Dancing on the edge

An empirical study of legitimacy mobilization within the Stockholm underground club scene

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The purpose of this study is to provide a better understanding of structural dynamics in subcultural scenes. More specifically we have, by conducting a qualitative interview-based study, sought to understand how different actors within a scene mobilize legitimacy to not only ensure their internal perpetuation, but also growth and prosperity for the overall scene. To this end, legitimacy is an important moral resource, which also represents one of the integral resources in the social movement branch of Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). Traditionally, RMT has been used to understand mobilization in a social phenomenon that is similar to scenes: social movements. Nevertheless, in this thesis we argue that, like other scholars in recent years, the similarities between scenes and social movements, such as the importance of shared values, norms, styles, and beliefs for such a social group, allow for the application of a more structural approach, such as RMT, toward understanding the emergence, growth, and perpetuation of scenes.

To address this research gap, we have applied RMT, with a specific focus on the resource of legitimacy, along with the conceptualization of legitimacy from organizational theory, to a scene in Stockholm: The Stockholm membership-based electronic dance music scene (SMEDMS). Through this combinatory approach, we have been able to shed light on how and to what extent actors within this scene work to mobilize legitimacy in relationships with their audiences. In relation to the mobilization of legitimacy in this scene, we have found several interesting themes. For example, the mobilization of different types of legitimacy within the scene is, in many cases, based on the shared values, norms, and beliefs of the audiences, many of which are the result of a socialization process by the club organizers in the scene.

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Acknowledgements

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to all the participating clubs that have so graciously allowed us to carry out this study. Even though the representatives of the clubs remain anonymous, their contributions will not go unrecognized. You all know who you are.

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Table of contents

Definitions

Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an organization or social group are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995).

Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)

RMT is one of the traditional branches of social movement theory (SM). The theory proposes that the mobilization of various resources is fundamental to a social movement's (see definition below) efforts to achieve their goals, often political or social change (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

Scene

A scene constitutes a group of networks that interact, commonly through circulation of resources, information, and emotional values, within a geographically distinct area, with its own "social and spatial infrastructure" (Leech and Haunss, 2009).

Social movement

A social movement is the collective endeavors put forth by a social group to obtain specific goals, often social or political change. In its simplest form, a social movement is any goal-oriented activity engaged in by two or more individuals (Corte, 2012).

Subculture

A subculture is a group of people within a culture that differentiates itself from this wider culture in some important way, often by focusing on and maintaining a number of core principles. Subcultures often have elastic and porous borders, and are enmeshed within relationships of interaction and mingling, rather than of independence and conflict (Thornton, 1995).

The Stockholm membership-based electronic dance music scene (SMEDMS)

The SMEDMS is a scene made up of a number of different groups and individuals in Stockholm that come together around various music and dance oriented events, particularly parties and festivals. These groups consist of club organizers, guests, DJs, volunteers, and guards, all of whom contribute different elements to the dynamics of the scene.

1. Introduction

1.1 Introductory words

Saturday morning. 3 AM. Somewhere near Liljeholmen, in the middle of an office park, a queue winds its way into the darkness. People chat excitedly as the line slowly lurches forward. The sound of repetitive, pounding bass grows as they near the nondescript entrance. Once inside, they find a nightclub environment unlike any official venues in Stockholm: fewer restrictions, undefined closing times, and increased focus on music. Knowledge of such clubs is spread by word of mouth, email, and clandestine Facebook groups. These *"svartklubbar"*[1] have regular patrons despite constantly shifting locales, mysterious and sometimes comical names, and occasional run-ins from the police. Dance events like the one described form the core of what can be labelled the *Stockholm membership-based electronic dance music scene* (SMEDMS).[2][3]

The emergence of such subcultural scenes[4], many of which have had great societal influence, has drawn wide interest from scholars, who have sought to better understand their common identities, styles, counter-cultural resistance, and deviance (Vannini and Williams, 2009; Hill, 2002; Hebdige, 1979; Becker, 1963). Examples of such scenes, which are commonly considered to comprise a set of subcultural beliefs, values, norms, and convictions, range from the more established Berlin underground techno scene to

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[1] Svartklubb is the Swedish term for underground club. In Sweden, the word svartklubb has a slightly negative connotation, which evokes associations to clubs that operate outside legal restrictions. It is important to note however, that the majority of the svartklubbar are legally allowed to operate. This is discussed further in chapter 4.

[2] Membership-based refers to the need for guests to sign up for the event beforehand, making them members of the clubs that organize the events. Even though guests might choose to attend only one event, membership is still required for entering that particular event. This is discussed further in chapter 4..

[3] It is important to note that SMEDMS is a denotation devised specifically for this thesis. More concretely, there was no pre-existing, commonly accepted name for the scene in Stockholm.

[4] The term scene is used to denote the concept of a subcultural scene throughout the text. The concept of a scene is discussed in chapter 2.

the regional rave scenes in Philadelphia, Detroit, and the United Kingdom (Kühn, 2015; Anderson, 2009; Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Thornton, 1996).[5]

The ability for such scenes to exist and operate is dependent on the external, social perceptions of their values, beliefs, and norms, which in unison, provide a connection to the concept of *legitimacy* (Burlea and Popa, 2013). Legitimacy, within organizational theory, denotes a generalized perception that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within a socially constructed system of norms, values, and beliefs. (Gillham and Edwards, 2011; Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy is thus an important element that allows an organization or social group, such as a scene, to preserve resource streams and exchange relationships, as well as to gain acceptance and support from the surrounding environment. (Gillham and Edwards, 2011).

During the emergence of the above scenes, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)[6], one of the traditional branches of social movement (SM) theory, with legitimacy as one of its fundamental moral resources, has been the dominant approach for analyzing another, albeit similar phenomenon: social movements. (Ring, 2007; Buechler, 1993; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). A social movement is generally considered to be a more stable and distinguishable network of people that come together to achieve common goals, often political or cultural change (Corte, 2012; Johnston and Snow, 1998). However, social movements are generally, similar to scenes, underpinned by a set of shared values, norms, styles, and beliefs (Corte, 2012; Melucci, 1985). Despite these notable similarities, scenes have mainly been analyzed through another branch of SM theory: New Social Movement theories (NSM) (Corte, 2012). In contrast to RMT, which seeks to understand the rational process of mobilizing and organizing resources, NSM primarily focuses on understanding the collective identities and emotions of a social group (Corte,

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[5] There are of course a multitude of different scenes that could be used as examples here. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this thesis, the focus is on scenes related to music and club culture.
[6] RMT is one of the traditional branches of social movement (SM) theories. In the literature this theory or approach is sometimes denoted as RM (Ring, 2007). However, for simplicity RMT is used to refer to Resource Mobilization theory in the remainder of the text. RMT is discussed in depth in chapter 2.

2012; Jasper, 2011). As a consequence, there is a lack of studies that seek to apply more traditional, structural SM theories, such as RMT, to understand the dynamics of scenes (Corte, 2012). Such an application would not only contribute a deeper understanding of the emergence of scenes, but also a better understanding of how scenes seek to perpetuate by mobilizing and organizing members, gaining acceptance from various groups, and maintaining important exchange relationships.

Based on this lacuna, we see the opportunity to gain a better understanding of how the resource of legitimacy is mobilized and organized in a subcultural scene, in our case, the SMEDMS. Since legitimacy has been shown to be an important resource in allowing a scene to exist and operate, we believe that an application of RMT can add important structural insights to the findings that NSM studies have achieved. More concretely, we believe that, beyond insights into the collective identities and emotions of scenes, a better understanding of how the resource of legitimacy is mobilized and organized is needed to capture the nuances of how a scene can emerge, exist, and perpetuate itself. In short, we believe that the theoretical application and integration in previous literature does not fully capture all dynamic elements of subcultural scenes, which, while being geographically limited and often unstructured, can have important societal implications. To address this gap, we seek to combine organizational theory - the conceptualization of legitimacy outlined above - with social movement theory, namely RMT.

To the best of our knowledge this is a unique combinatorial approach, through which we seek to shed light on some important questions that we believe previous research has not been able to answer. More specifically: *Do scenes actively manage their legitimacy? What actions are undertaken to manage the legitimacy? How is the legitimacy mobilized within the scene? To which actors is it most important to appear legitimate? How is the importance of legitimacy discussed within the scene?*

1.2 Research question and purpose

As discussed in the previous section, the main purpose of this thesis is to, through the application of RMT, gain a better understanding of the structural dynamics of scenes. More specifically, we wish to investigate whether, how, and to what extent such scenes mobilize one of the essential resources within RMT: legitimacy. This purpose leads us to the following research question:

How is legitimacy mobilized in a scene?

To address this research question we aim to conduct a qualitative study comprising semi-structured interviews with key representatives[7] from the SMEDMS in Stockholm. Our methodology chapter will feature a more detailed discussion on these considerations.

1.3 Expected contribution

Through our efforts to answer the above research question, we seek to contribute to the current literature in several important ways. First, we aim to extend the empirical application of RMT beyond social movements and toward a similar though overlooked social phenomenon: scenes.

Second, through our theoretical integration, namely our application of both organizational theory and social movement theory on a subcultural phenomenon, we aim to make theoretical and empirical contributions within these respective fields. For example, we suggest that providing insights into the structural dynamics of scenes can be of interest to social movement scholars, since some researchers have observed

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[7] Key representatives are mainly club organizers from the clubs that make up the SMEDMS. See chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of our sample and see appendix 2 for a list of the interviewed representatives.

scenes that have "crossed over" to become more stable and distinguishable social movements (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003).

Third, we seek to make practical contributions to by shedding light on how legitimacy, an increasingly important consideration for organizations, is mobilized and managed in less structured social groups or entities. We believe that such insights are particularly relevant during a time in which globalization has increasingly complicated efforts to gain legitimacy from the surrounding environment (Scherer et al. 2013).

1.4 Delimitations

Given the limited time during which the study was conducted, the thesis involves some important delimitations. First, it would have been interesting to analyze the mobilization of not only legitimacy but other resource types within RMT. However, as noted above, we decided to focus solely on legitimacy for practical as well as theoretical reasons.

Second, we have limited our empirical study to one particular scene, the SMEDMS. Naturally, the inclusion of other geographical areas could have provided a more representative view of the dynamics of scenes, even though such scenes are commonly considered to be geographically distinct (Bennett and Peterson, 2004). Thus, we believe that we are justified in choosing to focus on the SMEDMS in Stockholm due to limited time and resources.

1.5 Thesis outline

To guide the reader through the research process of the thesis, we have devised the following outline, seen in the figure below.

Figure 1: Thesis outline.
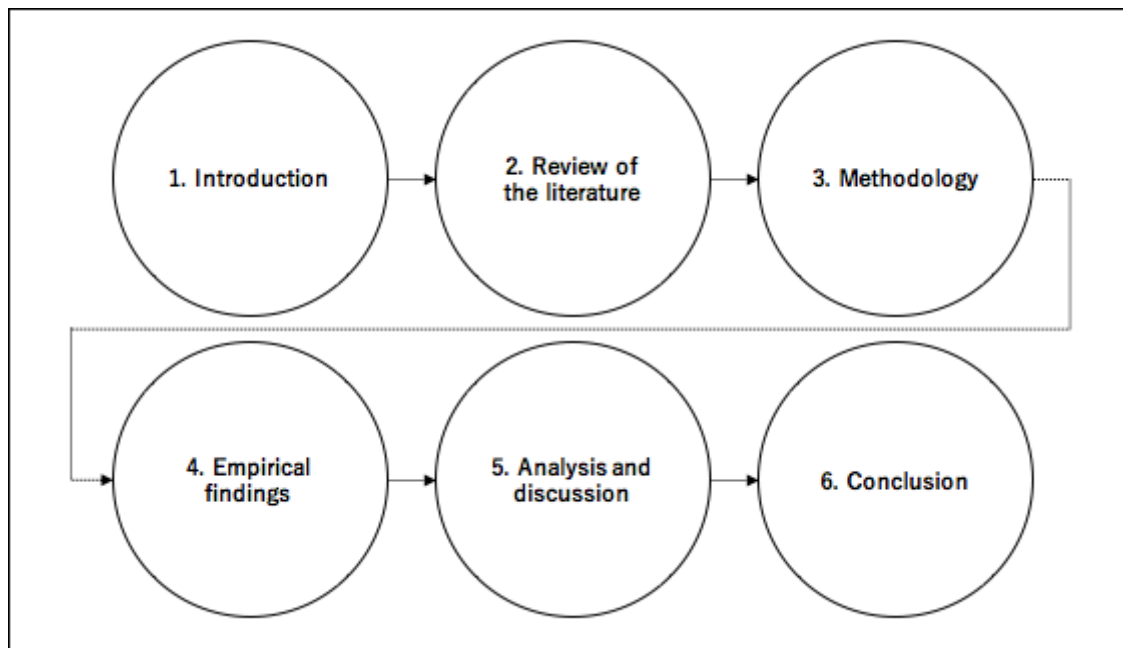
2. Review of the literature

In this chapter, we seek to establish a theoretical foundation, in relation to which our own study can be positioned. This assists the reader in gaining a better understanding of the theories discussed, but also a notion as to why we believe these theoretical concepts can be extended to new areas. In short, we aim to further highlight the research gap discussed in chapter 1.

2.1 The study of underground scenes

2.1.1 The concept of a scene

As indicated in the introduction of this thesis, the SMEDMS consists of a number of individuals and groups that come together around dance and music-oriented events, which are based on a number of shared values and beliefs. In theoretical terms, such factors are at core of the concept of a scene. A scene is often described as a subcultural configuration that is distinguished by its locality (Bennett and Peterson, 2004). More concretely, a scene is made up by a group of networks that interact, commonly through circulation of resources, information, and emotional values, within a geographically distinct area, with its own "social and spatial infrastructure" (Leech and Haunss, 2009). Within this spatially and socially distinct sphere, a scene constitutes "a network of people who share a common identity and a common set of subcultural or countercultural beliefs, values, norms, and convictions, as well as a network of physical spaces where members of that group are known to congregate" (Leech and Haunss, 2009). Historically, the majority of the empirical studies on subcultural scenes has focused on one location (Bennett and Peterson, 2004). As noted in the introduction, in the case of our study, we are interested in the SMEDMS with its locality and spatial boundaries in Stockholm. In chapter 4 we provide a more elaborate discussion on the structure of this scene. Before that, we facilitate the understanding of the SMEDMS by providing an account of what previous literature on scenes has established. In relation, it is important to note that we

have chosen to limit our research focus to the area of music scenes. More specifically, we give an account of the previous research on "underground scenes"[8] related to music and club culture.

2.1.2 Previous studies of underground music and club scenes

In her examination of 1990s dance and rave culture in the United Kingdom, Sarah Thornton (1996) draws on the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu,[9] who interpreted society in terms of domination and relative strength that is mainly the result of unequal allocation of resources. Thornton expands on Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" and applies it to her study of participants in the 1990s British dance and rave cultures, suggesting that even within a subculture, there is stratification and hierarchy, rather than a collective or communal spirit. Even though club cultures exist as a discrete community outside of the "mainstream", they are internally divided based on varying amounts of "subcultural capital", or distinctions based on expressions of knowledge and taste ("hipness" or "being in the know") within a subculture (Thornton, 1996). Within the scene, participants congregate based on shared music taste, consumption of common media, and most importantly, their preference for people with similar tastes to themselves. According to Thornton, participation in club cultures builds further affinities, socializing participants into a knowledge of (and frequently a belief in) the likes and dislikes, meanings, and values of the culture (Thornton, 1995).

