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Master Degree Project in Marketing and Consumption

**Who Am I, or Pro-Am I?:
Developing a Practice-Based Segmentation Model**

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Abstract: Segmentation has been a dominant tool of traditional marketing theory to understand consumer behavior. However, contemporary segmentation models are highly focused on the individual consumer and who they are in terms of demographics, psychographics and behavior, instead of what they do. Accordingly, this research aims to conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical lens by moving the focus to how and why activities are carried out by individuals. Through an ethnographic study, generating empirical material from interviews and observations, we explore and illustrate how a segmentation model, i.e. the Practice Portfolio, can be empirically developed. Having music production as the exemplifying social practice, we examine the opportunities of segmenting markets after the embodied elements of practices; understandings and teleoaffective structures. Our findings demonstrate how understandings of a social practice range from a low to a high degree, i.e. from an Amateur (Am) level to a Professional (Pro) level. Combined with the teleoaffective structure, varying from being self-oriented (Am) to commercially oriented (Pro), four possible combinations, thus segments, emerge; the Pro, the Am, the Pro-Am and the Am-Pro. These four generalizations of segments and sub-practices within social practices result in the Practice Portfolio.

Keywords: segmentation • practice theory • practice-based segmentation • the Practice Portfolio • music production

Introduction

Market segmentation has been a key concept within marketing strategy and still is a strategic tool that organizations, no matter sector or industry, apply in their decision-making (Weinstein, 2004; Wedel & Kamakura, 2012). Some of the more renowned traditional segmentation models are Plummer's (1974) concept of lifestyle segmentation, Haley's (1968) concept of benefit segmentation and Kotler's STP formula (segmentation, targeting and positioning) (Kotler & Keller, 2012). However, more contemporary segmentation theorists exist too, as Cova and Cova (2002: 2) introduced the concept of tribal marketing in opposition to traditional segmentation,

where focus shifts from consumers' interest in the consumed objects to "*the social links and identities that come with them*". Evidently, the individual remains as the main unit of analysis within both traditional and contemporary segmentation. However, this paper aims to advance the concept of market segmentation by applying practice theory and consequently focus on what consumers do, rather than are.

Practice theory has developed the perspective of social phenomena by focusing on the activity, rather than market forces or individuals (Giddens, 1984). Accordingly, the practice becomes the unit of analysis and

individuals become carriers of the activities they reproduce (Reckwitz, 2002). Consequently, human behavior is understood within the framework of the practice (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). Moreover, recent approaches to practice theory have de-emphasized the individual in an attempt to objectively understand social phenomena and foremost consumptive patterns (Shove et al., 2012). However, Schatzki (2005) uplifts the individual within practices by adding the element of teleoaffective structures, i.e. goals and emotive aspirations (Molander & Hartmann, 2018), together with understandings and rules to compose practices. Thus, Schatzki's (2005) conceptualization of practice theory allows for de-emphasizing the individual, while still accounting for emotions, which is important to enable a categorization of consumers as individuals carrying a practice.

By moving the focus from individuals to the practices they carry out, possibilities of cross-fertilizing segmentation with practice theory emerge. This has previously been done by Holttinen (2010), proposing value creation of practices when targeting fragmented customers, and Rihova et al. (2014), concerning co-creation in-between customers. However, we argue that segmentation can be enabled by looking at the various ways an activity is carried out and extract it into sub-practices. Schatzki's (1996; 2001; 2002; 2005) practice theory approach here acts as our enabling lens to understand consumer behavior within social practices. Thus, focusing on how and why consumers reproduce a practice allows a holistic segmentation penetrating individuals deeper as it incorporates individuals' emotions and motivations, which we exemplify with the practice of music production.

Hence, the purpose of this paper is to conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach. By using practice

theory as an enabling lens, we explore and illustrate the opportunities of a practice-based segmentation model. Therefore, we aim to empirically develop a model, which we call the Practice Portfolio, by deploying social practices into segments and sub-practices. This intends to provide an accessible and applicable tool for a wide area of stakeholders, and especially managers, to utilize.

This paper is structured as follows. First, we establish a theoretical framework as we present Schatzki's (2005) perspective of social practices together with segmentation theory to set the framework for the Practice Portfolio. Thereafter, we introduce the qualitative approach and how the empirical material was generated by conducting semi-structured interviews and observations. Furthermore, in the analysis, the Practice Portfolio is displayed and empirically developed through the extensive data collection of understandings and teleoaffective structures of music production. Lastly, we present the segments of the Practice Portfolio highlighting the main findings followed by a concluding discussion including theoretical contributions, managerial implications and directions for future research.

Towards a practice-based segmentation model

This paper aims to empirically build a segmentation model, i.e. the Practice Portfolio. Traditional segmentation models have focused on characteristics of individuals, such as demographic, psychographic and behavioral characteristics (Kotler & Keller, 2012; Plummer, 1974; Haley; 1968). More contemporary segmentation by Cova and Cova (2002) emphasized tribal marketing, focusing on communities rather than parameters as demographics.

However, with a social practice approach to segmentation, the focus is moved from solely looking at the individual to putting more focus on the practice as such, i.e. the activity carried out, while still accounting for the individual. Hence, keeping the main idea with segmentation intact, i.e. what Smith (1956) refers to as tackling consumer heterogeneity by grouping customers with similar characteristics together, allowing efficient resource allocation based on homogeneous segments.

To approach segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach requires a larger focus on the practice and the carrier of it, and therefore in the following sections, we conceptualize practice theory into a segmenting tool.

The contours of practice theory

Social phenomena have for long been attempted to be explained through a lens of practice theory (Hui et al., 2015), first coined by Ortner (1984). Practice theory builds on fundamental works of social theorists such as Giddens (1984: 2) claiming that structures are “*neither the experiences of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but social practices ordered across space and time*”. Hence, practices emerge as the characteristics of them are not due to human choice, nor dependent on market structure (Giddens, 1984). On a similar note, Bourdieu (1977; 1990) explains how human behavior is enacted within a framework, i.e. *habitus*, forming shared norms and rules of carrying a practice. This *habitus* produces actions joint with meanings that upholds the practice (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). Hence, according to practice theory, human behavior is understood not from the perspective of the individual nor the market per se, but the organization of activities carried out by individuals.

From this social theoretical approach, we understand *practices* as “*recognizable entities, [that] are made by and through their routine reproduction*” (Shove & Pantzar, 2005: 44). Similarly, Reckwitz (2002: 249) defines practices as “*a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use [...]*”. Consequently, the practice itself becomes the unit of analysis where individuals merely are seen as carriers of practices (Reckwitz, 2002).

However, as practices can be understood as units of analysis, and individuals as carriers, fragmentation exists in how to conceptualize the elements of a practice. As “*theorists [...] are divided about the phenomenon that the term [practice] designates*”, no unified definition or approach to what a practice is exists (Schatzki, 2002: 71). Practice theory has been used differently within the domain of consumer research and generally two conceptualizations have evolved over the last decades (Molander & Hartmann, 2018), why a further clarification of, and a distinction between, the two is needed.

The two strands of practice theory

On one hand, researchers such as Magaudda (2011), Arsel and Bean (2012) and Hui (2012) have adopted the conceptualization developed by Shove and Pantzar (2005) and Shove et al. (2012) in consumer research. This conceptualization emphasizes “*the notion that practices involve the active integration of materials, meanings and forms of competence*” (Shove & Pantzar, 2005: 45). In this first strand of practice theory, Shove et al. (2012) present that *material* regards tools, hardware, the body itself, objects, technology and such, used in a practice. Meanwhile, *competence* regards understandings, background knowledge and know-how required to carry out a practice, and *meaning* regards the symbolic and social importance of

practice participation (Shove et al., 2012). In this view, the link between what people do and which emotions and feelings that evoke is vague, and rather the main analytical focus is moved to the practice itself. This conceptualization of practice theory has its advantages when studying social phenomena due to its high degree of de-emphasis of individuals allowing a more objective analysis (Shove et al., 2012). However, we aim at discovering the phenomenon of segmentation with the intuition that individuals' emotions are important for, and part of, practices (Molander & Hartmann, 2018). Therefore, this perspective of practices is less suited for the purpose of this study.

