Chapter 5

A contextual theory of accessing music: Consumer behaviour and ethical arguments*

Ercilia García-Álvarez[1], Jordi López-Sintas[2], Konstantina Zerva[2]

[1]Universitat Rovira i Virgili de Tarragona, Spain.

[2]Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.

mariaercilia.garcia@urv.cat, jordi.lopez@uab.es, konstantina.zerva@udg.edu

Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.3926/oms.302

How to cite this chapter

García-Álvarez, E., López-Sintas, J., & Zerva, K. (2015). A contextual theory of accessing music: Consumer behaviour and ethical arguments. In López-Sintas, J. (Ed.). *The social construction of culture markets: Between incentives to creation and access to culture.* Barcelona, Spain: OmniaScience. pp. 123-160.

* This chapter, published in *Consumption Markets and Culture,* Volume 12, Issue 3, 2009, pp. 243-264, is reproduced with kind permission from Taylor Francis.

Abstract

Previous research into the ethics of accessing information goods using alternative means (the informal economy or social exchanges) has failed to study the moral arguments used by music consumers to justify their behaviour or explain actions they considered to be (un)ethical. To fill this gap, we conducted a study from the perspective of music consumers in which we grounded a theory that would explain and predict individual arguments and behaviour. Our findings suggest that the morality of accessing culture depends on the social, economic and cultural context in which an individual has been raised. Interestingly, this contextual aspect interacts with economic and cultural resources, affecting the moral arguments used to justify behaviour. Lastly, we describe a model that explains variations in the contextual theory in regard to accessing music and that predicts consumer behaviour in other countries that can be classified in either of the two contexts delineated in our research.

Keywords

Ethical decision making, music consumption, peer-to-peer networks, consumer research, social exchanges, accessing music, grounded theory.

1. Introduction[1]

The ethics of accessing information goods through alternative means, whether in the informal economy or through social exchanges, has been studied mostly for the field of computer software. Many researchers. assuming that software and music consumption by alternative means is unethical, have attempted to find support for the supposed connection between morality and this kind of consumption behaviour (Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Coyle, Gould, Gupta & Gupta, 2009; Kuo & Hsu, 2001; Xiaohe, 2006). However, the results seem to have yielded negative or, at best, incomplete answers to the ethics test. Most researchers have adopted a narrow focus, assuming that consumers interpret alternative access to information goods as morally wrong and that behavioural differences are explained by differences in ethical postures. Consequently, much research has been limited to a quantitative representation of ethical decision making (Solomon & O'Brien, 1990; Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Moore & McMullan, 2004) or to a quest for motives arising in an economic framework (Lau, 2006; Bishop, 2002; Husted, 2000). Previous research has largely been based on nationally and socially homogeneous samples and so has failed to take context into account in studying moral arguments justifying behaviour, actions considered to be (un)ethical and differences between arguments and actions. This situation reveals a clear gap in terms of our understanding of the entire spectrum of consumer moral reasoning and behaviour.

Our aim was to study the different ways in which people obtained access to music (copying music albums from friends, buying unauthorized CDs or downloading music from peer-to-peer (P2P) networks) and the moral arguments used to justify use of these options. We used the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to conceptualize and model the complex social process for accessing and consuming music. This approach is based on building a theory capable of explaining and predicting individual arguments and actions regarding access to symbolic goods — such as musical productions — by alternative means. Grounded theory allows the researcher

1 All translations of cited material are by Ailish Maher.

to obtain a wealth of data representing different realities and sources, while focusing on meaning and interpretative understanding (Charmaz, 2000).

Our findings suggest that the morality of people's actions regarding access to culture depends on the social, economic and cultural context in which they operate. Buying CDs in the informal economy was considered morally wrong by people raised in a context with abundant public resources for accessing music, but morally acceptable by people who were not so fortunate. Accessing music through P2P networks was considered acceptable by all the interviewees, however. Social context and economic and cultural personal resources also affected consumer behaviour and moral arguments. In countries with abundant public resources, people justified downloading music by comparing it to borrowing music from a library (just more convenient) or viewed it as a way to avoid being exploited by record labels when they liked only one or a few tracks on a CD album. In contrast, people raised in countries with scarce public resources for accessing music were not troubled by the morality of buying CDs in the informal market or downloading music from P2P networks (if they could afford an Internet connection), because, as our theory suggests, they lacked public alternatives.

Again, the availability of public and personal resources for accessing music divided interviewees when it came to changing their behaviour in response to a hypothetical punishment for using alternative ways to access music. The more fortunate in public resources said they would stop downloading music if financial penalties were high, while the other interviewees said they would continue downloading and buying in the informal economy, given that they had no other public alternatives for accessing music.

Our paper focuses on the fact that actions and ethical arguments used to justify individual behaviours are affected by contextual differences, including personal resources. Thus, an understanding of contextual differences is the key to explaining and predicting consumer decisions. Along this vein, we present a theory that explains possible variations in the contextual theory of accessing music and suggest, furthermore, a way to generalize this theory to other countries when classified as belonging to one of the two contexts delineated above

2. Literature Review

Although music was, in the past, mostly a form of cultural expression, it gradually became merchandise exchanged through market mechanisms controlled by major record firms (Peterson & Berger, 1975; Peterson, 1990, 1997). Songs used to belong to the public domain and any interpreter could make their own version. To transform the pleasures of listening to music into the pleasures of consuming music, it became necessary to establish material rights over this expression of culture (Peterson, 1997).

With music as merchandise, the power of recording firms resided in the dependence of customers wishing to access recorded musical productions (Emerson, 1962). The internationalization of music consumption led record firms to set prices that maximized global income while minimizing transactions in the grey market. Since many consumers felt that the price of music albums was unreasonably high (Lau, 2006), alternative ways to access music emerged: copying the albums of friends, borrowing albums from a public library, buying unauthorized copies of CDs, and, more recently, downloading music from the Internet.

These alternative ways of accessing music arose spontaneously as technology, culture, economy, law and society interacted (Peterson, 1990), but were also encouraged by the tight control exercised by record firms over the music market (Spitz & Hunter, 2005; Lau, 2006). Consequently, interest has arisen in whether conventional or alternative access, use and consumption of information goods are associated with an ethical posture. It has been proposed that people confronted with ethical problems attempt to resolve them by appealing to moral standards and moral reasoning (Lau, 2006). Most research conducted to date assumes that traditional moral values and arguments are universal (Hendry, 2001) — a stance that partially mirrors the interests of record labels in punishing deviant conduct, calling it immoral (Spitz & Hunter, 2005) and demanding legislative change to increase punishment (Bishop, 2002).

2.1. Determinants of Alternative Access to Digital Products

Much research has been conducted into the software industry in order to understand the relationship between ethics and action. However, few studies have been made of music production and consumption. Researchers who use the ethical decision-making framework (Thong & Yap, 1998) have accepted the traditional posture of universal moral arguments and values to interpret access to software products by alternative means as simply wrong and immoral (Hendry, 2001). As a consequence, research has sought to establish an association between a scale of ethics and personal behaviour. Yet this kind of research does not appear to produce the desired results in consumer behaviour (Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Lau, 2006; Logsdon, Thompson & Reid, 1994; Lee, Eining & Long, 1994; Peace, 1997).