In his examination of the economy of the Berlin techno scene, Jan-Michael Kühn (2011) argues for the term "scene economy" as a way of defining the economic sphere

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[8] Although scholars often disagree about how to define the "underground", for the purpose of this thesis we treat underground as something that is less commercial and more obscure than more mainstream alternatives. Underground scenes, particularly those related to electronic music, can be seen as representing their own differentiated economic fields with specific structures that have developed their own organizational logic (Kühn, 2011). Nevertheless, it is important to note that we do not treat "underground scenes" and regular scenes as different analytical concepts in the text. Even though there might be important differences between a scene that can be considered to be underground and one that exists in a more mainstream setting, we simply use the different terms to frame our own study, which is closely related to a scene that we consider to be "underground".

[9] See Bourdieu (1984).

inhabited by participants in Berlin's "underground" electronic music culture. Kühn ties Bourdieu's theories of hierarchy based on cultural capital to subcultural theories on identity and economic structure to describe a group of actors that engages in "aesthetic resistance" through distinctions based on subcultural hierarchy in order to prevent unwanted aesthetics and modes of production from corrupting the perceived "undergroundness" of their music scene (Kühn, 2015).

In her study of the evolution and decline of the Philadelphia rave scene, Tammy L. Anderson (2009) focuses heavily on the link between individual and collective identities, the cultural space between authenticity and commercialism, and engagement in cultural work, as themes used to explain the alteration of an underground music scene. Further evaluation of the study is accomplished by reporting on comparative work on scenes in London and Ibiza. Anderson also explores the concept of cultural preservation within a scene - a balance between going too commercial and retaining authenticity despite a changing environment (Anderson, 2009).

As we have seen, these examinations of dance club and rave culture have focused on abstract factors such as taste and aesthetics as contributing to the emergence and perpetuation of these subcultures. Little consideration has been given to how the subcultures are able to manifest themselves within the larger context of society as a whole, and there is little structural investigation of how these scenes come to fruition beyond their existence outside or resistance to what is considered to be "mainstream" (Thornton, 1995). Like a social movement, the actors involved in the underground dance music scene require the mobilization of resources in order to create and perpetuate their distinct subculture. Once such social movement theory, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), provides a structural approach for understanding how a group acquires and mobilizes resources and actors toward achieving the group's goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

2.1.3 Scenes and social movements

While subcultures and scenes are understood to be smaller and more discrete than social movements, they possess shared characteristics that would facilitate application of social movement theory toward their investigation. A social movement is defined as a collective acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending some institutionally or culturally based authority (Johnston and Snow, 1998). Similarly, subcultures are understood through their collective negative or contrary relation to work, class, and home-based belonging, and refusal of the banalities of ordinary life and massification (Gelder, 2007). As previously stated, a scene is a component of a subculture and consists of people with a shared identity and set of subcultural or countercultural beliefs, values, norms, and convictions as well as a network of physical congregation spaces (Leach and Haunss, 2009).

Considering these definitions, a scene shares relevant features with a social movement: a sense of collective identity outside of institutional or organizational channels, that is often contrary to or challenging an institutional or cultural norm. Within the RMT literature, a social movement mobilizes resources in order to provide an organized, cohesive stance and advance the movement's goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). One important resource is legitimacy, which validates that the actions of the movement are desirable, proper, or appropriate (Suchman, 1995). Scenes also exist outside of a perceived norm and this mere act of existing requires organization, structure, and perceived legitimacy from actors both within and outside the scene (Burlea and Popa, 2013). Just as social movements mobilize resources to achieve their goals, scenes must also mobilize their own resources to advance their own causes and interests. As argued in the next section, given these similarities, RMT provides a compelling framework for interpreting the mechanisms of resource mobilization within scenes.

2.1.4 The research gap

As we have seen, scenes have attracted wide attention from scholars. However, as noted above, previous research fails to consider how the similarities to other social phenomena, particularly social movements, allow for the application of structural social movement theories, such as RMT. We believe that scenes, while appearing unstructured, are bound to exhibit structural and rational elements similar to social movements, making them an interesting area for further investigation. We are supported in this view by Edwards and Corte (2010), who use a similar argumentation in their 20-year study of resource mobilization in a freestyle BMX scene in Greenville, North Carolina, USA. Similarly, other scholars have suggested that RMT, as a theoretical approach, could be applied to new, hitherto under-researched, social phenomena, such as subcultural scenes and groups, for which the mobilization of resources can also hold importance (Edwards and Kane, 2014; Corte, 2012; Edwards and Corte, 2010). We suggest that the SMEDMS is social phenomenon that can be better understood by considering structural dynamics of resource mobilization.

In the following sections we provide a more elaborate discussion of RMT and one of its key resources, legitimacy. Thereafter, we integrate the elements of this theoretical discussion into one analytical framework. It is important to note that we use social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs[10]) as the main terms in the following discussion. SMOs can be seen as smaller, formal organizations that exist within a wider social movement (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). More concretely, there might exist a number of SMOs within one social movement. These two terms are frequently used in the RMT literature, and since scenes, our level of analysis, has not been used until now, we employ this duo of terms. For the purpose of this thesis, we emphasize

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[10] "A social movement organization (SMO) is complex, or formal organization which identifies itself with the preferences of a movement or countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

that, based on the similarities articulated above, the term "club"[11] could be inserted where "SMO" or "organization" is used.[12] Similarly, the term social movement could also be used when referring to the scene (the SMEDMS).

2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)

In the early 1970s a number of scholars started to question the explanatory power of the "shared grievances and beliefs paradigm"[13] that had dominated the study of the emergent social movements of the 1960s (Edwards and Kane, 2014; Ring, 2007; Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). In contrast to this view, which emphasized the importance of socio-psychological aspects of individual grievances and deviances in the understanding of social movements, RMT provided an alternative approach for analyzing the emergence, significance, effects, and demise of such movements (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Edwards and Gillham, 2013; Edwards and Kane, 2014; Ring, 2007). Whereas the former paradigm argued that the intensification of shared grievances could explain the timing and spatial distribution of movement emergence, RMT scholars suggested that the availability of resources was also important in understanding when and how social movements emerge (Edwards and Kane, 2014). Furthermore, whereas scholars from the "shared grievances and beliefs paradigm" argued that grievances and discontents were transitory, that social movement and institutionalized actions were distinct, and that social movement actors were largely irrational, RMT scholars based their analysis of social movements on a rationalist view. In so doing, they treated individuals in social movements, or in social movement organizations (SMOs), as "rational and calculating" actors. They proposed that SMOs make rational, calculated choices to pursue collective goals, thereby providing a link between social movement and institutionalized action (Ring, 2007).

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[11] This term is more frequently used in chapter 4, 5, and 6.

[12] We recognize that there are likely important differences between a club in the SMEDMS and an SMO as conceptualized in RMT. We also note that it would be erroneous to treat the SMEDMS (a scene) as social movement. Nevertheless, we use above combination of terms (club - organization/SMO, and SMEDMS/scene - social movement) interchangeably in the text.

[13] See Smelser (1963), Gurr (1970), and Turner and Killian (1972).

In relation to the "rational" pursuit of collective goals, RMT emphasized the various strategic dilemmas facing social movements, as more organizationally structured entities, primarily in the mobilization of various resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The RMT scholars sought to understand how often marginalized social actors mobilized resources to pursue social change, rejecting the view held by previous social movement theories that social movement actors were deviant and anomic, and that view that actors willing to engage in political processes have a reasonable chance to have their grievances heard (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1978; Lewis and Gamson, 1975). In this way, RMT provided a theoretical link between the desire for change (grievances) emphasized by other scholars, and the ability to mobilize around that desire (Edwards and Kane, 2014).

From the early formulations of RMT grew two different branches. The organizational-entrepreneurial branch, associated with the work of McCarthy and Zald (1977) and the political conflict and historical context branch, primarily associated with the writings of Tilly (1978). For the purpose of this thesis we will focus on the former branch, which extends the analysis of social movements by incorporating analytical insights of organizational sociology (Edwards and Gillham, 2013). From this perspective the entrepreneurial focus encompasses resource-related processes, such as mobilization, which become important in the emergence, growth, and prosperity of movements (Ring, 2007). Given the previously discussed arguments about the similarity between social movements and scenes, the organizational-entrepreneurial branch provides a sound basis for understanding the structural dynamics of the SMEDMS.

2.2.1 RMT resources: The five basic types

In spite of the centrality of resources in RMT, scholars were slow to develop a commonly accepted typology of such resources (Edwards and Gillham, 2014). Traditionally, RMT scholars have utilized three main categories of resources in analyzing social movements:

money, people, and formal organizations (Edwards and Kane, 2014; McCarthy and Zald, 2001). Nevertheless, due to the non-inclusive nature of these categories, with their heavy focus on material, rather than immaterial resources, Edwards and McCarthy (2004) outlined a typology based on five resource types: *Moral, cultural, socio-organizational, human, and material.* The incorporation of immaterial resources is of great importance to this study, since legitimacy, on which we direct our focus, is such a resource. Legitimacy is commonly categorized as a moral resource in the above quintet. Moral resources are, in most cases, bestowed upon a social movement by an external source (Edwards and Kane, 2014). Moreover, moral resources, and legitimacy in particular, are characterized by the ease through which such external sources can retract the resources, making them both less accessible and more transitory than other types of resources (Edwards and Gillham, 2013). As previously mentioned, this thesis focuses explicitly on legitimacy, and a discussion of other RMT resources is not considered.

2.2.2 Legitimacy: An important moral resource

Within RMT, legitimacy is the moral resource that has attracted the most interest from scholars (Edwards and Gillham, 2013). Jenkins (1983) notes that legitimacy is discussed as early as in the work of McCarthy and Zald (1977). From an organizational theory perspective, which is often used to conceptualize the term in the RMT literature, legitimacy represents an important element that links macro cultural contexts with meso and micro level organizational processes (Suchman, 1995). More concretely, legitimacy implies that the social actors on a meso and micro level, such as social movements and scenes, which most closely mimic the legitimated features of a specific environment (e.g. the macro environment), gain an advantage relative to groups or actors that do not reflect these features (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). A more concrete definition of legitimacy is provided by Suchman (1995):

"Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions."

Based on the above definition, social actors gain legitimacy by adhering to socially constructed norms, values, and beliefs that can exist on different social levels (micro, meso, or macro). Through the process of gaining legitimacy, social movements seek to ensure that important exchange relationships are maintained and that the acquisition of other RMT resources, such as material and human resources, is facilitated (Suchman, 1995; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Similarly, legitimacy has shown to be an important element in the pursuit of continuity, and more specifically, the continuous support of the surrounding environment (Suchman, 1995).

Evidently, the concept of legitimacy encompasses a richness that is difficult to describe in one single definition. Therefore, to capture the different nuances of the term, three different types of legitimacy are differentiated using Suchman's (1995) typology, for which he has consolidated institutional (associated with work of DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and strategic legitimacy (associated with the work of Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975) from organizational theory. The three different types of legitimacy, to be more elaborately discussed in the following sections, consist of: *Pragmatic legitimacy, moral legitimacy, and cognitive legitimacy.* These three types are complementary and often exhibit clear interrelations in practice (Gillham and Edwards, 2011; Suchman, 1995).

2.2.2.4 Pragmatic legitimacy

Pragmatic legitimacy primarily stems from the self-interest exhibited by an organization's most immediate environment (Gillham and Edwards, 2011; Suchman, 1995). Constituents[14] in this environment are more likely to support an organization if its

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[14] In this context, constituents are individuals, groups or organizations that are (or might become) in some way, directly or indirectly, affected by or interested in the actions of an organization or social movement. In

actions and efforts bring enhanced well-being and other benefits to them (Suchman, 1995). Therefore, at the most basic level, pragmatic legitimacy can be said to constitute a kind of **exchange legitimacy.** To gain pragmatic legitimacy, organizations must provide exchanges that have a positive expected value to the closest constituents (Suchman, 1995).

Furthermore, pragmatic legitimacy encompasses a second subtype that is commonly labelled **influence legitimacy**. This kind of legitimacy is not concerned with the expected value of certain exchanges, but rather with the constituents' perception of the organization's actions as part of their larger interests (Suchman, 1995). Usually, influence legitimacy is gained when organizations open up their policy and decision making to outside influence, and when they adopt standards of performance and ideals that are valued by key constituents. More concretely, organizations relinquish some measure of authority to a certain group of constituents, through co-optation or collaboration, allowing this group to feel more influential (Suchman, 1995). However, as noted by Meyer and Rowan (1991), it is often easier and more important to display such responsiveness, than to produce immediate results (Suchman, 1995). In other words, organizations might choose to erect a facade of compliance, while rejecting the influence claims in practice, a process which is commonly labeled *decoupling* (Elsbach and Sutton, 1992).

A third type of pragmatic legitimacy, frequently denoted **dispositional legitimacy**, also warrants attention. This type of legitimacy is based on the tendency to treat an organization as a "person". Through a process of personification, organizations are treated as coherent, autonomous, and morally responsible actors, with their own goals, tastes, and styles (Suchman, 1995). Through a process of attribution of personal characteristics to organizations, constituents are likely to accord legitimacy to organizations that "share their interests and values" or are perceived as "wise",

the remainder of the text, we will use constituents and audiences interchangeably to refer to such individuals, groups, or organizations.

"decent", and "trustworthy" (Suchman, 1995). In other words, an organization's audiences are likely to give legitimacy to that organization, if its characteristics or "personality" align with their own goals, tastes, and styles (Suchman, 1995).

2.2.2.5 Moral legitimacy

Moral legitimacy rests on the positive normative evaluations accorded to an organization by its constituents (Suchman, 1995). From this perspective, legitimacy is based on whether organizational actions are viewed "as the right thing to do" given a set of norms and values that reside in key constituents' "socially constructed value system" (Suchman, 1995). Even though organizations do not share the externally constructed norms, values, and beliefs, they might have to seek adherence to gain moral legitimacy from the actors that exhibit these conceptions. Moral legitimacy is often divided into three categories.

Consequential legitimacy is accorded to an organization based on the perceived value of its outputs by the closest constituents. This notion is related to the rationalist myth that organizations should be "judged by what they accomplish" (Suchman, 1995). It is important to note that the perceived performance and the "technical properties of outputs are socially defined and do not exist in some concrete sense that allows them to be empirically discovered" (Meyer and Rowan, 1991). More concretely, the evaluation of the same outputs can vary considerably between different social contexts. Furthermore, the outputs of organizations can involve both products and services.

The second type of moral legitimacy is denoted *procedural legitimacy*, and is concerned with the perceived value or "correctness" of the procedures used to produce certain outcomes (Suchman, 1995). In this way, organizations can gain moral legitimacy by embracing procedures and methods that are socially accepted (Suchman, 1995). This type of legitimacy is particularly important if an organization's outputs are hard to measure or evaluate. In other words, when consequential legitimacy is hard to achieve.

In such a scenario, an organization can still gain moral legitimacy by employing "sound practices" that are seen to hold a positive moral value by constituents (Suchman, 1995).

Structural legitimacy, the third type of moral legitimacy, is based on to what degree organizations are seen to occupy a structurally valued area of the social reality constructed by the closest constituents (Suchman, 1995). In this way, an organization can gain legitimacy simply by being part of an industry, scene or social movement, if the structural elements of these social spheres are viewed as beneficial by important constituents or if the organization "is acting on collectively valued purposes in a proper and adequate manner" (Suchman, 1995; Meyer and Rowan, 1991).

2.2.2.6 Cognitive legitimacy

Cognitive legitimacy is based on whether overt actions and statements of an organization are comprehensible, and whether and to what extent that organization can be taken for granted in its surrounding environment (Suchman, 1995).