On the other hand, a second approach to practice theory within consumer research has emerged, as developed by Schatzki (1996; 2001; 2002; 2005) and adopted by researchers such as Welch (2017) and Molander and Hartmann (2018). Accordingly, rather than de-emphasizing the individual, this conceptualization puts more focus on individuals' emotions and feelings (Schatzki, 2005). This is a more suitable theoretical conceptualization in relation to the purpose of this study where emotions and feelings play a crucial role and to enable a categorization of consumers as individuals carrying a practice. Instead of conceptualizing practices as involving the active integration of material, competence and meaning, this approach organizes the practice template as an arrangement of understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure (Schatzki, 2005). From here on, we understand social practices from this perspective, as presented below.

Applying Schatzki's conceptualization of practice theory

Schatzki (2005) turns to the concept of 'site ontologies', i.e. analyzing social phenomena through its context. The context being the non-spatial sites where social practices and

material arrangements mesh, i.e. a nexus of activities, meanings and artefacts (Schatzki, 2005). Again, as Reckwitz (2002) proposes, the individual is merely a carrier of the practice reproducing its elements. However, according to Schatzki (2005), the individual is not fully de-emphasized as Shove et al. (2012) suggest. Therefore, to focus on the context implies that a comprehension of understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure, including emotive aspects, as Schatzki (2005: 471) conceptualizes, is applied:

"[A]ny practice is an organized, open-ended spatial-temporal manifold of actions. The set of actions that composes a practice is organized by three phenomena: understandings of how to do things, rules, and teleoaffective structure. By rules I mean explicit formulations that prescribe, require, or instruct that such and such be done, said, or the case; a teleoaffective structure is an array of ends, projects, uses (of things), and even emotions that are acceptable or prescribed for participants in the practice."

Hence, a practice is the organization of elements that transcends any physical location. A practice is the nexus of these three phenomena joint with material arrangements (Schatzki, 2005). To exemplify, any social practice whether it is painting, playing football or fishing can be carried out in different settings. However, what is important is the non-spatial activity, i.e. the elements of a practice and its material arrangements. This means that certain understandings can be needed to paint on a canvas, such as knowing what brush or paint to use. Rules of playing football relate to explicit ones such as offside or the size of the pitch as well as more implicit ones as playing fair. Moreover, the teleoaffective structure of fishing could be purposes such as having the goal of catching a certain fish and the emotive aspiration of peace of mind when fishing. Lastly, material arrangements are needed to

carry out a practice, whether it is a canvas, a football or a boat. All of these elements are arranged within social practices in million different ways depending on the specific practice and its certain composition of elements.

To approach segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach requires a larger focus on the practice and the carrier of it. Therefore, we emphasize the embodied elements, i.e. the mental properties of a practice consisting of understandings and a teleoaffective structure (Hartmann, 2013). This means that understandings and the teleoaffective structure become main leads to categorize consumers as individuals carrying out a practice. Material arrangements and rules become more tacit within a practice-based segmentation approach due to their lacking possibility of categorizing individuals. However, we stress that material arrangements and rules are still, to a large extent, present to fully illustrate the specific practice that certain segments devote themselves to.

On to here, we conclude that in order to conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical lens we need to focus on the embodied elements of social practices. Therefore, our focus will furthermore be emphasized on understandings and teleoaffective structures to categorize social practices into segments and sub-practices. From here on, we will use music production as the social practice illustrating this conceptualization.

Music production as a social practice

We use music production as the exemplifying social practice in this paper to conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach. Mainly, because it is a practice that accounts for different goals and emotions, and incorporates emotive aspirations for the carrier, i.e. the teleoaffective structure. Also,

the different levels of understandings are evident, as the practice can be carried out in many different ways, at many different levels competence-wise. In addition, the material arrangements are crucial for music production, as instruments and similar kind of equipment are required for the practice to be carried out. This makes music production a suitable social practice to explore, which will allow us to use our conceptualization of Schatzki's (2005) approach to practice theory. Although, as music production might be considered a creative social practice, this might have implications for the Practice Portfolio to be more applicable for that specific kind of practices. However, we aim for our segmentation model to be applicable to all social practices.

Earlier studies by Regelski (2006) emphasize that the practice of music production is an activity of *doing* music instead of being a mean to *say* something or to be *understood*. It is argued that producing music is not merely about *sounds*, but the meaning relates to how sounds are *used* in social practices (Regelski, 2006), as "*music's significance/meaning is formed by the way people experience music in its socio-economic context*" (Edström, 1997: 62). Similarly, we argue that focusing on the *doing* of producing music is needed when conceptualizing what Schatzki (2005) defines as know-how and skills, i.e. understandings. Meanwhile, how sounds are used in social practices will be examined as a lens to understand music production as a mean to achieve, what Schatzki (2005) refers to as certain acceptable ends or emotions, i.e. the teleoaffective structure. These two parts make up the embodied elements that are prominent to the nature of producing music.

Developing the Practice Portfolio

To develop a model requires that we deconstruct practice theory into segmentation. To do this we apply Schatzki's (2005) elements to construct the practice of

music production and thereafter show how it fits into a segmentation model. Furthermore, the two components of understandings and teleoaffective structure are applied as separate continuums within the Practice Portfolio. Therefore, we below conceptualize these continuums to enable a categorization to form segments and sub-practices.

To comprehensively categorize understandings, we separate theoretical from practical understandings. However, Schatzki (2013) makes a distinction between practical and general understandings. Although, we choose to exclude general understandings, defined as abstract senses (Schatzki, 2013), to enable a categorization of more complementary and concrete aspects of understandings. Accordingly, we choose to adopt his definition of practical understandings, which refers to "*knowing how to carry out desired actions through basic doings and sayings*" (Schatzki, 2013: 16). Moreover, to fully explain the concept of understandings in a comprehensive way, we utilize theoretical understandings as the opposite to practical understandings (Bourdieu, 1973). With Ryle's (2000) notion of theoretical understandings in mind, we interpret theoretical understandings as knowledge that derives from theoretical and empirical referents and that is generated from e.g. reading a book. In this sense, practical understandings regard the knowledge of how to practically carrying out a practice and stems from performing that specific practice. Meanwhile, theoretical understandings regard the knowledge of how to hypothetically carry out a practice, arising from educative moments.

Moreover, one needs to scrutinize how different levels of understandings open up for different ways to carry out a practice. Therefore, a distinction can be made by examining if the prescribed theoretical and practical understandings are relatively high

or low to reproduce a practice. For instance, composing classical music might require a higher understanding than one playing around with a guitar. Hence, this enables a possibility to categorize practices into segments, and sub-practices, depending on the relative understandings needed to reproduce it.

On the other hand, to categorize teleoaffective structures, i.e. goals and emotive aspirations (Hartmann & Molander, 2018), is not dependent on high or low ambitions in the same sense as understandings. This is the purpose to reproduce a practice (Schatzki, 2005) and therefore more concerned about values within individuals that are more difficult to observe. Therefore, to disentangle categories, we take inspiration from Hirschman's (1983) model of orientations for creativity focusing on three different levels of objectives and audiences a performer of an activity wants to achieve.

