Career Dynamics in Normative and Competitive Fields: The American Jazz's Case

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Abstract

Recent research has studied new career formats in "boundariless" and networked organizations. In parallel, economic sociologists have provided new insights on the evolution of organizational fields. Nonetheless, we still lack a comprehensive framework that unifies both approaches. By extracting social network statistics on musicians' paths, we build ideal-typical career paths. In addition, by using blockmodeling, we map the field development vis-à-vis the positioning of career paths and the evolution of styles. For that purpose, we investigated the Jazz field and its musicians from 1930 to 1969. Relational data was collected from 5,572 albums' credits. Within this period, this field migrated from a normative to a competitive structure, which allows us to understand how career types patterns of interaction change, as well as the logics of dominance and establishment of new styles. Results indicate that, in spite of a polarized transition period, co-optation of older generations by new ones was crucial for implementing the new structure. Furthermore, by engaging in the transformation of the field from a normative to a competitive logic, new elites consent with a trade-off between stability and freedom of innovation.

Introduction

Careers have been a traditional object of Human Resources research, mostly interested in individual career paths within and between formally structured organizations (See for instance, Baron and Davis-Blake, 1986). Recent research, however, has been dedicated to understand two different aspects of careers: (1) how they co-evolve and (2) how they behave within networks. Aldrich (1999) suggests that communities evolve in a nested way. From this perspective, trajectories are constrained and supported by a macro structure. Conversely, the macro structure is shaped by the nested individual trajectories. In our study, we chose the organizational field of Jazz and musicians as respectively macro and micro units of analysis. In the American sociological tradition, neo-institutionalist scholars (for instance, DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) have advanced the study of organizational fields. Although most of its early research was concerned with stability and conformity to norms, recent research has introduced change and higher agency autonomy to its analysis (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003). The goal of this paper is to advance this line of research by exploring the evolution of American Jazz musicians' careers, from 1930 to 1969.

Theorizing on Networked Careers

Anand (2000), and Peterson and Anand (2002) identify two kinds of organizational fields: normative and competitive fields. Normative fields are organized mainly under macro-coercive rules. Usually, they have a distinctive core (a set of central actors that hold central positions in the social network) that dominates its periphery by controlling the major resources and the field's *schemata*. Thus, it is not surprisingly that the introduction of innovations is usually top-down, held by central entrepreneurs, whose position is relatively buffered from market pressures. By this account, a classical example of a normative field is given by DiMaggio's research on U.S. art museums (1991), where a handful of central player's action modified the field's logic.

In contrast, competitive fields are much less autonomous in relation to market trends. Competitive forces mark a balance between innovation and imitation. As a consequence, although the field is still articulated by a core, a more differentiated periphery emerges, providing enough agency discretion for bottom-up changes. Leblibici, Salancick, Copay and

Kinget (1991) provide the example of the transformation of the radio broadcasting industry in the U.S, showing that most innovations were introduced by peripheral actors.

Normative Fields - Our first career model comes from the early studies on bureaucratic organizations, developed by Weber (1910). A classical weberian perspective on career development predicts that individuals' development follow the normative logics imposed by formally structured bureaucratic organizations. The rationalization of human action and the widespread adoption of work routines are accompanied by the institutionalization of well-defined tracks for career advancement. Still from Weber's perspective, bureaucratic rules are reinforced, as the organization strives to couple its behavior with the market logic.

Although Weber's intuitions of bureaucracy were mostly related with closed and well-defined organizations, authors like Peterson and Anand have ventured in translating some of his insights to a macro-field level. These authors continue their description of a normative field to indicate that it occurs in tandem with concentration of the market in a handful of players. As a direct consequence of this assertion we might expect:

Proposition 1: In normative fields, a well defined core coordinates the field's relationships

Weber's idea of a bureaucratic-driven career is sharply distinguished from an individual's development in a traditional context. While in the latter case family and political connections are crucial for advancement, in the former, fit to the organization's logic, the accumulation of work experience and academic degrees are vital for survival and development. In traditional organizations, age is the most important feature for career development. While in bureaucratic organizations, fit to top-down rules is responsible for one's advancement. This suggests that in bureaucratic organizations careers follow a ladder, whose rules of advancement are established by the organization's rules (Baron, Davis-Blake & Bielby, 1986; Weber, 1910). As a consequence, we should observe a well organized shift of power between generations, as the older individuals retire, and younger ones are co-opted at lower ranks to join higher ranks. Conversely, older generations leave the field as they die or retire.

When we take this intuition to a societal level, we should be able to observe younger generations following older ones within and between organizations. In the case of musicians, sidemen's artistic expression was controlled in a strict way by band leaders (Lopes, 2000). Thus,

Proposition 2: Older generations of musicians are substituted by younger generations in an orderly way

Older generations control the pattern of social relations, as well as the succession track. Nonetheless, in a bureaucratic organization the exercise of power by itself is not permitted. Older generations have to develop an underlying logic in order to provide legitimacy to their rules and actions. The more autonomous is an organization, the more buffered is the formation of norms from the environment (Anand, 2000). In addition, the locus of generation of norms is entirely concentrated on the top of the hierarchy. As a consequence, norms will be stable as long as not perturbed by a sudden change in the market's logics or a break in the organizational core coalition (March, 1962).

When we take this intuition to the societal level, we should not expect any changes in the norms and regulations, as long as the coalition power is stable (Fligstein 2001). In tandem, in a oligopolistic industry, we expect higher homogeneity of art forms, due to a high coercive dominance of core over peripheral players (Peterson and Berger, 1975). In our example, this should be reflected in stability of musical styles and tastes. Hence:

Proposition 3a: In normative fields, there is high homogeneity of styles.
Proposition 3b: In normative fields, styles are likely to be stable and change slowly within time.

