Concerts 2010:

Where High Prices, Scalping, and Consolidation are taking the Live Music Industry

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“If you think that Mick Jagger will still be doing the whole rock star thing at age fifty, well, then, you are sorely, sorely mistaken.” – Jimmy Fallon playing band manager Dennis Hope in movie Almost Famous

On May 10, 2005, the Rolling Stones announced their thirty-first world tour. On July 26, 2005, Mick Jagger will turn 62 years old. Before the tour is out, he and his band mates Keith Richards (age 61), Charlie Watts (age 64) and Ron Wood (the baby of the group at only 58) will play as many as 100 shows, including 40 alone in North America. Although Mick would probably disagree, time is not likely to be on their side for much longer. However, the group’s collective advanced ages are unlikely to stop the currently named “Rolling Stones on Stage” tour from being one of the biggest revenue tours in history. A quick review of box office history already shows the band holding claim to the top grossing tour in the history of the concert business, 1994s Voodoo Lounge tour, which grossed an estimated $121.2 million in North America, and $320 million worldwide. Combined their four previous tours, starting with Steel Wheels in 1988, have raked in close to $400 million at North American box offices.

Many within the concert industry are optimistically looking forward to the upcoming Rolling Stones tour, as well as 2005 tours from major acts such as Paul McCartney, U2 and Bruce Springsteen, to reinvigorate an industry that has shown signs of faltering since the late 1990s. Although overall revenues have shown some increases

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1 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0181875/quotes
2 http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001396/
3 http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0724189/
4 http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0915115/
5 http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0939976/
6 Pollstar Online - Top 40 Grossing Tours of All Time in North America
7 Waddell, Ray, “Stones ready to roll again” Billboard Magazine, May 14, 2005
8 Pollstar Online - Top 40 Grossing Tours of All Time in North America
since 2000, that number masks the fact that ticket prices have escalated substantially, and actual tickets sold has decreased somewhat dramatically. Each of these acts released their first album in excess of 20 years ago, with U2 staking the claim to most recent burst onto the U.S. music scene in 1981. Regardless of their seeming agelessness, all four are unlikely to be touring forever and there does not appear to be heirs apparent waiting in the wings to claim the title of biggest rock band in the world – a title which has been applied to three of the aforementioned acts.

This paper will attempt to prognosticate where the concert industry is headed after Mick and Keith finally hang up their guitar straps. To do this, I will provide a brief overview of the music industry, in order to establish where artists’ revenue streams are obtained, and the degree of dependence on concert revenues for various acts. Next, I will explore the trends in ticket prices and overall ticket sales, as well as the affect ticket scalpers continue to have on the industry. Additionally, I will look into the recent consolidation experienced by concert promoters, and its potential future impact on the industry. Finally, it is difficult to say whether the arena and amphitheater performance spaces of today will continue in their current form, or be replaced by more shows in smaller venues as the broadening of the music industry’s overall output necessitates smaller followings for individual groups. If the large scale shows are to continue, then new acts will have to rise to fill the voids left by many of the aging acts of today, and I will provide some insights into which of these acts will fill those roles in the year 2010.

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9 Krueger, Alan and Connolly, Marie, “Rockonomics: The economics of Popular Music”
10 According to All Music Guide’s U2 Biography, the band’s first album on Island records, Boy, though released in 1980 first charted in the U.S. during 1981.
Artist Revenue Streams

The past half decade has not been the best of times for the music industry. While technology has certainly played a role, the fact shouldn’t be overlooked that the industry is marked with inherent contradictions of interest amongst its various players. From the perspective of a rock band that writes its own songs, revenue streams can be divided up into four major groups: Labels, Publishers, Merchandise and Promoters.

After a large push towards consolidation over the past decade, there now stand just four major music labels: Universal Music Group, Sony/BMG Entertainment, Warner Music Group and EMI Recorded Music. Each of these conglomerates has a large number of labels operating underneath it in various genres, as well as hundreds of independent labels of various sizes. All of these Music labels are “in the business of selling little silver disks.” Onto these disks happens to be music created by artists, whom one might assume would be a major revenue source for artists, but at the end of the day, it is the fortunes of the major music labels that are truly determined by how many disks are sold. The following chart gives a breakdown of the costs of an average priced CD on a major label:

