

**THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM:
Global and Local Perspectives**

David Throsby
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

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THE GLOBAL ALLIANCE TOOLS

UNESCO's Division of Arts and Cultural Enterprise would like to introduce the first in its series of tools for the use of Global Alliance members, designed to help them effectively promote cultural industries. Those engaged in cultural industries, above all in running or planning for the growth of micro and SMEs, have an urgent need for information, both on the practical aspects of their enterprise and on the broader outlook for the industry within which they are working. This need has not hitherto been well met, either because it involves independent global analysis or conversely attentiveness to the specific concerns of micro and SMEs. Global Alliance tools will address this problem both with 'how to' guides that outline how to run SMEs successfully (writing business plans, dealing with intellectual property concerns, setting up collecting societies) and broader pieces of effective analysis on world and region wide trends in cultural industries. Other tools will provide perspectives for public policy makers that might not otherwise have been taken into account (a paper for instance comparing public policy measures in Europe and their market effect). The first in this series of tools is a set of analyses on current trends in the music industry. A main paper analysing the state of the global market for music is complemented by a set of regional studies, on Latin America, South East Asia and Africa, so that local operators have a bigger picture and policy makers can formulate growth strategies that make sense both locally and internationally.

All these tools constitute a valuable extension of the work of UNESCO's Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity, a six-year initiative launched in January 2002 to help safeguard and promote creativity in all the varied forms it takes around the world. The Alliance recognises above all the social and economic value of creativity when incarnated in cultural industries, which include books and publishing, music production, cinema, video and other audiovisual industries, craft and design. It believes that societies need to develop their cultural industries as vehicles for their creativity and their vision of the world and that they are therefore an integral part of that cultural diversity without which we would all be the poorer.

Promoting cultural industries, especially those in the developing world, requires meeting a whole range of needs, from initial creative act to production and distribution. The Global Alliance therefore recruits partners from a whole range of stakeholders, including governments, non-governmental and international organisations, industry associations and cultural enterprises themselves, to work on projects to supply necessary skills and resources. Partners from the Alliance's extensive network (over 140 members to date) are already or soon to be engaged in over 20 projects of differing scale and nature, all of which will create end to end strategies for the growth of cultural industries. They will share technological expertise, training in business skills, assistance in assessing markets and policy making resources to help cultural industries better satisfy domestic and regional markets and figure more competitively in international markets. The methodology learned by the Alliance from these pilot schemes (notably those in Algeria, Lebanon, Uganda and Zimbabwe) will inform a large increase in the number of projects it undertakes from Autumn 2003. Specific projects aside, the Alliance is also determined to work with other agencies and its partners for a more vigorous enforcement of copyright, a legal framework without which those in cultural industries will never get fair recompense for their creative efforts. For more information consult www.unesco/culture/alliance or email globalalliance@unesco.org

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By David Throsby
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a global perspective on the past, present and future state of the world music industry, emphasising both its international dimensions and its local potential. It begins with an outline of the structure and functioning of music as one of the world's most important cultural industries. It then provides a comprehensive overview of the main trends in the music industry worldwide, with a focus on the regional pattern of production, consumption and trade. Several major issues relating to new trends and challenges in the industry are analysed, including changing patterns of consumption and demand; the changing structure of the industry and trends in market development affecting major record producers and independent labels; the emergence of e-commerce as a factor in the marketplace; and problems of piracy and the enforcement of copyright. The role of music as a force in economic development is briefly reviewed, with particular reference to the Caribbean and Southern Africa, drawing upon recent studies undertaken by UNESCO, UNCTAD, ILO and UNDP. Finally, the paper makes some concluding observations about the future development of the industry.

1. INTRODUCTION

Interest in the idea of the cultural industries as leading sectors in the post-industrial transformation of developed economies has grown rapidly in recent years. At the same time the role of the cultural industries in contributing to economic growth in developing countries is becoming more clearly recognised. In most countries in both the industrialised and the developing world, music stands as one of the most significant of the creative industries, whether assessed in economic or in cultural terms. Yet there is something of a paradox about music as a creative industry. On the one hand, music is a primary form of artistic expression; since the dawn of civilisation, music has been one of the most significant means by which cultures have defined themselves. On the other hand, in the contemporary world, music is a relentlessly commercial industry generating billions of dollars in revenues for composers, performers, publishers, record companies, and many other players. This paradox is sometimes represented as a contradiction – creativity versus commercialism, the muse versus the market, culture versus economics – whereby the two forces must inevitably pull in opposite directions. However, whilst there are undoubted tensions between the artistic and the money-making aspects of music, there are also ways in which the generation of economic and cultural value might be harmonised such that they become complementary rather than competitive.

This paper assesses both of these interpretations of the relationship between the economic and cultural roles of music in developed and developing countries by evaluating the extent of its economic success, the major issues affecting its further development, including in particular the impact of new technologies, and the significance of music as a cultural industry in various parts of the developing world.

An important initial task is to define the extent of the music industry for the purposes of this analysis. This is no easy matter, since no single standard industry classification adequately encompasses the diversity of musical activity and commerce; rather, it is possible to identify several components which taken together provide a delineation of the extent and coverage of the term “music industry”. This can be done by identifying the following groups of stakeholders:

- creative artists such as composers, songwriters and musical performers;
- agents, managers, promoters etc. who act on behalf of artists;
- music publishers who publish original works in various forms;
- record companies which make and distribute records (LPs, cassettes, CDs, music videos, DVDs);
- copyright collecting societies which administer the rights of artists, publishers and record companies;

- a variety of other service providers including studio owners, manufacturers, distributors, retailers, broadcasters, venue operators, ticket agents, etc.;
- users of music such as film-makers, multi-media producers, advertisers, etc.; and
- individual consumers, who purchase a musical good or service (buying a record, attending a live performance, subscribing to a “pay” diffusion service) or consume it for free (listening to broadcasts, background music, etc.).

The industry so defined can be divided into a series of sub-sectors, but it is quite difficult to categorise different market segments corresponding to different musical genres, since the lines between even major musical forms such as jazz, folk, country, and so on are blurred. There is, however, a reasonably clear distinction between “classical” music (which accounts for about 4 per cent of the world sound recording market) and the rest, comprising “contemporary” or “popular” music, but even here, in regard to music being written today, the dividing line is becoming increasingly difficult to draw.