Leaving aside the moral decision-making perspective on copying information goods for personal use, other researchers have attempted to find a more specific connection between motives, norms and copying activity. They found that: (1) there were significant differences in software copying practices depending on gender, age, religious orientation, knowledge of copyright, availability of original software and personal benefits (Simpson, Banerjee & Simpson Jr., 1994; Sims, Cheng & Teegen, 1996; Taylor & Shin, 1993; Oz, 2001; Wagner & Sanders, 2001); (2) copying software was considered to be neither illegal nor unethical (Moore & McMullan, 2004; Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Solomon & O'Brian, 1990) but there were cultural differences in moral arguments (Swinyard, Rinne & Kau, 1990); (3) individual and peer beliefs regarding copying software — based on social justifications, paradigms and special circumstances — were related to intentions to copy software (Al-Jabri & Abdul-Gader, 1997); and (4) the intention to copy was related to the perceived equity or fairness of relationships or exchanges with others, that is, to the perceived ratio of what was received in relation to what was brought to the exchange (Glass & Wood, 1996).

In the specific context of P2P music sharing, the ethics variable has been introduced in limited cases. For instance, Xiaohe (2006) described the

development of P2P file sharing and disputes concerning Chinese copyright laws. This author has suggested that file sharing is not consistent with the ethics of legislation and property law because, in the end, it deprives artists of the right to benefit from their work. Easley (2005) investigated the ethical issues underlying file sharing, concluding that, while the illegal nature of file sharing was clear, what was not so clear was the unethical nature of the practice. This author also questioned the ethical behaviour of music labels suing their customers, controlling music promotion through payola and overpricing music, which, as a consequence of the new technologies, has been transformed into a public good (Easley, 2005).

Nonetheless, in research that has taken P2P user opinions into consideration, the results in regard to ethical issues are not so controversial. Condry (2004) analysed the results of surveys conducted in 2003 and 2004 with students, concluding that although P2P users felt that downloading was illegal, it was justified by their antipathy towards music labels. On a further level, Giesler and Pohlmann (2003) conducted a netnographic analysis of Napster consumption meanings from 40 cyber-interviews, suggesting that P2P users felt that music that was downloaded was not obtained unethically but was, rather, a gift from other peers.

For a sample of high school students, Shang, Chen and Chen (2007) explored the impact of several conflicting norms (anti-piracy, free software ideology, reciprocity, consumer rights and user ethical decisions) on various ways of using the P2P network to share copyrighted music files and also studied the reasons why people used the system in different ways. The study identified consumer rights as the main justification for sharing; however, it excluded the impact of contextual differences, acknowledging that the sharing process was too complex to be analysed by survey research.

2.2. A Critical Assessment of Research Conducted to Date

Researchers have probably been asking the wrong question. Most research conducted to date has attempted to identify a relationship between an ethical

scale and self-reported software copying practices (Logsdon et al., 1994; Lee et al., 1994; Peace, 1997). Since this kind of research presupposed that copying software for personal use was wrong, people were not asked whether the action was ethically questionable: if most people do not consider it wrong, then no association between the ethical scale and software or music copying practices will exist, as reported. Some research questioned whether people considered copying software to be socially and ethically acceptable or not, finding it, in the end, acceptable (Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Solomon & O'Brian, 1990). As far as we are aware, no research has asked what behaviours are considered to be morally right or wrong and why, nor has research assessed how answers to these questions might vary according to context and social status.

Samples lack variety in terms of social context and social status. Most samples were compiled in a single country among professionally homogenous groups; thus, for example, research has been conducted among undergraduate and graduate students in the USA (Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Coyle et al., 2009; Glass & Wood, 1996; Simpson et al., 1994; Logsdon et al., 1994; Peace, 1997; Wagner & Sander, 2001), among students in China (Lee et al., 1994; Xiaohe, 2006), in Singapore (Thong & Yap, 1998; Swinyard et al., 1990) and Saudi Arabia (Al-Jabri & Abdul-Gader, 1997) and among business executives and university teachers (Taylor & Shim, 1993; Oz, 2001). The lack of contextual variety makes it impossible to determine whether there were cultural differences in perspectives on ethical behaviours, motives and fairness in the exchange between firms and individuals. This kind of research design not only reduced variation in the dependent variable (whether contextual or individual), but also in predictors.

To overcome these drawbacks, we developed a qualitative research design aimed at determining: (1) the means (conventional or alternative) that consumers use to access music; (2) the moral arguments used to justify behaviour; and (3) the circumstances in which individuals would be willing to change their behaviour.

3. Methodology

Research within the framework of ethical decision making has not been able to identify consumer actions considered to be ethical or unethical and the moral arguments used to justify actions. Although other research approaches, such as situational research, equity theory and motivational research, have been more successful in identifying predictors of consumer behaviour, they have been unable to demonstrate differences in means of accessing culture or how consumer behaviour might be inspired by moral judgments that vary according to social status.

The aim of our research was to study people who access music by alternative means and to identify core processes in resolving the moral questions posed by different choices. Our purpose was also to generate concepts and relationships that could interpret, explain, account for and predict: (1) variations in how people access music through alternative means; and (2) variations in how individuals justify their actions (that is, how the principles of right and wrong guided their ethical behaviour).

We sought to analyse the social processes occurring during music consumption, focusing on understanding the complexity of this social phenomenon by listening to, observing and interpreting the actions of people as they accessed music by alternative means. To achieve our goal of producing a theory grounded in the actions and arguments of individuals, we used the grounded theory approach initially proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and further developed by Strauss (1987); we also applied the interpretive framework developed by Charmaz (2000).

Since any attempt to comprehend a social reality must be grounded in a person's experience of that activity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), concepts, theories and models are developed from the socially constructed knowledge of participants. This methodology has been found suitable for developing consumer-based theories of experiential consumer behaviour (Goulding, 2000), because it makes it easier to understand similarities and differences in the experiences of people who share the same events or circumstances.

3.1. Data

Sampling. Obtaining alternative access to music (copying music albums from friends, borrowing from libraries, buying unauthorized CDs or downloading music from P2P networks) is a popular practice among young people (Shang et al., 2007). We chose a Spanish university as an appropriate context in which to begin building a heterogeneous sample that would ensure richness of data, with the idea being to understand a comprehensive spectrum of moral reasoning and behaviour for consumers accessing music in alternative ways. Our sampling process began with a criterion-based selection of individuals, then continued with snowball, or chain, sampling (Patton, 2002), whereby key informants were identified after asking the first interviewees about friends who also downloaded music — particularly friends of other ages and nationalities and with different music preferences and economic resources. We thus ensured that our data derived from a heterogeneous sample.

Our final sample consisted of young individuals (aged up to 36) from a number of European and Latin American countries, all resident in Barcelona (Spain), with different social, cultural and economic living conditions (also heterogeneous within each country). Of the 23 individuals in our sample, 14 were from countries with relatively abundant public resources for accessing music (Chile, Greece and Spain) and nine were from countries with scarce public resources for accessing music (Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria and Mexico).