Accordingly, goals vary from being self-oriented, with self-expression as the primary objective and producing for the self as audience, to being commercially oriented, with monetary income as primary objective and producing for the public-at-large as audience (Hirschman, 1983). In-between there is the peer-oriented, producing for peers and industry professionals to gain their recognition and acclaim (Hirschman, 1983). These three orientations enable a link between goals and emotions of social practices to a segmentation of teleoaffective structures. However, we choose to emphasize on Hirschman's (1983) two extremes, i.e. the self-oriented and commercially oriented, to form the continuum of a teleoaffective structure within the Practice Portfolio.

Hence, we argue that the embodied elements constructing music production practices are organized by (1) understandings of melodies,

notes, cultural phenomena, use of instruments¹, hardware², software³, plug-ins⁴ and music machines⁵ (see Image 1), which can be theoretical as well as practical; and (2) a teleoaffective structure of goals and emotions as self-fulfillment, having fun, learning, acceptance among peers, commercial success and streaming numbers, which is characterized by the primary objective with music production and the audience that the producer primary targets.

Thus, we apply Schatzki's (2005) conceptualization of social practices and focus on the embodied elements of practices to enable a segmentation model. Furthermore, music production illustrates how social practices through generalizations of understandings, ranging from low to high, and teleoaffective structures, varying from self-oriented to commercially oriented, can be categorized into segments and sub-practices.

Methodology

Ethnographic fieldwork

The goal of the study is to conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach. This is made possible by constructing a model enabling social practices to be categorized into independently distinctive, yet interrelated, segments. The model, i.e. the Practice Portfolio, was empirically developed through an ethnographic study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) of the social practice of music production. We deemed producing music to be an adequate research field methodologically as it enabled us to approach our purpose and as it is an activity a lot of people engage in and can relate to.

We conducted semi-structured interviews and made observations in the music production realm. Accordingly, it is important to stress that practices are not understood by



Image 1. A digital synthesizer, one type of a music machine

¹ Instruments: including not only traditional and classical ones such as guitars, drums and piano, but also MIDI controllers (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) such as drum machines, keyboards and performance controllers.

² Hardware: physical products and equipment required in order to produce music, e.g. laptops, speakers, headphones, monitors, microphones, and DJ equipment.

³ Software: digital programs used in a computer to compose, create, mix or master music, often referred to as Digital Audio Workstation (DAW).

⁴ Plug-ins: digital programs that are used inside a DAW to provide additional functionality, often referred to as Virtual Studio Technology (VST).

⁵ Music machine: physical music production instrument (see Image 1).

focusing exclusively on the individual since that person is merely a carrier of them (Reckwitz, 2002). Nevertheless, as we take account of the emotions of the carrier within practices (Schatzki, 2005), i.e. the individual per se, a big focus is put on conducting interviews with the carrier. Therefore, observations become our supplementary tool as practices cannot fully be understood by solely looking at the individual (Hargreaves, 2011).

Interviews with music producers

Getting in contact with interview objects was partly made possible through the international company Elektron, a well-known producer and retailer of electronic music machines, connecting us with their customers. Besides this aid, we used our own personal connections on the music platform Soundcloud as well as friends and we also randomly contacted studios in the Gothenburg area to gather the empirical material. This resulted in a wide variety of respondents. On one hand, professionals such as a Swedish Grammy nominated musician, a music producer with ten years' experience from New York-based studios and an owner of an international record label. In total, these professionals have accumulated above 26 million streams on Spotify, varying from 2,000 to 401,000 unique listeners per month (as of March 2018). On the other side of the spectra, we have had interviewees producing music on their laptop for fun, a beat producer for underground hip-hop artists and people with their own hobby studio at home.

This resulted in an empirical material based upon ten interviews, listed in Table 1, each spanning from approximately 30 to 80 minutes, averaging 43 minutes, that were transcribed into almost 90 pages of transcripts. The interviewees were mainly based in Gothenburg, Sweden, but also in Spain, Italy and Norway. To be a respondent only one criterion needed to be fulfilled of

having produced music, whether it meant opening a music production software once or having an own studio. The data gathering needed to be broad to enable a categorization of all different types of music production. This meant that we put no focus on respondents having a specific age, gender, nationality or similar individualistic traits. Instead, the focal point was put on gaining rich insights of different ways of carrying out a specific social practice, in this case music production.

Table 1. Table of respondents: Interviews

#	Pseudonym	Role in the practice of music production
1	Franck	Part-time musician and part-time music teacher at university level
2	Victor	Hobby musician producing music using software
3	Mats	Studio owner and studio consultant, leads courses within music production
4	Alexander	Hobby musician producing hip-hop beats using software
5	Francesco	Internationally touring artist
6	Miguel	Record label owner and professional music producer
7	Ludwig	Part-time musician in a band and hobby music producer
8	Emil	Hobby musician using music machines and software
9	Ulf	Studio owner and mix engineer
10	Magnus	Hobby musician producing music in a home studio

In addition, we followed the company Elektron to attend the three-day fair Superbooth 2018 in Berlin, Germany. The fair is viewed upon as Europe's leading electronic instrument conference where companies, DJs and music producers mesh (Smith, 2017). There, we conducted informal talks with above twenty company representatives,



Image 2. Simple MIDI keyboard connected to iPad exhibited in the workshop for novice music producers.

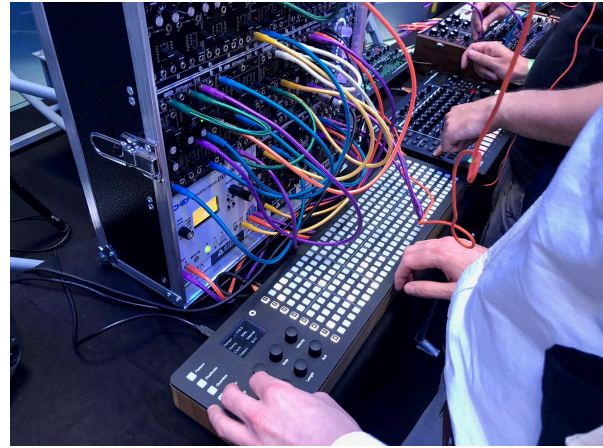


Image 3. Advanced synthesizer exhibited in the workshop for experienced music producers.

varying from marketers to sound engineers, and visiting musicians, ranging from beginners to professional ones. These conversations followed the same structure and touched upon the same questions as our semi-structured interviews but was not recorded and lasted approximately 10 to 25 minutes.

Observing the social practice of music production

Furthermore, we made observations since one of our focal points is to understand a social practice as an activity and independent entity of analysis (Hargreaves, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). These observations were foremost conducted during our interviews and informal talks with music producers, where the practice was visually illustrated, due to its complexity to verbally demonstrate its multifaceted nature. Empirical material was generated by writing logbooks of our experiences as well as taking photographs. This enabled us to observe how different setups of e.g. instruments, hardware, software, plug-ins and music machines could be used to arrange elements differently within a social practice.

Additional observations were made during our visit to the fair Superbooth 2018. During the fair, we attended workshops, where

music production devices for both novice (see Image 2) and experienced music producers (see Image 3) were exhibited, to find substantial discrepancies of different ways of carrying out a practice. The workshops included presentations of different software and music machines as well as opportunities to test them yourself. In addition, we made observations of live music production sessions in booths, as well as on stage, to understand how elements can be arranged in different manners within specific sub-practices.

Analyzing the empirical material

To empirically build the Practice Portfolio, we needed to structure the empirical material within an interpretive framework, i.e. our theoretical perspective guiding our interpretation (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). Hence, to extract the segments, two components of our interpretive framework were used. The first one is referred to as understandings and relates to the terms know-how, skills and competences needed to carry out a practice (Schatzki, 2005; Shove et al., 2012; Arsel & Bean, 2012; Magaudo, 2011). Meanwhile, the second component refers to the teleoaffective structure (Schatzki, 1996; 2001; 2002; 2005; Hartmann, 2016) and relates to the terms of goals and emotive aspirations (Molander &

Hartmann, 2018). All interviews conducted followed this thematic structure by having a few set questions, i.e. an interview guide, on each component and then talking more informally around them. Questions to understandings related to the respondents' musical background and process when producing music, whereas the questions of the teleoaffective structure touched upon objectives and purposes needed to reproduce the practice. Thus, our interpretive framework allowed us to assess insights to categorize and construct the empirical material into the Practice Portfolio.