One of the problems in gathering data about the music industry is that the creative output of music exists in an intangible form i.e. as intellectual property. Whilst this output may be physically embodied in a tangible product such as sheet music or an audio recording, the intrinsic value of the output lies in the underlying work itself, and also in the creative input of the performer in interpreting the work. It is the rights to exploit the creative work of the writer and/or performer that lie at the heart of the economic and legal processes involved within the music industry. Because statistics on flows of funds in respect of copyright payments (both internationally and intranationally) are difficult to obtain – in many cases because they are protected by commercial-in-confidence provisions – the main statistical compilations relating to music industry trade are generally confined to tangible product.

In the following section we consider statistics on trends in production and trade for the world music industry over recent years.

2. PRODUCTION AND TRADE IN THE WORLD MUSIC INDUSTRY

Music sales

The size of the sound recording industry, the principal means by which music output is sold to consumers, is measured by the volume and value of retail sales of records issued in various formats, including singles, vinyl discs, compact discs, music cassettes, and so on. The global value of reported retail sales in 2000 was about \$US37 billion. More than 80 per cent of the world market is controlled by the five largest transnational conglomerates: EMI, BMG, the Warner Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment and Universal/PolyGram. In addition, there are a number of independent record producers, mostly nationally based and relatively small, but often catering to particular types or styles of music in defiance of the mass-market orientation of the majors. The size of the world music recording industry is shown in Table 1 for the year 2000. The dominance of the US, Europe and Japan is readily apparent in both the volume and value of music sales.

Record sales grew rapidly in the period up until the mid 1990s. Between 1986 and 1996, retail sales value in current prices rose at a compound rate of just over 10 per cent per annum, or around 7 per cent per annum in real terms. The annual growth rate in the volume of sales over this period was also about 7 per cent, with a significant decline in the market share of vinyl records, matched by a huge increase in the sales of compact discs. However, the rapid rate of growth fell away sharply in the latter half of the 1990s, such that by the turn of the century the value of sales was somewhat less than it had been five years earlier. Table 2 shows trends in sales over the decade. The table reveals some changes in the geographical distribution of demand, with an increase in US sales matched almost exactly by a decline in Europe. The US increase has been driven by its CD market, whilst Asia remains the world's largest market for the cassette format. Nevertheless, the share of cassettes in music sales has fallen steadily worldwide, from 52 per cent in 1991 to

23 per cent a decade later, whilst the CD has grown to comprise almost three-quarters of all units sold at the present time.

Throughout the 1990s, local artists have increased their share of music sales, while the average proportion of sales accounted for by the international repertoire has declined; locally produced music has increased from a worldwide share of 58 per cent in 1991 to 68 per cent in 2000. This trend indicates an improved capacity of local music industries in a number of countries to serve their own domestic consumers. Nevertheless there is considerable variation between countries. Table 3 shows the proportions of record sales accounted for by domestic, international and classical repertoires in a number of countries. The United States, Japan and Brazil are amongst the countries with strong home-grown musical consumption. Smaller developed countries such as Canada, Australia and South Africa are more reliant on imported product.¹

Table 1: World sales of music recordings (a): 2000

	Sales Value	Sales Volume	Value of sales/head	Volume of sales/head
	(\$USm.)	(m. units)	(\$US/head)	(units/head)
North America				
Canada	819	74	26.6	2.4
US	14,042	1,034	49.6	3.7
Sub total	14,861	1,108	n.a.	n.a.
Central & South America				
Brazil	725	104	4.3	0.6
Mexico	666	67	6.7	0.7
Other	474	48	n.a.	n.a.
Sub total	1,865	219	n.a.	n.a.
Europe				
France	1,695	132	28.6	2.2
Germany	2,420	245	29.5	3.0
Netherlands	455	36	28.7	2.3
UK	2,829	239	47.6	4.0
Other	3,778	486	n.a.	n.a.
Sub total	11,177	1,138	n.a.	n.a.
Asia				
Japan	6,535	333	51.1	2.6
Other	1,328	469	n.a.	n.a.
Sub total	7,863	802	n.a.	n.a.
Australasia	649	59	29.3	2.7
Africa	203	34	n.a.	n.a.
Middle East	343	94	n.a.	n.a.
World Total	36,964	3,453	6.1	0.6

Note: (a) Legitimate sales only, not including pirate sales.

Source: International Federation of Phonographic Industries (IFPI) data; see IFPI 2001a).

Music publishing

¹ For further detailed analysis of regional music markets in the mid 1990s, see MBI (1996, 1997).

The music publishing industry is dominated by essentially the same transnational corporations which operate in sound recording: BMG, EMI, Sony/ATV, Universal and Warner Chappell. They derive revenue from the following uses of their published material: public performance revenue (mainly derived from broadcasting); mechanical royalties (royalties on sale of sound recordings); synchronisation royalties (royalties from the use of music in film and video; other reproduction revenue (royalties from background music, etc.); and print revenue (sheet music and other print sales).²

Table 2: Trends in world music sales: by region: 1991-2000

Region	Value of sales (\$US billion)			Propn. of world sales (%)		
	1991	1995	2000	1991	1995	2000
North America	8.5	13.1	14.9	30.8	32.9	40.2
Europe	11.0	13.8	11.2	40.2	34.8	30.2
Asia	5.6	9.6	7.9	20.4	24.1	21.3
Latin America	1.2	1.8	1.9	4.4	4.6	5.0
Australasia	0.6	0.8	0.6	2.2	2.0	1.8
Middle East	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.2	0.9	0.9
Africa	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.7	0.5
World Total	27.5	39.7	37.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated from IFPI data.

The music publishing industry is split between the US, Europe and Japan, with the largest countries being the US (29 per cent of total world revenues in 2000), Japan and Germany (12 per cent each), the UK (10 per cent) and France (9 per cent). Details of music publishing revenues worldwide are shown in Table 4, for the most recent year for which a survey has been carried out by the National Music Publishers Association of the United States (NMPA), namely 2000.³ The table shows that in that year, public performance revenue comprised the largest share of music publishers' incomes (45 per cent), with mechanical and synchronisation royalties comprising 40 and 11 per cent respectively.

Table 3: Domestic and imported record sales: selected countries: 2000.