We conducted personal interviews with these interviewees, who all habitually accessed music by alternative means. As the data-grounded theory developed, negative instances were encountered, indicating that additional interviews were needed (based on theoretical sampling) in order to either: (1) reformulate the theory and accommodate the negative instances; or (2) reduce the explanatory range of the theory and omit deviant observations (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Table 1 provides a breakdown of the final sample of 23 individuals.

Table 1. Interviewee profiles

Name	Age	Nationality	Cultural capital (education level)	Economic capital
Pau	19	Spanish	Secondary	High
Llomár	25	Brazilian	Undergraduate	High
Andreu	20	Spanish	Secondary	Low
Katerina	24	Greek	Graduate	High
Christos	28	Greek	Undergraduate	Low
Giannis	23	Greek	Graduate	High
Jean	32	Spanish	Secondary	High
Albert	18	Spanish	Secondary	Low
Ana	25	Spanish	Undergraduate	Low
Cayetana	14	Mexican	Secondary	Low
Alexandros	25	Greek	Undergraduate	Low
Jaume	36	Spanish	Undergraduate	Low
Dolores	28	Chilean	Graduate	High
Joan	23	Spanish	Secondary	Low
Elena	27	Bulgarian	Graduate	High
Jorge	29	Chilean	Graduate	Low
Carlos	28	Mexican	Graduate	Low
José	32	Argentinian	Graduate	High
Sara	28	Spanish	Secondary	Low
Marta	26	Mexican	Graduate	High
Judith	30	Mexican	Graduate	Low
Antonio	30	Mexican	Graduate	High
Lorena	28	Mexican	Graduate	High

Fieldwork. All interviews were conducted by the third author at the interviewee's home, office or university (wherever they kept their personal music and computers). The interviewees showed the researcher how they organized their music files and the downloading programs they used. Face-to-face interviews provided experiential narrative material and brought up specific phrases and expressions, subsequently important for interpreting the reasons why these consumers accessed music by alternative means. Researcher access to file structures, content and the personal downloading environment of interviewees helped triangulate information.

Prior to interview, the participants — who were assured of anonymity, informed of the purpose of the research and of their right to stop the interview at any time — gave their consent. The interviews, which lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, were digitally recorded (Sony Hi-MD MZ-NH700) and then transcribed verbatim. Initial interviews were broad-ranging, allowing respondents to express their opinion freely; subsequent interviews were aimed at obtaining more targeted information and so were designed on the basis of concepts generated in the initial interviews and on a search for negative evidences following the paths generated by the constant comparative analysis.

The interviews were conducted using plain everyday language (see Seale, 1999: page 34) and the protocol questions focused on identifying the social processes behind music consumption, including ways of accessing music, arguments used to justify behaviour and interviewee social practices in regard to the enjoyment of music.

3.2. Analysis

Interview transcripts, observation notes and secondary data were imported into MaxQDA 2007, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Given the aim of the research, we applied a coding process for hypothesis generation (Kelle & Laurie, 1995). The coding scheme was constructed simultaneously with the ongoing data analysis process in which the analytical framework, categories and properties emerged. Because sampling and coding took place simultaneously in an

unstructured setting and with the close involvement of researchers with an intimate knowledge of the field, the codes tended to convey subjective interpretations. In order to control possible sources of coding errors (Tschudi, 1989), the research team was composed of a junior researcher who did the fieldwork, a senior researcher involved in qualitative data analysis and the substantive field and a third analyst from the research methods field who acted as auditor. The different theoretical perspectives and interests of the three researchers aimed to minimize bias in the coding of text passages and obtain a consistent coding schema (Kelle & Laurie, 1995: page 27).

According to the interpretive paradigm, the meaning of human action and interaction can only be adequately understood if the interpretations and common-sense knowledge of actors are taken into account (Wilson, 1970; Giddens, 1976; Denzin, 1989). Consequently, we applied the three principles formulated by Richards and Richards (1995: page 87 and ff) for category structure construction: (1) general to specific, meaning that properties and dimensions should be cases of a general or specific category; (2) consistence, meaning that the description of a given category should apply to all the categories and capture lower-level properties and dimensions; and (3) parsimony, meaning that one topic or idea should occur in only one place in the category system.

In the open-coding phase, we began with a line-by-line microanalysis of all our transcripts and observation data and collected numerous illustrative quotes to saturate categories. We then refined our initial list of categories, made connections between them and defined properties by axial coding. In constructing the category structure, whenever a theoretical insight occurred to us we stopped coding so as to write a memo that we associated with one or more categories (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967: page 107; Glaser 1978: page 83). In fact, the main theoretical ideas emerged as we conducted the open and axial coding phases (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1991). Finally, in the selective coding phase we identified core categories and themes from which theory would be derived and then integrated the different hypotheses into the

theory and refined it. Interviews with other individuals were necessary in order to ensure data redundancy and to locate secondary sources that helped saturate categories and accommodate initially deviant observations into a richer theory.

In constructing the theory, we looked for patterns reflecting alternative ways of accessing music and moral arguments used to justify actions that responded to local context and personal living conditions. Both local contexts and personal capital interacted to offer alternative options that facilitated or hindered access to music and, to some extent, to explain how people accessed music and why. As the category structure was formed, guided by theoretical memos, we looked for regularities and conditions that could explain and predict individual behaviour and justifications. We conducted an analysis of categories conditioned to individual living conditions (contextual and individual) and analysed elementary linkages between categories (see Huber, 1995; Prein, Kelle & Bird, 1995).

4. Results

All the interviewees agreed that they felt no moral dilemma about obtaining music by alternative means, but had different opinions about which approaches were morally acceptable and different arguments to justify their choices. This meant that certain behaviours were considered ethically justifiable in specific social, cultural and economic contexts (what Hayek called "living conditions"; see Gick, 2003) but not in other contexts. The moral arguments used to justify the same action thus varied according to context. Differences, in fact, seemed to crystallize around the social, cultural and economic background of the interviewees in childhood and around their current social position in terms of economic and cultural resources.

Figure 1 depicts the causal link between context and individual capital and their influence on behaviour.

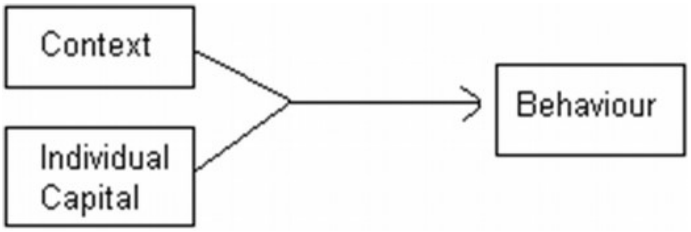

Figure 1. Theoretical links between context, individual capital and behaviour

The moral justification for accessing music by alternative means was contextual, that is, the issue of right or wrong depended on specific times and places. For example, materially developed countries typically have a broad range of audiovisual material available for borrowing from public libraries; consequently, given that access to culture is more universal, this access is perceived as a right guaranteed by society to individuals. Living conditions affect individual disposition and habits and, therefore, interpretation of personal behaviour and appropriate actions (Bourdieu, 1984).

In Spain in 2002, heavy use was being made of the generous stock of audiovisual material available from public libraries in large cities; according to López-Manzanedo (2003), 23.6% of all loans from Madrid's public libraries were of music CDs. In Barcelona's public libraries, CDs of various genres (traditional, jazz, pop-rock, classical, experimental and children's music) represent 10% of collections, although availability of more recent titles is an acknowledged difficulty. Libraries are nowadays a collective solution to the private problem of accessing culture. However, people in less developed countries must seek individual solutions for accessing music because few, if any, public alternatives are available.

