An analysis of the recorded music industry field in Brazil

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Keywords  
Recorded music industry, technology, power

Abstract  
The recorded music industry is undergoing significant changes as a result of a technological evolution. The impact of these changes is not limited to the production, distribution and consumption of the products, but extends also to the actual structure of organisations. The objective of this study is to understand, in light of Bourdieu's perspective, the changes which occurred in the relationship between the actors who belong to the Brazilian recorded music industry, after the rise of MP3 technology and virtual piracy. A bibliographic study and field research were conducted, analysing data in a descriptive-interpretive way, based on the theoretical reference used here. The results obtained in this study allow us to confirm that the main critical incidents that have occurred in this area over time have been of a technological nature, although the financial capital is still the most disputed by the organisations that are responsible for the production and distribution of music. It also became clear that MP3 technology and virtual piracy made it possible for various new actors to come onto the scene and allow for a redistribution of the power resources available to compete in this field.

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Introduction

The Brazilian phonographic market has witnessed a series of significant changes over the past few years. From 1999 onwards, powerful organisations began to lose leadership positions in the market, as well as their high indices of profitability. New technologies such as MP3 and programmes that allow the exchange of musical files between users are singled out as being the cause of this alteration in scenario. The increasing popularity of these technologies for the transfer of musical files via the internet paved the way for the onset of the phenomenon known as virtual piracy. For authors such as Yudice (2007), the appearance of these resources along with their potential to change the way we enjoy and consume music, allow people to free themselves from the restraints imposed by the entertainment industry. According to Wang (2003, pp.38), ‘the rapidly changing spatiotemporal dynamics and configurations afforded by these new technologies have radically changed the nature of “property” and market, the balance of power, and the relations and means of production, distribution, and reception/consumption’.

The objective of this study is to analyse the change which occurred in the relationship between the actors who belong to the Brazilian recorded music industry since the introduction of MP3 technology and the phenomenon of virtual piracy, defined by the Brazilian Association of Record Producers (Associação Brasileira dos Produtores de Discos - ABPD (2006)) as a copyright violation for the unauthorised use, sale or distribution of musical works.

This is a theoretical-empirical article and its data has been collected through personal interviews and analysed in an interpretive manner based on the theoretical frame of reference developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1989, 1993, 2004) about the field of cultural production. In this study the recorded music industry is understood as an area of culture that possesses its own configuration. Since the rise of virtual piracy, there seems to have been a significant change in the relative positions occupied by the social actors in the Brazilian recorded music industry, as well as in the meaning attributed to the types of capital disputed. This fact changed the configuration of the field and consequently the relationships between the actors who are a part of this, as can be observed over the course of its historic evolution.

The field of cultural production as a field of power

One of the main works of Bourdieu (1993) is on the field of cultural production. According to Johnson (1993), this field is very broad and includes various sub-fields such as the literary and artistic, which when subjected to scrutiny become autonomous fields. In the field of literature, one could set up a system where each position occupied corresponds to given genres, some of which differ from others (such as a novel), though these can also include different sub-genres (such as a popular novel).

Therefore, the structure of this field, which is a space encompassing different positions, is 'nothing more than a structure for distribution of capital with specific properties that determine success in the field and the acquisition of the external or specific profits (such as literary success), which are at stake in the field' (Bourdieu, 1993, p.30). The capitals under scrutiny may be of different types and can assume the form of financial, technical or cultural resources, as well as others. In this manner, the position of the agents working in the field – who may find themselves in the position of dominated or dominant party – depends specifically on the peculiarities of the field of cultural production, since it is through them that the agents are differentiated among themselves.
Bourdieu (1993) includes the field of cultural production in what he calls the power field, which contains economic and political forces, among others. Therefore, for him, the more autonomous a field is (in this case the more it approximates to the field of restricted production), the less it will be influenced by such economic forces and the greater the symbolic power that the producers will be able to achieve. On the other hand, the less the autonomy of the field (in other words, the more it approximates to the field of large-scale production), the greater the influence of economic and market forces will be. It is interesting to note that Bourdieu perceived the field of literature and art in a general way as being marked by an 'interest in disinterest' (Bourdieu, 1993, p.40). Thus the artists are concerned more about the art that they produce, rather than by economic factors, despite the fact that Bourdieu admits that even in these fields, economic logic is present, albeit minimally.