Country	Proportion of record sales (%)		
	Domestic	International	Classical
United States	92	5	3
Canada	12	82	6
Brazil	75	24	1
Mexico	46	52	2
France	51	42	7
Germany	40	52	8
UK	51	41	8
China	47	53	-
Japan	78	22	-
Indonesia	53	47	-
Australia	28	68	4
South Africa	23	74	3
World	68	28	4

Source: Calculated from IFPI data.

² For a description of the various roles of the music publisher, see a recent paper by the International Confederation of Music Publishers (ICMP-CIEM (2000)).

³ See NMPA (2002).

The slowdown in the global music market in the second half of the 1990s appears to have had a somewhat smaller impact on publishing revenues than on the sales figures reported above. World revenues from music publishing grew by about 10 per cent in nominal terms between 1996 and 2000; between 1999 and 2000 there was a 6.7 per cent real increase in these revenues compared with a 1.3 per cent decline in the value of record sales.⁴ These apparent increases in publishing revenues were due in part to growth in the Asia region, in Eastern Europe and in Latin America; in all these territories gradual progress is being made in improving the extent of coverage of royalty collection arrangements.

Music trade

It is particularly difficult to derive a comprehensive statistical picture of the direction and magnitude of music flows between countries. Music trade is recorded in imports and exports of physical product by countries principally sound recordings ready for sale to consumers, but mostly records are not shipped in final form but in the form of masters which are then pressed locally for domestic retail distribution. In any case much of the trade, in the sense of payment for musical product, occurs in the form of rights income flowing between countries. Thus it is difficult enough to evaluate the aggregate volumes and values of imports and exports of music for a single country, let alone to compile a world-wide picture.

Table 4: World revenues from music publishing: 2000 (\$US million)

	US	Japan	Germ- any	France	UK	Other	World Total
Public performance revenue							
Radio	291.8	108.9	50.8	23.0	60.3	179.3	714.1
TV/cable/satellite	317.0	16.1	84.3	122.2	64.4	465.1	1,069.1
Live performance	203.1	158.2	180.9	174.6	126.0	450.4	1,293.2
Sub total	811.9	283.2	316.0	319.8	250.7	1,094.7	3,076.3
Reproduction revenue							
Mechanical royalties	691.5	311.3	258.7	105.8	195.9	432.1	1,995.3
Synchronisation royalties	156.7	80.5	67.8	50.8	124.6	189.5	669.9
Other	-	16.1	16.0	17.0	-	23.8	72.9
Sub total	848.2	407.9	342.5	173.5	320.5	645.5	2,738.1
Distribution revenue							
Sheet music sales	316.1	19.9	140.2	58.3	69.2	125.2	728.9
Rental/lending rights	n.a.	30.9	6.6	-	-	2.4	39.9
Sub total	316.1	50.7	146.8	58.3	69.2	127.6	768.8
Other	30.4	78.9	28.8	49.7	26.2	80.1	294.1
Total	2,006.5	820.7	834.0	601.2	666.6	1,948.2	6,877.3

Source: National Music Publishers' Association (2002).

Leaving aside the question of trade in rights, we can at least quantify the imports and exports of tangible musical products, namely sound recordings as finished goods, sound reproduction equipment (which is used almost entirely for the reproduction of music), and musical instruments.⁵ Trade in these products is quite significant; the aggregate value of imports of recordings in 1998 worldwide was \$US26.5 billion, with \$US20.8 billion in imports of sound players and recorders, and \$US3.6 billion in imports of musical

⁴ See *ibid*, p. 4.

⁵ See UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2000).

instruments. Table 5 shows the principal importers and exporters of sound recordings and media for the year 2000. The importance of the United States, Japan, Germany, Ireland and the UK as the major participants in physical trade in music-related product is apparent in this table. Longer term trends are shown in Table 6, where it can be seen that considerable growth in music trade occurred during the 1980s and early 1990s, due primarily to the enormous increase in trade in sound recordings that occurred between 1985 and 1995. The table also shows that these rapid growth rates have levelled off in the latter half of the 1990s.

3. MAJOR ISSUES

Over the last fifty years the music industry has experienced some substantial technological changes in the ways in which music is produced, distributed and consumed. In particular the development of new formats such as the long-playing record, the audio-cassette, the compact disc and so on, have led to significant structural changes throughout the industry's value chain. But the effects of these developments have been relatively minor in comparison to the potentially far-reaching impacts on the music industry of the revolution in communications technologies which began a decade or so ago and which is still unfolding. The digital revolution in music – the capacity to store musical sounds as computer files, to copy and reproduce them on personal computers, and to transmit them over the internet – is having profound effects on all participants in the music business, from the songwriter and recording artist through to the ultimate consumer.⁶

The internet provides two main ways by which music can be accessed. The first is via downloading of files, an activity which may be authorised (if the source is the owner of the rights in the music, who is making it available for downloading for appropriate payment or free of charge) or unauthorised (if the transfer occurs without the rightsholder's knowledge or approval). A particular case of the latter is so-called P2P transfers (peer-to-peer) where users swap files amongst themselves via email.

Table 5: International trade in sound recordings and sound media: selected countries: 2000 (\$US million)

Country	Imports	Exports
North America, Latin America		
Canada	1,435	397
USA	3,854	5,056
Mexico	809	587
Asia		
Japan	1,540	2,797
China ^(a)	780	328
Hong Kong	615	766 ^(b)
Korea	770	677
Singapore	1,190	2,417
Europe		
Austria	434	1,031
France	1,578	970
Germany	2,223	1,988
Ireland	430	4,014
Italy	1,120	167
Netherlands	1,200	1,902
Switzerland	1,048	296
UK	2,435	1,576
Oceania		
Australia	595	92

Notes: ^(a) excluding Hong Kong. ^(b) includes \$479m. of re-exports. Source: Data supplied by UNESCO Institute for Statistics

⁶ See further Graham *et al.* (2002); for an analysis of the impact of new information technologies in music on labour market conditions, see ILO (2000).