Competitive Fields - As mentioned above, competitive fields are marked by bottom-up efforts of innovation, and agency gains more relevance. Although one has little power to impose its dominance over others, reputation and status are central in order to gain access to resources and opportunities (Jones, 2002; Podolny, 2001). The association with prominent players provides legitimacy to those associated with them. Hence, novice players will be driven to develop joint projects with already established players in the field. As a consequence, a core will emerge around those more prominent players, even in the absence of formal sanctioning rules:

Proposition 4: In competitive fields, a loosely connected core emerges, as an informal reference for legitimacy.

In a competitive field, struggle for survival is fiercer for all players. Products have shorter span of life and competitors gain and loose field's dominance more quickly. Christensen, Verlinden & Westerman's (2002) example of the hard-disk industry is illustrative of this point. Innovations were hardly introduced by incumbent firms, but by peripheral players. In addition, as the technology of hard disks evolved, the average time length of a company's leadership became increasingly shorter. In other words, although novice players revolve around older players, the former efforts to displace the latter are more frequent and more successful than in normative fields. Hence:

Proposition 5: In competitive fields, older generations are displaced more quickly by younger generations, as new styles substitute new ones.

Finally, as remarked above, a competitive field as a whole is not chaotic, but marked with a balance of innovation and imitation. As coercive rules are removed, collective action is driven by more informal norms. To use neo-institutionalist concepts, isomorphism is no longer mostly coercive, but normative and mimetic. Hence, we should expect in competitive fields neither a complete absence of rules, nor a severe tightness to formal norms. In parallel, with lower core's control over peripheral musicians, we expect a higher heterogeneity of musical forms, expressed in styles:

Proposition 6a: In competitive fields, there is higher heterogeneity of styles than in normative fields.
Proposition 6b: In competitive fields, musical styles are less stable than in normative fields.

Data Collection

Source of Relational Data

Musicians establish several types of relationships and in different contexts, from a friendship to romantic affairs, or from a joint recording to an informal jam session. To be sure, innovations emerge as a result of all of these interactions. Nonetheless, we chose to focus on one specific kind of relationship: joint album recording. In joint recordings, musicians are in their closest contact with the commercial side of the Jazz art world, and their final product success has direct impact on their careers.

In order to gather the LPs data, we considered two web sites, "All Music Guide" and "Crazy Jazz". All Music Guide (AMG) is an Alliance Entertainment Corp. company. By collecting, storing and distributing information on LPs and CDs released, it is able to connect CDs sellers with consumers. We found AMG's information on Jazz LPs quite accurate. However, the released date of the LPs reflects its launching in CD format. Furthermore, AMG's credit details were not exhaustive. Therefore, we could not count on AMG as our primary source.

Crazy Jazz, on the other hand, is a CD seller, specialized in Jazz titles. It is recommended by the "Penguin Guide to Jazz on CD" as the best Jazz CD seller. In comparison to AMG's database, Crazy Jazz' information on releasing dates is accurate. Furthermore, Crazy Jazz shows up to nine most important musicians involved in the LP. Therefore, we chose to use "Crazy Jazz" site as the major source of information, while still using AMG information in order to categorize titles within styles. Our sample covered 5,572 LPs, between 1930 and 1969.

Preparation of the Network

From the information of LPs and its featuring artists, we built three preliminary databases: a list of musicians, a list of LPs and the relationships between LPs and musicians.

We divided the LPs database in eight periods of five years each. For each period, we counted the number of titles recorded by all pairs of musicians. In order to build the database of ties, we considered only pairs that had at least two titles recorded in common. Next, we dichotomized all relationships, not considering the strength of the tie. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics on each period's network.

Analytical Strategy

Classifying Career Paths

Our first concern is to understand different career paths based on relevant factors. We selected three measures: life span, average betweeness centrality and number of periods of membership of the network's core. Following we will explore each of these dimensions.

Probably the most critical aspect of an artist's success is her ability to get jobs. Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa & Rittman (2003) show how novice actors might submit themselves to typecasting, in order to establish a foothold in the industry. Even if an artist is able to enter the industry, survival is never entirely guaranteed, as fads and fashions shifts change artists' fates (Hirsch, 1972). Hence, **life span** in a networked industry is one of the major signals of success for an artist.

Beyond surviving, artists might undertake different goals. Becker (1982) points out that the degree of involvement of an artist with her industry's actors might be a mixed blessing. From one perspective, better connections with other players increase the likeliness of exploiting resources. On the other hand, higher coupling to the industry structure might constraint the artist's action and creativity. Nonetheless, in general, more resources are better than less. The way we chose to measure resources an individual gets is by calculating its average **betweeness centrality** across its life span (Hanneman, 2001).

Kadushin (2004) observes that the stability of a field might be grasped by the composition of a network's core. A polarized core might trigger social changes. Core membership gives power to its holders to influence on a field's rules. Core members may establish consensus among different actors. Conversely, membership to the core gives opportunity to disrupt with the current consensus and struggle for the establishment of new rules. One might question whether membership to a network's core doesn't entail in high betweeness centrality, turning these dimensions redundant. This correlation would be high for "star" networks, were the center is occupied by a single member, and all peripheral actors are connected only to the center. In more decentralized networks, peripheral actors might control critical resources, in spite of their positions. Conversely, novice actors might have a very early opportunity to develop a project with a core actor. By doing so, he becomes a central actor as well. However, if his only connection is his "godfather" at the core, he has relatively less freedom of action than better connected peripheral actors.

We performed K-means cluster analysis using these variables in order to obtain six clusters of musicians (see Table 2). Because the period of analysis spans from 1930 to 1969, left and right censoring effects take place, as we do not cover the entire history of Jazz. For instance, one's career started at 1925 might have a longer life span than captured in our analysis. In order to mitigate left and right censoring effects, we excluded from the career path analysis those musicians who consistently had decreasingly betweeness centrality since period one, and those who had consistently increasing betweeness centrality up to period eight. We included them in the clusters 7 and 8 respectively.