Surprisingly, when we started to segment, code and categorize the interviews, we found that people from Chile did not slot into the logical divide between European and Latin American contexts, as they had, in fact, moral arguments and behaviour that were more akin to the Europeans than the Latin Americans in our sample. Further research on how CDs were produced and marketed in Latin America revealed that Chile was more similar to Europe in this respect. Furthermore, Chilean living conditions are

also more similar to those in Europe than in other Latin American countries (Jaramillo, 2006). Consequently, we reformulated context from a geographical/cultural dimension to one representing personal living conditions; thus, Chilean, Greek and Spanish interviewees were classified as living in contexts with abundant public resources, while the rest of the interviewees (Argentinian, Bulgarian, Brazilian and Mexican) were classified as living in contexts with scarce public resources.

4.1. Different Contexts, Different Morally Acceptable Ways of Accessing Music

Consumers traditionally have accessed music by conventional exchanges in the music market. The record industry (through distributors and retailers) offers its products in the marketplace and consumers purchase the product provided that their willingness to pay is equal or superior to the price set by record firms or retailers. This is referred to as negotiated exchange, which can also occur in the informal economy. An alternative is referred to in terms of generalized exchange structures (Yamagishi & Cook, 1993). In this kind of exchange, benefits (in our case, music) flow to and from different actors. Participation requires each member to provide resources and to receive benefits over time, but not necessarily consistent with the member's offer. Trust is a vital component in the proper functioning of these structures, which are referred to as personally generalized exchanges when established among friends, as locally generalized exchanges when based on public libraries and as globally generalized exchanges when established through Internet social networks.

Fortunately — as will be seen below — our sample was diverse enough to determine the importance of social, cultural and economic contexts in terms of choosing one of these alternatives for accessing music.

> *When public resources are abundant, only generalized exchanges are viewed as morally acceptable.* Individuals socialized in contexts where public resources were abundant preferred collective solutions to the private problem of music access.

Sara, a 25-year-old Spaniard with limited economic and cultural capital, clearly drew an analogy between music obtained from public libraries and from P2P networks on the Internet, but felt that the Internet offered more convenient access, greater variety and products not available in libraries or stores, including more live recordings of concerts and collaborations among artists:

> "*In the past I would go to the library to get some CDs (I still go to Caixa Forum to get CDs) and give them to a friend with a computer, he'd make me a copy or something... and now... if you can download it, it's ok because there are different things like... live concerts or lots of singers singing along with other singers... more concerts and more compilations and things you probably can't find at the library. Plus, it's more varied...*" (Sara, para. 94)

Similar to Sara, Dolores (born in Chile but temporarily living in Barcelona) accessed music through the three forms of generalized exchange, that is, the Internet, public libraries and friends:

> "*Since I came to Barcelona, I've been downloading from the Internet. I bought a laptop computer within the first 3 or 4 months and got Internet access. Then I started to download music, not right away, but after a couple of months. I wasn't really sure about it, but once I'd started, I couldn't stop. It's simply a resource. Besides downloading from Internet, another resource is borrowing from a friend with an album: he lends it to me and I copy it onto the computer, but I don't copy the music onto a CD, just the computer… sometimes I go to the library to get a CD.*" (Dolores, para. 66)

In contexts with scarce public resources, negotiated exchanges in the informal economy and generalized exchanges are both considered to be morally acceptable. Interviewees from countries such as Brazil and Mexico could not consider public resources to be an alternative means for accessing music, as these resources were practically non-existent in their countries. They did, however, purchase illegal copies in the informal market. In Spain, this

informal market is called *top manta* (Jaramillo, 2006), because the CDs are placed on a blanket (*manta*) that is used to gather up the merchandise when the police arrive, allowing the vendor to escape. Llomár (Brazil) and Carlos (Mexico) stated that buying illegal CDs was common in their countries and that they continued buying them in this way in Spain; they complained, however, that the variety of CDs offered in Spain was limited and too commercial compared with what was offered in their own countries:

> "*In Brazil it's very common, well it's not legal, it's illegal in Brazil. Policemen are all over it, but the way they're on the beach [illegal sellers]... well, on the beach there are plenty of people selling these CDs. If I like one and it's very cheap [I buy it]*" (Llomár, para. 227)

> "*Here (in Barcelona) [I don't buy] a lot because they don't have... I already have the music that's available or I don't like it... In Mexico, there's a lot more variety in music.*" (Carlos, para. 63-65)

Some interviewees justified the purchase of illegal CDs on the basis of the social benefit it generated, as the copy and sale of such CDs creates an informal economy and so provides income for many families as well as a solution to the private problem of music access. In keeping with his local viewpoint, Carlos stressed personal benefits (convenience and financial accessibility) over collective ones (financial sustenance of the seller):

> "*It's more accessible than... buying from a store. I support these people, right? I don't know how many people live from this, but the trade seems more honest like this. I am helping the person from whom I buy the CD...*" (Carlos, para. 100)

In contexts of abundant public resources, negotiated exchanges in the informal economy are morally wrong. Individuals socialized in contexts with abundant public resources and with access to culture did not value the fact that many families survive thanks to the sale of unauthorized copies of albums. The social structure of the informal economy, however, changes depending on the material development of the country in question. In Chile,

Spain and many other European countries, the activities of production (large-scale burning of unauthorized CDs) and marketing are performed by different actors: illegal and hidden organizations burn CDs whereas illegal immigrants run the risk of selling them in the streets. On the other hand, in Mexico, Brazil and other Latin American countries, CD production and marketing is done by families within the same country (Bishop, 2002).

These social differences in how production is organized probably affect the quality and diversity of the CDs offered. The internalization of production and marketing increases the incentives for greater variety (adapted to local tastes) and quality control (sellers sometimes even offer their mobile number in case a customer is not satisfied with the product; see Jaramillo, 2006):

> *"[Top mantas] also are in fully equipped places… with woofer and ceiling, they have electricity and a sound device to test [the CDs]… it's very common.*" (Carlos, para. 306)

In contexts of abundant public resources, centralized production and variations in seller identity do not favour either the quality or variety of the unauthorized CDs offered for sale. Furthermore, individuals in this context have more collective options for accessing culture: friends have more music and libraries have large and varied collections of music and videos. For Sara, it was very clear: rather than buy from *top mantas* she would borrow the album from a friend. Ana, also Spanish, used a legal argument to justify her behaviour: selling unauthorized albums is a crime because the seller profits from the work of others, whereas making copies for private use from originals obtained from public or private sources (libraries, friends or the Internet) does not imply financial profit and so should not be illegal. Borrowing from the library was considered, in fact, to be similar to downloading music:

> "*Instead of buying it from top mantas, I ask a friend to copy it and nothing else. I've never bought from top mantas.*" (Sara, para. 136)

> "*(…) in a way it seems wrong…. I don't buy pirated music for example … I don't want to buy it, so I download it …, It can't be legal, but because of this market situation of downloading music… which is not a crime, but selling is, right?*" (Ana, para. 166-172)

Depending on the context, people viewed the seller differently, that is, as "one of us" or "one of them". In countries where unauthorized CDs are largely sold by immigrants, consumers considered that purchase was illegal, whereas this was largely untrue for countries where production and marketing is carried out by families of the same nationality.