For Anheier, Gerhards and Romo (1995), the field of restricted or small-scale cultural production is relatively autonomous from market influences. This is because no cultural field can fully escape from economic forces. The authors explain that economic success in this context is something that is secondary to the symbolic value and artists compete to accumulate cultural capital in the form of recognition, reputation and legitimacy, and not to be financially rewarded. On the other hand, they claim, in the large-scale cultural production market economic considerations and market success are the predominant factors and artists will compete for the purpose of being financially rewarded by the market. However, Anheier, Gerhards and Romo (1995, p.864) explain that the cultural field model formulated by Bourdieu (including its two segments) is an ideal-type and that ‘any cultural product, as a manifestation of economic and non-economic capital, is as much a commodity as a symbol’.

For Bourdieu (1993), the large-scale cultural production field is characterised by the submission of cultural producers to external demands, whereby producers are subordinated to the groups that hold sway over production and the media. Work produced in the large-scale cultural production field is totally defined by the public. The reason that this occurs is that the cultural producers who produce this type of art choose to adapt their techniques and aesthetics to the specific characteristic of the social class that they wish to target, even though other social classes also have access to and purchase this art.

Hesmondhalgh (2006) explains that Bourdieu structures the fields of cultural production in terms of sets of possible positions. According to the author, the fields, which are characterised by various struggles that occur especially between agents as well as producers, institutions and new arrivals, are restructured and recreated by the latter. The space for possible positions is therefore linked to the perception that agents have of courses of action that may be taken in the field. It also involves assessing what one can and can't think and what is and isn’t possible, although the perception of the agents varies in accordance with the very habitus of the position in which they find themselves. The division of the field of cultural production into two fields made by Bourdieu does indeed help to organise thoughts on the way in which culture is produced. Nevertheless, in many cultural fields such as popular music this division is not very rigid.

Lastly, Venkatesh and Meamber (2006) state that due to the fact that art has been a mercantile commodity over the course of time, new cultural intermediaries have arisen in the area of cultural production. Therefore, in addition to the traditional cultural intermediaries such as kings, the church, critics and academics (Joy cited in Venkatesh & Meamber, 2006), artistic organisations that make contacts between artists and consumers, artistic organisations associated with a specific artist or group of artists, and organisations that seek to introduce an artist to giving communities are now inserted into the process. In this sense, new organisations acquire relevance as social actors.
Methodology

The proposed theoretical reference material serves as a guideline for our observations, though in this article we seek to monitor the change in power relationships in the Brazilian phonographic market starting from the advent of the phenomenon known as virtual piracy. In order to construct a corpus of research, our option was for the long, in-depth personal interview method (McCracken, 2003). The objective was to discover what is important in the minds of the informants: definitions, and meanings, experiences and perspectives in relation to the object under scrutiny. Personal interviews enabled us to gain intimacy and privacy with our informants, making it possible to discuss things fully that might cause embarrassment if dealt with on a group basis or in objective circumstances.

High level representatives from the following organisations have been chosen to take part in the interviews: marketing managers of small scale label (Biscoito Fino), the promotions manager of a mid-sized record label (Indie Records), the vice-president of the Brazilian Association of Independent Labels (AMBI), director of an independent label (MCD), a musician, music producer and partner of a small producer of national rock bands (T-Rec), the director of the Center of Music of the National Arts Foundation (FUNARTE), a content manager and market coordinator of the website for online music sales (IMusica), the head of the Central Office for the Collection and Distribution of Copyright Payments (Escritório Central de Arrecadação e Distribuição dos direitos autorais – ECAD) and the president of Creative Commons Brasil. Interviews also included several people who, although not directly involved in the recorded music industry, have a thorough knowledge of the history and workings of the analysed sector. These include: a lawyer of a large law firm in Rio de Janeiro specialising in intellectual property and copyright, a professor from the Federal University (UFF) specialising in cyber culture and a journalist, musicologist and creator of the site Discos do Brasil (Brazil's Albums), which presents detailed information about the works of various Brazilians artists. The interviews were on average 90 minutes in duration and enabled us both to identify the central elements in the configuration of the field and conduct more in-depth questioning on other points that were unclear in the analysis of secondary data.