By observing Table 2, we are able to distinguish different types of trajectories and propose some tentative classification:

Cluster 1 – "Ivory Tower": Cluster 1 presents the second highest life span (6.55 periods), however, it has a low presence in the core (0.7) and average betweeness is only 0.29. It suggests a group of musicians who are able to sustain themselves in the network, however, with restrained involvement with either the core or with other musicians. Examples of musicians in this cluster are Duke Ellington and Ella Fitzgerald.

Cluster 2 – "Wanna-be": musicians at cluster 2 present the lowest between average (0.03), lowest life span (1.16), and lowest membership to core (0.02). Not surprisingly, it is the largest cluster, with 3,614 musicians. This is the typical fate of novice musicians: after few appearances and slammed doors, they eventually choose to exit the industry.

Cluster 3 – "Elite": It has the highest average life span (6.63 periods) and the highest presence at the core (3.89 periods). Also, it has the second highest average betweeness centrality. We label them "Elite" due to their low number (only 73 musicians), its long presence in the network, and high core presence. Examples of musicians in this cluster are Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis and Stan Getz.

Cluster 4 – "Shooting Stars": members of this cluster have half of elite's average betweeness (0.52), and medium life span (3.88). However, they have the second highest core membership (2.26), higher than "ivory tower", who are longer at the network. This suggests "shooting stars" that although are able to make it to the core for a significant portion of their life span (almost 60% of their lives), are not able to sustain their careers as long as elite musicians do. Remarkable examples of a "shooting stars" are Charlie Parker and Artie Shaw, whose careers ended prematurely.

Cluster 5 – "Ivy League": there are only a handful of members in this cluster (five). However, they share some interesting characteristics with other career types: as "Ivory Tower" and "Elite" colleagues, they have high life span (6.4), a medium membership to the core (1.8), but the highest average betweeness centrality. It is worthy to mention them all: Benny Goodman, Henry "Red" Allen, Sidney Bechet, Don Byas, and Woody Herman. Those are founders of Swing who were able to survive in the network. In contrast with Louis Armstrong, who knew how to reposition himself at the core, these players remained at the outskirts of the core. Although not always in the spot light of the core, recording with these players was as coveted as playing with Elite musicians.

Cluster 6 – "Up-Starters": this is the second largest group (725 musicians), with an average life span close to "shooting stars'". However, their average betweeness and membership to the core are low (0.13 and 0.21 respectively), only higher than "wanna-be's". We find fine musicians in this cluster, like Dave Brubeck and Quincy Jones, whose record sales might have even surpassed other musicians' sales levels. Nonetheless, we might be facing mostly commercial successful musicians, who weren't necessarily at the core of the Jazz community by their high days.

We would like to point some potential issues with "Elite" and "Shooting Stars". Both groups are in average 60% of their lives in the core, which suggests the existence of different generations. Failure to distinguish between generations might lead to poorer comprehension on the trajectory of different musicians. For that reason, using 2-mode faction search, we split these two clusters in 2 generations. "Elite" first generation spans from 1930 to 1944 (cluster 31) and its second generation spans from 1945 to 1969 (cluster 32). "Shooting Star" first generation goes from 1930 to 1949 (cluster 41), while its second generation goes from 1950 to 1969 (cluster 42). See Table 3 for descriptive statistics on the new clusters.

Blockmodeling the Jazz Field

One of our concerns is to reconstruct the evolving macro structure of the field, in order to understand the constraints imposed to musicians' action, but also to explore how this very action affected the field's structure. In order to obtain a topology of the Jazz field structure over time, we applied a blockmodeling approach from the Social Networks Analysis tradition. The use of blockmodeling has become widespread in organizational research. DiMaggio (1986) was one of its first proponents by using it to study the relation among theaters' managers in the U.S. Mohr's (1994) study of non-profit organizations in the beginning of the twentieth century, and Padget and Ansell (1993) investigation of the relationships among Florentine families in order to understand the rise of the Medici are other seminal contributions that used blockmodeling. The idea of blockmodeling is to group together those individuals who share similar patterns of relationships with all individuals in network (see Breiger, 2004 for a review on the methodology). As a result, musicians placed in the same block will be structurally similar, which means that they will be likely to bear the same pattern of ties to other actors in the network. Nevertheless, structurally similar actors are not necessarily connected among themselves.

We used the CONCOR algorithm in order to obtain the networks' partitions. CONCOR first calculates the correlation of each pair of actors in a series of iterations. Then, based on the matrix of correlations, it splits the network in two partitions. We chose to split the network three times, obtaining thus eight blocks. As Hanneman (2001) indicates, there is no "good" or "bad" number of blocks. We chose eight blocks, as it would yield a less complex output.

We used UCINET 6.64 in order to obtain the permutated matrix and its respective image matrix. The image matrix is obtained from the permuted matrix by calculating the density of ties in each block. Next, we dichotomized density matrix of each period using the following procedure: if the density of a given block was above the average density of the image matrix, we considered as having a tie between a pair of blocks (represented as a thick line). If the density of a block was between the average density and its half, we would consider it a "weaker" tie (represented as a dashed line). In the case of diagonal blocks (reflexive relationships), the higher the density, the higher the likeliness of including a cohesive group of musicians.

Figure 1a to 1h show the results of our blockmodeling exercise of the networks of Jazz musicians. Also, we identified the most important blocks for each career path type in the following way. Whenever the percentage of a particular career path type was above 12.5% (expected percentage average per block, given eight blocks generated by CONCOR), we disclosed the number of musicians from that category who are members of that block (Table 4, Career Types). Also, in order to increase the clarity of the figures, we hide isolated blocks without any relevant career path type.

Mapping Style Evolution in the Field

As we argue above, the struggle for conquering a central position in the field is not limited to the sheer substitution of the elder by the younger. Generations struggle for better positioning, but above all, they fight in order to legitimize their actions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). As a consequence, the defense of an incumbent style against new art forms plays a double-role: it secures both the incumbent's position and his respective way of action.