The former type can be labelled **comprehensibility**, and is concerned with whether organizations utilize cultural models that make their actions and behaviors plausible and understandable to various actors in their environment (Suchman, 1995). To mobilize such legitimacy, an organization must provide predictable, meaningful, and inviting accounts of their actions (Suchman, 1995). DiMaggio and Powell (1991) also suggest that not all such accounts or cultural models are equally viable. To gain legitimacy, the organizations must present accounts that align with larger belief systems and the experienced reality of the audience's daily life (Suchman, 1995). Organizations that communicate in ways that are unintelligible to many constituents in the surrounding environment, thwart their ability persuade, influence, and educate their audience (Suchman, 1995). For instance, if an organization were to seek to persuade or educate a broader audience, it would probably have to use communication that is commonly understood and accepted.

The second type of cognitive legitimacy is commonly denoted as **taken-for-granted legitimacy.** According to this view, organizations render their often cognitively chaotic environments into "intersubjective" givens that submerge the possibility of dissent. In essence, the organizations act to make other alternatives unthinkable for their audiences (Suchman, 1995). Although, taken-for-granted legitimacy is hard to attain, it is probably the most powerful of all legitimacy types. If alternatives become unthinkable and challenges become impossible, the organization or social actor becomes virtually impregnable (Suchman, 1995). Even though certain technologies have attained taken-for-granted status, it is rarely the case that one single organization comes to single-handedly wield all of the power it entails or reap all of the benefits that derive from it (Suchman, 1995).

2.2.2.7 Internal and external legitimacy

In addition to the three basic legitimacy types and their subtypes outlined above, it is important to distinguish between internal and external sources of legitimacy. As Gillham and Edwards (2004) suggest, SMOs use a variety of resources obtained both from internal and external sources to pursue their goals, through a number of different exchange relationships (Edwards and McCarthy, 2014; Gillham and Edwards, 2011). Thus, in SMOs or the overall movement, legitimacy can be contained internally, in the different individuals and groups that make up these social constellations (Drori and Honig, 2013). Furthermore, the legitimacy can come from external sources, outside the organization or movement. In such cases, legitimacy can be said to stem from the application of various mechanisms that correspond to accepted cultural and constitutive beliefs in wider social value systems (Drori and Honig, 2013; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

For the purpose of this thesis we recognize that legitimacy in the SMEDMS might derive from both internal sources and arise from the alignment to external social forces (Meyer

and Scott, 1983). Internal legitimacy can be extended to include legitimization that comes from within the scene (from DJs, guests and club organizers, for instance). More concretely, we seek to use the term *internal legitimacy* to represent legitimacy that pertains to actors within the scene, particularly the clubs and their closest constituents, and the term *external legitimacy* to denote the legitimacy that is sought from wider societal actors and groups (i.e. those that cannot be said to belong to the scene). In essence, we want to make a distinction between legitimacy mobilization that is aimed at actors within the SMEDMS and that aimed at actors outside the scene.[15] How these different types of legitimacy can be mobilized in an SMO is discussed in the next section.

2.2.3 Four mobilization mechanisms

We now aim to consolidate the three types legitimacy discussed above, with a number of resource mobilization mechanisms from RMT. In doing so, we seek to erect a bridge between the definitions and dynamics of legitimacy discussed by Suchman (1995), and the resource of legitimacy within the RMT. These four mechanisms provide the means through which SMOs within the scene access and mobilize pragmatic, moral, and cognitive legitimacy (Edwards and Gillham, 2013).

Mobilization is the process through which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action (Jenkins, 1983). In traditional RMT formulations, scholars focused on the patterns of resource availability, often devoting attention to the mobilization of material resources from external sources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). In recent years however, RMT scholars have come to emphasize the uneven distribution of resources in a society, thereby questioning the pluralist claims made by some theorists (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). In contrast to earlier formulations of RMT, more recent advances emphasize the importance of not only considering resources that come from external sources, but also those that are mobilized internally (Edwards and

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[15] A more detailed discussion about the SMEDMS can be found in chapter 4.

Gillham, 2013). In short, these scholars contend that SMOs access resources through multiple means. Four mechanisms, which include both external and internal elements, are frequently used in the literature (Edwards and Gillham, 2013).

2.2.3.1 Self-production

One of the basic ways SMOs access resources is by producing them themselves. This is achieved through the use of the existing organization and its participants. For instance, SMOs can produce social-organizational resources by developing networks and forming coalitions and collaborations; they can produce human resources by socializing their participants and their families into the values and norms of the movement. Social movements can also produce items of symbolic significance like posters, t-shirts and other merchandise, that can, in various ways, be used to promote the movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). They can also establish socially constructed collective identities and action frames that guide the behaviors of not only participants within the SMO, but in its closest environment (Edwards and Kane, 2014). In addition, SMOs can create new moral classifications based on the perceived "rightness" of certain behaviors, such as cruelty-free, non-violence, and equality (Edwards and Kane, 2014).

2.2.3.2 Aggregation

To access and mobilize resources, SMOs can also use the mechanism of resource aggregation. This approach involves converting resources held by the individuals in the movement to collective resources, which in turn, enables such resources to be allocated and used by other movement actors. SMOs aggregate resources by pooling privately held resources from beneficiary and conscience constituents in order to pursue collective goals; they can aggregate monetary and human resources from donations or recruiting volunteers to help carrying out collective action. They can aggregate physical resources by collectively sharing buildings, staff, and equipment. They also aggregate moral resources, such as legitimacy, by compiling and publishing lists of respected or famous

individuals and organizations that endorse the movements and its goals (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

2.2.3.3 Co-optation[16]

Co-optation refers to the process whereby SMOs utilize relationships with existing organizations and groups that were not part of the initial movement, to access resources previously produced by those constituents. SMOs can use co-optation to gain access to buildings, spaces, networks, rituals, discourses, or moral authority (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

2.2.3.4 Patronage

In addition to the above mechanisms, SMOs can also access to resources through patronage. Patronage refers to the provision of resources to an SMO by an individual or organization that often specializes in patronage. Common examples are foundation grants, private donations, or government contracts. SMOs can also utilize patronage by gaining financial support from relationship actors outside the movement, who sometimes contribute substantial sums to the SMO. Also, SMOs can access human resources by hiring or loaning staff or individuals from other organizations or movements (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

2.3 An analytical framework

To synthesize the structural dynamics of resource mobilization and the three different types of legitimacy we have opted for constructing an analytical framework. The rationale behind this choice stems from our research question.

How is legitimacy mobilized in a scene?

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[16] This mechanism is sometimes labelled *appropriation* in the literature.

We believe that the best way of answering the above question, is to employ a combinatorial investigation of the three types of legitimacy (pragmatic, moral, and cognitive) and the four mechanisms of resource access or mobilization (self-production, aggregation, co-optation, and patronage). By using the below framework as a guide in our empirical investigation, we gain a better understanding of how actors in the SMEDMS treat the different types of legitimacy, how they are mobilized and accessed, and from what constituents the legitimacy is attained. In this way, the theoretical integration constitutes an analytical tool that will facilitate the collection empirical data and the ensuing analysis.[17] The framework provides a foundation for the interview guide[18], which will be used to conduct interviews with representatives from the scene. The dotted lines in the framework suggest that we, a priori, do not know how the different legitimacy types are mobilized in the SMEDMS. In other words, what mobilization mechanisms are used. Chapter 5 discusses how the elements of this framework were manifested in the empirical data. In other words, how the clubs in the SMEDMS mobilize the different types of legitimacy and which mobilization mechanisms they employ to do so.

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[17] It is important to note that this framework guides the collection of empirical data and helps to structure the ensuing analysis, not to make hypotheses about the what types of legitimacy the clubs in the SMEDMS are likely to use or what mobilization mechanisms they use to mobilize that legitimacy.

[18] The interview guide can be found in appendix X.

Legitimacy type

Pragmatic legitimacy

Exchange legitimacy
Influence legitimacy
Dispositional legitimacy

Moral legitimacy

Consequential legitimacy
Procedural legitimacy
Structural legitimacy

Cognitive legitimacy

Comprehensibility
Taken-for-granted
legitimacy

Self-production

Aggregation

Co-optation

Patronage

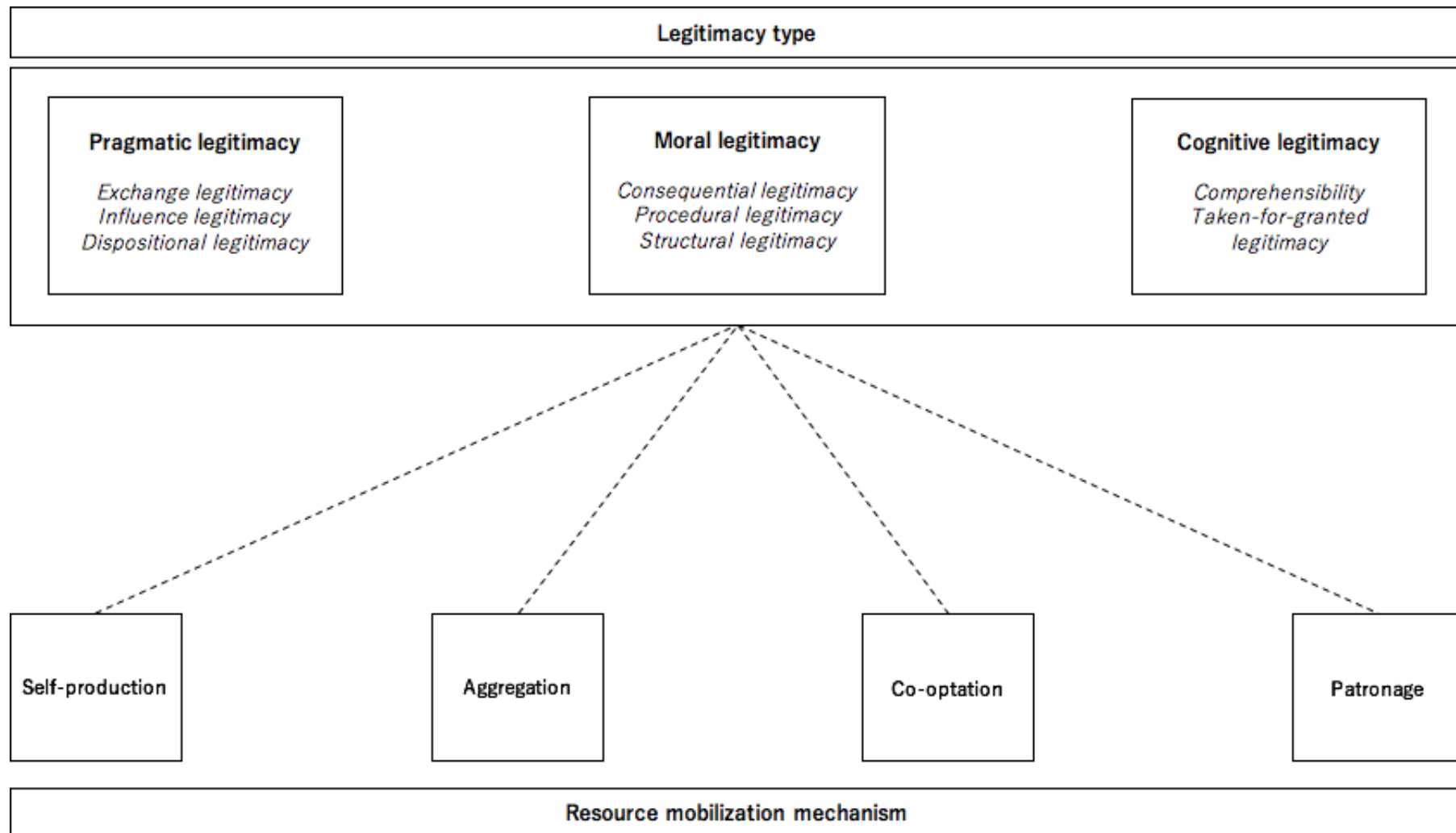**Resource mobilization mechanism**

Figure 2: The analytical framework.

3. Methodology

The main purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a better understanding of the methodological approaches employed and the methodological choices made in this study. The overall aim of the chapter is to connect the methodological application to the research question.

3.1 Research method and methodological fit

As noted in previously, the aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of how legitimacy is mobilized in a scene. To answer the research question, two main research methods were considered: quantitative and qualitative (Bryman and Bell, 2015). After some discussion, it was decided to pursue a qualitative research method. This choice was based on several important factors.

First, as very little is known about the structural dynamics within scenes, a qualitative method was chosen to be able to obtain novel insights about such factors. While a quantitative approach would likely lead to higher transferability of the findings, a qualitative method provides the possibility of richer and more unique findings, given how little attention structural dynamics in scenes have attracted in previous literature (Flick, 2014). More concretely, a qualitative method, in contrast to a quantitative one, allows for more exploratory research, delving deeper into the values, norms, and beliefs of the scene, rather than using pre-existing theory to erect hypotheses and then draw deductive conclusions about the relations within the studied phenomenon (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Second, a qualitative method can provide a better understanding of different individuals' conceptions about the studied phenomenon, as opposed to an ontologically objectivist view (which is often, but not always associated with quantitative research) of the social reality, which treats such phenomena as tangible and external facts (Bryman and Bell,

2015). Rather, this study seeks to understand relations and dynamics within the scene, recognizing that such factors are likely to be social constructions that derive from values, beliefs, and norms held by the actors that exist therein. Hence, by applying a qualitative method, which allows for the interpretation[19] and understanding of the social phenomenon of a scene in an exploratory manner, we give ourselves the best conditions for answering the research question. The chosen research method also exhibits a high degree of methodological fit regarding the research question.

3.2 Research approach: Abduction

In order to attain the exploratory approach discussed in the previous section, great care has been taken to design a research approach that allows for flexibility in moving between theory and empirical data. A research approach is a way to describe and justify how a study uses existing theory and collected empirics to arrive at the best possible evaluation of the studied social reality (Patel and Davidson, 2011). Thus, the best way to achieve the above-mentioned flexibility is to employ an abductive research approach.

In contrast to a deductive approach, which involves using existing theory to guide the empirics and an inductive approach, which utilizes empirics to formulate new theory, the abductive approach allows for a combinatory approach (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Simply put, an abductive approach can be seen as a way to overcome some of the perceived limitations of the deductive and inductive approaches (the over-reliance on logical inferences or the problem of deriving theory from entirely new empirical data) (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Abductive reasoning involves a back-and-forth engagement with the social world, through flexible movements between theory and empirics (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012). Nevertheless, it is important to note that this research approach, although intended to be used abductively, has clear elements of deduction, since existing theories are used when entering the empirical world.

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[19] From an epistemological standpoint, we adopt an interpretivist ontological stance, rather than a positivistic one, as noted in the section above.

Applying an abductive approach allows for the use of preliminary pre-existing theory in structuring empirical data collection and continuous analysis of that material, while also providing the flexibility and freedom to formulate new theoretical contributions based on the empirical material gathered (Patel and Davidson, 2011). This possibility is highly significant, since RMT has not been used to study the social phenomenon of scenes in previous literature. Similarly, it is uncertain whether RMT provides an appropriate means of explaining the structural dynamics of legitimacy mobilization within the SMEDMS. The abductive approach gives the possibility to move back and forth between theory and empirics, making revisions and alterations where deemed appropriate.

3.3 Sample selection

To provide a basis for data collection, a so-called purposive sampling method has been employed, which implies that we have sampled the individuals deemed as relevant participants to collect the data needed to answer the research question (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

The sampled individuals are representatives of the different membership-based clubs that make up the SMEDMS. More concretely, they are the people in charge of planning and organizing events and parties within the scene. Some of these individuals are also DJs.[20] We would also like to note that despite using the term "individual", this study is in fact interested in the organizations (the clubs) for which these individuals are responsible. More concretely, even though analysis is at an individual level, the focus is on how these individuals represent and portray their respective clubs (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Similar to the difficulties of "mapping the population" noted by Bryman and Bell (2015), since the SMEDMS is rather unstructured, fluid, and inaccessible, we have had to contend with contacting the individuals for which we have been able to find adequate contact information. However, we have not just allowed chance to guide our sample.