Analysis of the data: the reconfiguration of the recorded music industry in Brazil

This section offers an interpretative analysis of the collected presentations, taking into consideration Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical structure (1989, 1993, 2004). In this perspective the recorded music industry is understood as a cultural field that possesses its own configuration. Each position occupied by social actors (organisations, groups or individuals) corresponds to a capital distribution structure of specific properties. The possession and accumulation of these capitals determine the success and gains of external or specific profits that are at stake in the field. So these agents can assume a position of being dominant or dominated, depending on the specific properties of the cultural production field. And it’s through these that the social actors distinguish themselves from one another.

The historic trajectory and main critical events of the field

With regards to the main critical incidents that have occurred historically in the field of the recorded music industry, the majority of the actors highlighted elements of a technological nature, especially those related to changes in media support, such as the transition from a mechanical recording system to an electronic recording system, from LP to CD and from CD to MP3. The interviewees mentioned tools like the internet and various sites and programmes (such as MSN) that facilitate the distribution of music for
personal use. The launch of the CD was according to some interviewees the most important event, as in their opinion, from that moment on the record companies began to make money like never before in their entire history.

When the respondents were asked if the phenomenon of virtual piracy could be considered a critical incident in the history of this market, almost all interviewees said yes and they mentioned the Napster programme as being the first tool that allowed users to share musical files via the internet. This software was characterised by expressions such as 'it was an extraordinary thing', 'a worldwide impact', 'a milestone', 'a programme that took record companies by surprise', among others. For the director of a small record label, 'if it hadn't been Napster it would have been something else', because 'as a result of the technology we couldn’t prevent this'. The lawyer involved in the area of intellectual property said that virtual piracy is not a milestone, because it was 'a consequence of the digitalization of media'. Such statements demonstrate that for many the milestone wasn’t the event in itself, but the technology issue.

All interviewees expressed a direct connection between the technological development and virtual piracy. For the interviewees, the changes in the support and the arrival of the MP3 pulverized the field and prevented the industry from having 'huge blockbuster sales of 1 million or 2 million copies', which was common in the 1980s and 1990s. The technology also 'made it easier for you to multiply media', allowing, for example, anybody to copy the music from their CDs to their iPod.

**Resources of power**

The respondents diverged a bit regarding the resources considered most valuable in the recording industry and that allow an organisation to achieve a more privileged position over others. For the representatives of record labels or producers, the most valuable resource on the market, in principle, would be the artistic quality and the size of the cast. However, for the representatives of an organisation that specialises in the sale of online music and the governmental agency in the area of culture, what matters is that the organisation possesses 'excellent marketing staff and excellent people behind the artists: or investing (...) making Faustão (a popular Brazilian Sunday TV entertainment programme) or making a soap opera'.

Most interviewees’ answers about the most valuable resources in the field contained some interesting contradictions. While the directors of record labels didn’t mention financial resources as being the most important, these financial resources are given priority by the director of the organisation that defends the idea of making copyright more flexible. However, almost all directors of record labels and producers (small and large), mentioned at several moments during the interview issues related directly or indirectly to financial resources. So, by affirming that the cast is the most important resource within the recording industry overall, the director of the indie record label contradicts himself, admitting that generating profits 'is the most important thing'. The importance of the artistic capital itself, for him, lies in the fact that the cast is associated with factors such as 'success', and 'sales' is therefore a 'reflux' to reach these goals.

The president of a small production company has a similar vision to that of the director of the mid-sized record label, confirming that the most important resource is the artist, because ‘everything begins and ends with the public’ and ‘if the public doesn’t buy the CD, you have no returns’. According to him ‘a quality professional will have a feeling for an artist who can provide a return, for the good artist who will offer a return and the good artist who will not offer a return’. It’s clear, however, that even if the interviewee disregards the financial resource in the form of his investment as something that comes first, it does in fact take first place as it’s transformed in a return from the sales
generated by the cast in which he invested. So if for him the artist is the main resource of the organisation connected to the sector, this importance only makes sense if it generates something that is in the center of corporate logic, meaning a financial return. However, it’s interesting to observe that by stating that the most important thing is ‘to invest’ in good marketing people (for example, placing an artist on a popular Brazilian TV show like Faustão), it becomes clear that the capital considered to be of most relevance from the perspective of a government organ representative is the financial one, even in an indirect manner.