Table 6: Trends in aggregate world imports of musical goods: (1980-1998)

	1980	1985	1990	1995	1998
By value (\$US million)					
Sound players and recorders	4,802	11,241	13,289	20,257	20,838
Sound recordings	2,322	4,816	16,061	25,775	26,462
Musical instruments	1,432	1,504	3,021	3,654	3,571
Total world imports	8,556	17,561	32,371	49,686	50,871
Index (1980 = 100)					
Sound players and recorders	100	234	277	422	434
Sound recordings	100	207	692	1110	1140
Musical instruments	100	105	211	255	249
Total world imports	100	205	378	581	595

Source: Calculated from data in UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2000).

The second means of accessing music on the internet is by streaming. This may be non-interactive, i.e. as "webcasting", where consumers can listen to music via the web but without being able to choose; this form of transmission is similar to broadcasting by radio. Alternatively, streaming may be interactive, whereby users can choose what they consume, in the same way as they can choose discs in a record store. Downloaded files can be stored on a personal computer's hard drive, or can be transferred to a personal "music locker" on a remotely accessible server.⁷

Transmission and storage of music files on the internet has been greatly enhanced by the introduction of MP3, a compression program which reduces the size of digital audio files, making them quicker and easier to distribute and store. Unlike earlier formats, MP3 does not require dedicated sound reproduction equipment to enable the consumer to listen to the music. Moreover, MP3 files do not require advanced facilities for their transmission; they can be sent to and from computers accessing the internet via ordinary narrowband telephone lines.⁸

In reviewing some of the major issues affecting the music industry below, we shall see how these technological developments ramify into all aspects of the industry's structure, conduct and performance. We discuss consumer demand, the rise of e-commerce, the role of record companies, the threat of piracy and the importance of copyright, including the changing situation for collecting societies, and the possible responses of artists.⁹

Demand

To understand the structure and dynamics of the music industry in either a global or a local context, it is necessary to comprehend the ways in which music is consumed, and how the tastes and lifestyles of the consumers of music determine what is produced. As Negus (1996) points out, the activities associated with consumption of music, and notions of an "audience" for music, are by no means straightforward. For many people the consumption and the active practice of music are intertwined. Further, the common notion that it is young people and young people alone who drive the music market is misplaced. Indeed the activity of music audiences does not fit neatly into theoretical models of cultural consumption or into commercial music

⁷ A large number of online radio sites are now in operation; for example, Netscape's Web Directory currently lists 87 internet sites giving access to streamed music online.

⁸ For a fuller description of the impact of MP3, see Leyshon (2001).

⁹ An outline of the process of globalisation and its implications for music is contained in Mundy (2001).

marketing categories. Individual tastes are eclectic and musical consumption cannot be contained within discrete boundaries.

Nevertheless, it is also true that certain common elements can be seen in any analysis of demand for music. To begin with, a conventional economic analysis of demand would emphasise the importance of price, the price of substitutes, and income as determinants of consumption patterns, and indeed these variables can be shown as significant. In particular, rising real incomes are clearly associated with increasing demand for music. Similarly changing technology has a profound effect on demand, as we noted above, as new means are invented for even easier consumption of music in an ever widening range of circumstances. For example, the walkman cassette player, subsequently supplanted by the "discman", made it possible to listen to music while walking, jogging, driving, riding on public transport, etc. Accessing music on the web has opened up enormous possibilities for consumption of music in new circumstances.

The future effect of the internet on consumer behaviour in the market for music is difficult to predict because the evolution of the market is still in its infancy. When set against worldwide sales in conventional formats, the consumption of music via digital downloads still only comprises a small fraction of total demand, though it is a market segment that is growing rapidly. The prospective effect of changing technologies on demand patterns depends on the rate of growth in household penetration of personal computers linked to the internet in different countries, and on the attitudes of consumers when faced with alternative modes of accessing the music they require. In the latter respect, consumers may adopt a passive role, accepting brand-names and repertoires of works provided by supplying companies, as happens currently in demand for music in traditional formats, or they may assume a more active role, possible by-passing major suppliers and seeking direct access to artists themselves.¹⁰

One aspect of demand for music deserving attention is the extent to which consumers demand music of local origin rather than from the international market. Data on this aspect of demand are available only for record sales, and even these figures are incomplete. Nevertheless there does appear to be some secular upward trend overall in the demand for domestic repertoire. Table 7 shows the average percentage of record sales accounted for by the domestic repertoire in several regions over the period of the 1990s. The overall growth of about 10 percentage points in the world average conceals some variations within regions, but the significant increase in demand for local music in Asian countries is noteworthy.

Table 7: Trends in share of domestic repertoire in record sales: by region^(a): 1991 to 2000 (per cent)

	1991	1996	2000
North America	83.6	85.0	89.2
Latin America	52.3	54.2	53.7
Europe	n.a.	n.a.	40.4
Mid-East	72.9	57.8	65.1
Asia	67.6	70.5	75.2
Australasia	23.4	11.6	24.8
World average	58.3	62.4	68.2

Note: ^(a) Limited numbers of countries included in some regions; see further in IFPI (2001a).

Source: Calculated from IFPI data.

Finally on the matter of demand for music, it should also be noted that the use of music to affect behaviour, or as an avenue of involuntary consumption, is increasing all the time. This "functional music" can be used to manipulate the buying patterns of shoppers in department stores, the eating habits of restaurant patrons and the productivity of workers in offices, shops and factories. It forms a small but growing component in the overall demand for music.

Industry structure: majors and indies

¹⁰ for further discussion of these and other scenarios, see Kretschmer *et al.* (1999, 2001).

A significant feature of the global music industry over many years has been the continuing dominance of the majors, creating a climate in which independent record producers find it increasingly difficult to remain viable. Is the relationship between the majors and the indies one of constant tension, or rather one of a sort of symbiosis where both benefit in some way from the existence of the other? Is the relationship changing as a result of the introduction of new technologies?

There have been important structural changes in the world music industry since the 1970s. The independent distribution system that had existed for many years began to break down in the 1980s and an increasing number of the independent labels agreed to be distributed by one of the major distributors. This trend has continued to the point now where many otherwise independent labels are distributed by one of the major transnationals. In fact it has been suggested that the independent record companies act in a way that serves the potential interests of the majors. They are generally involved in developing music outside the mainstream; if their music is successful and generates new audiences, they may begin to pose a threat to the majors' market dominance. If so, they may simply be absorbed by the majors (and in the process the sharp edge of whatever new sounds they have championed may become blunted by being re-packaged for mass taste). Thus, insofar as independents may act as a source of new talent and new sounds to feed the demands of the majors for novelty and innovation, the relationship between the two types of companies may be thought of as symbiotic rather than oppositional.