Transcripts from interviews together with logbooks and photographs from observations were coded based on our interpretive framework, with an analysis structure inspired by Holt (1998). However, when assessing a practice's understandings, theoretical as well as practical, and teleoaffective structure, including primary audience and objectives, this was done based on our interpretation of that specific sub-practice, in relation to other similar sub-practices. Consequently, we used the coded empirical material to explore similarities and differences (Alasuutari, 1995) to form the segments. Thereafter, we plotted each interviewee in the Practice Portfolio to make sure all areas were covered and that the different categories were saturated enough to illustrate them as sole sub-practices. As Holt (1998) separates individuals, making them

belong to either a group characterized by high or low cultural capital, we separate sub-practices, making them distinctively independent, yet interrelated, segments by holding a combination of understandings and teleoaffective structure other segments cannot possess.

To summarize, we conceptualize segmentation from a practice-theoretical approach through an ethnographic study by having conducted semi-structured interviews and observations to generate our empirical material. Our interpretive framework of understandings and teleoaffective structures is the foundation to assess the empirical material into the Practice Portfolio. The components of the Practice Portfolio will in the analysis be structured through thick descriptions and intel to portray our findings.

Empirically building the Practice Portfolio

We develop the Practice Portfolio based on our theoretical foundation and the empirical material we have generated. Building on Schatzki (2005), social practices can be split into two categories of embodied elements; understandings and teleoaffective structures. These are applied in our practice-based segmentation approach and constitute the two continuums of the Practice Portfolio, as illustrated in Figure 1.

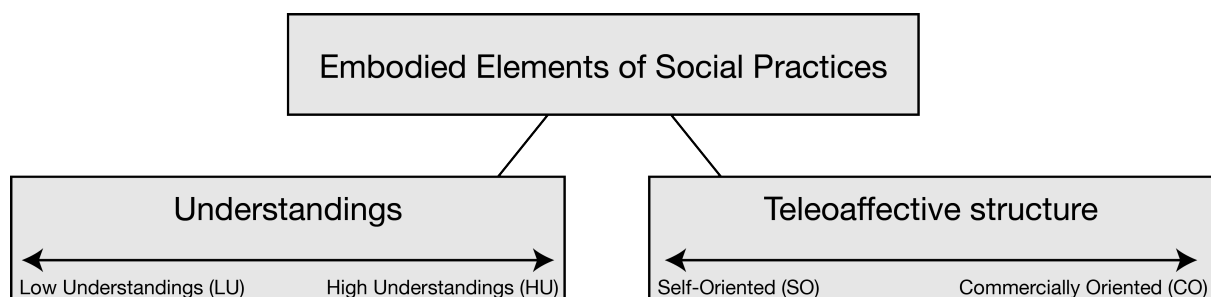


Figure 1. The components of a practice-based segmentation approach

Accordingly, there are two types of understandings; theoretical understandings and practical understandings. These are assessed into a total value on the continuum of understandings within the Practice Portfolio, ranging from low to high. In this sense, a practice can be characterized by having either *Low Understandings (LU)* or *High Understandings (HU)*.

Regarding teleoaffective structures, the practice is carried out for different objectives and audiences. Thus, to categorize the teleoaffective structure implies finding the most prominent objective and audience. These are combined to assess how much of a *Self-oriented (SO)* or *Commercially Oriented (CO)* teleoaffective structure a practice is characterized by on the continuum within the Practice Portfolio.

We develop the Practice Portfolio (see Figure 2) by enabling social practices to be categorized into independently distinctive, yet interrelated, segments. Moreover, we label these segments after inspiration from Leadbeater and Miller's (2004: 20) term *Pro-Am* referring to a person who "pursues an activity as an amateur, mainly for the love of it, but sets a professional standard". Accordingly, a practice can either have a high or low degree of understandings, i.e. a Professional (Pro) level of understandings or an Amateur (Am) level of understandings. Regarding teleoaffective structures, these could be either commercially oriented or self-oriented, i.e. willingness to be or become a Pro or willingness to be or become an Am. This enables four different combinations of understandings/teleoaffective structure; Pro/Pro, Am/Am, Pro/Am and Am/Pro. The two first are, for usability and readability

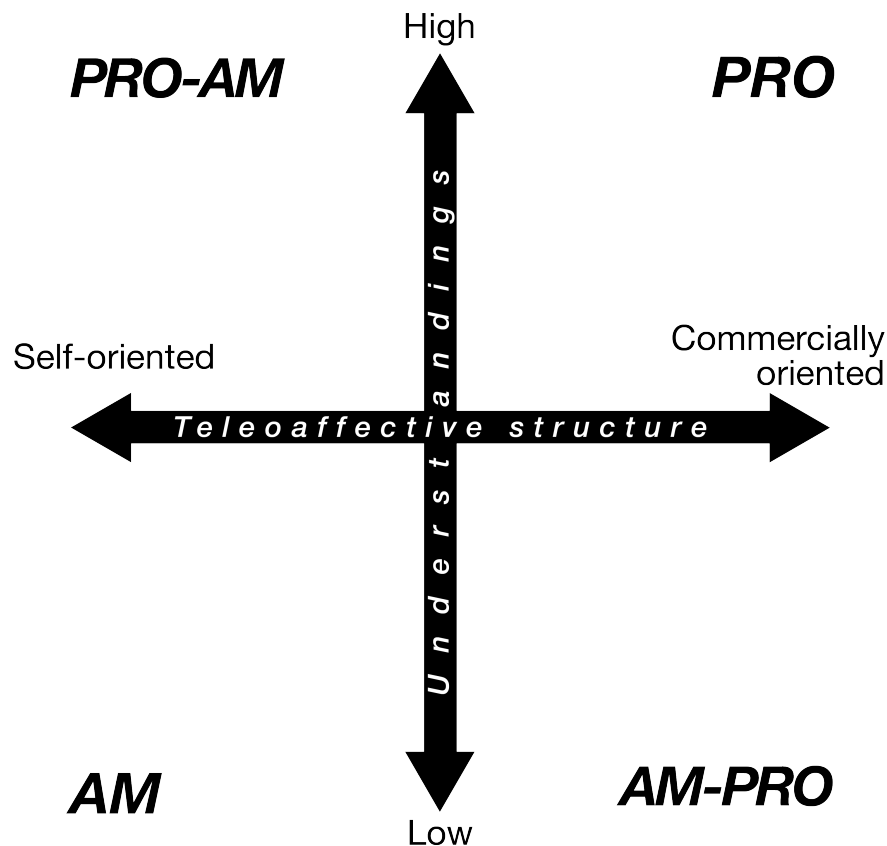


Figure 2. The Practice Portfolio

reasons, simplified into the terms Pro and Am, making four final segments the foundation of the Practice Portfolio; the Pro, the Am, the Pro-Am and the Am-Pro. These extremes are composed of the outlying positions on each continuum, meaning that these four concepts become generalizations of sub-practices in an infinite possible amount of combinations within the Practice Portfolio.

Above, we present the approach of our analysis as well as the result of our findings, i.e. the Practice Portfolio. In the following sections, we present the underlying empirical material from which the model is developed, meaning that both continuums of the model will be explained and exemplified through the social practice of producing music. Hence, we start with understandings, followed by teleoaffective structures and lastly, we exhibit the segments of the Practice Portfolio.