In fact, in contexts with scarce public resources for accessing culture, buying unauthorized music is not necessarily perceived as legally suspect because many families sell music from stands with a basic infrastructure (for instance, with an electricity supply). This transmits the message that they are accepted by society in general, so selling unauthorized copies in this way tells people that purchase is socially acceptable. In contexts of abundant public resources, however, the fact that unauthorized copies are sold by immigrants in the streets enhances the perception of immorality in the eyes of society.

4.2. Different Contexts, Different Moral Arguments to Justify Behaviours

Fair use. The issue of fair use raises two issues, firstly that of making copies for one's own use, and secondly, that of the right to be able to access a few tracks without being obliged to purchase an entire CD.

Fair use is a social contract that recognizes creator and record industry rights to claim compensation for their productions and also individual rights to access culture. For instance, Spanish Law 23/2006, of 7 July, governing intellectual property (Official State Gazette, 8 July 2006) regulates fair use of private copies as follows (Article 31.2): "No authorization need be obtained from the author for the reproduction of promulgated works in any medium by a natural person for private use, provided the works have been accessed legally and the copy obtained is not used for collective or for-profit use, and

without prejudice to the fair compensation set forth in Article 25, which shall be taken into consideration if the measures mentioned in Article 161 are applied to such works."

In regard to private copying, moral arguments differed depending on the context. Thus, interviewees socialized in a context of abundant public resources for accessing culture were of the opinion that the private use of downloaded copies was fair use because they did not sell the music and only searched for tracks, not entire albums. In fact, these particular interviewees had internalized their right of access to culture, given that they were accustomed to obtaining music from public libraries.

Interviewees extended the right to make private copies for personal use to copying from friends, the radio, television, libraries and the Internet. A right was also perceived in terms of making private copies of music purchased in the formal market. Record publishers, however, restrict the right to make private copies of legally owned albums by applying copyright protection (such as watermarks) to CDs. Owners are thus only allowed to make a limited number of copies or are limited as to the kind of device they use to play songs (for instance, iPod for music purchased through iTunes):

> "*(...) this is not a job for me. I mean, I download things for myself. I don't sell them and I don't make them available to anyone, nothing of the sort. It's simply for me, for my own use, like buying an original album. I would record it for myself and keep it in the car. Well, it's the same, it doesn't leave this place.*" (Jean, para. 88)

This group of interviewees was more aware of the legal consequences of copying original productions for personal use and using productions not purchased in the market:

> "*But you know what you are risking, I mean, the moment you make a copy, if you have the original there's no problem because in an inspection or whatever... you can show the CD you used, meaning you can show the copy and the original from which you made it. So, in this case, they can't do anything. But when you make a copy and you*

don't have the original, then you can have a problem because they can really hurt you." (Joan, para. 160)

In terms of the right of access to specific tracks without having to buy the entire CD, sharing songs was considered fair because in many cases a consumer might like just one or two tracks from a CD and so it was viewed as unfair to be forced to buy the entire CD. Many consumers recall the option that formerly existed of being able to buy a 45-rpm record (single) with only two songs as an alternative to buying a full 33-rpm long-playing record (LP). The interviewees perceived their behaviour to be morally acceptable because music labels no longer offer singles (and, although this is now possible through digital sites such as iTunes, not all record labels market productions in this way). In fact, consumers consider music downloading (from the Internet) or copying (from friends or libraries) analogous to photocopying chapters of books borrowed from libraries. Many publishers accept this practice as fair use and have set higher prices for journal subscriptions and hardcover books in order to account for the expected value of future copying of articles or chapters, independently of the number of copies:

"*Because this was not obligatory in the past. In the past they used to produce singles that were, for example, 45 [rpm] records; they produced records with only one song. That's not true any longer. Now, they want you to listen to the entire record and I don't feel that's fair. They don't even try to remedy the situation so that people can buy only one song. When a really good song comes out (...) they make thousands of copies of the record, but [referring to record industries] make a copy so that people can buy that specific song and won't have to look for it on the Internet. I mean [they should] make it easier instead of... blaming the people who download music.*" (Jean, para. 213)

Taking advantage of the situation. Interviewees who had less personal capital or who came from a background of scarce public resources did not use fair use arguments to justify their behaviour. Rather, they typically emphasized how the situation benefited them personally, with each individual

taking advantage of the opportunities provided by technology and blaming record labels for unsuitable policies. These interviewees made the most of the existing situation, with no signs of regret other than vague misgivings about the financial consequences for artists:

> "*The truth is that I never pirate on the Internet, I mean that I don't feel guilty and I don't see it like that. I've never really thought about it seriously, I mean, I've never really thought, "No, I am not going to do it." I mean, it was always "Ah, great, I have free music" (...) If I can have the same product without paying, why should I pay? (...) Some people have criteria of an ethical nature, which is on another level. Thinking that I'm stealing or ripping off artists or stuff like that, but at a financial level, is as simple as… as buying a can of olives at a better price.*" (José, para. 102, 116)

The main justification was based on the availability of more economic alternatives for accessing music (that is, accessing music at the least possible cost), rather than any consideration of right or wrong. For this reason, these users copied music so as to exploit what they considered to be a temporary situation. Whereas moral reasoning seemed to be a luxury available to those who could afford it, the problem for some individuals was simply how to obtain music, not whether or not it was morally right to access music. This access argument becomes more evident when the cost of a CD and wages for different countries are compared, using Brazil and the USA as an illustrative example (see Bishop, 2002: pages 8-9). The minimum monthly wage in Brazil in 2002 was around R$ 200 and a CD cost R$ 24.90; the corresponding wage in the USA was US$ 892.66 and a CD cost $ 17.99. Thus, in Brazil a CD cost around 12% of the minimum monthly wage, compared to just 2% in the USA:

> "*Here I think it is more like a…a first world country, it's a lot closer to the consumer trends that exist in the USA, where buying a CD according to the income per capita, the money a family has available or the budget…of a student is affordable… like teens who*

> *buy, for example, clothes, music and have money for it. But in my country... it's not that way. In the sense... that music is more expensive.*" (Jorge, para. 213)

Apart from taking advantage of the situation, interviewees eluded personal responsibility by arguing that if downloading was possible, then it was because it was allowed. In a way, they waived any responsibility for deciding what was right or wrong by assigning the blame to record labels who have allowed the expansion of P2P programs:

> "*If music is on websites for us, we download it. We have no reason not to. It's easy, it's safe.*" (Llomár, para. 164)

> "*You don't know if it's legal or illegal. You just found it, you do it and that's all.*" (Albert, para. 189)