Nevertheless the technological developments discussed above are having a significant effect on the role of the major record labels in the music industry. Their capacity to continue to exert the market power that they have enjoyed in the past is seriously threatened by the fluidity and universal accessibility of the internet. The serious financial difficulties faced recently by some players in the market, including Vivendi/Universal and others, bear witness to the problems facing music companies in the new digital environment. Some writers, such as Parikh (1999) go so far as to see the demise of the record labels altogether, with conventional formats such as the compact disc replaced entirely by computer-based music systems. However, it seems more likely that the majors will continue their attempts to establish positions in the internet marketplace, provided these positions can be supported by licensing arrangements that will ensure their continued revenue flows. We discuss these issues further below.¹¹

e-commerce

The internet provides a number of different opportunities for selling music to the public. At its simplest it provides a means of cutting costs in the sale of traditional formats by by-passing the record store and replacing it with on-line retailing with customised delivery to the consumer. Organisations such as Buymusic.com and Amazon.com which sell cassettes and CDs over the internet can keep costs low because they do not have to carry inventories, nor maintain physical store locations. At the same time, compared with conventional retailers they can offer instant access to a global market and can cut down search costs for customers who can find out what is available simply with the click of a mouse.

But a more far-reaching alternative to the traditional retailing system lies in the internet's capacity to provide not just the ordering but also delivery of the product on-line. As noted earlier, internet music suppliers present a challenge to the major record companies, forcing them to enter the market themselves if they are to remain viable and relevant in the new environment. Thus, for example, the online exchange MusicNet, supplied via AOL, is backed by EMI, BMG and Warner.

It remains to be seen whether subscription services supplied via the web will be profitable, and experience to date is mixed. An example of such a service, Emusic.com, founded in 1998 and part of the Vivendi/Universal operation in the US, describes itself as a "major seller of music over the internet", offering

¹¹ For further analysis of the structure of the recording industry, see Burnett (1996), Negus (1999), Hull (2000), Tschmuck (2002).

200 thousand songs from 900 of the world's best independent music labels. Its 35 thousand subscribers can obtain unlimited MP3 downloads for a single monthly fee.

Projections as to the growth of e-commerce in music are notoriously difficult to make and any apparently precise forecast of the volume of business it will account for in any given year in the future is almost certainly wrong. It is going through a difficult period at present, with many of the major players losing money. What can be said is that, despite the current problems, development of the internet as a site for the commercial music market will continue to expand over the longer term, but that it is unlikely to replace traditional marketing channels for some time to come. Indeed it can be argued that the new market arrangements may complement rather than undermine current configurations in the music economy. For example, internet sites currently offering free downloads of MP3 sites from obscure artists may be doing so in order to promote the artists' CDs. Moreover, as Leyshon (2001, p. 73) argues:

"it may well be that, even as the record companies work through their problems with digitally distributed music and begin to embrace it, they may find resistance on the part of consumers reluctant to abandon the wider aesthetic process of music consumption which involves building up a physical collection of recordings. For such consumers, the compilation of file names on a directory may not be seen as an acceptable substitute to the collection of material things."

To this might be added the social experience of visiting record shops, which are evolving in the same way as bookstores in response to on-line developments by becoming places where people like to go to enjoy the physical process of shopping combined with café services and other facilities.

Piracy and copyright

It is well known that pirated copies of CDs and cassettes cost the industry huge amounts in lost revenues every year and that efforts to overcome the problem through stronger copyright regimes have been only partially successful. When copyright regimes are lax or nonexistent, it is a relatively easy matter for pirated copies of music recordings to find a market. Even in a country such as the US, where copyright is strictly enforced, non-legitimate sales during the 1990s amounted to about 27 million units annually, valued at \$US280 million. Worldwide pirate sales in the year 2000 amounted to 1.8 billion units valued at around \$US4.2 billion, the principal problem areas being Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹² Table 8 shows the ten major pirate markets in the world, ranked by value of pirate sales in 2000. In some countries, such as South Korea and Thailand, new copyright laws have recently been introduced, lowering levels of piracy dramatically; in other countries, however, the inadequacy or absence of a national law against piracy means that legal action cannot be taken against infringing copies, and music creators, publishers and record companies are denied a proper return.

Table 8: The major music piracy countries: 2000.

Country	Value (\$USm.)	Level of piracy
		As propn. of units sold (%)
China	600	90
Russia	240	65
Mexico	220	65
Brazil	200	50
Italy	180	25
Paraguay	110	95
Taiwan	100	45
Indonesia	65	55
Malaysia	40	65
Greece	40	50

Source: Calculated from data in IFPI (2001b).

¹² See IFPI (2001b).

The spread of music piracy is being driven by increasing disc capacity and the very rapid growth in availability of the CD-Recordable disc. Discs comprised about 35 per cent of all pirate sales in 2000, and almost one in ten pirate products are sold in the CD-R format. Sales of pirate cassettes are gradually falling as pirate operators move to the newer and cheaper formats. Overall, the effects of efforts to crack down on piracy in various countries tend to be offset by new strategies adopted by pirates to expand their operations, with the result that the trend in piracy has shown only a marginal decline in recent years, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Trends in aggregate world piracy of music recordings: 1996-2000.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Volume of piracy (bn. units)	1.9	2.0	2.3	1.9	1.8
Year-on-year change (%)	-	6.5	16.8	-17.0	-3.7
Value of piracy (\$US bn.)	5.1	5.3	4.5	4.1	4.2
Year-on-year change (%)	-	3.9	-15.1	-8.9	2.4

Source: Calculated from IFPI data.

The most rapidly growing form of piracy to affect music sales at the present time has been the unauthorised exchange of music via the internet. As we noted above, internet piracy simply involves making databases of music files available on the word-wide web for immediate download by consumers, without payment to the rightsholders whose material is being used and without their permission. Internet newsgroups and chat rooms may be involved in serial uploading or downloading of music material, and many sites have been established offering links to sources of infringing material. One of the most prominent avenues for obtaining unauthorised access to music on the internet has been via Napster, which at its height was trading some 2.8 billion songs per month. The record industry has acted promptly to initiate litigation against high-volume internet pirates when such action has been feasible (e.g. as in the case of Napster). Cooperation has also been sought from internet service providers to detect and remove sites dealing in unauthorised music files.