Low understandings versus high understandings

The first categorization of practices is made possible by focusing on the prescribed understandings needed to reproduce a certain practice, i.e. the know-how and skills (Schatzki, 2005). The understandings of things in a practice relate to using material arrangements, i.e. different objects, by applying one's competence to achieve certain ends (Schatzki, 2005). For social practices, this means that conducting certain sub-practices requires a specific level of understandings. Therefore, we categorize understandings into being low or high and describe it by applying two separate components of understandings to reproduce a practice, i.e. theoretical and practical understandings.

Starting with theoretical understandings, these relate to having a formal theoretical education to reproduce a practice. Within

music production, theoretical understandings relate to understanding music theory, which could imply having degrees from a university or attending music schools, meaning that one can, for example, understand notes, composition or scales. Even though music production today is heavily influenced by technology, music theory is still a foundation underbuilding software and music machines.

The second component, being the practical understandings, does not relate to any formal theoretical education or knowledge of how to theoretically carry out the practice. Instead, practical know-how foremost relates to experience and muscle memory as well as talent and creativity. For music production, this refers to how one can use instruments, both traditional and more contemporary digital instruments, to master rhythm. These are natural instincts that provide the participant of the practice with more tacit features such as having ears for what sounds good and a sense of being musical.

Low Understandings (LU)

Starting with LUs, these are organized around a low degree of theoretical understandings and formal education. Instead, the LUs often de-emphasizes the need of a high theoretical understanding as the quotations below demonstrate:

Interviewer: How do you perceive your skills and know-how within music production in relation to the industry?

Francesco (LU): [...] I never studied music production. There are people that go to super expensive and famous production schools and they know really everything about all the synthesizers and all the processing, plug-ins, compression, reverb, all that stuff. But yeah, I feel like there is a lot that I can still improve and learn. [...] I'm self-learned, like a lot of other producers are. There are so much stuff and resources you can find on the Internet, even for free.

So, it's not really necessary to go to music school or production school. But definitely, if you go to one, that gives you a big advantage on the other people that don't. Even though I still think that there are people that go to these super expensive production schools, but they still lack the creativity or the ambition or, I don't know, it's more.... I think creativity and talent is still number one for me – as the most important thing, but of course, the technical side is super important as well.

Interviewer: What's your musical background?

Alexander (LU): I tried to play some instrument as a child. Nothing that intrigued me, played the saxophone a few years... then I quit. Since then I have only produced music on my computer, that intrigued me more. It was more fun to produce music rather than playing music that had already been created.

Interviewer: How do you collect know-how for your software [to produce music]?

Alexander (LU): I watch a lot of YouTube, that's really good I think. Don't attend any courses. Very much self-learned also.

These expressions illustrate how participants of a social practice do not necessarily have to be concerned with theoretical knowledge, but rather the carrier can learn and develop understandings in less theoretical ways. As producing music highlights, although having a low theoretical understanding, the LU does not necessarily see it as a problem. Instead of adjusting themselves to the traditional ways of producing after music theory, they form their own ways, implying that not knowing how to play any instrument is not considered as limiting their ability to produce music. As a consequence, several LUs claim to be self-learned, mastering their trade by emulating or becoming inspired by others.

Concerning the practical understandings, the LU is characterized by not fully understanding the practical way of carrying out the specific sub-practice. Instead, the LU is most often considered to be a novice, which implies that the amount of possible outcomes an LU can achieve is significantly lower:

Interviewer: What programs do you use in your computer?

Alexander (LU): FL Studio⁶ is the only thing I use. Then there are plug-ins in that program...

Interviewer: What plug-ins do you use?

Alexander (LU): Synths, things I put in the mix, like EQs and those basic stuff that are included when you get the [software] program. [...] I have drum-kits as it's called, which is drums and snares and those stuff that I use, sounds straight off that I use in the songs. I do melodies by using the MIDI keyboard (see Image 4) I have and then I make a cool melody of it with a synthesizer.

Interviewer: How long time does it take to produce a beat?

Alexander (LU): When I start with a beat then I can make one in ten minutes, it's later on when I put things out and change certain items in the beat that takes longer time. Melody and drums, that is what is needed in a trap beat⁷, it really doesn't take a long time and I know people who make a beat in five minutes, that's really crazy so I think that also made me continue with it since it can be made that fast. That you don't need to sit and work with one song forever, but that you finish with it and it sounds decent quickly.

Moreover, one of the LUs explained the process of developing practical understandings as similar to the process of becoming good at a specific computer game:

⁶ FL Studio: a Digital Audio Workstation (DAW), i.e. music production software, that is suitable for new music producers to learn.

⁷ Trap beat: popular hip-hop genre developed in Southern United States.



Image 4. A MIDI Keyboard connected to a laptop.

Interviewer: What does the process look like when you produce music?

Magnus (LU): The thing is that the more you work, the more routine you get and the more creative you get as well. Because creativity is everything and that you are resilient, because in the beginning it's hell since you just have to do the work and learn. You don't understand how to make things happen. Then it becomes that you try to find a way to get through. For me, I work a lot with melodies, because that's my strength. I am good at composing melodies. When you find a nice melody, that's where it all starts, then you have free hands to do what you want. So that's where I start. [...] Learning the software is like learning playing Tibia [a computer game]. It is a software that you have to learn different parts in. You should learn how to become fast in it.

As illustrated above, the LU is characterized by having a low degree of practical experience which limits the possibilities of carrying out the practice in various ways. This demonstrates how a lack of either routine, muscle memory, talent or creativity decreases the frame of enactment for the LU within the social practice. As our case of music production exemplifies, being dependent to only one interface, i.e. one music machine, one

production software or one instrument, limits the varieties of ways to produce music. This because practical understandings often are interface-specific, which makes it harder to translate that specific knowledge practically to another different interface. Gaining practical understandings often implies playing around with interfaces with lower entry barriers, such as music production software.

High Understandings (HU)

On the other hand, HUs are often characterized by high theoretical understandings, which is a result of formal theoretical education within the social practice. In this sense, a larger focus is put upon the traditional format of how the practice is reproduced. The traditional format implies that there are certain rights and wrongs, in terms of how to carry out the practice. However, it is important to stress that an HU does not reject other ways of reproducing the practice, but as exhibited below, one needs to know the rules in order to break them:

Interviewer: What do you strive for [when producing music]?

Ulf (HU): Well, yes, the symmetry. [...] If it is an exception you can hear a mix where it, for two seconds, sounds that they have done something wrong. Then suddenly I realize that it is genius! Because they have broken the rules on purpose. That's not someone who just doesn't understand the rules, but someone who has actually understood. It's the same with grammar and everything, you have to learn the rules before you can break them. [...] If you listen to good mixes, then the symmetry is there.

Similarly, another interviewee discussed the term harmony in the absence and presence of theoretical understandings, as stated below:

Interviewer: How do you compare yourself to novices in studios?

Mats (HU): Some people with non-prior knowledge, they might think it's easier to make music than it actually is. They might have seen a video where someone does something and makes it look simple. That you only need your computer and that you don't need to play any instrument, there is some truth to that, but... When they hear a song, maybe a Taylor Swift [American pop musician] song, they might think that they have seen it online that you only sit with a computer and click. That is bullshit, that's not how it is. It requires knowledge to know how music is composed. If you play the guitar or whatever you play then you know there are chords and that you can't take any chord to any melody. You need certain chords to build around and that part can be tricky for people who only rely on their hearing. They can start playing something and then get stuck, then they might not hear what it is that is wrong, with the harmony.

A further statement of an HU explores the kind of theoretical background a practice can constitute of:

Interviewer: What's your musical background?

