighborhoods and economies*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs Project on Regional and Industrial Economics.
- Markusen, A, and King, D. (2003). *The artistic dividend: The arts' hidden contribution to regional development*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.
- Markusen, A. and Schrock, G. (2006). The artistic dividend: Urban artistic specialization and economic development implications. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 1661-1686.
- Markusen, A. and Schrock, G. (2009). Consumption-driven urban development. *Urban Geography*, 30(4), 344-367.
- Markusen, A., Schrock, G., and Cameron, M. (2004). *The artistic dividend revisited*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs Project on Regional and Industrial Economics.
- Marshall, A. (1990; Originally 1890). *Principles of Economics* (8th Ed.). London, England: The Porcupine Press.
- Mather, V. K. (1999). Human capital-based strategy for regional economic development. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 13(3), 203-216.
- McMurray, J. (2009, November 19). The Metropolis: Birthplace of grunge? *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. Retrieved January 14, 2013, from <http://blog.seattlepi.com/emp/2009/11/19/the-metropolis-birthplace-of-grunge/>
- Mizzau, L. and Montanari, F. (2008). Cultural districts and the challenge of authenticity: The case of Piedmont, Italy. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 8(5), 651-673.
- Molotch, H. (2002) Place in product. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26(4), 665-88.
- Mommaas, H. (2004) Cultural clusters and the post-industrial city: Towards the remapping of urban cultural policy. *Urban Studies*, 41(3), 507-532.

- Monzingo, T. (2010, December 11). House shows are where the heart of DIY is. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved February 11, 2013, from <http://www.dallasnews.com/incoming/20101211-beyond-the-scenes.ece>
- Moore, R. (2010). *Sells like teen spirit: Music youth culture and social crisis*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Oakes, K. (2009). *Slanted and enchanted: The evolution of indie culture*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.
- Odom, A. (2012, June 20). What's the state of Denton's house party scene? *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 11, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2012/06/whats_the_state_of_dentons_hou.php
- O'Connor, A. (2002). Local scenes and dangerous crossroads: Punk and theories of cultural hybridity. *Popular Music*, 21(2), 225-236.
- Oldenburg, R. (1999). *The great good place: Cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons and other hangouts at the heart of a community*. Emeryville, CA: Marlowe and Company.
- O'Hagan, S. and Green, M. B. (2002). Interlocking directorates: An example of tacit knowledge transfer. *Urban Geography*, 23, 154-179.
- One Ton Records (2013). One Ton Records (official website). Retrieved February 8, 2013, from <http://onetonrecords.com/>
- Padgett, D. K. (2008). *Qualitative methods in social work* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Pan, A. (1995, July 27). Welcome to Hell's Lobby. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 6, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/1995-07-27/music/welcome-to-hell-s-lobby/>
- Piore, M. J., and Sabel, C. F. (1984). *The second industrial divide: Possibilities for prosperity*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Plaza, B. (2000). Evaluating the influence of a large cultural artifact in the attraction of tourism: the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao case. *Urban Affairs Review*, 36 (2), 264-74.
- Plaza, B. 2006. The return on investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (2), 452-67.

- Porter, M. E. (2000). Location, competition, and economic development: Local clusters in a global economy. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 14(1), 15-34.
- Porter, M. E. (2008). *On competition*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Publishing.
- Porter, M. E., Bernard, M., Chaturvedi, R. S., Hill, A., Maddox, C., and Schrimpf, M. (2012). *Tennessee music cluster: Microeconomics of competitiveness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School.
- Power, D. and Scott, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Cultural industries and the production of culture*. London, England: Routledge.
- Raines, P. and Brown, L. (2006). *The economic impact of the music industry in the Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro MSA*. Nashville, TN: Belmont University, College of Business Administration & Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.
- Rantisi, N. (2004). The ascendancy of New York fashion. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(1), 86-107.
- Rash, B. (2012, November 16). A brief history of the Rock Lottery. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2012/11/a_brief_history_of_the_rock_lo.php
- Rees, C. (1999, July 29). Manhattan transfer. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/1999-07-29/news/manhattan-transfer/>
- Reese, K. (2002, Summer). Denton rocks! *The North Texan Online*. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from <http://www.unt.edu/northtexan/archives/s02/denton.htm>
- Rice, M., Seman, M., and Green, M.B. (2007). Regional information and influence networks: The geography of corporate board membership in Texas. *The Industrial Geographer*, 5(1), 1-20.
- Rodrigue, D. (2009a, February 24). Sounds Are Active releases Denton band compilation mixtape. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 11, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2009/02/sounds_are_active_releases_den.php
- Rodrigue, D. (2009b, June 26). Play Pinball! Records offers a perfect snapshot of Denton punk. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 11, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2009-06-26/music/play-pinball-records-offers-a-perfect-snapshot-of-denton-punk/>