For instance, when Bop was able to establish its foothold in the field, it faced a strong reaction from established Swing musicians, including Louis Armstrong (Burns, 2000).

In order to grasp the interaction between the development of the Jazz styles and the evolution of the field, we associated for each relevant block the major styles played. For this purpose, we pursued the following procedure. First, we selected a sample of 42 musicians, from both Elite groups, Ivory Tower, Ivy League, and also from Shooting Star. For each period, we coded the artist's styles based on the classification given by Scott Yanow's staff for Allmusic.com site (see above on Sources of Relational Data). Given that for each period the members of our sample would fall in different blocks, we just transposed their styles in a particular period for their correspondent blocks. The results can be seen on Table 4, in the column "Styles". We organized the styles within each block in the following way. First, we marked in bold and underlined all innovative styles for each period, in order to help locating where in the field's topology a new style is born. Second, within each block we sorted its styles by a descendent order of appearance in the history of Jazz. Newer styles appear first, at the left.

Results: History of Jazz from a Structural Perspective

Pre-Swing Era: from 1930 to 1934

In the early thirties, "Jazz" was considered a dead style, alive in the memories of connoisseurs, nostalgic of a pre-Depression America (Lopes, 2002). Sweet bands, held by classic music educated maestros like Paul Whiteman, controlled the emerging phonographic industry at that period. Nonetheless, some sidemen musicians, like Benny Goodman, who played for big bands and were influenced by early Jazz, started to introduce some "hot" elements to their music, borrowed from black musicians. The style they were developing would eventually be called Swing. In the pre-Swing era, most recording opportunities were captured by our "Ivory Tower" and "Ivy League" musicians (Figure 1a, the Core (1E) and Core Intermediary blocks (1D, 1F)). Both generations of Elite are already present, but they play a minor role, which can be observed by the limited number of musicians in these categories. As suggested by Proposition 1, we see a core emerging in this field, already in its formative years.

We observe on Table 4 that Swing spreads itself along all field's blocks. Also, there is low differentiation between core and periphery, confirming Proposition 3a. All blocks include a combination of Swing and Big Band. Nonetheless, more "Jazz" related styles as New Orleans Jazz are more present at the periphery than in the core.

Swing Era: 1935 to 1945

The consolidation of Swing as a popular style came in the late thirties. The popularity of their musicians enabled them to bridge the racial chasm, as exemplified by Goodman's partnership with Teddy Wilson. Also, a tight connection with a oligopolistic recording industry helped to structure a centralized organizational field. In Figure 1b we clearly observe a Core block articulating the field's record production. There is a clear domination of "Ivory Tower" musicians over other types (Table 4, Block 2D). Nonetheless, this is not as centralized as it was in the early thirties. A connected periphery starts to emerge, which balances dominance from the Core.

As Peterson and Anand (2002) observe, the phonographic field in the U.S. migrated from a normative model to a competitive model. There are several explanations for this shift. A first source would be under a Law and Regulation reach. The founding of BMI in 1942, breaking ASCAP's monopoly, permitted the shift from New York Tin Pan Alley formula to the introduction of new styles (Hobsbawm, 1979; Peterson and Anand, 2002). This effected in loosening the leadership of established Swing musicians. In the Table 4 (blocks 3A, 3B, 3E) we observe that "Ivory Tower", "Ivy League" and "Elite-1" musicians were still controlling the field. However, there was no clear-cut Core articulating the whole structure. A shared core among three groups was responsible for maintaining the field's structure. It is worth noting that 29 musicians of Elite-2 (or 75% of this generation) were already present in the field, and all concentrated under a single block. The loose articulation of the field, and the presence of experienced side men were crucial ingredients for following revolution in the Jazz field. Nonetheless, older generations still controlled the field, supporting Proposition 2.

As we observe the evolution of styles from Figure 2a to 2c, first we notice that no new style emerged from period 1 (1930 to 1934) to period 2 (1935 to 1940), supporting Proposition 3b. Swing established itself as popular style, improving incrementally, as it absorbed innovations from local dialects as Kansas City's. On Table 4 (Blocks 3B and 3C), nonetheless, Bop is born exactly on those blocks under Elite-2 influence, initially as peripheral style.

Bop/Cool Era: from 1945 to 1960

Peterson and Anand (Ibid) note that by the mid-forties, a FCC's new regulation broke with the major radio stations' oligopoly. Combined with the emergence of TV networks a flood of new licenses went to local radio stations, which had little resources to invest in live shows. Instead, they played small recording companies' albums, increasing the diversity of styles that reached the public (Peterson and Anand, ibid, p. 268). With this change, promoters of new styles were able to challenge the dominance of established musicians. Also, the mid-forties staged the return of Afro-American soldiers from World War II, with increased consciousness of their social identity. This opportunity was seized by "Elite-2" musicians who struggled to establish Be-Bop. In Figure 1d (Block 4C, also 4A, 4D) we observe that Elite-2 musicians dominate the Core, partially displacing "Ivory Tower" and "Elite-1" musicians to periphery or to the outskirts of the core.

Nonetheless, in an increasingly open-system as was becoming the phonographic field (Perrow, 1986, chapter 6), uncontested dominance was not guaranteed. The following period, from 1950 to 1954 was marked by Elite-2's dominance of the Core. However, several Ivory Tower musicians were able to establish themselves in autonomously isolated blocks (Figure 1e, Table 4, blocks 5F, 5G, 5H).

Until that period, changes in the environment affected Jazz internal structure, but did not constituted threats to the community as a whole. In the mid-fifties this picture changed, as youth America embraced Rock. In reaction, the Jazz world rearticulated itself around a new, but less cohesive Core, supporting Proposition 4. There is a reintegration of "Ivory Tower" musicians to the "Elite-2" musicians (Figure 1f, Table 4 Blocks 6A, 6B). Nonetheless, Jazz as an embracing paradigm lost its touch with a large share of the American audience, which effected in the loss of Billboard's chart dominance to Rock.