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[20] We will provide a more elaborate account of the structure of the SMEDMS in chapter 4.

Rather, we have taken good care to strategically research the individuals that we thought would provide the best conditions for answering our research question. To this end we have employed a number of criteria (see table 1) for determining which clubs and individuals were relevant for the purpose of our study (Bryman and Bell, 2015). This approach allowed us to attain a sample of 20 individuals, who represent 15 different clubs in the scene. In total, we contacted 35 different clubs during the study, some which of chose not participate in our research. The sample involves a mix of individuals with varying demographic characteristics, representing clubs with different music orientations (techno, house, jungle, drum & bass, and so on). Of the 15 clubs that were interviewed, the authors had only previously visited two of them. In this way, we have been able to obtain an array of different perspectives on the scene and to avoid preconceived biases. This outcome is well in line with the aims of purposive sampling, i.e. ensuring that the resulting sample is characterized by a great deal of variety (Bryman and Bell, 2015). We believe that our sample constitutes an adequate basis for not only achieving important theoretical insights, but also for ensuring that a certain degree of data saturation is attained. Data saturation is concerned with how many additional theoretical insights additional empirical data provides to the study (Bryman and Bell, 2015). In our case, we recognized that after our 13th interview, a degree of saturation in terms of new patterns and themes had been achieved.

Table 1: The purposive sample criteria.

	Sample criteria	Explanation
1.	**The club must be part of the SMEDMS[21]**	The contacted clubs must be part of the membership-based electronic dance music scene in Stockholm. Conventional clubs with similar musical orientation or other membership-based (underground) clubs with different musical orientations were not relevant to this study.
2.	**The interviewees must be representatives of a club or clubs in SMEDMS**	The contacted interviewees must represent at least one club within the scene. We define representative as an individual who is actively working to plan, promote, and organize events for a particular club or clubs.
3.	**The interviewees should be active or recently have been active in one of the clubs in the SMEDMS**	The interviewed individuals must actively organize or recently have organized events within the SMEDMS. We define events as parties and festivals (or similar events) that are organized by the clubs in the scene.

3.4 Interview design: Semi-structured interviews

To answer the research question, we decided that using semi-structured interviews would be the best way to pursue this end. Semi-structured interviews are, in contrast to structured (such as survey-like questionnaires) and unstructured interviews (often characterized by single, open questions), a way of combining certain theoretical precedents with an open and flexible interview approach (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Since

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[21] It is important note that our definition of the SMEDMS is solely based on our subjective understanding of the musical orientations promoted and types of parties organized by the actors selected to include in this scene. Since there is no pre-existing conceptualization of the scene, certain criteria was used to distinguish clubs that can be said to belong to the scene, from other types of clubs. See chapter 4 for a more elaborate discussion on the SMEDMS and its key characteristics.

we had a rather clear notion as to what theoretical concepts could help explain the structural dynamics of legitimacy mobilization within the scene, the semi-structured interview provided the best way of thematically processing the different theoretical aspects discussed in chapter 2.

The interview guide was structured (see appendix 3) to provide thematic representation of the studied theoretical concepts, while allowing considerable deviations, freedom, and flexibility from these parameters during the interviews. This last point is extremely important, since very little is known about the structural dynamics of scenes, and hence, it was unclear whether the application of RMT is an adequate approach for explaining and conceptualizing what is going on within this social phenomenon. Also, this approach allows for picking up interesting "side-tracks" and insights that might lie outside what the interview guide originally devised.

Our interview guide is structured around the three different types of legitimacy discussed in chapter 2 (pragmatic, moral, and cognitive). The questions and topics are designed to gain an understanding of how these different types of legitimacy are mobilized by the clubs within the scene. While the questions are fairly clear and explicit, we took good care to allow for a large degree of deviation from these questions, by both encouraging digressions into uncharted territories not included in the interview guide and by posing follow-up questions that go beyond the previously devised scope of the questions. Furthermore, as proposed by Kvale (2014), the interview guide features a balance of different question types (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

3.5 Data collection

The interviews were conducted in person and ranged between 45 and 75 minutes. They were conducted in a variety of different locations, depending on the preferences of the interview subjects. Some were held in bars, restaurants, or cafes, while others were conducted in actual club venues. Great care was taken to find locations that were somewhat calm and quiet, but in practice, this was not possible for all interviews.

Furthermore, in the first interview we decided to let the interview subjects remain anonymous. The main reason behind this choice was that some of the actions and behaviors can of the subjects in the scene can, in some cases, be considered to exist in the borderland of what is legal and illegal. Also, it can be argued that the anonymity of the interview subjects allowed them to speak more freely and feel less constrained about the topics discussed. Nevertheless, it is possible that the anonymity of the interview subjects has a potential negative effect on the reading experience, making it less personal and relatable, but similar to Grinyer (2002), ethical considerations are integral to any research project, particularly since the SMEDMS exists in a social environment where the boundaries between legal and illegal are often blurred.

By adopting an abductive research approach, the suitability of our interview guide was evaluated throughout the data collection process. The majority of the questions remained in the interview guide during this process, but some questions were given less attention, since they became less interesting or relevant for the research purpose and question. Also, to be able to not only sharpen the interview guide, but also to review and potentially revise the theoretical tools used, it was decided to transcribe the interviews continuously throughout the research process.

3.6 Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted through number of key steps. First, all the transcribed interviews were read separately, in order to find themes based on subjective perceptions of the empirical data, and so as not to be influenced by each other's interpretations (Flick, 2011). Thereafter, we discussed the themes that had emerged from the separate readings, categorizing them based on the three different legitimacy types in Suchman's (1995) formulation. This was conducted through thematic analysis of the data (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Although, thematic analysis has been criticized for not constituting "an identifiable approach", as opposed to grounded theory analysis or analytic induction, we

believe that it provides the most sensible choice given our collected data (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

We made great effort to apply the analytical framework suggested by Ritchie et al. (2003), which employs a matrix in which different themes are coded and ordered based on the respective interviewees' answers (Bryman and Bell, 2015). In searching for themes, we have used Ryan and Bernard's (2003) strategic recommendations. Most importantly, we have based our thematic investigation on *repetitions*, topics that recur again and again, as well as *metaphors and analogies*, different ways in which the interviewees represent their thoughts through illustrative use of symbolic language (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Furthermore, while searching for interesting themes, we have re-read our review of literature and interview guide, to be able to employ Yin's (2003) method of pattern-making, through which emerging empirical patterns are compared to theoretical properties. Through the application of this method, we were able to arrive at a number of relevant themes that were underpinned by a deep theoretical understanding. This feat greatly facilitated our subsequent analysis of the data.,

3.7 Research quality

There a several important parameters that can serve as basis for ascertaining quality in qualitative research, many of which have arisen as a result of the perceived inadequacy of applying classical quantitative measures, such as reliability, validity, and generalizability, to qualitative research (Bryman and Bell, 2015). For instance, Lincoln and Guba (1995) propose two criteria, specifically suited for assessing the quality of qualitative studies: trustworthiness and authenticity. (Bryman and Bell, 2015). While these more modern concepts hold some appeal, we believe that using reliability, validity, and generalizability, in accordance with Kvale's (2014) adaptation to qualitative contexts, represents the most sensible choice for us.

3.7.1 Generalizability

A commonly discussed issue in qualitative research is to what degree findings can be generalized to other social contexts (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Kvale, 2014) In contrast to quantitative research, in which one of the fundamental aims is to draw deductive inferences from a sample that represents a wider population, qualitative research is often more concerned with representing social phenomena as unique and heterogeneous, seeking contextualization rather universalization of knowledge (Kvale, 2014). In relation to this, we recognize that our study of the SMEDMS might not allow us to form cogent arguments for generalizing our findings to other social contexts or for other social phenomena.[22] However, we believe that, similar to what Kvale (2014) labels *analytic generalization*, our findings can provide guidance as to what would or could happen in another similar situation. By providing theoretically grounded arguments for why certain social contexts or phenomena exhibit similarities and characteristics that render them likely to display the dynamics shown in the underground scene, we ultimately leave the reader to determine the potency of our generalization claims (Kvale, 2014).

3.7.2 Reliability

The reliability of qualitative research pertains to the degree to which a study can be replicated and concerns how consistency is handled in relation to a studied social phenomenon and between the members of the research team (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Kvale, 2014). In order to ascertain that the highest possible degree of reliability has been achieved, we have made sure to discuss our own subjective perceptions of the conducted interviews, compared transcription outputs, and checked the comparability of notes and comments (Flick, 2009). We have also sought to align with this criterion by taking notes and recording the interviews, as well as carrying out ensuing discussions.

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[22] Such as scenes in other geographical locations or other types of scenes.

3.7.3 Validity

Validity is concerned with to what degree there can be said to be a good match between the observations made and the theories developed by researchers, i.e. the congruence between concepts and observations (Bryman and Bell, 2015). In essence, validity means to what extent a research method really measures what it is designed to measure (Kvale, 2014). One of the main concerns in relation to validation, is whether interviewees had any reason to construct, either consciously or unconsciously, a biased depiction of social reality. To avoid such biases, we have taken care to use open-ended questions, leave room for interviewee reflection, and analyze the course of the ongoing interviews as much as possible (Flick, 2009). Also, we have refrained from revealing our previous interviewees and their answers, to limit the risk of introducing biased answers. Furthermore, Kvale (2014) argues that the process of validation is continuous process, to which a researcher should pay attention throughout the research process. To this end, we have sought to infuse a validation focus into every step of the research process.

4. Empirical findings

In this chapter we present our empirical findings, organized into a number of main themes. Before presenting these themes, we provide a more comprehensive description of the SMEDMS, the actors it includes, and the important internal dynamics.[23]

4.1 The Stockholm membership-based electronic dance music scene (SMEDMS)

When we initiated our research we had only a tentative understanding of the SMEDMS, mainly because there was little precedent for defining the scene. While we had prior interest in the scene and had been guests to couple of clubs, neither of the authors had experience organizing such events or direct contact with actors in the scene. After conducting our empirical study, we have better idea of how the scene is structured and of its important dynamics. Nevertheless, we do not claim that the coming section offers a comprehensive or all-encompassing view of the scene. We instead seek to illustrate our own view of the scene's makeup and dynamics based on the information gathered during our study.

The SMEDMS contains a number of key actors and groups that come together around different membership-based events, such as parties and festivals, where DJs play electronic dance music in often obscure, repurposed buildings or houses, or occasionally at outdoor locations during the summer. The events often start around midnight and continue until late the next morning, but these timetables are fluid.

The first group of actors within the scene, toward which we have directed most of our attention, are the clubs that organize the described events. We initially contacted 35 clubs in the scene, an effort that rendered a selection of 15 interviews with representatives from the same number of clubs. Based on our discussions with these

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[23] It is important to note that the information in this section is entirely based on the data that we have gained through our empirical study. We have not been able to access any pre-existing information to describe the SMEDMS.

representatives, we have come to understand that there are certainly more clubs that those we initially contacted, perhaps as many as 50 currently or sporadically active clubs in the Stockholm area.

These clubs are commonly managed by a small group of individuals or a single person, who, in most cases, works with this club engagement on a voluntary basis (the majority of those interviewed have day jobs). In short, they do not arrange these parties for a living. The same goes for other individuals or groups of individuals who are involved with the clubs in various ways, but who do not belong to the core groups (security guards, bar personnel, sound and light technicians, etc.) Overall, there is a strong reliance on the contributions of volunteers. The events are organized by a relatively small number of people, who come together in rather amorphous structures, compared to events of similar size in a commercial nightlife setting.

"It's interesting how you organize these things. Normally, if we have a party with 500-1000 people, and were to do it in accordance "commercial rules, similar to what Stureplansgruppen does…I mean, there are hordes of people behind those things. It's a million kronor project. But we can't work that way." (Subject 7, 58)[24]

The clubs are organized as membership clubs, a solution that involves certain rules and regulations. In order to attend an event, guests must register online, usually no later than a few hours before the party. Through this registration, guests are asked to provide information that usually includes their name, e-mail address, and birthdate. Notably, and perhaps contrary to general perceptions, the clubs within the SMEDMS are in the majority of cases legally allowed to arrange parties that end later than the conventional 5 AM closing time of "official" clubs because they use such membership lists.

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[24] A full list of the interview subjects can be found in appendix 2. The second number in the parentheses indicates the age of the interview subject.

The different club concepts within the scene incorporate a wide variety of electronic music types, from house and disco, to techno, breakcore, and drum & bass. Even though certain music genres seem to dominate the present scene, there has been a recent influx of new influences (and new guests), as evidenced by the scene's growth in size and scope.

"One of the developments is that the scene grows with a lot of new people, and that a lot people come back, those who have had kids for example" (Subject 7, 58)

In relation to the musical side of the above club concepts, we identify the other key groups within the scene: the guests and the DJs. The guests consist of the people that attend the various events within the scene. The DJs are the group that provides the musical component of the scene. In some cases the DJs are also the club organizers. In other cases, the DJs are "recruited" from outside the clubs, often based on the music they play. Since the latter group of DJs also play at official nightclubs, one could argue that they do not constitute a core part of the scene. In fact, the same argument could be made for the guests, since their participation is not limited to only clubs within the SMEDMS. Based on our discussions with club representatives, we argue that these two groups, regardless of the above factors, are fundamental parts of the scene.

Apart from the actors that can be said to exist within the scene, there are a number of other external constituents that warrant our attention. Most notably, there is the police (or law enforcement), who might and sometimes make appearances at the events, the government, with which some of the clubs have sought to build relationships, and property owners, on whom the clubs rely for venues and locales. Moreover, there are guards, who are sometimes recruited from within the scene or occasionally contracted from external sources.

Figure 3: The different actors within and outside the SMEDMS.
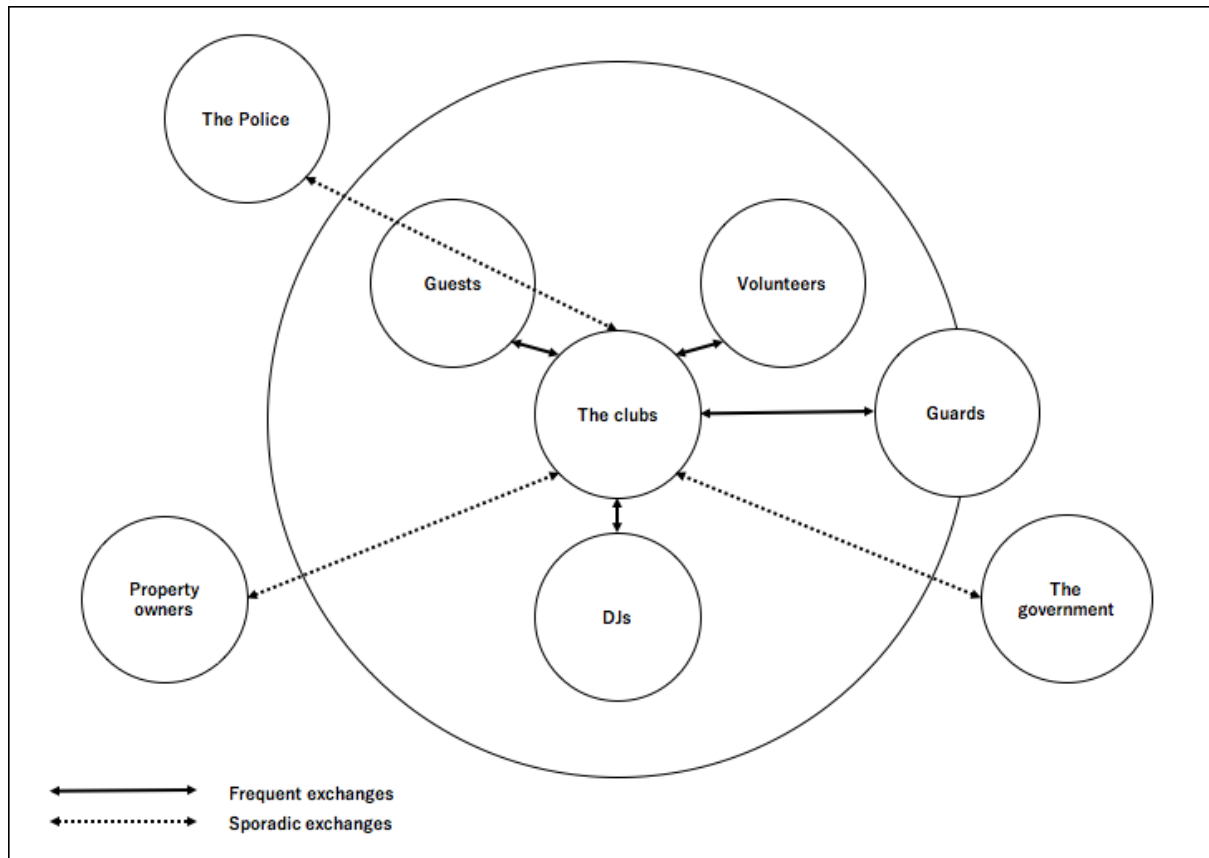
4.2 The main empirical themes

In this section we present the major themes observed during the empirical study. These themes are categorized under the five main headings shown in table 2.