- Rodrigue, D. (2010, March 11). North by unrest. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 13, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2010-03-11/news/north-by-unrest-chris-flemmons-wants-to-put-denton-music-on-the-map-with-nx35-if-it-doesn-t-kill-him-first/>
- Rodrigue, D. (2012, March 5). Chris Flemmons, Kyle La Valley and Natalie Dávila talk about 35 Denton's sea change. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved July 7, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2012/03/chris_flemmons_kyle_lavalley_a.php?page=all
- Rogers, J. (2007, February 23). Deep in Texas lies a town where everyone is a musician. So what's its secret? *The Guardian*, pg. 7, Film and Music Section.
- Romer, P. (1986). Increasing returns and long run growth. *Journal of Political Economy*, 94, 1002–1037.
- Rossman, G. B. and Rallis, S. F. (2003). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Rubin, H. J. and Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Saxenian, A. (1996). *Regional advantage: Culture and competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Scott, A. J. (1999). The US recorded music industry: On the relations between organization, location, and creativity in the cultural economy. *Environment and Planning A*, 31, 1965-1984.
- Scott, A. J. (2000). *The cultural economy of cities*. London, England: Sage Publications.
- Scott, A. J. (2005). *On Hollywood*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Seattle City of Music (2014). *Seattle Music Commission*. Seattle, WA. City of Seattle. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://cityofmusic.com/music-commission>
- Seattle Music Commission (2013). *Work Plan, July 2013 – June 2014*. Seattle, WA. City of Seattle.
- Seman, M. (2010a). How a music scene functioned as a tool for urban redevelopment: A case study of Omaha's Slowdown project. *City, Culture and Society*, 1(4), 207-215.

- Seman, M. (2010b). *From rodeos to indie rock: The economic and fiscal impacts of selected cultural events in Denton, Texas*. Center for Economic Development and Research, University of North Texas.
- Seman, M. (2011, June). Incubating the scene: The DIY all-ages venue as music scene building block and economic development ingredient. Paper presented at the Experience the Creative Economy conference, Toronto, ON.
- Seman, M. (2012, May 18). When a music scene leads to a boom. *The Atlantic: Cities*. Retrieved September 21, 2012, from <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/arts-and-lifestyle/2012/05/when-music-scene-leads-boom/2020/>
- Seman, M. (2013, January 4). Flint Local 432 and the remarkable power of a great music venue. *The Atlantic: Cities*. Retrieved September 21, 2012, from <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/arts-and-lifestyle/2013/01/flint-local-432-and-remarkable-power-great-music-venue/4310/>
- Shank, B. (1994). *Dissonant identities: The rock'n'roll scene in Austin, Texas*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.
- Simmons, S. (2010, January 29). Midlake: I wish I'd heard Black Sabbath in high school. *The Guardian*, pg. 5, Film and Music Section.
- Sims, D. (2008, November 21). Signs of life 2008: Best music scene, Denton, Texas. *Paste Magazine*. Retrieved October 1, 2011, from <http://www.pastemagazine.com/articles/2008/11/signs-of-life-2008-best-music-scene---denton-texas.html>
- Small, M. L. (2009). How many cases do I need? *Ethnography*, 10(1), 5-38.
- Smilor, R., O'Donnell, N., Stein, G., and Welborn, III, R. S. (2007). The research university and the development of high-technology centers in the United States. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 21(3), 203-222.
- Snow, S. (2010, April 24). Tech startups vs rock bands. *Television Sky*. Retrieved January 10, 2014, from <http://www.televisionsky.org/2010/04/tech-startups-vs-rock-bands/>
- Stern, M. and Seifert, S. (2005). *"Natural" cultural districts: Arts agglomerations in metropolitan Philadelphia and implications for cultural district planning*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP).