Franck (HU): I have always written music and played the piano. When I was a child I

used quite a lot of synths. When I was 17-ish I started to practice the piano more and more since I wanted to study, because that could be fun. So after upper secondary school, I attended folk high school [adult education institute], played jazz and stuff. I did that for quite a long time, four years. Then I worked a few years and after that I attended college of music, [for] composition and piano. Then I have released five albums with my band, done a lot of different commissions. My band does around ten concerts a year, have been Grammy nominated sometime. Toured a bit abroad, USA this summer and Mexico a few years ago, but it has not really taken off.

As demonstrated by these excerpts, the keywords of symmetry and harmony underline how HUs acknowledge the importance of high theoretical understandings to achieve a superior level that is not possible to achieve without it. A superior level that is reached through extensive theoretical education. Additionally, this enables the HU to broaden the different ways of carrying out the practice. In relation to music production this relates to knowing music theory and an absence of it, i.e. to rely on natural instincts, limits the possibility to develop the social practice and the outcomes of it. This means that understanding chords and scales, and building melodies is a necessity and a knowledge most often achieved through some kind of formal theoretical education. Also, this becomes a prerequisite for the HU's ability to produce music in more versatile ways, as for example by being able to play several different kinds of instruments. Furthermore, this is also evident in their musical background as most interviewed HUs have an extensive background, often by being musicians or working in studios as a full-time job.

On the contrary, considering the practical understandings, the HU often has a combination of experience, muscle memory,

talent and creativity that allows them to be melodic, symphonic and rhythmic. In this sense, learning by doing becomes the HU's key factor to develop understandings:

Interviewer: How does the competence level differ among the participants of your [music production] courses?

Mats (HU): [...] Since I also have private lessons, consultancy in the studio, some I have a dialogue with who first ask me how long it will take to learn Logic [DAW software for music production], how many lessons it would take, if two is enough? In two days you can get far, really, I can definitely teach the most important parts then. However, it takes longer to achieve a workflow so that it feels you get going. It's like driving a car, I can tell you the basic principle in an hour, but the first time behind the wheels is not easy. Then, after several years of driving... it becomes self-evident after a while. Anyone can tell you the principles of playing the guitar as well, this is no exception for a software like that. Some people have a talent for it, but everyone can learn it.

This quote exemplifies how the process and workflow of reproducing a social practice are dependent on gaining experience and learning. Theoretical knowledge can only help as much since practical understandings are mainly achieved by actually performing the social practice. Moreover, gaining practical knowledge and skills can be an enduring process where having an experience can help the learning process:

Interviewer: Is that important for you, that you keep on developing yourself?

Franck (HU): [...] If you for example buy a sequencer from one manufacturer, then it will take you one year, maybe one and a half, before you feel comfortable with it, depending on how much time you have, of course. Then you buy a new interface from another manufacturer, then the infrastructure of the instrument could be

totally different which makes you re-learn, you know what you want to do, but you have to make totally new combinations, keystrokes, than before. Some things, that you take for granted, are not possible to do because you had another interface before. If you buy a synth on the other hand, which has looked the same since its entrance in '64 - '65, then it's a piece of cake. Then a [music machine] manufacturer releases a new item and I think that I will be able to learn it. Then you have worked on it for three days, invested 14 000 [SEK] in a new instrument and realize that you cannot achieve a certain outcome, for example, but that is another question, but when it comes to learning new stuff, for me it has been like learning to play a new instrument and I feel that I have a lot to do before... Now I can handle most things when it comes to the hearing. I worked six hours of piano per day, for I don't know how many years I have done that, since I was 20 to 30 maybe. Before that I have practiced a lot, maybe six hours... and now I practice in this way and think that I am quite bad... or that I have a lot left to do with the piano, then of course I have a lot left with this too.

As this excerpt illustrates, interface or process-specific understandings can be hard to translate into other settings of carrying out a social practice. As music production shows, different interfaces, instruments and machines have different entry barriers to learn which implies that experience, muscle memory, talent and creativity can help overcome these barriers. This to achieve a workflow of producing music that allows the natural instincts to perform at a higher level.

Assessing the continuum of understandings

The theoretical and practical understandings are accumulated to assess the total value of understandings needed to reproduce a practice within the Practice Portfolio. Evidently, theoretical and practical understandings affect each other. A high theoretical understanding can provide tools of how to practically carry out a social

practice. Simultaneously, a low degree of theoretical understandings can limit the practical understandings. This works vice versa for how practical understandings affect the theoretical ones too. However, when combining a practice's theoretical and practical understandings, the possibility for it to end up having a total assessed understanding that is medium exist, i.e. somewhere between high and low, what Hirschman (1983) refers to as peer-oriented. In this sense, high theoretical, as well as practical, understandings are required to end up at the high end of understandings, and vice versa.

As music production exemplifies, knowing music theory can be an aid when not hearing what is wrong in the process of practically creating and can avoid getting stuck while producing. Meanwhile, not knowing music theory can be compensated by practical understandings, i.e. learning by doing, which gives an understanding of the underlying theoretical structures through practically performing the practice of music production. Therefore, having experience, muscle memory, talent and creativity can help to understand what is happening theoretically. In this sense, music production can, for example, be characterized by a high degree of theoretical understandings, but a low degree of practical understandings, making it end up in-between high and low on the continuum.

Self-oriented versus commercially oriented

The other categorization we use is the teleoaffective structure including “*an array of ends, projects, uses (of things), and even emotions that are acceptable or prescribed for participants in the practice*” (Schatzki, 2005: 471), which contributes with a purpose for the carrier to reproduce the practice as it provides goals and emotive aspirations (Molander & Hartmann, 2018). The purpose

is why a practice is reproduced and varies from being self-oriented to commercially oriented. Moreover, the teleoaffective structure of the practices is a combination of two components; the primary objectives sought and the primary target audience, as discussed by Hirschman (1983).

Regarding the primary objective, a practice is carried out with a certain motivational main driver, i.e. a reason why the practice is carried out. For music production, this means that music is produced either with objectives characterized by self-expression and intrinsic motivation such as having fun or to be creative. Furthermore, the process can also become an end in itself and provide intrinsic stimulation, what Deci (1975) refers to as autotelic objectives. Meanwhile, a commercial motivation permeates the practice of music production where the objective is more concerned about extrinsic values as earning money and a willingness to produce music for a living.

On the other hand, the primary audience targeted when carrying out a practice is about who the target audience is. Either, the target audience is the self or the audience targeted is the public at large. Within music production, music is on one hand produced to generate a product that is consumed by the self, while for others the end-product is sought to be consumed by the many people, and fame and status are highly valued. The music is not necessarily exported or released for others to consume, rather the process and production session is what is important when self-oriented. For the commercially oriented music producer, the main audience is rather the public at large and to share songs and tracks is of importance.

Self-Oriented (SO)

Starting with the SO, the primary objectives are characterized by purposes and ends of

intrinsic values and intrinsic stimulation. In this sense, the objective of reproducing the social practice is often related to having the activity as a hobby on leisure time to achieve satisfaction and stimulation for the self. This is exemplified below through the SO's eagerness to express creativity, have a good time and to feel good:

Interviewer: You produce music on your leisure time?

Emil (SO): Yes, I've done it maybe... What can it be, the years are going, but 7-10 years maybe.

Interviewer: What kind of music are you producing?

Emil (SO): Nowadays it's more house, techno, a little bit minimalistic or so... It's not that I want to do something super-commercial [...] If you were going to make an effort into solely making commercial house music, it might probably have been easy to release [on Spotify via labels] such songs, but I would probably not have been satisfied with it, as it is not what I want to do. It's not for the money I'm doing it, but it's because you get stimulated by it. It's, like, creative. A nice feeling. [...] It's a lot about that I'm sitting down to relax. Maybe it's not that I'm thinking that I'm going to make a song, it's more like, I sit down and just relax.

Interviewer: Is it an important driving force that you develop yourself in your music creation?