For copyright holders generally, the key issue in the evolving internet environment is whether or not viable and enforceable licensing arrangements for digital music can be established which will make peer-to-peer file-sharing a less attractive option for consumers than obtaining music through legitimate channels. Technological developments enabling the marking and tracking of musical information as it moves about the internet may make it possible to monitor usage of specific works, and hence to extract payment or prevent infringement. If so, the private copying of music in digital form may be reduced to the same manageable proportions in relation to legitimate sales as is currently the case for private copying in conventional formats such as off-air taping.

Such a development would enable the incorporation of an integrated digital right into copyright legislation which would cover CDs, permanent downloads and interactive streaming. It would presumably have the effect of allowing the major record labels and music publishers to maintain something like their present market positions. Against this, however, it must also be remarked that unauthorised use of music on the internet may well prove unstoppable; if this is the case, the entire structure of the music business in the future will be radically different from what it is now.

Nevertheless, none of this should be allowed to weaken the determination of national and international efforts to strengthen existing copyright regimes, which remain inadequate in many territories to cover conventional formats, let alone newer ones. Countries vary in their capacity to deal with changing times; some have broadly defined rights covering many types of usage, thus reducing the need for legislative amendments to meet changing times, others have more narrowly defined rights such that new challenges to copyright law have to be met with legislative amendment. Either way, current developments have made it increasingly difficult for national copyright laws to be effective in protecting creators' rights, and the pace of change in legislation virtually everywhere has lagged far behind what has been required. As a result, the main countries which export intellectual property (principally the USA) have moved to bring improved copyright

protection directly within the ambit of trade forums and trade negotiations, through avenues such as TRIPS (the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights protocol).

The evolution of the music market, involving increased integration especially between music publishers and record companies, is threatening the viability of the traditional collecting societies. Multinational rightsholders in many areas are now in a position to monitor music usage and to collect royalties themselves rather than assigning rights to a collecting society. Moreover, as more sophisticated digital tagging systems are developed, opportunities open up for direct payment from users to rightsowners without the need for an intermediary. Nevertheless, collecting societies remain a significant presence in the global music market, although it has to be acknowledged that their future remains clouded.¹³

Overall, however, it can be suggested that the growing strategic value of copyrights in the international arena, the continuation of rapid technological change, and the expanding worldwide consumer demand for cultural product, will mean that the allocation and administration of rights will continue to dominate the agenda of the world music industry in the years ahead. The phenomenon of convergence, whereby the technologies for providing electronic consumer services in media, entertainment, communications, and commercial activity are inexorably coming together, will have enormous implications for economic, social, political and cultural behaviour in the twenty-first century. In this environment the owners of rights in intellectual property will hold a potentially dominant position, provided that their rights can be adequately protected and enforced at national and international levels.

Artists

The new technologies discussed above offer both opportunities and challenges to artists. Many songwriters and performing musicians have found much creative stimulus in using computers in the composition and production of music. The distribution of their musical output has also been transformed in many instances via use of the internet. A number of artists have set up their own websites and may even offer their music for free, at least in the first instance.

Box 1: The artist/user interface in the online music market

An example of an organisation enabling artists to make direct contact with users is Artspages, a global partnership of rightsowners and technology providers which originated in Norway and now has offices in Oslo, Paris, Rio de Janeiro and Beijing. It aggregates music and associated copyrights from many sources and supplies this content in digital form to business customers around the world. Artspages sees itself as an important global online content-brokering and marketing service for the music industry, increasing revenues for creators, performers and other independent rightsowners. It supports the development of copyright in the new globalised context, and aims to further the awareness and understanding of artists' rights in creative communities across the world.

This example illustrates the new types of organisations that are springing up outside the mainstream record labels to facilitate artist/user contact in the digital environment. In some cases these enterprises are based around a single musician or band or a small number of individuals or groups. In other cases, as with Artspages, they provide a marketing opportunity for a wider range of independent artists.

Source: <http://www.artspages.org>

Indeed it is possible that increasing numbers of artists will choose not to become affiliated with a record company, but will take over the production and distribution of their music themselves. Nevertheless, whilst entry into the market in this way may be relatively cheap, and whilst it opens up a virtually unlimited audience potential, the reality is likely to be that only relatively few will be successful, with the chances of success falling dramatically as the numbers of artists trying to sell their wares by these means increases. In these circumstances there is likely still to be a role for some consolidating element in the market, whether it is a

¹³ For further discussion of collecting societies, see Wallis *et al.* (1998), Einhorn (2002).

record label, a commercial agent, an internet music portal, or whatever, to provide a collective channel for artists unable to make a go of it on their own.

4. MUSIC IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Background

The importance of music as a cornerstone of cultural life in developing countries is well understood.¹⁴ The production of local popular music has grown from its roots in long-established local culture, and has emerged in many countries in the developing world to become a significant economic industry through the wider spread of live music practice, local and national broadcasting, the establishment of a domestic recording industry and eventually, for some participants, access to the international music market. This process originates with the fact that production of music for economic gain can provide a relatively accessible avenue for individuals and groups to move into the cash economy. Many of the performance skills will already have been acquired, and capital requirements and barriers to entry are relatively low. Typically individuals or groups begin with live performance for payment, and, if they are successful and motivated, they may move into broadcasting or recording for the local market. In many countries throughout the developing world, small-scale recording companies have sprung up over the years, serving local broadcasting networks and retail outlets. Since there is often no effective copyright regime in force, the costs to users can be quite small, and of course this also means that the returns to composers and performers of the music are likely to be similarly constrained.

Eventually, however, the emerging local music industries of developing countries are affected by the international market, through two avenues. Firstly, the production sector of the music industry in these countries becomes increasingly a target for the large transnational record companies. Secondly, consumers' demands for the sort of music that circulates internationally grows as such music becomes more readily available, as incomes rise, and as tastes change; thus the proportion of domestically-produced music in a country's total music demand tends to decline as development proceeds.