- Stewart, S. (2010). *In every town: An all-ages music manual*. San Francisco, CA: Tides Center/All-ages Movement Project.
- Storper, M. (1995). The resurgence of regional economies, ten years later: The region as a nexus of untraded interdependencies. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 2(3), 191-221.
- Storper, M. and Venables, A. J. (2004). Buzz: Face-to-face contact and the urban economy. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 4(4), 351-370.
- Straw, W. (2001). Scenes and sensibilities. *Public*, 22(3), 245-257.
- Straw, W. (2005). Cultural scenes. *Society and Leisure*, 27(2), 411-422.
- Strom, E. (2002). Converting pork into porcelain: Cultural institutions and downtown development. *Urban Affairs Review* 2002, 38(3), 3-21.
- South-By-Southwest (2013). *SXSW fact sheet*. Austin, TX. South-By-Southwest.
- Tama (2006, April 4). Artist interview: Earl Harvin. Retrieved February 12, 2013, from http://www.tamadrum.co.jp/artist/tama_interview.php?interview_id=12
- Tarradell, M. (2006, January 5). Drumming up business. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved December 13, 2013, from <http://www.kirtlandrecords.com/images/KirtlandDMNarticle.pdf>
- Thompson, S. (2001). Market failure: Punk economics, early and late. *College Literature*, 28(2), 48-64.
- Tillman, K. R. (2006). *The meaning of masculinity for male baccalaureate nursing program graduates* (Doctoral dissertation). Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Tironi, M. (2012). Enacting music scenes: Mobility, locality, and cultural production. *Mobilities*, 7(2), 185-210.
- Titan Music Group (2012). *Accelerating Toronto's music industry growth: Leveraging best practices from Austin, Texas*. Austin, Texas.
- Tonry, A. R. (2010, November 15). Lift to Experience and new music from Josh T Pearson. *The Portland Mercury*. Retrieved February 9, 2013, from <http://www.portlandmercury.com/endhits/archives/2010/11/15/lift-to-experience-and-new-music-from-josh-t-pearson>

- Trynka, P. (2008). *Iggy Pop: Open up and bleed*. Random House: New York, NY.
- Wagner, K. (2012, March 30). Community development through the arts. Business Council for the Arts. Retrieved August 8, 2013, from <http://www.ntbca.org/community-development-through-the-arts/>
- Watts, R. (2013, June 26). Musician Jennifer Seman studies the border, but her real work happens in her own backyard. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved June 27, 2013, from http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/dc9/2013/06/Jennifer_seman_people_2013.php
- Weber, A. (1968; Originally 1929). *Theory of location of industries* (Xth Ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilonsky, R. (1998, July 2). Getting the business. *Dallas Observer*. Retrieved February 13, 2013, from <http://www.dallasobserver.com/1998-07-02/news/getting-the-business/>
- Yarm, M. (2011). *Everybody loves our town: An oral history of grunge*. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Zukin, S. (1982) *Loft living*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Biographical Information

Michael Seman's work examines the intersection amongst culture, innovation, economics, and the urban landscape. His research is published in the academic journals, *City, Culture and Society*, *Applied Research in Economic Development*, *Regional Science Policy and Practice*, *Industrial Geographer*, and *Cities*. Michael is also a contributing writer at *The Atlantic: Cities*. Michael is often invited to speak nationally concerning the cultural economy and was one of twenty-two selected globally to participate in the Martin Prosperity Institute's 2011 Experience the Creative Economy Conference at the University of Toronto. National Public Radio, *Wired*, *Denton Record-Chronicle*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Dallas Observer*, and the DFW affiliates of NBC and CBS seek his perspective concerning the cultural economy.

As a senior research associate at the University of North Texas Center for Economic Development and Research and as a private consultant, Michael has co-authored reports for the Texas Department of Transportation, Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, Texas Transportation Institute, and other state and national organizations covering topics such as NAFTA, energy development, transportation, stem cell research, and the motion picture industry. Prior to entering the doctoral program at the University of Texas at Arlington, Michael spent several years as an executive at Creative Artists Agency in Beverly Hills, California where he was responsible for internal marketing and project development.