Surprisingly, when we observe Block 4C (Core), we notice that the core styles are Swing and Big Band, not Bop, as expected. A closer look reveals that the occupants of the core were Benny Goodman, Teddy Wilson and Benny Webster, among other popular Swing musicians. These musicians were able to stay at the center due to their unique possibility of establishing links with both innovative groups who were developing Cool, Afro-Cuban and West Coast styles (Block 4A) and conservative groups (Blocks 4E, 4F, focused on Classic Jazz and its earlier idioms like Dixieland and New Orleans). This finding suggests that Elite-2 achieved legitimacy by co-opting older musicians (Dizzy Gillespie himself used a "Big Band" format in order to popularize Bop, Burns, 2000). Nevertheless, such cooptation is halted in the following period (Blocks 5B and 5D), as Elite-2 affirms its position and earlier styles are isolated (or self-segregate) in isolated blocks. The network core is finally dominated by Bop. As predicted by Proposition 6a, the field is taken by higher heterogeneity, especially at the periphery, where new idioms as hard-bop and post-bop emerge. Nonetheless, confirming

Proposition 6b, the rise and fall of styles take shorter periods of time in competitive fields, in comparison to normative fields. In the Block 6C , Hard-Bop and Post-Bop displace Bop to a secondary role in a shorter time than required to Bop displacement of Swing.

Jazz Renaissance: 1960 to 1969

In reaction to the fall of Jazz, several musicians looked for outside opportunities in order to reinvigorate it. For instance, Miles Davis introduced Fusion, while Stan Getz helped to bring Bossa Nova to American Jazz. All these efforts to mitigate Jazz decline effected in an increasingly loosely coupled field. To be sure, there was abundant reaction to disqualify some of these new idioms as legitimate Jazz. Miles Davis's Fusion was thought to be closer to Rock, rather than to Jazz, while Coleman's Free Jazz could not be accepted by several traditional jazz musicians. We can observe at Figure 1g once again the division of the field's core in two, but none the less, connected blocks. In other words, we observe that the musicians go to different directions, but at the same time, we can not refer to a fragmentation, for the field's blocks are still connected.

Period 7 map of styles (1960 to 1964), show a first effort to introduce to Jazz some "new blood". From Brazil, Bossa Nova is brought, while from Soul music, R&B is introduced (Block 7E). Neither of these styles will make to the center in the following period. Bossa Nova played a "faddish" role, articulated with Cool (as matter of fact, Stan Getz, one of its most important proponents, didn't stick with Bossa Nova in the following period). R&B gained its own autonomy, maintaining loose connections with the Jazz field. Period 8 (1965 to 1969), in contrast, staged the emergence of Fusion and Free Jazz (Block 8B, 8D), led by Elite-2 musicians. Both styles experimented with the boundaries of the Jazz paradigm, expressing the apex of the musicians' creative autonomy (Lopes, 2000). Nonetheless, in contrast with the introduction of Swing during the infancy of the field, the emergence of Fusion and Free Jazz was led by a low cohesive group of musicians who would take increasing pains to agree on what was "Jazz".

In spite of the crisis in Jazz, and perhaps as an effect of the crisis, older generations of musicians still kept a prominent position in the field (Elite-1 and Ivory Tower, Blocks 7B, 7E, 8A, 8B,). Also, Swing, Big Band and other older styles are not displaced by new ones, but are accommodated. This finding goes directly against our Proposition 5, where we predicted that new styles substitute old ones.

Discussion

Normative and Competitive Fields

The first paradigm we revisited was Weber's bureaucracy, applied to a societal level. A strong elite emerged to control the community's rules and norms at its center (Proposition 1). In the normative field period, each generation of elite followed the previous one, and waited for its time to receive the field's dominance as heritage (Proposition 2). This finding relates with Padgett's (2001) analysis of the emergence of banks in Florence. The founding banking firms in medieval Florence was coupled first to family ties. Eventually, these firms' networks diversified their ties to encompass first guild relationships to finally resemble a modern capitalistic structure. Finally, as predicted, there was a high homogeneity of styles across the field (Proposition 3a), accompanied by slow change (Proposition 3b).

The distinction between the normative and the competitive fields were confirmed by our findings. The field's core became loosely coupled and several times shared by different groups, confirming our Proposition 4. The circulation of elites, to use Pareto's intuition, became less orderly than in the normative period, however we have not observed a complete displacement of older generations (hence, against Proposition 5). On the contrary, older generations seem to serve as the glue of the field, specially in times of crises. As the core dominance became lower, and a oligopolistic enforcement of taste was phased out, a more subtle, informal and normative control of the field dynamics emerged. The locus of definition of "good" and "bad" music was not any more grounded on recording companies, but shifted to Jazz critics and the musicians themselves. With dispersed sources of legitimacy, the field became less homogenous in its styles (Proposition 6a) and they became more faddish (Proposition 6b).

Innovation in Competitive Fields

As a matter of fact, our Proposition 5 establishes a dialogue with Schumpeterian conceptions of innovation. From this perspective, new innovations and paradigms should displace older ones, as elaborated in the idea of "creative destruction". To be sure, Schumpeter (1934) builts in his theory the idea of intercalation of long periods of oligopolistic power (in equilibrium) with short periods of creative destruction. Hence, normative structures should be intercalated by moments of extreme competition.

Our findings, however, do not support entirely this hypothesis. As new styles emerged in Jazz, older generations were not expelled from the field, but displaced to the outskirts of the core. The possibility of identification of musicians characterized as "Ivory Tower" is an evidence contrary to Schumpeter's idea. On the contrary, "displaced" musicians like Duke Ellington ended up collaborating with younger musicians, like Charles Mingus, by developing style hybrids.