4.3. Different Contexts, Different Predispositions to Change Behaviour

Changes in behaviour will depend on the consequences. It would seem that changes in the future behaviour of the interviewees would depend on the social, cultural and economic context. In a context of abundant public resources individuals make a trade-off between the convenience and variety offered by the Internet and the public access offered by libraries. If downloading music from the Internet meant high fines, these interviewees would be likely to modify their behaviour and turn to the traditional public alternatives (borrowing from libraries or from friends). The availability of public alternatives reduced dependence on negotiated exchanges in the formal and informal markets. Individuals who understood how P2P networks operate felt safer because it was unlikely they would be tracked down by the industry, given the enormous number of peers all over the world and the anonymity provided by these programs. Thus, calculating the benefits and costs of each alternative, they chose the one that in the end made them feel safest:

"*It depends on whether they would fine me or not. It would be best for me... to wait. I'm a member of a library and at Caixa Forum there's plenty of music. But, no, I think that if they really are that civic-minded, maybe... well,... I don't know... It depends on how expensive the fine would be and on whether I could pay it. I might keep on downloading if it's not very expensive... Maybe I would pay it because they can't see everything on the Internet. I mean, I think they can't really know who you are. It's not that controlled...*" (Sara, para. 126)

"*Man... I would download a lot less... and I would think a lot about what I would or wouldn't download. I'd have to see if I like the music or not, and if I do, well, then I could buy it.*" (Albert, para. 198-199)

"*The Internet provides anonymity for those who can protect themselves and understand the possibilities of the Internet, so they can't be seen anywhere. There are programs and users who are watching everything that goes on over the Internet; if someone knows how, they can avoid it.*" (Christos, para. 140)

Some interviewees drew an analogy with similar cases (such as Spanish interviewees with the law against smoking in public and private establishments), believing that the informal economy would continue to exist even despite a response by record labels. Interviewees did, however, seem to draw a clear distinction between the reactions of people in the USA and in Europe. They accepted the need for legal safeguards, but also believed that music downloading from the Internet should be permitted. Europeans, interviewees suggest, would strongly oppose any effort to prohibit downloading, as they believed that consumer coalitions would be formed to influence politicians and prevent music downloading for private use from being considered a criminal act:

"*I don't know. That's the problem. You don't know until the moment comes. It's the same with the smoking law. Until it was applied, we didn't know. All the people (said) 'Oh, I don't know, when the law*

comes… It came, they smoke less. They will also download less, but they will download." (Joan, para. 175-176)

"*I'd consider [not downloading]. But it'd make me really angry. In this regard, I think they're more progressive here. I think that there would be some kind of mobilization; in fact, there are issues of mobilization in Europe, things that don't happen in the USA. So I guess that people would react and claim rights, and I think that they wouldn't [bring lawsuits] in the end. If it came to that, I guess I would think about it, and yeah, I would stop doing it to avoid running a risk… so I'd compromise like everyone else or I'd run the risk and compromise in that way…*" (Inés, para. 144)

As long as no alternatives exist, consumers will continue to download or buy music in the informal market. It seems that individuals socialized in a context with scarce public resources for accessing culture would continue downloading music. On the one hand, they do not believe that record publishers would react the same way in Europe, given the likelihood of public mobilization that would limit the powers of the record industry. Some European countries have already started imposing legislation, however; France, for example, introduced a new regulation in 2007 that imposes fines for downloading music from the Internet. The same individuals passed on the responsibility for what they did to other individuals or to P2P programs that facilitate music downloads. This strategy is also used by record labels and copyright associations against P2P providers, but for different reasons; they would like providers of downloading services to be obliged to identify the peers — which would be more cost effective for them than acting against individual consumers:

"*I won't stop downloading... if there are really open Internet sites where people can enter, I don't see that they can do it. I'll keep on downloading music because it is just like entering a forum and passing on something, right? If the moderator forbids you from entering, you can't enter the forum, for example, you can't write. It's the same with*

IPs and so on. Of course, it's everyone in that forum… I only see that if everyone does things that are, let's say, illegal, what can you do except ban the entire forum and not simply deny entrance or sue a person… I guess fewer people would [download]." (Elena, para. 141-142)

5. Discussion and Conclusions

We have found that the morality of consumers regarding alternative ways to access music depended on the social background and personal capital (economic and cultural) of each person. Contrary to previous research (Kuo & Hsu, 2001; Xiaohe, 2006; Solomon & O'Brien, 1990; Cohen & Cornwell, 1989; Moore & McMullan, 2004; Lau, 2006; Husted, 2000), we allowed users from varied contextual settings and with different levels of personal capital to express their own moral arguments regarding their actions in accessing culture. Sample composition was sufficiently varied to make it clear that what was considered ethically right or wrong depended on an individual's sociocultural context and personal resources. Lack of sample variety is precisely why research to date has not been able to establish a relationship between the ethical scale used to represent moral stances and the copying of software or music for personal use. Our research shows that, in regard to alternative ways of accessing information goods, what is considered wrong by the music industry is not necessarily consistent with what consumers consider wrong. In fact, what consumers considered to be right or wrong varied according to the public resources available in terms of being able to access culture.

Taking into consideration that moral arguments depend on the actual context in which an individual has been raised, we agree with the logic of Swinyard et al. (1990) and Bishop (2002), which is that a comparison of social and economic contexts reveals major differences in motives. In earlier research, sociocultural contexts were too similar (undergraduate and graduate students in the USA and the general population in China) to enable

differences to be detected in the behaviours that consumers considered right or wrong and why.

Although previous research has shown a connection between software copying and moral values (Logsdon et al., 1994), demographics and social norms (Moore & McMullan, 2004; Simpson et al., 1994; Al-Jabri & Abdul-Gader, 1997), knowledge of computers (Taylor & Shim, 1993; Oz, 2001; Wagner & Sanders, 2001) and personal benefits (Swinyard et al., 1990; Glass & Wood, 1996), we have focused on investigating the social and economic reasons that make it ethical — in consumers' minds — to consume music obtained by alternative means. In the field of research into music consumption to date, only the economic factor has been investigated as a key motivation (Bishop, 2002; Condry, 2004; Easley, 2005). In our study, however, we have also attempted to account for the influences of the cultural environments in which people develop their reasoning and in which they perform their acts.

Our different research design shows that, in contexts with abundant public resources, an option exists for accessing music other than the market-based exchange offered by major record labels, namely, the public library, mostly used by people with low levels of economic capital. This option significantly lowers the dependency of individuals on the record industry. In contexts with scarce public resources, however, the only formal alternative is the purchase of original CDs at almost the same nominal price as in richer markets, and, in real terms this makes a CD far more expensive in relative income terms than in more developed economies.

Structured according to context (abundant versus scarce public resources) and personal resources (high versus low capital), we delineate two models, one describing music access behaviours (Table 2) and the other describing the moral arguments given by people to justify these behaviours (Table 3). Thus, Table 2 shows that, in a context of abundant public resources — regardless of personal resources — people have a preference for sharing music over the Internet or among friends. Only people with high economic capital typically purchase original CDs, and, although people with less economic capital do buy originals

(when discounted), they typically prefer to borrow from friends or public libraries. In contexts of scarce public resources, irrespective of whether they have high or low personal resources, consumers usually buy illegal CDs or borrow CDs from friends. Only consumers with enough economic capital download music from the Internet or purchase CDs in the formal market.