Table 3: The main empirical themes

1.	The strong internal culture
2.	The importance of exchange relationships
3.	The perception that the scene is misunderstood by society at large
4.	The difficulty of maintaining a unique culture while seeking wider social acceptance

5.	The perceived importance of strengthening and perpetuating the culture

4.2.1 The strong internal culture

The SMEDMS is underpinned by a number of key characteristics that give it a unique cultural position. Most notably, the clubs are, in the majority of cases, founded on a shared love of music and great sound, as well as on the perceived importance of creating a culture that is based on love, friendship, communality, integrity, equality, anti-racism, and non-violence. Also, the emergence of the clubs within the scene has often been driven by first-hand experience from other international club scenes and the related opinion that Stockholm lacks similar nightlife options. Together, the above elements give the scene a unique culture that is different from conventional Stockholm nightlife experiences.

"……It's the thing about the violence, I feel that if this culture should have a sense of uniqueness, not only legitimacy, but a uniqueness that is clearly distinguishable from other subcultures, like hip-hop and so on, then it must be that we don't solve any problems through violence, and we don't express ourselves racially." (Subject 7, 58)

"One morning in '95 or '96 when I'd been out until the middle of the day the day after, I stood at the exit and let people out of the club. I myself had danced hard for a while and come into a trance and subsequently landed. There was a girl who approached the door and I was getting ready to let her out. Right when she was about to walk out, ⋯ she turned around and looked back inside the club and said something like, "this is the only club that I can go home from without feeling like a failure". That became something I thought about, that anecdote was validation of the vision I had that you could sleep naked in some corner and that someone might put a blanket on you would the worst that could happen. Not in an asexual way, far from it, but more about how we behave ourselves, how we try to connect, and how we respect one another." (Subject 7, 58)

4.2.2 The importance of exchange relationships

In spite of this strong, unique culture, the clubs in the SMEDMS must pay attention to a number of important exchange relationships to achieve their goals. The most important of these relationships is with the guests that attend and participate in the events that are organized by the clubs. The involvement of the guests is necessary for the scene and events to exist; specifically, the guests become members and pay to participate, the guests attend, dance, and help create the atmosphere and experience at the event, and finally, the guests become integrated within the scene and provide a base level of participating members that allows for the scene to exist and perpetuate.

"The most important thing for us is the guests that come to our parties." (Subject 6, 40)

The clubs have also formed a variety of relationships with actors that exist outside the scene (see figure 3). Most notably, the clubs seek to develop close ties with landlords and property owners, on whom the clubs rely for locations for the events. These relationships are essential, since the clubs note that it is very difficult to find adequate venues in Stockholm.

"We've been renting venues as much as we've possibly could, but there's always the same problem: there's always some bickering, ending up in someone not wanting to rent out in the end when they hear what the place is rented for." (Subject 12, 27)

A second smaller group of important actors within the scene, with whom the clubs seek to establish sustainable exchange relationships, are the DJs and artists that are selected, contacted, and contracted to provide musical performances at the events. To this end, the clubs choose DJs based on a variety of criteria related to musical style, compatibility with event theme and other DJs, existing acquaintanceships within the scene, recognizability from guests, ease of working with, remuneration, and availability. The majority of these criteria are subjectively evaluated and applied by the club

organizers when they engage in coordinative procedures for an event. Despite this largely internal and subjective evaluation process, the clubs indicate a degree of openness to the preferences and demands of the guests. Such feedback is commonly collected through polls, social media feedback, and word-of-mouth responses. Additionally, a number of the interviewees indicate that they heed the input and feedback of a tight circle of friends that have been related to the event or club concept over time. Their familiarity with the concept and the realities of the scene gives added credence to their opinions.

Nevertheless, when it comes to music and sound, two of the fundamental factors for the clubs, the organizers seem reluctant to alter their views and preferences. However, in terms of the experience at the actual events, the clubs appear open to collaboration and contribution from guests to create a positive atmosphere for all involved.

"We did a poll where guests wrote what kind of genres they wanted to see and then we listed a bunch of alternatives that people could, like, vote on. But when they began to vote for all possible genres, we realized that it became too chaotic!" (Subject 14, 29)

4.2.3 The perceived importance of strengthening and perpetuating the culture

The most important output for the clubs within the SMEDMS is the musical experiences that are provided through the events. Through their focus on music and sound, two factors that they are reluctant to compromise on, the clubs have created certain expectations and preferences from other actors, particularly the guests (through playing and promoting a certain type of music and/or by using a certain sound system). These musical experiences are highly valued by the guests, who, according to the clubs, seek to escape from more conventional nightlife experiences to a culture with a different set of values and behaviors. Similar to the club organizers, the guests want to enjoy music and a club environment that is unconstrained by time limits and enter into to a world that is

free from the prejudices and norms that often prevail in a more mainstream nightlife setting.

"…Yeah, the atmosphere you create. All the smiles and all the happy people. That you are an alternative to the commercial bullshit in the city." (Subject 13, 33)

To reinforce these values, the clubs have, for example, sought to employ guards that subscribe to and understand the culture within the scene. In some cases, these guards are employed from within the scene rather than from external sources. Moreover, the actions related to preparing and organizing the events are mostly identical concerning all the clubs, to align with the preferences and expectations of the guests. Their processes involve accepted techniques and procedures that would generally result in a party attracting guests, such as hosting DJs that play music. The procedures include finding a location for the event, ensuring safety for the guests, contacting local law enforcement officials (if deemed necessary), booking DJs, ensuring an acceptable sound quality, informing potential and former guests of the party, and recording guest information in a manifest.

The overall aim of the clubs is to create experiences that transcend what one could expect from conventional nightlife. Though such a goal is elusive and intangible, the clubs make active efforts to evaluate the perceived atmosphere and "vibe" at the events, commonly through observations (for instance, the number of guests who stood looking at their phones and were less engaged) and ongoing discussions about the above factors.

Say 5 or 6 AM on the dancefloor, the feeling that prevails then; how people look, how little they seem to think about tomorrow, how many are crying of happiness, who have their eyes closed. That dynamic and the atmosphere that exists on the dancefloor, that is what determines how the party has been". (Subject 7, 58)

As previously mentioned, the clubs also collect direct feedback from guests about their experiences at the events. Another more concrete metric that is used to evaluate the success of an event is the amount of money taken in through membership costs and selling drinks (both alcoholic and non-alcoholic), though the majority of the interviewed club organizers did not think money was a main focus when evaluating the success of their events. Rather, earning an amount of money that covers or marginally exceeds the cost of organizing the events is viewed as a kind of basic requirement, but beyond that, monetary factors are not seen as important. According to the club organizers, the guests do not seem to mind that the events are held in clandestine, sometimes gritty locations, or that the clubs do not provide the same level of comfort that expected in a conventional night club. Instead, they suggest that the guests appreciate the uniqueness of the atmosphere at the events and the overall experience that this atmosphere creates.

4.2.4 The perception that the scene is misunderstood by society at large

The above factors help form the unique culture that prevails within the scene, one that, according to the clubs, is often misunderstood by different constituents outside the scene. The events have been described as drug-fueled parties by the media, with the perception that many illegal activities occur, and there seems to be limited understanding about the culture from the police and politicians alike. The clubs recognize that at face value some of these views are partially true, but they also highlight that the positive aspects of the culture (the love, non-violence, low crime rate, etc.) are seldom given any attention.

"Is the picture painted by the media representative? We often gather around sensations in the media. For example, the headline "Thousand people take ecstasy and party in warehouse". Maybe there were not that many, but rather 174 people who took ecstasy, while a thousand discussed politics and danced with each other, while five fell in love and three went home." (Subject 12, 27)

While these perceptions are frowned upon by the clubs, there is widespread skepticism about their ability to alter the views that other societal actors have about the actions and behaviors within the scene. For this reason, only a few clubs work to actively shape these conceptions and enhance the understanding of individuals, groups, and organizations outside the scene. The clubs contend that is very hard to understand and appreciate something you have not experienced first-hand. They also suggest that the views about the scene are often deeply rooted, and that, in some cases, "regular people" simply refuse to understand what is going in the scene.

"It's a kind of incomprehension. You can never understand something that you haven't experienced yourself……It's hard to explain, but I haven't stopped trying, but I'm no longer actively seeking that type of discussion. I'm more like, come and have a look yourselves. Then we can take the discussion, because I think I haven't won a single argument". (Subject 19, 29)

"If you are writing a book about love and you have never been in love, it's going to get tricky. And even if you have been in love a hundred times, it's not sure that a reader who have never been in love will understand. It's the same thing with this (culture within the scene)." (Subject 7, 58)

However, some clubs have taken active steps to initiate discussions with the government, often seeking to emphasize the values of the unique culture and the cultural benefits the scene as a whole provides to society. In most cases, these discussions have yet to accomplish any considerable changes, even though there are a few small indications that the common understanding about the scene is slowly changing.

"I mean it's become more politically accepted to have a rave[25]. They even had a kids'
rave at Kulturhuset that got sold out before the event." (Subject 13, 33)

4.2.5 The difficulty of maintaining a unique culture while seeking wider social acceptance

As previously discussed, there is generally a collective understanding about and
acceptance of the means and goals of the clubs from the actors within the scene. The
guests, for example, find great value and meaning in going to the events that are
organized in the scene and they seem to attach great importance to the uniqueness of
the cultural elements of the scene. However, there is, similar to the discussion above, a
limited understanding about and acceptance of such factors from society at large. Even
though some of the clubs recognize the potential benefits of making sense of their
actions and behaviors to actors outside the scene, they are reluctant to take active steps
to inform about such factors. The main reason for this unwillingness is the previously
discussed misconception about the culture within the scene. The clubs also note
another important element of their reluctance to gain societal understanding and
support: the risk of "selling out" or becoming "too commercial" and thereby ceasing to
appear as an alternative to conventional nightlife. The clubs suggest that the guests
value the mystical and "underground" elements of the scene as way to temporarily
escape the conventions, values, and norms of society at large. In other words, the clubs
must find a balance between organizing the events in a manner that is perceived as
satisfying by themselves and guests, and gaining too much acceptance, thereby
becoming "too commercial" as a result.

"Then it's a natural part of the underground culture not to be too freaking accepted. If
we would receive cultural support from the state and free locales, and if some
"kulturborgare" would come to cut the ribbon and cheer for our operation, I don't think it

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[25] A rave is a kind of underground party.

would be as much fun. There is excitement and attraction in the underground, you know"
(Subject 7, 58)

"It's a balancing act. Because you don't want to erode the experience and mystique around it (the scene), but at the same time, you don't want a society that thinks you are criminal and tries to stop you. So it's a very fine balance". (Subject 13, 33)

In seeking to find the right balance between the above factors, the clubs focus more on the sense of mystique and uniqueness, rather than on gaining wider social acceptance. To this end, they use a variety of techniques. For instance, the clubs never send out the location for the event until the same the day, they play music that is often clearly distinguishable from more mainstream alternatives, and they use unconventional venues for the events.

As mentioned above, the clubs aim to maintain a sense of mystique and excitement. Nevertheless, since the scene has grown rapidly in recent years, guests have come to expect that events happen almost every weekend. In this way, it has become harder for the individual clubs to provide the same level of excitement and clandestine feeling, while it has also become more difficult for the overall scene to preserve these integral characteristics. In light of this development, the clubs are working towards achieving a higher quality of experiences for the guests in the scene, making sure that, sometimes through collaboration but most frequently through individual contributions, that the heightened expectations of the guests are catered to. The guests not only expect events to be organized frequently, they also expect visually perceptible changes: changes in lightning, changes in decoration, and so on. The clubs suggest that the guests want to be surprised by unpredictable changes and experiences, rather than being treated with the kind of "sameness" that prevails in regular clubs.

"Because Club X wants to save your ears, minds and eyes from sameness. This is what keeps us burning, it's what keeps us alive, the whole entertainment as being saved in

the eyes of the members; excited, astonished, wow, you know getting this wow feeling is what keeps us burning, seeing it in their eyes, seeing them being inspired, them enjoying what we have been creating in forms of art, it's what keeps us burning." (Subject 1, 26)

Despite the challenges above, the clubs believe that the rapid growth of the scene combined with the strong and unique culture that exists within, will ensure sustained development and prosperity. The passionate and industrious characters of the club organizers are important factors in ensuring that the scene will continue to thrive, despite the clear lack of understanding, support, and acceptance from other societal actors, such as the police, politicians, and society at large. The fact that the scene is very much driven by ideas and values, rather than by employing carefully organized structures (in fact, different roles and engagements are rather fluid between different clubs), will also allow the scene to propel its development, even when certain important clubs or individuals might temporarily exit the frame.

"It doesn't matter how many times the police come and shut down the parties, or what locations, it can't stop. It won't stop. It's like standing with a bucket under Niagara Falls" (Subject 14, 29)

5. Analysis and discussion

In this chapter we aim to merge the empirical findings outlined in chapter 4 with the theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 2. The analysis is divided into three different parts, based on the three different types of legitimacy in Suchman's (1995) formulation: *Pragmatic, moral, and cognitive legitimacy.* In addition, we discuss the four different mobilization mechanisms outlined by Edwards and Kane (2014): *Self-production, aggregation, co-optation, and patronage.* Through this integrative discussion, we seek to better understand how the clubs in the SMEDMS mobilize legitimacy from various audiences in their environment.

5.1 The mobilization of pragmatic legitimacy

5.1.1 Exchange legitimacy

As discussed in chapter 2, pragmatic legitimacy is concerned with the perceived value of an organization's actions and exchanges by its closest audiences (Suchman, 1995). In the SMEDMS it is clear that a few exchange relationships are considerably more important than others for the clubs. Most notably, the exchange relationships with the guests are deemed crucial. Mobilizing legitimacy in the relationships with the guests is essential in ensuring that they attend the events and pay the membership or entrance fees. To mobilize **exchange legitimacy** in the relationships to their guests, the clubs have, through a process of **self-production** and **aggregation**, in Edward and Gillhams' (2004) terminology, mobilized other resources, such as sound systems and locales, in order to create favorable exchanges through the events and the related experiences. More concretely, the individual clubs have contributed to creating the unique culture within the scene, and a number of clubs have collaborated in mobilizing resources such as sound systems, personnel, and locales with the aim of enhancing the audiences' perceived value of the exchanges. Similar to what DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggest,

the process of gaining legitimacy itself, has allowed the clubs to acquire other important resources that are essential to their existence and perpetuation. The mobilization of legitimacy, along with other important resources, has allowed the clubs to acquire monetary and vocal support from the guests, who are essential to the growth and perpetuation of the individual clubs and the scene at large.