Community Structure and Survival

The ecological tradition places most of the strength of their analysis on population survival, based on the fitness of an organizational form to its niche. As a consequence, as environment changes, crowded niches will stage high mortality of specialist organizations (Hannan and Freeman, 1977). Along the same line, punctuated equilibrium researchers advocate that managers will not be able to adapt to changing environments, given their organizations' structural inertia and congealed schemata (Romanelli and Tushman, 1994). A Schumpeterian theorist would predict that external shocks would mean the destruction of such a community of organizations, given the low probability of adaptation to new circumstances.

In contrast, our description of the evolution of the Jazz field brings us a different picture. The migration from a normative field to a competitive field in the mid-forties gave to Jazz musicians enough time to look for alternative paradigms. In other words, they learned to become flexible innovators and explore external community ties. By the mid-sixties, Rock grew to pose a formidable challenge to the Jazz community. None the less, given its already loosely coupled structure and competitive practices, Jazz community's musicians were able to absorb external influences to their own. As a consequence, Rock's external shock was not deadly for Jazz. On the contrary, it helped to fuel innovation, as the creation of the Fusion forms. This perspective leads us to Simmel's (1955) proposition that communities used to internal conflicts have higher probability of survival than communities based on consensus. The explanation, offered by DiMaggio (1986), is that conflict-ridden organizations rely more heavily on a variety of external sources of support in times of crisis (p. 364).

Transition between Normative and Competitive Fields

In addition to expanding our understanding on normative and competitive fields, we also uncovered some findings that might shed light on the transition between the former to the later. Period 5 (1950 to 1954) is most likely marked by this transition. With already loosened regulations and lower articulation from the core, the Elite generation (Elite-2) was still struggling to seize the field's core, by both co-opting and polarizing with older generations. These two contradictory logics in action maintained the field articulated, although poised to rapid change. It was only with the external shock of Rock that a full-fledged competitive field emerges with all its typical characteristics, which poses a question whether a complete transition would occur in the absence of such threat.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

On Weber's "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1905) centennial anniversary, researchers of organizations and human resources are proclaiming the end of the iron cage. Using our terminology, normative structures will be phased out in favor of competitive structures (at least in several fields, Peterson and Anand, 2002). This transition has been received as a possibility of enhancing human dignity in the work place. For instance, Arthur, Peiperl, & Anand (2002) claim that our potential as human beings should not be submitted to corporate or collective objectives. As a consequence, we are called to produce value judgments on the desirability of one or another structure. Also, as Jones (2002), we face the challenge of providing normative proposals for individuals on how to deal with this new environment.

From a systemic perspective, it is apparent that the competitive field is more desirable than the normative field. As earlier research shows, the innovation rate and freedom of action is superior in the former than in the latter. Also, as we observed above, competitive fields have higher immunity to external shocks. Nonetheless, the superiority of individual agency over collective agency is neither permanent nor everlasting desirable (Olson, 1965). Hence, further research is needed to understand whether and in which circumstances competitive fields migrate back to normative structures.

When we turn our attention to the individual level of analysis, a range of issues emerge. In comparison to normative fields, elite careers in competitive fields are less secured. Hence, we should not expect that older elites will gracefully support the transition to a competitive structure. To be sure, the emergence of Bop and other styles in late forties was marked by a polarization that placed the field on the verge of disruption. As a consequence, future research might focus on the factors that explain why some fields are able to make the transition, while others fail. Also, in our example, as Elite-2 emerged as a challenger of the established paradigms, it also made more difficult for the establishment of any new paradigm. As a consequence, the field "meta logics" was changed, and made the new elite's position much more difficult to defend, in comparison to their antecessors. Thus, further investigations could help us to understand whether new elites will always opt for changing the field's functioning logics, or just embrace the conservative, albeit safe and less ambiguous, career ladder. Confirming evidence of this last inquiry would compel us to reconsider whether new theories on career paths will be able to displace Weber's propositions.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	30 to 34	*35 to 39*	*40 to 44*	*45 to 49*	*50 to 54*	*55 to 59*	*60 to 64*	*65 to 69*
Group Size	449	959	939	1338	1217	1822	1739	1543
Density	0.0239	0.0143	0.0144	0.0103	0.0102	0.0076	0.0069	0.0066