What then are the chances that artists and music styles from developing countries might break into world markets and hence might contribute to the local economy through the generation of export revenue? Some local music genres have grown over time to dominate the international scene, beginning with jazz and moving on to rock'n'roll, rap, hip-hop, reggae and other musical forms. Nevertheless, despite the apparently rapid uptake of musical style and fashion by the international recording industry, artists from the South have found it very difficult to be recorded and to gain exposure in the international market place. In most cases, music from the Third World has been brought to wider attention through the activities of independent record producers, standing somewhat apart from the major transnational companies, and through the development of the specific category known as World Music representing a range of specific musical genres or styles originating in various parts of the world, including such musics as *salsa* from Cuba and Puerto Rico, *zouk* from the French Antilles, *rembetika* from Greece, *rai* from Algeria, *qawwali* from Pakistan and India, and many more. These types of music have "cross-over" potential, i.e. a fusion of traditional music with "western" musical styles. Although World Music still comprises only a very small share of the global music market, its popularity appears to be growing.¹⁵

It is apparent, then, that whilst music can be a significant contributor to economic life in developing countries as an important industry in the domestic economy, its role cannot be assessed without reference to the impacts on it of the global music industry, which becomes inexorably a more and more significant force as development proceeds. As we have noted already, the globalisation of music has seen a dominating role played by the publishing and sound recording industries centred in the US, Europe and Japan, with a handful of transnational corporations gaining an every-growing control over the market. In these circumstances, the

¹⁴ See Wallis and Malm (1984); Rutten (1991); Mitchell (1996); Nettle (1997).

¹⁵ See further Broughton *et al.* (1994), Andersen *et al.* (2000).

scope for independent artists and music producers, especially from the developing world, to gain a share of the market is severely constrained. Whilst some local musical genres and styles have been taken up on the international circuit, establishing a means for cultural interchange and diffusion and leading in some cases to substantial economic rewards for a few individuals and for some developing economies, the penetration of local music into the world sphere has been very slow. Where it has occurred, it has generally been under the control of the global industry; in many cases it has happened without any payment whatsoever accruing to the originators of the music. A stronger copyright regime in the future will be important in dealing with this problem and in ensuring appropriate rewards to musical creators, not just in developing countries but throughout the world.

In the following paragraphs we provide a brief summary of the music industry in three areas of the developing world: the Caribbean countries of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and the Southern African region.

Jamaica

As in other parts of the Caribbean, music in Jamaica is an essential part of social and cultural life. The domestic music industry has developed from the period when all music was live (pre-1950) through a development phase where a recording capacity for the domestic market began to be developed, to the present where both recordings and live music are supplied to both domestic and international markets. A turning point occurred in the early 1970s with the establishment of Jamaican music in its reggae form as a major genre in international pop music. Since then, local artists and producers who develop their talents and productive capacities for the local market, have increasingly focussed on international ventures to carry their music to a wider audience.

Box 2: Reggae as an expression of Jamaican culture

The Jamaican dance hall is and always has been the heart and soul of reggae music: it is nightclub, news medium, gathering place, church, theater, and schoolhouse all rolled into one. For the many aspiring artists who gravitate from country to city in a never-ending stream, the dance hall is a creative outlet and gateway to fame and glory. It is a metaphor for the enduring spirit of the Jamaican people expressed in music.

Other forms of "world music" have come and gone in the past forty years, but none has had the staying power of reggae. There are a lot of reasons, some having to do with reggae's Afro-Caribbean rhythms, lyrical content, or spiritual qualities. One major reason might be the strong music infrastructure that has been built up in Kingston by generation after generation of producers and musicians and musician-producers. While other attempts at industrial development in the Caribbean have had mixed results, reggae music has become to Kingston what country music is to Nashville and what the movie industry is to Bombay and Hollywood: a major economic presence as well as a focal point for local pride.

Source: Edited quote from Jahn and Weber (1998), pp. 10, 169-70.

According to IFPI data, sales of recorded music in Jamaica in 2000 amounted to \$US2.2 million, or approximately \$US0.90 per head of population. This placed Jamaica as ranked 71st in world record sales in that year. Sales have declined sharply since 1998, when the overall value of record sales was \$US9.9 million.

The music industry in Jamaica provides employment and income for somewhere between 6 and 12 thousand people, or about 1 per cent of the employed labour force. The industry has been a means for artists and workers with little or no formal education to enter the cash economy. Thus it has been a source of hope for many, though not surprisingly only a relative few will actually succeed. At the local level the music industry has provided an injection of funds into many poor communities, with consequent second and subsequent round spending effects. As Witter (2002) points out, the future earning power of the industry will depend not

only on collections from already published work which is taken up on the international market, but also from developing new forms of music to command a share of the constantly changing market for popular music.

The Jamaican government has recognised the music industry as part of its development strategy as spelt out in the National Industry Policy. The future growth of the industry will be enhanced by strategic policy measures to assist Jamaican artists and producers, for example through targeted concessions in some indirect taxes.¹⁶

Trinidad and Tobago

Major elements affecting the music industry in Trinidad and Tobago include the annual Carnival, held two days before Ash Wednesday, at which many local musicians perform live and which serves as a focus for the development of musical talent, and the national instrument, the pan, which is an important means for giving expression to local cultural identity. The commercial industry in Trinidad and Tobago is relatively small, with much of the musical activity being carried on without payment. Nevertheless the industry has grown and is gradually becoming differentiated into subsectors (live performance, recording, export, etc.) as in other parts of the world. There are few avenues for formal musical training and most talent simply surfaces in the Carnival and other festivities occurring through the country.

The size of the industry is difficult to estimate. Henry *et al.* (2001) quote an estimate of the direct income to musicians and entertainers of \$US2 million per year, but they acknowledge that this is only a notional estimate and subject to error. It is known that in order to earn significant returns, artists and producers have to enter the international market. To some extent this might be achievable at home, if musicians were able to take advantage of the expansion of the tourism sector. More generally, it is understood that increasing commercialisation of the industry will require a stronger infrastructure of support for training and for the development of professional standards. There has been little commercial development of pan, which remains an avenue for local cultural expression rather than a musical genre to be exploited on the mass market. This could change in the future, depending on fashion in the international music market and on any entrepreneurial efforts that might be made by local promoters.