To facilitate the mobilization of pragmatic legitimacy from the guests, and turn them into paying members, the clubs must take certain factors into consideration. Most importantly, the guests seem to demand a certain level of music and sound quality to perceive the exchange or "the expected value" as the exchange as beneficial (Suchman, 1995). It is interesting to note however, that it is the clubs themselves, through a process of "socialization", or **self-production**, that has set the "standards of performance" for the guest's expectations and evaluations (Suchman, 1995). Similar to what Thornton (1995) suggests, we argue that the clubs have shaped the criteria to which their exchange legitimacy is evaluated by socializing the guests into the knowledge, likes, meanings, and values of the scene.

5.1.2 Influence legitimacy: A case of decoupling

Overall, we have seen that the clubs have a very subjective stance in terms of what concepts and experiences they are seeking to create. For instance, although they recognize the need to create a unique experience for the guests, the criteria for the evaluation of such experiences remain centered on the perception of the club organizers, even though they claim to incorporate often "fuzzy" and intangible guest accounts. Suchman (1995) suggests that the ability for the closest audience to influence the actions of an organization is tightly related to the attainment of legitimacy (***influence legitimacy***) from that group. Similar to the point above, the clubs within the SMEDMS claim that they are open for influence and feedback from the guests. Nevertheless, they are also adamant that they will not, under normal circumstances, alter their fundamental cornerstones, the music and the sound.

"I'm a bit like, I have a very determined view and if that doesn't suit the guests there are other parties they can go to, I feel." (Subject 19, 29)

Therefore, we suggest that, even though the clubs appear overtly open to feedback from their closest audience, this "claimed" responsiveness might actually be an example of what Elsbach and Sutton (1992) call "decoupling", a process through which the organization virtually ignores such external inputs, while using symbolic actions to give the appearance of compliance (Drori and Honig, 2013). More concretely, the clubs say that they care about the guests' feedback, while in practice, they make little effort to transform this feedback into concrete changes. This decoupling is achieved by the individual clubs through **self-production**, through which they use symbolic actions to indicate that they take the guests suggestions and ideas into consideration in their ongoing communication and exchange. A clear example of such a symbolical act is the poll used by one of the clubs, the result of which was not taken into serious consideration by the club in question.

"We did a poll where guests wrote what kind of genres they wanted to see and then we listed a bunch of alternatives that people could, like, vote on. But when they began to vote for all possible genres, we realized that it became too chaotic!" (Subject 14, 29)

In terms of allowing actors outside the scene to influence the clubs, they suggest that there have not been active attempts to mobilize external ***influence legitimacy.*** The main reason behind this stance is that one of the key reasons why the clubs start to organize underground parties was to evade the influence of society at large, and to distance themselves from certain rules, regulations, norms, and values. Since the clubs do not seek to cater to the "larger interests" of societal constituents, and since they are not in acute need of legitimacy from such groups at present, they do not employ active

measures to integrate external influence in the way they organize the events or conduct themselves in general (Suchman, 1995).

5.1.3 Dispositional legitimacy

Suchman (1995) notes that the attribution of personal traits to organizations have become increasingly important in the modern institutional order. Given the previously discussed process of socialization within the SMEDMS, through which the clubs have managed to "educate" their close audiences in the values, norms, and beliefs of the scene (primarily using **self-production** and **aggregation** as noted in a previous section), we suggest that these audiences have come to make similar attributions to both unique clubs in the scene and to the scene at large. These values and norms are often implicit and taken for granted by the core actors of the scene, but might in some cases be explicit and articulated in certain contexts. Consequently, we would argue that the scene as a whole can be viewed as a "character" that exhibits certain values, norms, and behaviors, which, although some actors might occasionally make mistakes or act in a way that taints the scene's perceived good character, still remain important for the legitimization from guests. More concretely, the clubs within the scene are likely to be accorded dispositional legitimacy from guests if they adhere to the "personal" characteristics, i.e. not only the previously discussed values, norms, and beliefs, but also, as noted by Scott (1977), the tastes and styles that give them their unifying element as part of the culture in SMEDMS. Consequently, the clubs seek to mobilize *dispositional legitimacy* by promoting and adhering to the characteristics that make up the unique culture in the scene.

From an external perspective however, the clubs have barely sought to mobilize this kind of *dispositional legitimacy*, largely because of, as seen in the next section, the often deeply rooted misconceptions about the culture in the scene. Hence, given that many club organizers suggest that societal actors hold sometimes outright incorrect and often biased views about the values, beliefs, norms, tastes and styles of the scene, they are

unlikely to attribute legitimacy to the clubs for being, as expressed by Suchman (1995) "honest", "trustworthy", or "wise". Rather, the clubs and the overall culture they embody, might even be seen as "dishonest", "untrustworthy", or "unwise" by other some constituents outside the scene. As a consequence, the clubs have opted to expend minimal efforts in mobilizing **dispositional legitimacy** from external actors.

5.2 The mobilization of moral legitimacy: A case of internal socialization

5.2.1 Consequential and procedural legitimacy

Suchman (1995) notes that moral legitimacy is concerned with the normative evaluations of an organization's actions, outputs, and procedures. To gain this kind of legitimacy, the clubs within the SMEDMS must not only ensure that the exchanges with their key audiences are perceived as beneficial, but also that these exchanges are viewed as morally "right" by the audiences, given their socially constructed set of norms, values, and beliefs (Suchman, 1995). In short, the clubs must, for instance, organize events in ways that do not only bring a perceived exchange value (exchange legitimacy), but that also align with judgments about the "rightness" of these events exhibited by the audiences.

As previously discussed, it is interesting to note how the clubs within the SMEDMS have been able to, through a process of "socialization", educate and influence the values of the guests, even though these guests might come from parts of society where a different set of values, norms, and beliefs are considered "right". Similar to the process of socializing one's children into the ways and values of the movement, as exemplified by Edwards and Kane (2014), the clubs (and certain individuals) have, through both explicit and implicit means, socialized the audiences into the value system that prevails within the scene.

"And you notice how this (the scene) attracts quite a lot of people, maybe a hipster crowd where everyone is dressed in black and arrives to the party drunk. Not overly drunk, but drunk. It's a bit chaotic the first two-three parties. Still not on a Stureplan level, but you don't think everything is as it's supposed to be. Then, you see how relatively quick this crowd changes and grows into the culture." (Subject 7, 58)

The process of socialization, achieved through **self-production** and **aggregation**, has allowed the clubs to shape the guests' perceptions and evaluations about the outputs (the events) they create. In so doing, the clubs have managed to form what Meyer and Rowan (1991) labels the "standards of performance" to which their own outputs are evaluated by the closest audiences within the scene (Suchman, 1995). By creating unique experiences that are clearly distinguishable from more mainstream club alternatives, and by employing means that are socially distinct, the clubs have created a standard of experience, to which both guests and DJs can "benchmark" their moral judgments. In other words, the extent to which the experiences adhere to the values, beliefs, and preferences of these audiences. Consequently, we suggest that as long the clubs continue to create events that are in line with the standards that they have, in many ways, created themselves, they will continue to gain ***consequential legitimacy*** from their guests. To ensure that this kind of legitimacy can be mobilized in the future, it is important to ensure that the value system within the SMEDMS stays intact.

The socialization of the guests is also important in mobilizing ***procedural legitimacy.*** More concretely, the clubs have embraced certain procedures that have come to be taken for granted by the closest audiences, such as using secret locations, hiring guards and bar personnel that embrace the values of the scene, and by not revealing the location of the events until the same day. According to the clubs, using procedures that align with cultural values of the scene is essential is gaining legitimacy from the closest audiences. An important element of these procedures is that they are often clearly

distinguishable from similar procedures and processes in a more conventional nightlife setting, a characteristic which appear highly valued by the guests.

"Guards are extremely important, because many of those who come to these parties are tired of "the Stureplan guard" and their attitude of being given the cold hand in the entrance. Rather, they want things to be nice, friendly, and more importantly, if someone falls ill or has had too much to drink or whatever, you get treated in nice way, instead of being taken out and thrown into the snow" (Subject 6, 40)

To ensure that these means and procedures are applied, the clubs have created communication networks through a process of **self-production** (the individual clubs have made unique contributions in making sure that these networks are used and maintained) and they have used **aggregation** to mobilize resources held by individual clubs to the benefits of the scene as a whole. Particularly, the clubs suggest that they sometimes share sound systems and provide each other with personnel and volunteers. (Edwards and Kane 2014; Suchman, 1995)

"It's beneficial for all parties if you can this kind of collaboration when it comes to resources. It can be people who work at the parties, it can be sound systems." (Subject 19, 29)

5.2.3 External consequential and procedural legitimacy

As previously discussed, the clubs seek to establish certain exchange relationships with actors outside the scene. However, very few clubs seek to actively change these actors' judgments about whether the actions of the clubs are seen as "the right thing to do" (i.e. the judgments about the "moral rightness" of their actions) (Suchman, 1995). The majority of the clubs believe that there is, due to the lack of understanding and support for the scene in general, very little use in trying to alter the normative evaluations of society at large.

Moreover, Suchman (1995) notes that the technical properties of outputs are socially defined, a suggestion that implies, in the case of the SMEDMS, that there might be considerable variations between the value system that exists within the scene and those, which prevail in society at large. As we will discuss in the next section, the clubs suggest that this occurrence is mainly related to the lack of understanding and incomprehensibility from external societal actors and the often erroneous views and conceptions of actors outside the scene.

Nevertheless, a few clubs have sought to inform other societal actors about the perceived benefits of unique culture in the scene and of the values, which are commonly viewed as "right" within the SMEDMS. Through a process of **self-production**, a number of clubs have attempted to mobilize legitimacy by establishing relationships with politicians and other societal representatives, by cultivating what Edwards and Kane (2014) label "a network of allies". Also, a few clubs have sought to employ **co-optation** to mobilize resources outside the scene. As noted by Edwards and Kane (2014), co-optation involves the surreptitious use of resources that were not mobilized for the purpose of the movement, or in our case for the SMEDMS. For instance, some clubs have used contacts in the media to provide "seemingly unbiased" accounts of the scene, rather than providing such accounts themselves. In this way, the clubs have sought to gain a degree of understanding and acceptance for not only their outputs, but also the procedures they utilize in generating these outputs. Perhaps more importantly, they have endeavored to attain a wider acceptance and understanding for the culture within the scene.

"I'm thinking that this process works indirectly, like when the reporter X becomes a recurring guest and writes about us. There are few journalists that are starting to pay attention to this (the scene), and I think that the media's formulation will change." (Subject 12, 27)

The notion about the understanding of the clubs' employed procedures is of great importance, since the main output they seek to create, the experience at the events, is extremely hard to objectively measure and describe. As Suchman (1995) notes, in such cases the evaluation of an organization's procedures are usually essential to gain legitimacy (procedural legitimacy). In other words, the clubs might prefer to highlight the means through which they create these, often elusive and intangible experiences at the events. As previously discussed, the unique culture within the scene is an important part of achieving the experiences at the events. To mobilize legitimacy from external actors, the clubs focus on providing accounts about the cultural values that prevails within the scene, such as love, non-violence, and a low crime rate, rather than the normative value and perceived "rightness" of the experiences at the events. One club organizer even suggested that he would like a more hard-proof basis for reinforcing the accounts about the scene's culture, particularly about its low crime rate in relation to other nightlife settings.

"It would nice to have some sort of crime statistics for this. Like, how many crimes of violence were recorded at regular clubs last year, in relation to those at rave parties. It's probably a few thousand percent difference." (Subject 13, 33)

Furthermore, some clubs have sought to mobilize a degree of **procedural legitimacy** from external actors by embracing measures that are viewed as requisite for gaining acceptance from such actors. As Suchman (1995) notes, legitimacy is not necessarily about being liked by actors within a certain value system, but rather that an organization's actions are viewed as "proper" and "appropriate" given the norms, values and beliefs that exist within this value system. In the case of the clubs in the SMEDMS, they have taken certain steps to attain such acceptance, particularly in terms of employed procedures. For instance, the clubs make sure that memberships lists are administered and made available in an appropriate way. Therefore, if the police were to

come to an event, the club in question would be able to show the membership list in an agreeable manner. In creating these systems, some of the clubs have aggregated resources from each other clubs within the scene. More concretely, the clubs have, in some cases, used the superior IT know-how and membership system sophistication of fellow clubs to improve their own variants. In most cases, the clubs have not received direct access to such resources, thereby not being able to fully "convert resources held by dispersed groups into collective resources" for everyone to use, but have instead been able to draw inspiration from other clubs with superior technical solutions (Suchman, 1995).

Through the above measures the clubs have sought to mobilize not only ***consequential legitimacy*** but also ***procedural legitimacy*** from some external constituents. However, the majority of these actions are yet to have considerable impact on the external perceptions about the means and ends in the scene.

5.2.4 Structural legitimacy

There is a somewhat shared normative view about the "rightness" of the means and ends in the SMEDMS. In other words, the clubs have been able to mobilize a high degree of both consequential and procedural legitimacy, particularly in the relationships with guests. The development of this "socially constructed value system" is largely the result of mobilization through **self-production** and **aggregation** by certain clubs and individuals, as discussed in the previous section (Suchman, 1995). Relatedly, the scene's internal value system provides basis for structural evaluations about the scene at large from the internal audiences. Scott (1977) notes that ***structural legitimacy*** can be mobilized by being "seen as valuable and worthy of support because its structural dynamics locate it in a morally favored taxonomy" (Suchman, 1995). As previously discussed, the culture that persists within the SMEDMS, to which many actors therein attach great importance, has laid the groundwork for the moral evaluations about the actions and behaviors of the clubs. Therefore, the clubs exhibit a "socially constructed

capacity to perform a certain kind of work", which in the context of the SMEDMS implies being able to organize parties that are in line with the normative expectations of not only the guests, but also of DJs and volunteers. For instance, if the one club were to start promoting values and norms that are not viewed as "morally right" by the closest audiences, such as closing the events at 2 AM, playing mainstream music, promoting racist values, or embracing violence, that particular club would have a hard time maintaining legitimacy from the closest audiences. Nevertheless, provided that the club takes actions that are in line with the structurally important normative evaluations, it is likely to gain legitimacy from these audiences.

Furthermore, Suchman (1995) suggests that structural characteristics determine the location of an organization in a larger institutional ecology, thereby determining with which actors it will compete. In the case of the SMEDMS, we suggest that it provides an example of such an "institutional ecology". One might expect a certain degree of competition within such an "ecology" or scene, and the clubs suggest that they do perceive a level of competitive pressure within the scene. This notion is most likely related to the rapid growth and influx of new guests in recent years, a development which has resulted in higher demand than supply in the SMEDMS.

"...because we're in a stage where the horses don't bite, and that's because the stall is not empty. Rather on the contrary, it is being filled up. It's rather that it's a market that's getting bigger and bigger, and it has to be satisfied" (Subject 7, 58)

Given the growing scene, competitive elements might not be overly important at present. Rather, the clubs note that there "is a place for everyone" (even though, some musical orientations are more prevalent than others) within the scene. Hence, the clubs are not attributing great importance to competitive actions, but rather seek to ensure that they, on a club level maintain a certain quality in procedures and outputs, and on a scene level, assist in driving the overall development and perpetuation of the SMEDMS. In so

doing, the strive to provide experiences that continue to transcend those of more mainstream club alternatives.