Emil (SO): Yeah, it is. I feel like I'm developing my skills all the time, you want to get better all the time, I think that it is, like, interesting to do that. But then it's a difference, I don't know, but, I would not like to do this as a full-time job, as a music producer, I don't think that I would have liked that. I guess you don't really know, as it is a difference when it's a hobby. Would I think it is fun to do this all day? It's hard, I don't think so.

Interviewer: What are your ambitions with your own music production?

Ludwig (SO): Short-term, I'm going to keep it floating in life just because it's fun. It gives

a purpose to life, I think, to be creative. It's not so square, rather you can experiment and create something mystic and authentic.

These statements illustrate that a SO is not interested in the activity as a profession to make a livelihood out of it as the social practice is perceived as a hobby, and the objective is to keep it as such. Instead, intrinsic values are rewarded, such as being creative and experiment or achieving a specific emotion of amusement. For music production, the activity can become a mean to feel stimulated, i.e. to reach certain emotions, by playing around with tunes. Also, the autotelic objectives are exemplified above as the process of producing music itself can provide intrinsic stimulation through relaxation.

Furthermore, the SO's audience is the self and therefore it is not important nor necessary to share the end-product with others. Accordingly, as exhibited below, intrinsic values are more important to achieve than to reach out with the music:

Interviewer: Do you share the music that you are producing?

Victor (SO): I'm not uploading or publishing my music anywhere. I feel like, why should I? Maybe some friends will listen to it. I don't know, have not thought about it that much. I'm doing [music production] because it feels good. [...] I'm usually not finishing my projects, I'm not exporting any finished tracks, as I feel like I don't have to publish it anywhere. I produce from how I feel, what feels good to me. I want to create a nice feeling.

Interviewer: The people that come to your studio to make music, do all seek fame?

Mats (SO): Some people really have it as their hobby, when they sit down and be for themselves, they sit down and make some music. Some people really make music because it is relaxing for them. I have one

woman that has been to my studio, she makes music solely because it is fun, for her own sake. She doesn't make it to get tons of streams on Spotify, she makes it because she thinks it is fun and wants to spend her money on it.

These excerpts show that the purpose, in relation to carrying out the activity for the self as audience, is to a larger degree connected to emotions. These emotive aspirations are exemplified within producing music as feeling good, having fun and stimulation are means to achieve the end of serving the self. However, as a primary audience can be distinguished, conflicting orientations can exist simultaneously, as demonstrated below:

Interviewer: You said music production is a creative instrument. For you, is it about reaching out with your music?

Ludwig (SO): I'm playing a lot of piano, and I'm doing a lot of side projects just because it is fun. That's on a level where I just want to have fun, play for myself and stimulate myself. But I think, if something is honestly creative, you might reach out with it too. But mainly, my primary objective is that it should be for myself, for stimulation.

This quotation provides a primary self-oriented audience, but also illustrates how a commercially oriented motivation to reach a broader audience can co-exist. As producing music illustrates, the primary audience targeted can change, even if the primary objective remains the same, depending on the appreciation of the outcome.

Commercially Oriented (CO)

On the other hand, the CO has a primary objective characterized by extrinsic values and extrinsic stimulation. The main objective for these practitioners is to carry out the practice to generate an income and to make a living out of it. As exemplified below, the CO can perceive its practice as a hobby, but what

actually defines the activity is the main driver and end of reproducing the practice:

Interviewer: You are producing music, but you are planning to study this fall as well?

Magnus (CO): Yes. Now, my primary focus is on music production. It's actually the primary focus - to get somewhere with the music. I think it's possible to do that while studying at the university.

Interviewer: Do you still consider music production a hobby?

Magnus (CO): Yes, I may still label it as my hobby, considering that I have made a few hundredth [SEK] on the single I've released [on Spotify], and when we play out on nightclubs we have made a few thousand [SEK] each as well. So I would still call it a hobby. I have graduated from upper secondary school now, I work 7 am to 4 pm and I have been playing ice-hockey at Värnamo [semi-professional level] this year. So, I still see it as a hobby, but I want to, as I begin to study at the university, to put focus on the studies and the music. I still want to release songs while studying. We have begun to think that we want to make money from it and bring it to another level.

Interviewer: Would you like to keep producing music?

Alexander (CO): Yeah, absolutely. It's something that I want to do for the rest of my life. The goal, the long-term goal, is to do this for a living.

As illustrated by these excerpts, the CO's primary objective is to reproduce the practice to be or become a livelihood and profession. These objectives are not dependent on the current state of the sub-practice, but rather on the goals, ends and objectives that the carrier aims for, i.e. the teleoaffective structure. Hence, a professional carrier, as well as an amateur hobby carrier, can in this sense end up at both extremes, depending on the characteristics of their individual objectives sought.

Regarding the audience, the CO wants to reach out with what is produced from the practice, in order for others to take part of what they have generated. As demonstrated below, the focus is sharing the end-product, and when they describe the practice, acclaim and the importance of being renowned as a successful practice carrier is often highlighted:

Interviewer: What's the next step with your music production?

Magnus (CO): We are releasing our first song in a couple of weeks, and it should be compared with a professional release. Now we are trying to get out of those small shoes. [...] The best thing is that now the progressive house is getting trendy again, and I feel like, if we are able to time that curve, we are able to make something that can become trendy, something that people like. [...] In the long-term, we are going to work our asses off. In a few years to come, we will be discovered by something bigger, a big label or so. Because, it is a lot about networking and it is important when building a career. Becoming famous DJs and music producers, that's what's the goal of everything.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself and your career as an artist in the future?

Francesco (CO): Now I have like a long-term plan. For this year, we are going to release a new original [track on Spotify] every month. [...] Also the main goal for this year is going to one million listeners monthly on Spotify, that's the main goal of this year. And then in next year, we are going to launch my own music label. [...] I describe myself as a pop artist now, as a pop producer. Being established and renowned as a pop-artist is way harder than making it in the tech house scene or whatever, because you are really competing against the biggest stars, like The Chainsmokers [commercially successful American DJ duo] and those kind of guys. So before being able to do proper tours and playing proper

festivals, it's going to take a lot of time, a lot of effort, but that's definitely the goal.

Interviewer: Is it important that you reach out with the music that you produce?

Miguel (CO): Yeah, it's the most important thing. If you are making music and the people don't know you are, you are not making music. That's the thing. I mean, if you make music, you have to be sure that people are going to listen to you. If you are the only person listening to it, it's like a pity, right?

As the quotations above tell, extrinsic values such as fame and acclaim are important and in this sense, the outcome might be more important than the process for the CO. In the context of music production, this means that the CO is targeting the public at large with the music, as illustrated in one CO's way of utilizing trends to reach a broader audience. To get songs, tracks or any other end-product generated from production sessions out is more important than the production session as such. For the CO, it is important to be renowned as a music producer, and fame and status is what is sought by for example receiving streams on Spotify or performing on stage at festivals.

Assessing the continuum of the teleoaffective structure

The primary objective and audience are accumulated to assess the total value of the teleoaffective structure involved in the reproduction of a practice within the Practice Portfolio. When assessing the values of them, one objective and audience inevitably becomes prominent and can be excluded as the primary objective or audience. This means that a social practice is characterized by one primary audience and one primary objective, even though other objectives and audiences might be targeted, but to a lesser extent. Moreover, the most common perception and case is that a carrier with self-oriented objectives also has the self as

audience, while a carrier with extrinsic objectives also has the public at large as audience.

However, this is not necessarily true as a practice can still be reproduced for the self with self-fulfillment as objective, yet, wanting to reach out with it. Meanwhile, a connection the other way around, i.e. extrinsic objectives but the self as audience, is more strained as it becomes contradicting to have monetary objectives, yet, not distributing the outcome. These combinations may render an assessed value ending up in-between self-oriented and commercially oriented on the continuum of the teleoffective structure.