The question of government support for the industry remains a contested one. The state agency responsible for industrial development has begun to see a role for the music industry in the generation of employment, incomes and foreign exchange earnings. However, other state institutions appear to be less enthusiastic about the economic potential of music in Trinidad and Tobago. Nevertheless it is recognised that the country's music is culturally unique, and hence could be a significant asset in future economic and cultural development.¹⁷

Southern Africa

The music industry in the Southern African Development Community (Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) is dominated by South Africa, in terms of sales and commercial production. Elsewhere in the region, although musical activity is prevalent as an essential ingredient of social

Box 3: Music as a political force for indigenous people: the Australian Aboriginal band Yothu Yindi.

In 1988 an agreement was reached between the Prime Minister of Australia and Aboriginal elders that a treaty between non-indigenous and indigenous Australians would be concluded by 1990. In fact no treaty eventuated (and it still hasn't). In 1991 the Aboriginal music group Yothu Yindi released a song addressing this unfulfilled promise. Its full lyrics were:

¹⁶ For further data and discussion of music in Jamaica, see James (2001).

¹⁷ A further case-study of music in the Caribbean is contained in UNCTAD/WIPO (2001).

Well I heard it on the radio
 And I saw it on the television
 Back in 1998, all those talking politicians
 Words are easy, words are cheap
 Much cheaper than our priceless land
 But promises can disappear
 Just like writing in the sand ...
 Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now, Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now ...
 This land was never given up
 This land was never bought and sold
 The planting of the Union Jack
 Never changed our law at all ...

This song is a strong political statement, referring especially to the indigenous peoples' struggle to achieve land rights. Subsequently, in 1995, Yothu Yindi created an internet website inviting people to explore the traditional music, art and stories of the Yolngu people in Australia's Northern Territory. Through this medium Yothu Yindi's music provides a point of contact and a voice of empowerment for Aboriginal people.

Sources: Mitchell (1996), Ch. 5; Hayward (1998), Part III; <http://www.yothuyindi.com>

and cultural life, the commercialisation of music is in its infancy, with little development yet in production, circulation and distribution beyond small scale, low-volume recording, local broadcasting, etc.

Data on record sales are available for only two countries in the region, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In South Africa, sales rose strongly through the early 1990s, from \$US187 million in 1991 to \$US218 million in 1996. Since then sales have declined to around \$US150 million in 2000, or \$US3.50 per head of population. Only 23 per cent of record sales in South Africa are of domestic product. The South African situation contrasts with that in Zimbabwe, where per capita incomes and hence record sales are much lower. Recorded music sales in Zimbabwe declined in the early 1990s, from \$US9.1 million in 1991 to as low as \$US3.9 million in 1995. Since then, however, there has been steady growth, in defiance of trends in sales elsewhere in the world. By 2000, record sales had reached \$US14.0 million, or \$US1.10 per head of population, with the major format being the music cassette.¹⁸

Growth of the music industry in the SADC region is affected by the lack of a developed legal and commercial infrastructure to support the economic expansion of the industry. The promotion of local content can be an important means for fostering the growth of domestic music industries. However, to be effective this requires a proper recognition of intellectual property rights, as an essential means of supporting income generation within the industry. In most countries in the region, copyright is not always recognised or enforced, and although piracy provides a means for local entrepreneurs to make money, it also undermines the capacity of the industry to develop its long-term domestic and international growth potential.

The Development Works Report (2001) argues that strategic government intervention is necessary to create the conditions for sustainable growth of the music industries in the Southern African region. Recommended interventions include:

- Setting up an enabling environment for industry growth via the financial system and through fiscal policy measures;
- Promoting the discovery of local and regional talent and audience development;
- Setting up and co-option of coordination bodies for import regulation, industry promotion, etc.;
- Supporting the development and enforcement of intellectual property protection and remuneration systems;
- Establishing facilitative rather than punitive local content promotion measures;

¹⁸ Data from IFPI (2001a).

- Developing statistics and indicators on employment, incomes, and economic impacts on local and regional economies; and
- Liberalising the broadcasting system to generate a demand for a diversity of music products opening up markets for artists and new musical genres.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have examined the role of music both as a primary form of cultural expression and as a powerful economic force in a globalising world. In particular we have pointed to the role of music in the context of economic development, as one of the most important creative industries offering prospects of both cultural and economic benefits in the developing world. We have argued that in the process of cultural development, widely interpreted, music plays a key role, as a language of communication, as a means of storage and transmission of cultural value, as a vehicle for political and social comment and dissent, and as a source of economic empowerment. We have discussed the economic opportunities that music may open up for individuals and communities in developing countries. But it must be borne in mind that it is often difficult to disentangle economic from political, social and cultural considerations in analysing the development process.¹⁹

Of course it has to be said that any discussion of national music industries must take account of the overwhelming influence which the world music market exerts on production, distribution, and consumption of music in virtually every country of the world. The globalisation of music has seen a dominating role played by the publishing and sound recording industries centred in the US, Europe and Japan, with a handful of transnational corporations gaining an every-growing control over the market. In these circumstances, the

scope for independent artists and music producers, especially from the developing world, to gain a share of the market is severely constrained. Nevertheless, some local musical genres and styles have been taken up on the international circuit, establishing a means for cultural interchange and diffusion. Some examples of these processes have been observed in the case studies presented above from the Caribbean and Southern African regions.

In this paper we have also pointed to the radical structural changes that are being brought about in the global music industry by the advent of digital technologies. The future roles of all the major stakeholders in the industry are likely to change substantially in the years ahead. Record companies and music publishers are fighting to retain dominant positions in a market increasingly subject to forces which could relegate the traditionally powerful players to a minor role, or could even see their disappearance altogether. Despite these changes, however, the significance of intellectual property rights remains as a fundamental means by which creators are rewarded for their past work and given an incentive to continue working in the future. However the shape of the music industry evolves in future, the importance of copyright as an element in the market is likely to remain undiminished.

We turn finally to the appropriate role for government intervention in order to foster cultural industry development. Clearly, the optimal type and extent of policy action will depend on specific national circumstances. In most industrialised countries, where the commercial music industry is well established and very active, intervention may be limited to protection of the public interest through provision of adequate legal means for the protection and enforcement of rights. In developing countries, the scope for intervention may well be much wider, ranging from the establishment of a workable legal framework for the administration of intellectual property rights, to co-option of music into broader industry development programs, as a means of encouraging growth in employment, output and exports.

¹⁹ For a discussion of culture in economic development, see Throsby (2001), Ch. 4.

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