An additional way for the clubs to mobilize **structural legitimacy,** is by demonstrating the capacity to perform its designated role of providing a dance event experience. Just as educational organizations can gain, as exemplified by Suchman (1995), structural legitimacy through displaying structural traits of a modern school - classrooms, grade-level progressions, and so on, rather than by adopting specific pedagogical procedures or producing specific student outcomes - the clubs can gain structural legitimacy by providing a venue that can host guests and create an atmosphere that encourages dancing and active engagement during the event, by having a sound system and DJ booth that are adequate for both guests and DJs. In short, the clubs within the scene do not currently have to "stand out" to gain structural legitimacy. Rather, to obtain such legitimacy, they make sure to meet the "morally correct" standards within the scene, as required by the guests and DJs. Therefore, we suggest that, in some cases, guests might make similar moral attributions to different clubs within the scene, provided that they manage to achieve the previously discussed "standards of performance", even though there might exist considerable differences between the clubs in practice.

5.3 The mobilization of cognitive legitimacy

As previously discussed, cognitive legitimacy is concerned with the acceptance of an organization as necessary or inevitable based on some taken-for-granted cultural account. Such legitimacy is also based on the understanding of an organization's actions and behaviors by those from whom the legitimacy is sought (Suchman, 1995). Concerning the two types of cognitive legitimacy, the SMEDMS generally seeks to mobilize **comprehensibility** within the scene and to achieve a degree of **taken-for-grantedness** from outside actors.

5.3.1. Comprehensibility within the scene

Within the SMEDMS, clubs set the tone for guests and DJs by communicating what is to be expected at their events in terms of location, DJ, cost of entry, and time. Beyond this basic information, the guests' comprehension of scene's culture, what occurs at the events, and acceptable behavior is influenced by the previously discussed "socialization". Through **self-production** and **aggregation,** the clubs in the SMEDMS shape the perceptions of the guests through continuous interaction at events or by imparting experiences from similar international scenes (Edwards and Kane, 2014). The majority of the club organizers preach about the unique culture of the SMEDMS, especially in contrast to conventional nightlife in Stockholm. Their almost universal understanding that the scene stands for (love, friendship, communality, integrity, equality, anti-racism, and non-violence) is imprinted on the guests during their participation in the events. As previously emphasized, the socialization of the guests is a form of **self-production,** through which the club organizers have created an ideology that is perpetuated each time an event occurs. Each successive time that guests attend the events, the more they are exposed to this culture and become normalized within it, making its contrasting position to conventional nightlife comprehensible and understandable within the context of the SMEDMS (Suchman, 1995). The club managers also seek mobilize ***comprehensibility*** by reinforcing the guests' understandings and acceptance, and by employing a number of measures, such as applying a no-tolerance policy towards violence, providing completely candid responses toward guests that appear unsatisfied, and hiring security guards that understand and reflect the cultural values of the SMEDMS. The organizers have complete confidence in the experience they wish to create and will remove guests that do not compliment this. By controlling and maintaining a certain cultural atmosphere within the SMEDMS, the organizers are able to perpetuate a value and belief system that contrasts with the audience's daily realities (Suchman, 1995).

"We were forced to kick out a couple of guys and a girl who first were rude toward other guests, had robbed people on the way there, and were armed. Fucking troublemakers. They even tried to steal beer from the bar. We got them to leave without anyone getting injured but we were forced to shut off the music to do so, to get them to understand that their behavior was unacceptable. And that really killed the mood···" (Subject 19, 29)

"We do our thing. We ask people to leave sometimes. Sometimes people come up and ask if we can play something a little bit different. I ask them 'are you sure you're at the right place? You can get your money back at the door and go home because if you stand here and wish for that you will just be perpetually disappointed. Better to leave at once." (Subject 10, 37)

5.3.2 Comprehensibility from outside the scene

With regards to external **comprehensibility**, the clubs have done very little to present the scene in a way that is understood by society at large. They generally mind their own business and organize events with little concern for actors that are further removed from the scene, though a handful of club organizers have considered their actions to be politically motivated at certain points in time and have sought to open dialogues with the government, emphasizing the positive values of the unique culture and the benefits the scene provides to society as a whole. As **comprehensibility** legitimacy depends on the availability of cultural models that furnish plausible explanations for the organization and its endeavors, the presence of such models makes the organization's activities predictable, meaningful, and inviting. Without valid explanations, activity can collapse due to potential hostility (Suchman, 1995). The SMEDMS does not explicitly draw parallels with other Swedish or foreign scenes in order explain their activities or help outside actors make sense of their actions; they instead focus mostly on perpetuating their existence. As previously discussed, the organizers indicate that, in their view, the culture is misunderstood by a majority of constituents outside the scene, though some have engaged in **co-optation** of media through existing social networks to gain insights

into or subtly influence the media's understanding and portrayal of the scene (Edwards and Kane, 2014).

5.3.3. Taken-for-granted legitimacy within the scene

The internal **_taken-for-granted legitimacy_** of the clubs is partly based on exposure to or influences coming from outside the Stockholm scene. Many club organizers choose to organize events because they have experienced dancing, partying, and drinking alcohol past 5 AM in cities such as Berlin, where official clubs play non-commercial music and are legally allowed to operate longer than in Sweden. If the laws in Sweden allowed for conventional clubs to remain open longer than 5 AM, some organizers note that there would be considerably less incentive to create membership-based clubs. Guests also have the same expectations or experiences based on their times being out abroad where it is normal, legal, and acceptable to be in a club environment deep into the following morning. Because there is knowledge, experience, and availability of such club experiences abroad, it expected that a group of actors would form and spread a similar club culture within Stockholm. Given that organizers, guests, and DJs that have contact with other international club environments, it is inconceivable that Stockholm would lack a similar culture. They have decided to build something because it has not and does not yet exist in a conventional, socially-accepted, entirely legally-permissible form. These considerations form the core, along with previously discussed values and norms, of the culture within the scene, one that the clubs create and perpetuate through **self-production** and **aggregation** (Edwards and Kane, 2014).

"Nowhere in Sweden was it permitted to serve alcohol past 1 AM. Not a law but practice. So we traveled abroad quite a lot, low price flights were a factor and we saw how it was in other nearby Western European cities. We thought about what the hell was going on in Sweden and felt that we wanted contribute in that realm." (Subject 7, 58)

5.3.4. External taken-for-granted legitimacy: A work in progress

The clubs in the SMEDMS would ideally like to mobilize some degree of external **taken-for-grantedness**, but recognize that society at large often has a vague and sometimes incorrect understanding of the scene's culture, values, and experience. Since police do occasionally check and shut down parties, the media continues to report such events as "drug parties", and there are strict laws regarding the sale of alcohol at non-membership based, publically accessible clubs, there are multiple hurdles for the scene to be taken for granted by society at large (By and Dragic, 2016) Despite these challenges, the managers continue to organize the events because of their own sense of taken-for-grantedness, a form of **self-production** that capitalizes on internal strengths and resources that are largely insulated from external pressures and mitigating factors. By continuing to organize events, combined with the increase in the number of clubs within the scene and growth in memberships, the club organizers (both consciously and unconsciously) are slowly and deliberately changing public perception of their culture and values.

"...This is a way of life. This is me, this is best, this is my love. The day I stop organizing (events) or driving this forward, that's like if you stopped doing something you love. Imagine you're a distance runner and you lose a leg and can't run anymore. I would stop functioning because this is a way for me to escape from everyday tedium." (Subject 6, 40)

Figure 4 summarizes the main findings of the analysis. The table illustrates which mobilization mechanisms the clubs in the SMEDMS use to mobilize the three different types of legitimacy. These findings will be further discussed in the next chapter.
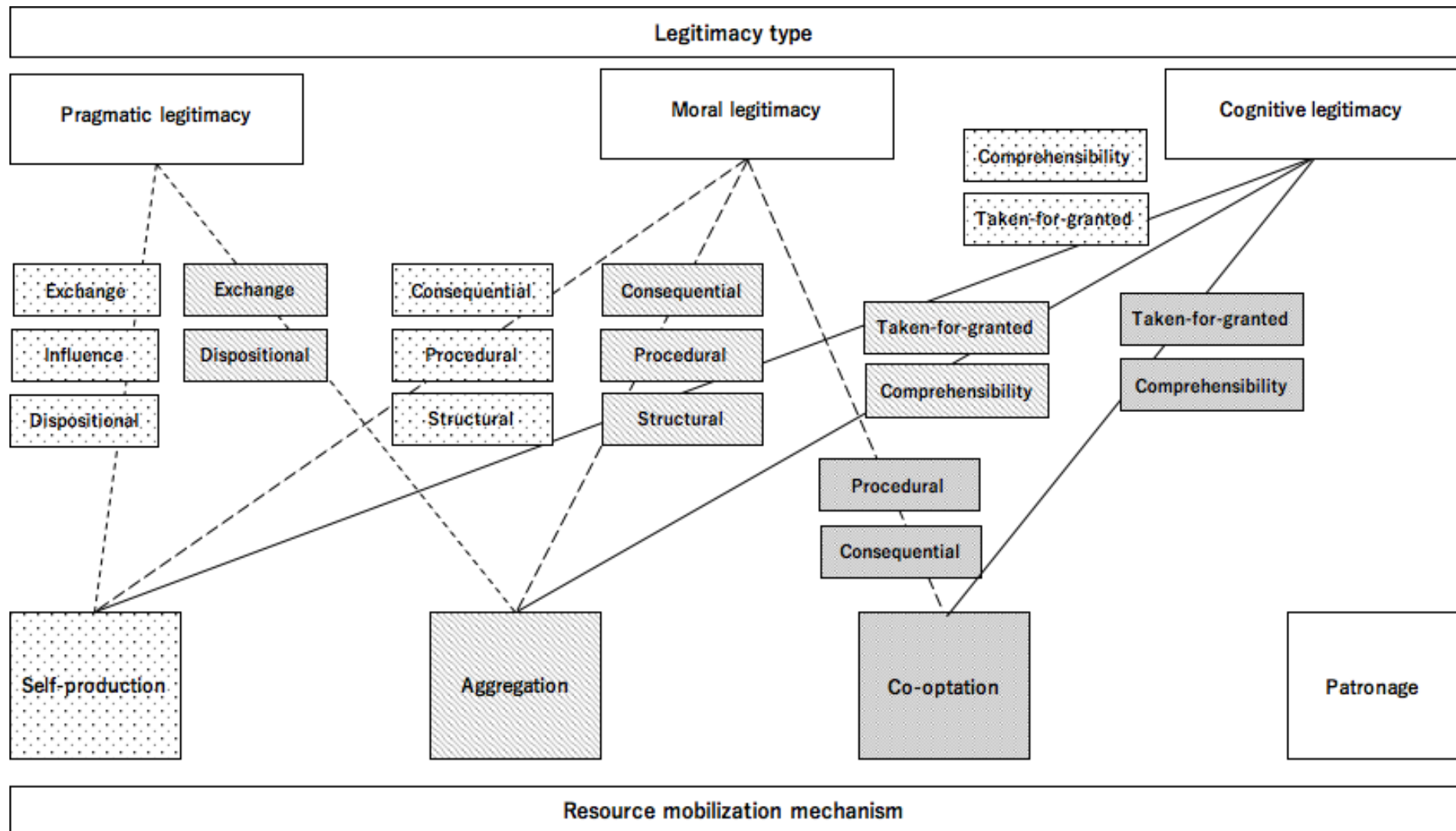
Figure 4: The three different types of legitimacy and how they are mobilized in the SMEDMS

	Legitimacy types		
	Pragmatic legitimacy	**Moral legitimacy**	**Cognitive legitimacy**
Self production	√	√	√
Aggregation	√	√	√
Co-optation		√	√
Patronage			

Mobilization mechanisms

Table 4: Summary of legitimacy types and mobilization mechanisms in the SMEDMS.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Concluding remarks

The broad motivation for our study was to gain a better understanding of the structural dynamics of subcultural scenes, particularly how and to what extent the resource of legitimacy is mobilized in such a scene. As previously noted, since scenes exist and operate based on the social perceptions of their values, beliefs, and norms, the process of gaining and mobilizing legitimacy from actors both outside and inside the scene is vital to the perpetuation of the scene (Burlea and Popa, 2013). As previous research on club scenes similar to the SMEDMS has focused on abstract factors such as taste and aesthetics, and since applications of social movement theories on scenes have mainly centered on New Social Movement (NSM) theories, this investigation sought to examine more concrete elements, namely legitimacy, through the application of Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). RMT has traditionally been used to understand how a social phenomenon similar to scenes, social movements, mobilize resources. The central aim of this study was to use a structural analytical framework[26] to 1) better understand the importance of legitimacy for actors within the scene, and 2) examine how these actors work to mobilize (or not mobilize) legitimacy in order to perpetuate not only their existence in the scene, but also the existence of the scene as a whole.

The results of our qualitative research identified five universal themes within the SMEDMS, all with significant implications for understanding the importance of legitimacy mobilization for actors within the scene: 1) The strong internal culture, 2) The importance of exchange relationships, 3) The perceived importance of strengthening and perpetuating the culture, 4) The perception that the scene is misunderstood by society at large, and 5) The difficulty of maintaining a unique culture while seeking wider social acceptance. It is clear that the scene relies strongly on the shared concept of a culture that is many ways considerably different from conventional Stockholm nightlife. Also,

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[26] See chapter 2.

much of the scene's identity comes from providing music, environments, and experiences that would be difficult or impossible to find in more mainstream settings.

While members of the scene often failed to explicitly admit that they work actively with the concept of legitimacy, the perpetuation of their unique, counter-mainstream culture depends on several, both conscious and unconscious, actions taken to mobilize legitimacy, mostly inside of the scene. In serving as a representation and purveyor of this culture, the scene must mobilize legitimacy in the relationships with the guests in order to exist. Without guests' perception of the scene as somehow legitimate, they would not participate in the events, regardless of their desires to experience something in contrast to conventional nightlife. The clubs have contributed to creating the unique culture by shaping the criteria, such as the quality of the music, sound systems, and locations, by which the guests and other important constituents evaluate their experiences. Thus, the clubs have been able to mobilize legitimacy by influencing the basis for the normative evaluations of the audiences in the SMEDMS.

Despite the need and effort to mobilize legitimacy in the relationships to guests, the clubs presented us with a paradoxical situation in which, despite their reliance on legitimacy from guests to exist, there is simultaneously a stubborn mentality to maintain strict control over the experiences they seek to create. The clubs develop their concepts internally, occasionally allowing close friends and others from within the scene to contribute their inputs. The clubs repeatedly indicated that if guests did not like the presented concept that they were free to leave. This attitude contributes to a process of socialization and normalization within the scene, through which like-minded individuals remain as recurring guests and become "disciples" of the scene's culture and values, creating a critical mass that allows the scene to exist, while simultaneously eliminating guests who would not thrive in the scene.

Together with this effort of socialization and normalization within the scene, the clubs also take a largely passive approach toward mobilizing legitimacy in relationships with actors outside of the scene, due to a perceived lack of understanding and support for the scene in general. The clubs see little use in trying to alter the normative evaluations of society at large, yet they have in some cases, sought to mobilize legitimacy by co-optation with actors outside the scene, to provide "seemingly unbiased" accounts about the prevailing cultural values of the scene. In particular, they have sought to provide a "positive" contrast to mainstream nightlife, by emphasizing cultural elements of the SMEDMS, such as love, nonviolence, and anti-racism. Nevertheless, rather than actively championing for legitimacy from society as a whole, clubs seem content to gain only a degree of understanding and tolerance for their culture.