Music production exemplifies this assessment as a music producer often has a prominent objective and audience, even though these can be conflicting. Accordingly, practices were able to be distinguished into categories as hobby musicians strived for intrinsic stimulation, as being creative or to have fun for the self. Meanwhile, the ones with professional ambitions had extrinsic stimulation, as becoming recognized and earning money on their trade by reaching out with the music. However, a conflicting example occurred when a carrier produces music to be creative as a primary objective, but still primarily wanting to distribute the music. Assessing this on a continuum implies that practices emerge in-between self-oriented and commercially oriented music production.

The Practice Portfolio

The Practice Portfolio's segments represent all possible combinations of extremes within the two continuums of understandings and the teleoffective structure. Each combination produces specific conditions that only perpetuates within that specific segment and sub-practice. By focusing on the extremes of the continuums, four

generalizations of segments emerge. Accordingly, these four segments, located at the outermost corners of the Practice Portfolio, are presented:

Pro: High Understandings & Commercially Oriented

The Pro's high level of understandings enables a possibility to interlink elements of a social practice to reach a more commercialized teleoffective structure. This implies that a formal theoretical education and a combination of experience, muscle memory, talent and creativity gives a depth and breadth of carrying out the practice. This provides tools for how to accommodate mainstream acclaim and reach out with the outcome to gain monetary compensation. A Pro can be more consistent in continuously providing a product for the masses and also do not necessarily need to emulate or copy others. Although, attention must be paid to what is popular among the many for the social practice to also be or become a profession.

Am: Low Understandings & Self-Oriented

The Am, on the contrary, is characterized by being in the beginning of the learning curve or having the activity as a hobby, due to a low level of understandings combined with self-oriented goals and emotive aspirations. Accordingly, the Am lacks experience and formal theoretical education, but carries out the practice for a self-fulfilling teleoffective structure. The Am neither wants to, nor aims to, execute the social practice as a livelihood, as opposed to the Am-Pro. Instead, the Am carries out the social practice as a leisure activity.

Pro-Am: High Understandings & Self-Oriented

The Pro-Am's social practice is an important activity to reach a teleoffective structure for the self which the high level of understandings enables. The rich practical, as well as theoretical, understandings allow the

Pro-Am to carry out the practice at a professional level. Although, the teleoaffective structure is characterized by self-orientation, and the practice is carried out to be or become a hobby activity. This implies that e.g. to be creative and stimulating the self is something that is pursued through the activity to a higher degree as the understandings allow a greater possibility of expressionism.

Am-Pro: Low Understandings & Commercially Oriented

The Am-Pro's low level of understandings can limit the possible ways of connecting elements in a social practice and therefore also limit the possible ways to achieve a commercialized teleoaffective structure, on the contrary to a Pro. The lack of theoretical education and practical skills and know-how provides a framework where the Am must focus and maximize its strengths to achieve commercial aspirations. Therefore, imitating and copying as well as following trends become key factors to reach out with the outcome to the masses and for the social practice to be or become a livelihood.

Concluding discussion

Although market segmentation has been, and still is, a subject for research within marketing literature, the individual remains as the main unit of analysis. Therefore, this paper explores and illustrates how a practice-theoretical lens enables an alternative way to segment markets based on how and why a practice is reproduced, rather than who the consumer is. This is done by conceptualizing a practice's embodied elements of understandings and teleoaffective structure to categorize consumers as individuals carrying out a practice.

Accordingly, this paper results in the Practice Portfolio consisting of four generalizations of segments and sub-practices to categorize

consumers within any social practice; the Pro, the Am, the Pro-Am and the Am-Pro. Hence, the Practice Portfolio provides an accessible and applicable tool for managers, and various stakeholders, to utilize when segmenting markets.

Theoretical contribution

This paper offers two theoretical contributions. First, we contribute to the discussion on market segmentation by offering an alternative way to think about how to segment markets. Rather than focusing solely on the individual and factors such as demographic or psychographic ones, or behavior, lifestyles and social constellations, we show how practice theory and a focus on what people do, rather than are, advances contemporary segmentation. In this sense, a more de-individualized practice-based segmentation model, still accounting for the individual's emotions, rethinks segmentation and contributes to the domain of segmentation and marketing research.

Second, our paper contributes to the discussion on practice theory's applicability in marketing research. By illustrating how practice theory enables a new way to think about market segmentation, we show that possibilities of broadening the theoretical domain of practice theory to other areas of marketing exist. In this sense, we contribute to the development and widening applicability of practice theory to other areas, not previously explored.

Managerial implications

Overall, the main managerial implication of this paper is for the Practice Portfolio to be a strategic tool. By assessing practice-specific understandings and teleoaffective structures, management can rethink how to target a specific group. By depicting the practice, organizations can understand which segments they want to engage with, e.g. for

management to place and structure their products or to fully specialize within a specific segment. Furthermore, management can adopt the Practice Portfolio to recognize strategic long-term paths to follow and possibilities to innovate target groups, products and services. Consequently, the following two managerial implications illustrate how to understand transformation and change in and between segments. First, of practice participants, and thereafter of material arrangement.

First, carriers of a practice are not stuck in any of the segments, rather they are moving over several segments as practices transform. As discussed by Shove et al. (2012), practices are constantly transforming as new links are being made between the components that make up a practice. Similarly, our findings show that the way of how music production is carried out is varying and transforming over time for each carrier. Regarding understandings, a constant increase, at different paces, permeates all of the segments and sub-practices observed in this study. For teleoaffective structures, on the other hand, no common pattern exists, rather the transformations take individual paths and changes in both directions. By acknowledging these types of transformations, opportunities emerge for management to pave the way for desired transformations, as illustrated below.

Second, to pave the way implies to align offerings with the transformation of segments and its carriers. As argued by Pantzar and Shove (2010), managers and manufacturers, as well as customers, are involved in perpetuating and altering the connections that can be made between elements of a practice. Therefore, from a managerial perspective, it is then possible to construct practices and leverage this by carefully placing an object within the practice (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Similarly, the

material arrangement within the practice of music production can either limit or enable the possible links to be made to achieve certain ends, as e.g. a carrier can be dependent to an interface. Therefore, by fully understanding the practice and its transformation, management can leverage the role of material arrangements to guide understandings and the teleoaffective structure by optimizing offerings to specific target groups.

Directions for future research

As we explore and illustrate how segmentation can be conceptualized through a lens of practice theory, we develop a segmentation model. Consequently, we present several directions for future research which could develop this approach to segmentation, and the Practice Portfolio, further. First, the Practice Portfolio should be tested on another social practice than music production, in order to deepen the understanding of its generalizability and applicability on other populations and contexts. Second, the ways of assessing and identifying sub-practices' levels of understandings and teleoaffective structures might be improved from extensive research on each of the components. Hence optimizing the perception for the ways sub-practices are constructed, in terms of understandings and teleoaffective structures. Third, as we have seen practice theory applicable in the area of market segmentation, it is of big interest to investigate the possibilities for using practice theory as an enabling lens in other areas as such. For instance, practice theory might enable new approaches to phenomena such as pricing, market communication, competitor analysis and other areas of marketing research.

Acknowledgements

First, the authors want to thank Gustav Brengesjö at Elektron for making it possible for us to write this paper within a field we are passionate about. Second, we are grateful for the guidance of our supervisor, Benjamin Hartmann, and for sharing this passion for both music and teleoaffective structures with us.

Last, but not least, this paper is an outcome of an almost five-year-long friendship. The kind

of friendship underbuilt of two persons taking their first steps of adulthood together in a small university town of Southern Sweden. Having had this opportunity to work on a daily basis together with one of our common interests is something that is not taken for granted. After submitting this paper, our friendship might not look the same any longer, however, it will hopefully forever be the same.

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