*Table 2. Music access: behaviours according to personal resources and context**

	Context	
Personal resources	**Abundant public resources**	**Scarce public resources**
High	• Loans from friends • Downloads from the Internet • Formal purchases	• Informal purchases • Loans from friends • Downloads from the Internet • Formal purchases
Low	• Loans from friends • Loans from libraries • Downloads from the Internet • Formal purchases	• Informal purchases • Loans from friends

*Behaviours are listed in order of importance.

Moral arguments are summarized in Table 3. People living in contexts with abundant public resources typically acquire original CDs for their symbolic value but also defend their right to access music in accordance with the fair use argument. Users in this context also agree that they use the Internet fairly (copies are for personal use and access is usually to few tracks in an album). However, differences appear in the moral arguments concerning music downloads, with people with high personal capital arguing that they can obtain music not available in stores, and people with low personal capital saying that they were taking advantage of the situation. In contexts of scarce public resources, moral arguments are identical for users with high and low personal resources: purchasing illegal CDs, helping people make a living and taking advantage of the situation (whether by downloading or copying from friends).

*Table 3. Music access: moral arguments according to personal resources and context**

	Context	
Personal resources	**Abundant public resources**	**Scarce public resources**
High	• Original purchased for its symbolic properties • Fair use: copies for personal use • Fair use: music not available in stores	• Purchasing illegal CDs and helping people make a living • Taking advantage of the situation: borrowing from friends • Taking advantage of the situation: downloading
Low	• Original purchased for its symbolic properties • Fair use: copies for personal use • Taking advantage of the situation: downloading	• Purchasing illegal CDs and helping people make a living • Taking advantage of the situation: borrowing from friends • Taking advantage of the situation: downloading

*Moral arguments are listed in order of importance.

Our findings suggest that in contexts with abundant public resources, buying CDs in the informal economy is considered morally wrong, whereas the general opinion is the opposite in contexts with scarce public resources. Institutionally, the practice of buying CDs in the informal economy differed between contexts: (1) in contexts with abundant public resources, this practice was looked down on because of questionable production (by illegal firms) and sale (by immigrants) practices for illegal and unreliable CDs limited in variety; and (2) in contexts of scarce public resources, the production and marketing of unauthorized copies of CDs was a more familiar practice, with a greater variety of more reliable CDs (which, moreover, helped people make a living). These differences in how production and marketing are organized socially clearly influence ethical interpretations in regard to buying unauthorized albums. Differences in incomes and in the availability of public

resources thus largely explain differences in what people consider to be ethically right or wrong.

Along with the individual's resources (economic and cultural), the social context also affects the moral arguments used to justify actions. In countries with abundant public resources, people justify their preference for downloading music as being similar to — but more convenient than — borrowing music from the library; it is also seen as a way to avoid being exploited by record labels when only one or a few tracks on an entire album are of interest. Apparently, it makes no moral difference to individuals how they obtained a free copy of an album: as an original or as a copy from friends, public libraries or the Internet. The positive outcome of having a copy is considered to be the opportunity to consume only the product they like and not the entire album purchased at what is perceived to be an extortionate price, as suggested by Condry (2004), Easley (2005) and Lau (2006). People raised in countries with scarce public resources, however, are not troubled by the morality of buying CDs in the informal market or downloading them from a P2P network (if they could afford an Internet connection), because they lack public alternatives. In this context, the only alternative to purchasing pricey original CDs is to obtain inexpensive or free copies. Individuals feel trapped when no authorized way to access music other than purchase exists, and so they opt for unauthorized ways to access music — a behaviour also reported by Swinyard et al. (1990) and Bishop (2002).

The morally acceptable nature of making private copies from the CDs of friends or from the radio has now extended to music downloads from the Internet, justified on the basis that users have no intention of gaining financial profit from a product they have not produced. Our interviewees did not view themselves as equivalent to illegal vendors in terms of motives or activity, but as fair users whose behaviour was morally acceptable. In particular, individuals living in a context of abundant public resources consider borrowing music from a public library to be similar to accessing music through P2P file-sharing networks, simply that the latter are more convenient and offer a larger music catalogue. For the same context,

consumers with less economic capital who were less willing to pay for an original CD considered that downloading was a technological opportunity that they should exploit for as long as possible, believing that the option will eventually disappear when legal mechanisms are instituted by record labels. Users with more extensive computer skills felt that downloading was neither temporary (because of the growth in the practice) nor identifiable (because they knew how to avoid it) and so they felt relatively immune to punishment.

The availability of public resources and personal capital also divided interviewees when it came to the issue of changing behaviour in response to an hypothetical increase in penalties for using alternative ways to access music. Individuals in contexts of scarce public resources did not feel intimidated by the penalties announced by record industries, denying any intention of changing their behaviour — meaning that they planned to continue either downloading music or purchasing CDs in the informal economy. As with the case of the illegal vendor accused by the record industries of an illicit act, individuals pass the responsibility for downloading to the P2P software developers; this mentality underscores the individual nature of use in these contexts and imbues users with a sense of safety. Those who were more fortunate in public resource terms said they would stop downloading music if financial penalties were sufficiently high, probably because they live in a context that offers other options (such as public libraries) — a conclusion also drawn by Glass and Wood (1996).

Our findings also point to the fact that, in accessing music, individuals choose the means that best benefit them and that are morally consistent with their habits, in turn influenced by the sociocultural context in which they were raised and live in and also by their personal capital. Interestingly, social context interacts with individual economic and cultural capital, affecting consumer actions and the moral arguments used to justify these actions. In a theoretical framework, it seems that the social exchange theory (Emerson, 1962; Yamagishi & Cook, 1993) best describes individual decision making and behaviour evaluation, since it takes into account the subjective cost-benefit analysis performed by people when comparing alternatives. We have seen that

in every context there is a clear distinction between a formal and an informal music market, with the form and size of the latter depending on the form and size of the former. The alternatives provided by the informal music market are simply a reaction to the choice (or lack of choice) offered by the formal market.

In sum, our findings suggest that samples of informants must be heterogeneous in order to be able to understand individual behaviour when accessing music using alternative means, given that individual actions and the arguments used to justify these actions are affected by contexts and personal circumstances. The theory emerging from our data suggests not only that the morality of actions for accessing culture by alternative means depends on the social, cultural, and economic context in which an individual operates, but also that an individual's social context interacts with their economic and cultural capital, and, ultimately, with the moral arguments used to justify specific actions. Necessary, however, is further research comparing producers and/or consumers in different social, cultural and economic contexts so as to identify new dimensions to moral reasoning and behaviour.

Throughout our research we have attempted to apply the guidelines proposed by Goetz and LeCompte (1988) in regard to improving the possibilities for replicating findings. We should mention, however, that, were other researchers to follow the same procedures described in this article, it would still be well nigh impossible to replicate the original conditions in which the data were collected (see Strauss & Corbin, 1991: page 266). This is because music is downloaded in many different social settings and has become universal. Nevertheless, another set of actions similar to music downloading (downloading software or other information goods) could theoretically replicate our research and generalize the theory (Seale, 1999). Our findings could thus be transferred to individuals raised in countries resembling the countries researched here, but if and only if, this transference was done purposefully to explain and predict behaviour and arguments supporting that behaviour. In other words, a theory could be developed by generalizing the

substantive theory developed here to other substantive domains, such as, for example, software accessed using unconventional means.