Table 2: K-means Cluster Analysis of Career Trajectories

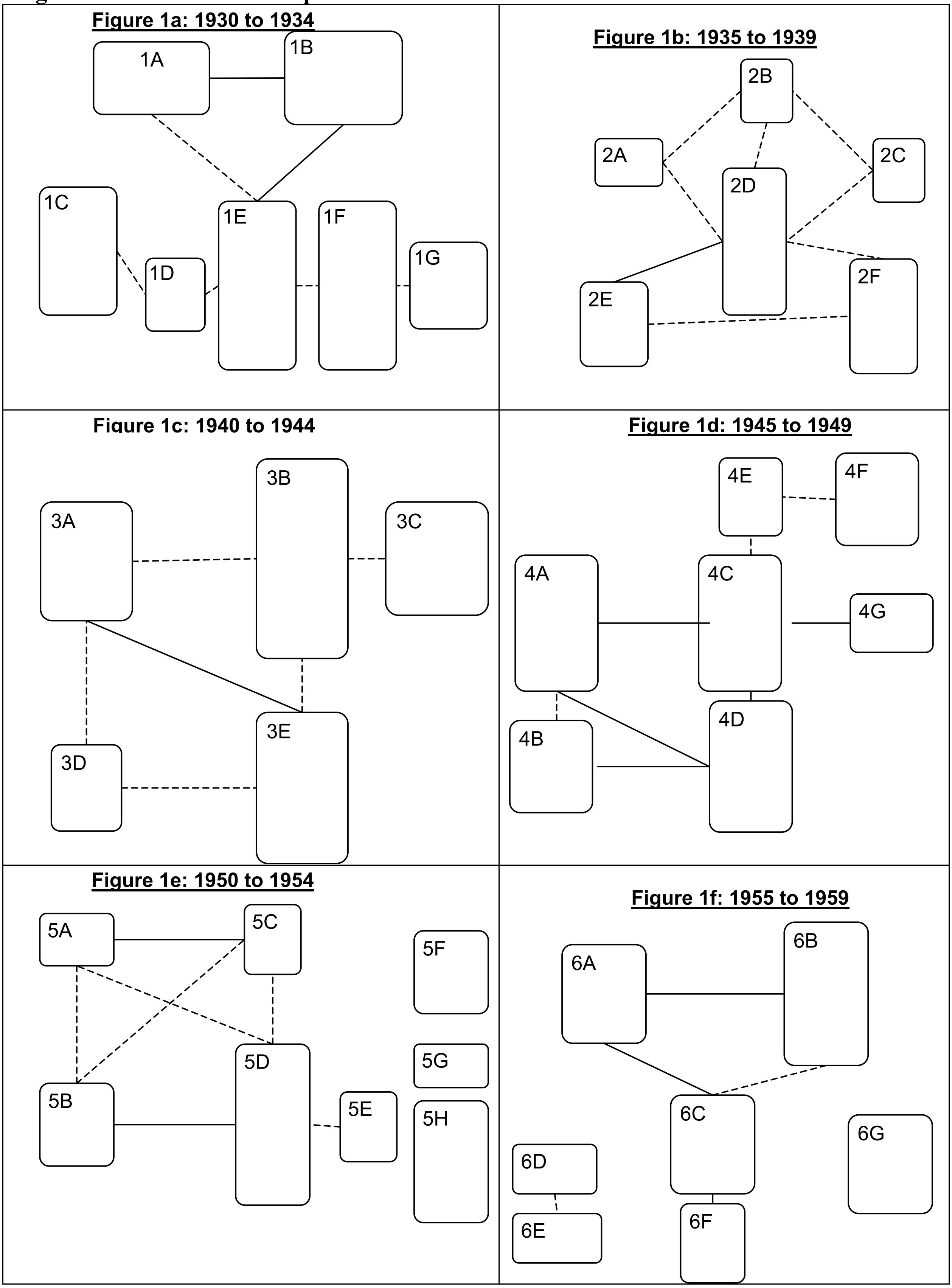
	Cluster					
	1	***2***	***3***	***4***	***5***	***6***
Average Betweeness centrality	0.29	0.03	0.98	0.52	2.80	0.13
Life Span (periods)	6.55	1.16	6.63	3.88	6.40	3.69
Number of periods at the Core	0.70	0.02	3.89	2.26	1.80	0.21
Number of Individuals	180	3,614	71	128	5	725

Table 3: "Elite" and "Shooting Star" Split Results

	Cluster			
	31	***32***	***41***	***42***
Average Betweeness centrality	1.29	0.84	0.51	0.52
Life Span (periods)	7.14	6.41	3.74	3.94
Number of periods at the Core	4.00	3.84	2.15	2.30
Number of Individuals	22	49	39	89

Note: Number and breakdown of musicians per career type not disclosed in this version