In conclusion, this study indicates that scenes primarily concern themselves with achieving internal legitimacy, which is often mobilized through the mechanisms of **self-production** and **aggregation** under the scope of ***pragmatic legitimacy.*** In terms of ***moral legitimacy***, scenes seek to socialize their guests in order to bring them into the fold and reinforce acceptable behavior, establish standards of performance by which guests evaluate the scenes' actions, and follow procedures that differentiate themselves from the mainstream. In some cases, scenes also seek to mobilize legitimacy by using **co-optation** with actors outside the scene. Within the scene, cognitive legitimacy is again mobilized through **self-production** and **aggregation** to normalize guests to the culture and removing participants that do not contribute to the process of normalization. With regards to external actors, scenes seek to mobilize a certain degree of legitimacy, but only to an extent that does not compromise the values and unique culture that differentiates the scene from mainstream alternatives. The scene requires external legitimacy in order to exist, such as obeying laws and following procedures, but there is little mobilization of legitimacy in order to gain ***comprehensibility*** from society at large and to actively influence external actors toward a complete understanding of the scene;

on the contrary, the scene wishes to preserve its unique culture and the bulk of mobilization efforts is focused only within the scene.

6.2 Contributions

6.2.1 Theoretical contribution

With the above conclusions, the thesis contributes to the goal of gaining additional insight into how and to what extent scenes mobilize legitimacy. The thesis additionally contributes to the main theoretical field of research by filling the proposed research gap, and toward the structural conceptualization of how scenes are organized within society as a whole.

The main theoretical contributions of the thesis are grounded in the literature review and the identified research gap, in which it was established that: 1) traditional, structural social movement theories such as RMT had not yet been applied to the understanding of scenes, and 2) a combination of organizational theory (for the conceptualization of legitimacy) and social movement theory (RMT) would provide deeper structural insights into scenes, especially regarding how they emerge, exist, and perpetuate themselves. Based on this research gap, the thesis' main theoretical contribution lies in its application of both organizational and social movement theory toward a scene, giving these respective fields additional tools for investigating subcultural phenomena; scholars can apply this combinatory approach toward examining social movements, as some scenes have stabilized to become distinguishable social movements (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003). Additionally, the thesis contributes toward a deeper understanding of how legitimacy is mobilized by a less structured social group in a specific location (a scene), as the bulk of academic consideration of legitimacy has focused on larger and more clearly defined organizations.

6.2.2 Practical contribution

The findings of this study can be of interest not only to members of organizations within scenes or larger social movements, but also to those in "structured" organizations. More specifically, we argue that managers of organizations whose ability to grow and generate profits is heavily reliant on certain laws, rules, or regulations, or that exist in an environment where the lines between what is legal and illegal are fuzzy, can benefit from the findings of this thesis. Similar to what the clubs in the SMEDMS have done, we believe that such organizations can benefit from a focus on mobilizing legitimacy from their closest audiences, such as customers or suppliers, thus forming a strong core of supporters. As a number clubs in the SMEDMS suggest that their long term ability to grow and prosper is dependent on a more permissive view of the scene from lawmakers and the government, managers of organizations can put pressure on lawmakers and regulators by using the legitimacy from their core audiences. We suggest the stronger the culture an organization manages to achieve with the core audiences (both inside and outside the organization), and the better they can demonstrate the benefits of their outputs as part of their core audiences' well-being or prosperity, the higher the likelihood that they can influence the laws, rules, or regulations by which they are affected. The sometimes erroneous and often biased views about the SMEDMS, can also be accorded to both for-profit and nonprofit organizations, making it harder for such organizations to grow and prosper. Similar to many of the clubs in the scene, it is possible to achieve a wider understanding and acceptance for values, norms, and behaviors by socializing and educating core audiences, and allowing them to represent and impart the benefits they receive from the outputs of an organization to friends, family, and colleagues. Similarly, we suggest that organizations that are dependent on positive normative evaluations by regulators or lawmakers, can reap great benefits from mobilizing legitimacy in the relationships with their core audience, possibly through a process of socialization, as a first step in achieving change in perceptions about their outputs, as well as the values and norms they embody.

6.3 Limitations

6.3.1 Sample of actors

One of the principal limitations of this thesis lies in the challenge of identifying specific actors within the SMEDMS and gaining access to said actors. As stated in chapter 3, the fact that the scene is unstructured, fluid, and inaccessible, limited our ability to research the entirety of the scene. 35 organizations were conducted for the purpose of fielding interview questions, of which 15 responded positively. While this sample size was adequate for purposive sampling and the subjects were characterized by a variety of musical orientations, it is impossible to say that the empirical findings are a definitive reflection of how all members of the scene mobilize legitimacy. While we were able to ensure a degree of data saturation, it is possible that empirical data gathered from other actors that were not included in our research could have affected the discovery and interpretation of patterns and themes. Additionally, all of the interviews were conducted with male subjects, which while not intentional, was an oversight that does not accurately represent the demographics of the scene. It is possible that a more balanced sample of subjects could have resulted in less uniform patterns and themes.

6.3.2 Resource type investigation

Another principal limitation of this thesis was the focus on only legitimacy as a resource type within RMT. While legitimacy is one of RMT's fundamental moral resources and a significant factor in allowing an organization or social group to gain acceptance and support from the surrounding environment, other moral resources such as authenticity, solidarity, and sympathetic support, could serve as equally important resources to mobilize within a scene (Gillham and Edwards, 2011). However, given the time constraints of this study and the limited theoretical attention given to other moral resources, it was a pragmatic, though limiting, decision to base the study solely on legitimacy within the RMT literature.

6.3.3 Geographic scope

The study was further limited in its relevance and scope by focusing only on the SMEDMS. The inclusion of other geographical areas, even within Sweden, would have provided a more representative view of the dynamics of scenes and possibly indicated characteristics unique to the Stockholm scene in comparison to other cities. Again, given limited time and resources, the decision to focus on Stockholm, while providing a less universal interpretation of scenes, was warranted.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

While this thesis contributes toward a deeper structural understanding of the importance of legitimacy and mechanisms for its mobilization within a scene, the conclusion and mentioned limitations provide directions for further research within the field.

This study represents an initial attempt at combining organizational theory and social movement theory for the purpose of understanding how scenes mobilize a specific resource, as well as providing a more structural perspective for examining how scenes can emerge, exist, and perpetuate. While this is a novel approach when considering scenes, further research could incorporate not only other moral resources, such as authenticity, but also human, cultural, and material resources. It is entirely possible, and probable, that authenticity serves an even stronger role than legitimacy within the SMEDMS, given how much empirical research indicated the importance of perpetuating unique culture and values within the scene.

Further studies could focus on scenes outside of Stockholm, perhaps in other Swedish cities, or even abroad, where similar legislation has prevented the cultivation of nightlife alternatives. Within a Swedish context, the decision to focus on Stockholm has potentially affected the findings. While Stockholm is the commercial and cultural capital, Gothenburg and Malmö have been more prominent in the progressive and protest music

scenes of the 1960s through 1990s, suggesting environments more welcoming to alternative musical creativity and innovation (Eyerman and Jamison, 2006).

Finally, expanding the sample size of participants and applying the same combinatory framework to other scenes would merit further study. This thesis sought empirical data from only one group within the scene: the clubs themselves. Including the guests, DJs, and actors from outside the scene, such as law enforcement and politicians, would provide a much more holistic understanding of resource mobilization and its comprehensive effects on the scene as a whole. Additionally, since focus was only put on the SMEDMS, an investigation of other scenes would provide even more valuable findings when attempting to gain deeper structural insights about scenes.

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8. Appendix

Appendix 1: List of participating clubs

	Club
1.	Aftermath Management
2.	Arkipelan
3.	Botánica
4.	Camp Cosmic
5.	Club Minimal
6.	Docklands
7.	Halloomi
8.	Lighthouse
9.	Love Potion
10	Off Radar
11.	Primal Loopers
12.	Solar Sound
13.	Suicide Club
14.	DEFUNKT
15.	-1991-

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

Interview subject	Interview subject gender	Interview subject age	Interview date	Interview duration	Interview location
1.	Male	26	2016-11-08	56 min	Solna
2.	Male	27	2016-10-20	49 min	Södermalm
3. 4.	Male Male	43 26	2016-10-25	60 min	Södermalm
5.	Male	44	2016-10-27	49 min	City
6.	Male	40	2016-11-05	74 min	Solna
7.	Male	58	2016-11-09	69 min	Gärdet
8. 9.	Male Male	38 30	2016-11-18	61 min	Södermalm
10.	Male	37	2016-11-10	61 min	Farsta
11.	Male	26	2016-10-17	48 min	Solna
12.	Male	27	2016-10-21	50 min	Södermalm
13.	Male	33	2016-11-18	57 min	Sundbyberg
14. 15. 16. 17.	Male Male Male Male	29 25 27 26	2016-10-17	52 min	Södermalm
18.	Male	28	2016-11-24	63 min	Södermalm
19.	Male	29	2016-11-07	75 min	Södermalm
20.	Male	35	2016-11-29	58 min	Södermalm

Appendix 3: Interview guide

<u>Interview Guide</u>

1. **Ordna praktiska detaljer**
   a. Kontaktinformation (namn, ålder, position, kön osv.)
   b. Intervjudetaljer (datum, tid, plats osv.)
   c. Fråga om inspelning av intervjun
   d. Fråga om anonymitet (nämn etiska riktlinjer om det behövs)

2. **Presentera uppsatsen**
   a. **Syftet med uppsatsen:** Det huvudsakliga syftet med uppsatsen är att få en bättre förståelse för hur man inom svartklubbsscenen i Stockholm arbetar med legitimitet, framför allt hur denna mobiliseras och organiseras av scenens aktörer.
   b. **Mer information om uppsatsen:** Uppsatsen är en masteruppsats inom ämnet organisation and management på Handelshögskolan i Stockholm. Uppsatsens fokus är i mångt och mycket baserat på vårt eget privata intresse för svartklubbscenen i Stockholm (vi är själva frekventa besökare).
   c. **Forskningsfråga:** *How is legitimacy mobilized and managed in a subcultural scene?*

Inledande frågor

Längd: 5 min
Mål: Att göra den intervjuade bekväm med situationen och att lära känna denne lite bättre innan vi ställer mer studierelaterade frågor.

1. **Berätta om varför ni valde att börja anordna fester?**
2. **Berätta om din bästa utekväll i Stockholm? (svartklubb/vanlig klubb)**

Allmänt om legitimitet

Längd: 5 min
Mål: Att introducera begreppet legitimitet och ge det en mer vardaglig och förståelig definition. På så vis underlättar vi för den intervjuade att tänka kring legitimitet och hur

denne ser på det i praktiken.

Definition av legitimitet: Legitimitet är uppfattningen (från individer, grupper eller organisationer) att en organisations (eller människas) handlingar är acceptabla eller eftersträvansvärda, givet specifika normer, värderingar och uppfattningar i samhället (eller delar av samhället). T.ex. För att anses som legitima eller accepterade av era gäster måste ni agera på ett speciellt sätt mot dessa (man kan tänka sig det också gäller t.ex. DJs, polisen osv.) Om ni helt plötsligt skulle börja spela bara musik av Rihanna, så skulle ni förmodligen väldigt snabbt förlora er legitimitet från era gäster.

1. **Givet vår definition av begreppet legitimitet, på vilket sätt tror du att det kan vara viktigt att anses som en accepterad aktör inom scenen för er?**
   a. Hur arbetar ni med detta?

Pragmatic legitimacy (exchange, influence, and dispositional)

Längd: 15 min

Mål: Att få en förståelse för hur aktören/personen i fråga arbetar med legitimitet från de individer, grupper och organisationer som finns i den närmaste omgivningen.

1. **Från vem/vilka är det viktigast att anses som en accepterad/legitim aktör?** (t.ex. gäster, DJs, andra klubbar, polisen, lokaluthyrare osv.)
   a. Varför är just dessa viktiga?
   b. Hur arbetar ni med att bli accepterade av dessa? (t.ex. arbeta med DJ-bokningar, öppettider, polisen, kommunikation, marknadsföring osv.)

2. **Vad är det viktigaste med era fester?**
   a. Varför är detta viktigt?
   b. Är det viktigt att aktörerna ovan har samma uppfattning?
   c. Hur arbetar ni för att dessa ska ha samma uppfattning (och värderingar) som er? (t.ex. kan legitimitet öka om festerna är bra och ni bokar bra DJs?)
   d. Hur viktigt är det vad gästerna tycker om era fester?
   e. Arbetar ni på något sätt med feedback från era gäster? Låter ni dem vara med och påverka?
   f. Vill ni att andra aktörer, inte bara gäster, ska kunna vara med och aktivt påverka det ni gör?

Moral legitimacy (consequential, procedural, structural, and personal)

Längd: 15 min

Mål: Att få en förståelse för huruvida man inom scenen arbetar för att uppvisa en image som stämmer överens med de värderingar, normer och uppfattningar som finns i omgivningen.

1. **Givet den uppfattning som de närmaste aktörerna runt omkring er har om er, bryr ni er om hur människor i allmänhet uppfattar er?**
   a. Varför? På vilket sätt?
   b. Arbetar ni aktivt med att förändra uppfattningen om er och/eller scenen i stort? (långa nätter och droger osv.)
   c. Hur arbetar ni med detta? (t.ex. samarbeten med andra klubbar inom scenen, DJs, skivbolag osv.)

2. **Hur skulle du beskriva en riktigt bra kväll på en av era fester?**
   a. Vad är viktigt för er? (mycket pengar? många gäster? när kvällen slutar? mycket dans?)
   b. Vad utgår ni ifrån när ni planerar en fest: era egna preferenser eller vad ni tror att era gäster uppskattar? (DJ-bokningar osv.)
   c. Arbetar ni med att förbättra er? I sådana fall, hur?
   d. Arbetar ni med att saker som man förväntar sig ska finnas en "vanlig klubb" också finns hos er? (alkohol, ordningsvakter, cash/card, osv.)
   e. Uppfattar ni någon form av konkurrens från "vanliga klubbar"?

Cognitive legitimacy (comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness)

Längd: 15 min

Mål: Att få en förståelse för hur aktörer inom scenen arbetar för att informera om verksamheten och på så vis skapa en förståelse för varför man håller på med det man gör.

1. **Om vi ska återvända lite till den uppfattning som andra människor**

har om er, arbetar ni på något sätt aktivt för att dessa ska förstå vad ni gör?

    a. Arbetar ni med att få dem att förstå varför ni gör det ni gör?

    b. Hur arbetar ni med informationsgivning? (Facebook, mail, hemsida osv.)

    c. Vilken typ av information använder ni er av?

2. **Hur ser ni på er roll inom scenen?**

    a. Är det viktigt för er att stå inom scenen? (att differentiera sig)

    b. Arbetar ni för att anses som ett självklart alternativ inom scenen?

    c. Vad tror du att era gäster förväntar sig av er?

    d. Är "undergroundness" något som är viktigt för er?

    e. Tror du att "undergroundness" beror på vad ni gör eller vad scenen som helhet håller på med?

    f. Vad tror du är viktigt för att anses som "underground"? (DJs, lokal, Berlin-koppling, öppettider osv.)

    g. Hur resonerar ni när ni bokar DJs?

    h. Hur viktiga är era relationer med DJs?

    i. Hur ser dessa relationer ut för er?

3. **Hur ser du på förutsägbarhet när det gäller era fester?**

    a. Försöker ni hålla fester med en viss frekvens?

    b. Hur ofta kommunicerar ni med era gäster? Varför?

    c. Hur hittar ni de lokaler som ni håller era fester i?

    d. Försöker ni hålla er till samma lokaler eller vill ni "flytta runt"?

    e. Vill ni skapa en uppfattning om att ni kommer finnas i framtiden? På vilket sätt?

Avslutning

Längd: 5 min
Mål: Att fånga upp potentiella avslutande reflektioner och intryck från den intervjuade samt att avsluta intervjun med en positiv stämning.

1. **Har du något mer som du vill lägga till?**
2. **Har du några frågor till oss?**