This way it seems correct to affirm that the economic capital is that which is more relevant in the field of the recording industry in Brazil, as it is the most disputed by a large part of the actors inserted into this field. This conclusion is both based on the analysis of the interviews conducted as well as on Bourdieu’s theoretical frame of reference, which supports that the economic-financial capital is the one that acquires most relevance within the field of large-scale cultural production, as is the case in the recording industry.

It is also important to emphasise that the critical incidents that have determined changes to the structure of the field over time have been predominantly of a technological nature. The growing relevance of this resource is also confirmed by the acquisition of economic capital as was the case with the development of CD technology which allowed the large record companies to earn extraordinary profits) and by the loss (the loss suffered by the major labels as a result of MP3 technology and virtual piracy).

**Resources competition**

In the previous section we concluded that economic capital is the most relevant in the Brazilian recording industry, being the subject of a heavy struggle between the actors that participate directly in the production, distribution and execution of musical phonograms. The interviewees were also asked questions related to the dynamics of the competition for the resources in the field or which strategies were put into practice by the organisations in order to preserve or acquire those resources. The respondents mentioned, again, the importance of economic capital as a means to compete in the field, but they highlighted, this time, other elements of technological, symbolic and even politic nature which were not mentioned before, as demonstrated below:

For a very long time the contracts were millionaire, you know? So a proposal was made, because it was very easy to pay, inside the market, one million, two millions reais in order to take the artist out of an organisation and put him into another. So, it was basically the money. But today, artists are cleverer, they noticed that this strategy turned them into prisoners and, at the same time, market is not paying it anymore because sales are much lower than it were at his time. (...) So what can you offer to an artist in order to catch him? You have to offer effective distribution, the guy must know that he’s here but his CD is being sold in Manaus, in Belo Horizonte, and that people will find it in every store they enter. An internet structure also, the record label selling music online in order to make it possible, because there’s a channel for selling the albums, foreign distribution, tour support (...) It’s having some money for you to travel or organize your shows out of your location, it’s marketing, it’s getting your music to play on the soap operas, you know? That means using all channels which can give you some visibility (lawyer specialized in intellectual property).

Oh, that’s the question. It’s the one who is paying attention, who is living the question of music better, who is more connected, who acts fast and hires the artist that has the potential to sell. Do you understand? The person that has a great possibility of being an entrepreneur here (...) And that’s the question. Having a good legal department, formulating a good contract which can
determine the number of CDs that the artist ought to produce... If the artist wants to leave, he'll pay a fine (Indie Records).

The representative of Creative Commons, in his turn, emphasised that in order for companies to preserve its power of influence in the field, it is necessary, above all, to have the capacity to be organised, giving as an example the Brazilian Association of Record Producers. This type of organisation, according to him, is the means by which their interests are represented and legitimised in the field. It seems that the representative of Creative Commons wants to say that social capital, for him, is the type of capital by which organisations that produce phonograms maintain its influence over other organisations inside the field and which also allows them to preserve the resources that originate this influence.

It is also important to mention that the representatives of small record labels indirectly mentioned symbolic capital when they talked about the cultural capital that they possessed. The symbolic capital, in their opinion, is what differentiates their organisations from big record labels:

For our luck, the majors or the big labels in Brazil are releasing much less Brazilian artists. Yet the richness of the artists we have in our country is enormous; maybe we can only compare this to football players, you take two steps forward and meet a talented singer. So this is a factor that helps us a lot. I think the only way to achieve this is to believe, to believe in the talent of these people, to be able to listen to them. We have a network of people who collaborate, people related to music who are always showing things that has something to do with our label profile. So we develop this work, based on segmentation, of a sophisticated music of quality and try to catch this talented resource through people who has the same musical taste we have (Biscoito Fino).

The above fragment reveals, that what is important for this manager, is that his organisation can possess a qualified cultural capital or a catalogue of Brazilian artists, that is not directed at every consumer of music but only those people who admire this specific musical style. The fact that this organisation hired consecrated artists like Maria Bethânia, Chico Buarque, Luiz Melodia and also used work from deceased artists like Tom Jobim, shows that the company desires to include in its catalogue, artists that can allow it to obtain a considerable volume of symbolic capital. This is because these people are considered by the media and by many opinion leaders, as references in the Brazilian popular music scenario.