Figure 1: CONCOR Blocks per Period



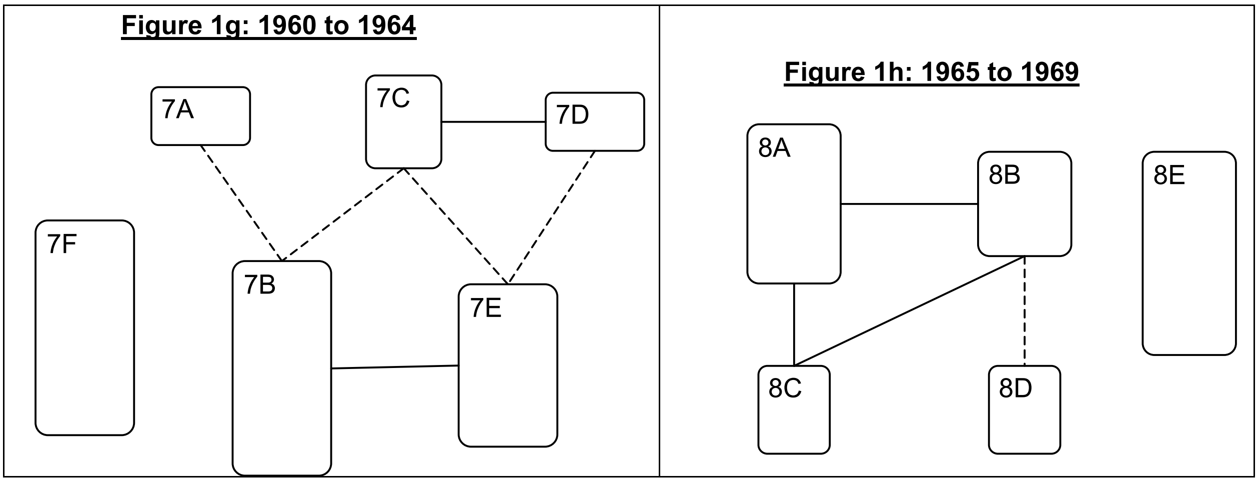


Figure 1g: 1960 to 1964

Figure 1h: 1965 to 1969

Table 4: Block Types, Styles and Career Types

Block Code	Block type	Styles	Career Types
1A	CP		
1B	CP	**Swing,** Big Band, Dixieland, New Orleans Jazz, Classic Jazz	Elite-1 (4), Ivy (1)
1C	P	**Swing,** Jive	Elite-2 (2)
1D	CoI		
1E	C	**Swing,** Jive, Big Band, Stride	Elite-1 (6), Elite-2 (4), Ivory (16), Ivy (1)
1F	CoI	**Swing,** Jump Blues, East Coast Blues, Big Band, Dixieland, New Orleans Jazz, Classic Jazz	Elite-1(6), Elite-2 (5), Ivory (19), Ivy (2)
1G	P	**Swing,** Jive, New Orleans Jazz, Classic Jazz, Dixieland	Elite-2 (2), Ivy (1)
2A	CP	Swing, Big Band, Classic Jazz, Dixieland, Jive	Ivy (1)
2B	CP		
2C	CP		
2D	C	Swing, Big Band, Jive, Dixieland, Sweet Bands, Classic Jazz	Elite-1 (11), Elite-2 (12), Ivory (28), Ivy (2)
2E	CP	Swing, Jump, Blues, East Coast Blues, Jive	Elite-1 (3), Elite-2 (5), Ivory (19)
2F	CP	Swing, Big Band, Classic Jazz, Dixieland, New Orleans	Elite-1(3), Elite-2 (4), Ivory (25), Ivy (1)
3A	SC	Swing, Big Band, Classic Jazz, New Orleans	Elite-1(3), Ivy (2)
3B	SC	**Bop,** Swing, Big Band, Jump, Blues, East Coast Blues, Classic Jazz, Jive	Elite-1 (9), Elite-2 (29), Ivory (34), Ivy (1)
3C	P	**Bop**, Swing, Big Band	Elite-1 (4), Ivory (26)
3D	CP		
3E	SC	Swing, Big Band, Classic Jazz, Dixieland, New Orleans	Elite-1 (3), Ivory (31), Ivy (1)
4A	CoI	**Afro-Cuban, Cool, West Coast Jazz,** Bop, Swing, Big Band, Jump, Blues, East Coast Blues	Elite-1 (7), Elite-2 (13), Ivory (25)
4B	CP	Swing, Big Band, Dixieland, Traditional Pop, Orchestral Jazz, Progressive Big Band	Elite-1 (3), Ivy (1)
4C	C	Big Band, Swing	Elite-1 (3), Elite-2 (6), Ivy (2)

4D	CoI	**West Coast Jazz, Cool,** Bop, Swing, Big Band, Mainstream Jazz	Elite-1 (4), Elite-2 (20), Ivory (18)
4E	CoI	Swing, Big Band, Dixieland, Classic Jazz, New Orleans Jazz	
4F	P	Dixieland, Classic Jazz, New Orleans Jazz	Ivory (27), Ivy (1)
4G	P	Swing, Big Band	Ivory (19)
5A	CP	Bop	Elite-2 (6)
5B	CP	**Hard-Bop, Post-Bop,** Afro-Cuban, West Coast Jazz, Cool, Bop, Blues	Elite-2 (25), Ivory (15)
5C	CP	Bop, Swing, Big Band	
5D	C	Bop, Swing, Big Band, Jump Blues, East Coast Blues, Blues, Dixieland	Elite-1(11), Elite-2 (10), Ivory (27), Ivy (1)
5E	P	Swing, Dixieland, Classic Jazz	
5F	I	Swing, Big Band	Ivory (15), Ivy (1)
5G	I	Swing, Dixieland, New Orleans Jazz	Ivy (1)
5H	I	Swing, Dixieland, Classic Jazz, New Orleans Jazz	Elite-1 (3), Ivory (23), Ivy (1)
6A	CP	Cool, Bop, Swing, Big Band	Elite-2 (11), Ivory (22)
6B	CP	Swing, Big Band, Dixieland	Elite-2 (10), Elite-1, (10), Ivory (37)
6C	C	**Avant-Garde**, Hard-Bop, Post-Bop, Bop, Swing, Big Band, Blues	Elite-1(3), Elite-2 (19)
6D	CI	Swing	Ivy (2)
6E	CI	Cool, West Coast Jazz, Swing, Jump Blues, East Coast Blues, Orchestral Jazz, Progressive Big Band	Ivory (22)
6F	P	Bop, Afro-Cuban	
6G	I	Swing, Big Band, Blues, Classic Jazz, New Orleans Jazz, Dixieland	Ivory (39), Ivy (1)
7A	P	Big Band, Traditional Pop, Orchestral Jazz, Progressive Big Band	Ivory (15)
7B	SC	Cool, Post-Bop, Bop, Swing, Big Band, Jump Blues, East Coast Blues, Progressive Big Band, Dixieland	Elite-1 (7), Elite-2 (9), Ivory (19), Ivy (1)
7C	SC	Avant-Garde, Hard Bop, Post-Bop	
7D	CP	Hard-Bop, Post-Bop, Bop	Elite-2 (10)
7E	SC	**R&B, Bossa Nova,** Cool, Afro-Cuban, Bop, Swing, Big Band, Classic Jazz	Elite-1 (3), Elite-2 (12), Ivory (18)
7F	I	Swing, Big Band, Dixieland, Classic Jazz	Elite-1 (5), Elite-2 (6), Ivory (23), Ivy (2)
8A	CP	Post-Bop, Hard-Bop, Afro-Cuban, Cool, Bop, Swing, Big Band, Jump Blues, East Coast Blues	Elite-1(7), Elite-2 (14), Ivory (22)
8B	C	**Fusion,** Avant-Garde Jazz, Post-Bop, Hard-Bop	Elite-2 (7), Elite-1 (2)
8C	CP		
8D	P	**Free Jazz,** Avant-Garde Jazz, Avant-Garde, Hard Bop	
8E	I	Hard-Bop, Post-Bop, Cool, Bop, Swing, Big Band, Blues	Elite-1 (4), Elite-2 (10), Ivory (39), Ivy (1)

Note: Block Types codes (CP=Connected Periphery, SC = Shared Core, CI = Connected Isolated, CoI = Core Intermediary, I= Isolated, P= Periphery, C=Core)