Acknowledgements

This research has been possible thanks to funding from the Centre d'Estudis i de Recerca d'Humanitats (CERHUM) at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, the European Union ERDF Programme and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (Research Project ECO2011-29558-C02-01-E) and the Catalan Autonomous Government/Agència de Gestió d'Ajuts Universitaris i de Recerca (AGAUR) (Grant 2014-SGR-502). We would also like to thank the informants who have helped us with our research by sharing with us a part of their lives.

References

Al-Jabri, I., & Abdul-Gader, A. (1997). Software Copyright Infringements: An Exploratory Study of the Effects of Individual and Peer Beliefs. *International Journal of Management Science,* 25(3): 335-344.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/s0305-0483(96)00053-9

Bishop, J. (2002). Politics of music piracy: A comparative look at Brazil and the United States. *47th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology,* Estes Park, Colorado, 24 October.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste.* London: Routledge.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. In Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd edition). London: Sage.

Cohen, E., & Cornwell, L. (1989). College students believe piracy is acceptable. *CIS Educator Forum: A Quarterly Journal,* 1(3), 2-5.

Condry, I. (2004). Cultures of music piracy: An ethnographic comparison of the US and Japan. *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* 7(3), 343-363.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1367877904046412

Coyle, J.R., Gould, S.J., Gupta, P., & Gupta, R. (2009). To buy or to pirate: the matrix of music consumers' acquisition-mode decision–making. *Journal of Business Research*, 62, 1031-1037.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.05.002

Denzin, K.N., & Lincoln, S.L. (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N.K. (1989). *Interpretive Interactionism.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Easley, R.F. (2005). Ethical issues in the music industry, response to innovation and piracy. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 62, 163-168.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-005-0187-3

Emerson, R.M. (1962). Power-dependence relations. *American Sociological Review* 27(1), 31-41.

http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2089716

Gick, E. (2003). Cognitive theory and moral behavior: the contribution of F.A. Hayek to Business Ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 45, 149-165.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1024141017104

Giddens, A. (1976). *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies.* London: Hutchinson.

Giesler, M., & Pohlmann, M. (2003), The anthropology of file-sharing: consuming Napster as a gift. *Advances in Consumer Research,* 30, 1-7.

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Chicago: Aldine.

Glaser, B.G. (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory.* Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glass, S., & Wood, A.W. (1996). Situational determinants of software piracy: an equity theory perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 15(11), 1189-1198.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00412817

Goetz, J.P., & Lecompte, M.D. (1988). *Etnografía y diseño cualitativo en investigación educativa.* Madrid: Morata (Trans: Antonio Ballesteros).

Goulding, C. (2000). The museum environment and the visitors' experience. *European Journal of Marketing,* 34(3/4), 271-278.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/03090560010311849

Hendry, J. (2001). After Durkheim: an agenda for the sociology of business ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 34, 209-218.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1012558717452

Huber, G. (1995). Qualitative hypothesis examination and theory building. In Kelle, U. (Ed.). *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice.* London: Sage. 136-151.

Husted, W.B. (2000). The impact of national culture on software piracy. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 26, 197-211.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1006250203828

Jaramillo, B. (2006). Mi cultura pirate. 27 August. *La Nación-Domingo.*
http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/reportaje/mi-cultura-pirata/2006-08-26/182729.html

Kelle, U., & Laurie, H. (1995). Computer use in qualitative research and issues of validity. In Kelle, U. (Ed.). *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice*. London: Sage. 19-28.

Kuo, F.Y., & Hsu, M.H. (2001). Development and validation of ethical computer self-efficacy measure: the case of soft lifting. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 32(4), 299-315.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1010715504824

Lau, E.K. (2006). Factors motivating people toward pirated software. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal,* 9(4), 404-419.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13522750610689113

Lee, G.M., & Eining, M.M. & Long, C.P. (1994). Information ethics: a comparative among college students from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. *Hong Kong Journal of Business Management,* 12, 17-35.

Logsdon, J.M., Thompson, J.K., & Reid, R.A. (1994). Software piracy: is it related to level of moral judgment? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 13(11), 849-857.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00871698

López-Manzanedo, M.J. (2003). Las bibliotecas públicas en España: visión general. *2nd International Meeting of Public Libraries.* Puerto Vallarta (Mexico).

Moore, R., & McMullan, E.C. (2004). Perceptions of peer-to-peer file sharing among university students. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture,* 11(1), 1-19.

Oz, E. (2001). Organizational commitment and ethical behaviour: an empirical study of information system professionals. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 34(2), 137-146.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1012214017119

Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd edition). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.

Peace, A.G. (1997). Software piracy and computer using professionals: a survey. *Journal of Computer Information Systems,* 37(3), 94-99.

Peterson, R.A. (1990). Why 1955? *Popular Music,* 9, 97-116.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000003767

Peterson, R.A. (1997). *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peterson, R.A., & Berger, D. (1975). Cycles in symbolic production: The case of popular music. *American Sociological Review*, 40, 158-173.
http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2094343

Prein, G., Kelle, U. & Bird, K. (1995). An overview of software. In Kelle, U. (Ed.). *Computer-aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice*. London: Sage. 190-210.

Richards, T., & Richards, L. (1995). Using hierarchical categories in qualitative data analysis. In Kelle, U. (Ed.). *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice*. London: Sage. 80-95.

Seale, C. (1999). *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage

Shang, R., Chen, Y., & Chen, P. (2007). Ethical decisions about sharing music files in the P2P environment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 80, 349-365.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9424-2

Simpson, P.M., Banerjee, D., & Simpson Jr., C.I. (1994). Soft lifting: a model of motivating factor. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 15(8), 431-438.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00881451

Sims, R.R., Cheng, H.K., & Teegen, H. (1996). Toward a Profile of Student Software Piraters. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 15(8), 839-849.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00381852

Solomon, S.L., & O'Brien, J. A. (1990). The effect of demographic factors on attitudes toward software piracy. *Journal of Computer Information Systems,* 30(3), 41-46.

Spitz, D., & Hunter, S.D. (2005). Contested codes: the social construction of Napster. *The Information Society,* 21, 1-27.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01972240490951890

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511557842

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1991). *Basics of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Swinyard, W.R., Rinne, H., & Kau, A.K. (1990). The morality of software piracy: a cross-cultural analysis. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 9, 655-664.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00383392

Taylor, G.S., & Shim, J.P. (1993). A comparative examination toward software piracy among business professors and executives. *Human Relations,* 46, 419-433.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/001872679304600401

Thong, Y.L., & Yap, C.S. (1998). Testing an ethical decision-making theory: the case of soft lifting. *Journal of Management Information Systems,* 15(1), 213-237.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07421222.1998.11518203

Tschudi, F. (1989). Do qualitative and quantitative methods require the same approach to validity? In Kvale, S. (Ed.). *Issues of Validity in Qualitative Research.* Lund: Studentlitteratur. 109-134.

Wagner, S.C., & Sanders, G.L. (2001). Considerations in Ethical Decision Making. *The Journal of Business Ethics*, 29 (1, 2), 161-167.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1006415514200

Wilson, T.P. (1970). Conceptions of interaction and forms of sociological explanation *American Journal of Sociology,* 35(4), 697-710.

http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2093945