The field of the recording industry in Brazil

To be able to identify the new actors that emerged in the field as a result of the technological development and virtual piracy, the interviewees were asked who was a part of the recording industry before this phenomenon and who entered the industry later. They were also asked who, in their opinion, had gained and who had lost importance in this market. Figure 1 is an effort to illustrate the configuration of the field of the recording industry in Brazil, according to the data obtained from literature about the sector and the answers of the interviewees:
Traditional actors in the field

Actors who entered the field after the rise of the MP3 and virtual piracy

It is also worth considering that many artists who didn’t have the space to promote their work, can now. This is because of the technological development and the crisis that has hit the sector as a result of this. It has freed them of their dependency on large record labels and they can now promote their work using these new technological tools. When artists began setting up their own labels and record companies and began producing recordings and even registering at ECAD, they also became actors with power in this field, as they have resorted to technological capital to challenge the economic-financial capital of other organisations. In this way, the director of iMusica states that ‘you can start to be successful and then get a contract or not even be contracted by a large record company’ and that ‘today the record companies are more in need of the artists than the artists in need of the record company’. The director of ECAD stated that ‘now you have a monumental contingent of individuals acting as record companies’, ‘producers of recordings (…) who are organised or a member of the ABPD or the AMBI, but who are ‘affiliated with associations of public performance’.

It is also important to analyse the statement made by some interviewees that artists, acting independently, can promote their work on their sites, on virtual radio (web radio) or on other sites such as You Tube and Orkut. Virtual radio can be seen, in most cases, as a technological tool created by a few organisations that work in the field and that, in addition to promoting the work of these artists (in this sense it also helps the record labels), generate profit for the organisations who created them, as they profit from the banners that appear on these radios. Some of the virtual radios with the highest number of listeners in Brazil are owned by large organisations such as UOL (Radio UOL) and Terra (Radio Terra) that, as we just saw, have only recently entered a field in which they weren’t previously active. The virtual radios can be considered new technological tools, the result of a change undergone by music, which is being used not only by organisations who traditionally didn’t operate in this field, but also by the traditional radios who have now begun to transmit their programming on the internet. Sites such as Orkut and You Tube, already mentioned, are technological tools that are causing
problems for the recording industry. Through Orkut, owned by Google Brazil, numerous users who meet in music communities can share files by MP3, an increasingly common practice. On You Tube, also owned by Google Brazil, copyrighted musical videos are available, without permission from the record companies. For this reason, Google has been trying to implement some measures to prevent this practice, while at the same time, trying to reach an agreement with some record labels and TV broadcasters to obtain a license to publish certain content. This way, Orkut and You Tube, frequently used by the Brazilian public, are also technological tools of the company Google. That's how this organisation (which also possesses a branch in Brazil) is another social actor that has become active in the field of the Brazilian recording industry, as it has the technological tools to, in some way, reproduce practices that are harmful to the dominating actors in this field. MSN, which hasn't been referred to in the quotes above but was mentioned on a few other occasions (for example when the interviewees described the field), can also be considered a technological tool owned by a large organisation (Microsoft) that reproduces the same practice as mentioned above. Through this programme users, who communicate among themselves, can also share music files without any restrictions.

Some interviewees also mentioned mobile phone providers, pointing these out as the newest actors who have entered the field. The statement below illustrates the entry of this type of organisation in the field of the Brazilian recording industry:

Each day people are earning billions of Reals which they didn't earn before when they were selling thousands and thousands and thousands of CDs. I think that the way music is consumed will continue to change. One of the things that we are starting to study, for example, is sending music via a mobile phone (iMusica).

After analysing the actors mentioned by the directors of the organisations that are directly involved in the music industry, we will now look at those actors who act more indirectly in the music field, described by interviewees. Once again You Tube was mentioned, for the same reasons as stated above. The site Myspace was another technological tool mentioned by one of the interviewees and this site has been used quite regularly as a way for an artist to promote his work on the internet in order for people to visit his webpage. In general, the artist will make a few tracks available as a sample of the work being developed, without the visitor being able to download these works. This tool is not only being used by the group of artists referred to above, those who develop the production of their recordings independently, but also by those under contract with traditional record companies, which therefore makes it a benefit to the group as a whole.

The numerous blogs, mentioned by both groups of interviewees, are also a technological tool that serves a variety of functions, such as allowing users to discuss music, promote the work of artists and provide music reviews both by trendsetters and music lovers in general. The interviewees made it clear that this tool made it possible for a field to emerge where a variety of people have found a space to discuss and review music, which before was almost exclusively the domain of journalists belonging to traditional organizations.

It is also worth noting the presence of the Creative Commons movement, an actor in the Brazilian recording industry that was mentioned by almost every interviewee, and particularly by those who work in the music industry. Although not directly included in this field by these directors, Creative Commons has been mentioned on other occasions during the interviews, both negatively and positively. The reason is that the interviewees associate this movement with the policies of the Ministry of Culture, as this government organ has been an avid defender of the main ideas proposed by the
movement. Some directors of music producers interpret Creative Commons as an organisation that fosters a new ‘logical trend’ of ‘downloading music for free’ and for ‘uploading free content’ online. Although this interpretation is not shared by the other interviewees, the fact is that the Creative Commons movement can be considered a new actor who emerged in this field both by being associated with the technological revolution of the last few years and the phenomenon of sharing files, although it doesn’t just operate in the field of music but also in other areas associated with culture.

Finally, in the field that was studied, there is the inevitable presence of the group that consists of numerous users who download and share music files via programmes on the internet. Although the focus of this study was to analyse the organisations, the users of the software have to be mentioned, because they directly influence the acquisition of economic-financial capital of companies who are part of the production chain of the music industry.

This interaction and also the opportunity to access culture, to overcome the restriction of the means of communication, the dictatorship of these means of communication is even more serious. This has made it possible for people to exchange information, exchange files...this is very valuable! (Funarte)

The MP3 is an outstanding democratic tool for dissemination, it benefits those who have less money, but today it has disrupted the structure of the market for the production and trade of music products. For me this is unquestionable, it is unquestionable (ABMI).

These statements above illustrate clearly the interviewees’ difference of opinion in regards to the impact of sharing MP3 files, by the users of the many technological tools available on the internet and the impact on the music industry as a whole. In general, those interviewees who do not work directly in the production chain of music (except for the lawyer), tend to see the act of sharing files on the internet, as a way to free themselves from the imposed ‘dictatorship’ of the traditional means of communication and the traditional record labels who would favor certain music to the detriment of others. In this light, the interviewees don’t see the users who share music as ‘pirates’, but as people who exercise the right to free access to culture. However, it isn’t surprising that those who work directly in the music industry see these users as the group, that by sharing files, has contributed to dismantling the structure of the recording industry.

Based on the analysis of the answers of all those who were interviewed, we conclude that the structure of the Brazilian recording industry has been changed significantly recently, as a result of the emergence of a new model for the distribution of music. This is a consequence of technological developments and virtual piracy, phenomena that are closely connected, as we saw previously. In this field we encounter new actors who hadn’t been active before and who have been able to enter this space, because of the use of these new technological resources. They then challenge the economic-financial resources with those actors who had been traditionally active in this field and who had asserted a degree of hegemonic control. So the new actors now have influence in this dispute, changing the previously existing power structure.
Conclusion

The concept of a cultural production field elicits analysis of the phonographic market as a field of forces and power struggles. The actors in this field – artists, composers, consumers, recording companies, representative entities, among others – fight over the ownership or use of the various capitals that enable them to occupy a privileged position in this power arena.

In the case of the sector under scrutiny, and on the basis of the theoretical reference material, it would appear to be correct to affirm that economic capital is what is being sought on the part of the actors who comprise the field. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the critical incidents that brought about the changes in the structure of the field over the course of time were predominantly of a technological nature. The increasing relevance of this resource also corroborates the concept of acquisition of economic capital.

The field of the Brazilian phonographic market is currently experiencing a period of structural alteration that was especially affected by the development of MP3 technology and the emergence of virtual piracy. Formerly the major recording companies dominated the market and had the necessary resources of power to exercise their role as dominant actors and maintain this position. However, the aforementioned factors favored the entry of new actors in the field (file sharing programmes and sites, independent recording companies and producers, music sales sites on the internet, etc.) and the empowerment of those, that previously did not have the resources to compete against this domination. In order to counter this phenomenon, the traditional organizations, such as the major recording companies and associations of recording companies, have now made part of their catalogues available for sale via the internet, while simultaneously filing lawsuits against users of file sharing programmes. In this manner, technological capital (music in MP3 format made available for sale via the internet) has become essential for the acquisition of economic capital by such organisations.
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