11 Jeon, Mike: “Music Industry 101 Presentation”, UCLA Anderson Entertainment Management Association
As can be seen, from a $16 sale, the artist takes home only $1.60 in royalties. Assuming
the artist wrote their own music, they would also likely receive some share of the
publishing royalties as well, but on the whole, the bulk of the cash will end up in the
hands of either the label, who likely controls most of the other items in the chart that
aren’t specified as retail. More established artists have more leverage in negotiations
with their labels, and can demand larger cuts of CD sales, but the majority of artists will
not get rich of CD sales alone. The typical contract for a new act will be rather long term,
and involve an advance paid to the artist, as well as a royalty rate on CDs sold. The
majority of the advance will then be used to pay for the recording of an album.\(^\text{14}\)
Although bands are typically allotted a percentage of album proceeds as well, music
labels will first subtract costs associated with promotional copies of the album, rock
videos, radio promotion and touring costs.\(^\text{15}\) As if things weren’t bad enough, there is
substantial room for the label to overstate these costs (since they are the ones accounting
for them), and thus limit artist royalty revenue even further.

\(^{13}\) Cohen, Warren, Rolling Stone Magazine: “Wal-Mart Wants $10 CDs”, 10/12/04
\(^{14}\) Krueger, Alan and Connolly, Marie, “Rockonomics: The economics of Popular Music”
\(^{15}\) Slichter, Jacob: So You Wanna Be a Rock & Roll Star, 2004
Although often associated with the labels\textsuperscript{16}, music publishers provide another potential revenue stream for artists, assuming they are the creators of their music. Prior to the onset of Rock & Roll in the 1960s, the Artists and Repertoire function (A&R) was two distinctly different activities. “First, you found an artist (the ‘A’) and then you went and found songs for that artist to perform (the ‘R’)”.\textsuperscript{17} Today, most rock acts write their own material, and are therefore entitled to publishing revenues.\textsuperscript{18} These revenues come in three major flavors: Performance, Reproduction and Synchronization. In the U.S., performance rights are handled by one of three major Performance Rights Organizations (PROs): ASCAP, BMI and SESAC.\textsuperscript{19} Artists align with one of the three PROs, who collect revenues on their behalf based on the number of public performances of their songs. These public performances include everything from broadcast on radio and television, to jukeboxes, elevators, bars, clubs and even mobile phone ring tones. Because of the complication of negotiating individually, the not for profit PROs set a price for their entire catalog, and distribute the funds to artists accordingly. The Reproduction Right (also known as the statutory mechanical royalty) allows a user to place a song onto a CD, tape, or vinyl record. Currently the statutory mechanical royalty rate is set at a price of 1.65¢ per minute or 8.5¢, whichever is greater.\textsuperscript{20} Artists typically share this income with their publisher 50/50, but as is to be expected, more established

\textsuperscript{16} Each of the Major Record Labels has a corresponding publishing business, although artists signed to a major label are not necessarily associated with that labels publishing group, and vice versa.
\textsuperscript{17} Jampol, Jeff
\textsuperscript{18} Based on a review Universal Music Publishing Group’s AMS System, which catalogues the songs for which they hold artist copyrights. This is not true for Pop and Country acts, where artists are much less likely to be involved in the songwriting process.
\textsuperscript{19} Sturges, Tom, Universal Music Publishing Group – Instructor UCLA Extension Course “The Music Business Now”
\textsuperscript{20} http://www.harryfox.com/public/licenseeRateCurrent.jsp
artists have far more bargaining power than newer acts in establishing this split. When coupled with a performance right, the Synchronization right allows the song to be used in a television show, film, commercial or video game. These tend to be negotiated individually and their associated fees very widely amongst performers. Additionally, these uses are coordinated with the artists, so an artist might pull in more or less revenue based on how willing he or she was to seeing their song used for a variety of purposes.

For instance, Lee Greenwood’s “Proud to be an American” sports the following restriction:

“Approval for use is to go to Lee’s manager, Jerry Bentley… Use in political advertisements / endorsements can be denied immediately (and emphatically), no need to go to Jerry”

New artists are unlikely to get rich on the two revenue streams reviewed so far, and are far more dependent on the final two to earn their living. Unlike CD sales, merchandise goes a lot further to line the pockets of the artist.

"You're not making that much money off records anymore, so until people can figure out how to make a rewritable Hanes Beefy-T, merch is one of the last bastions of individuality, commerce and style that an artist has left." – John Mayer

The Cake song “Rock and Roll Lifestyle” poked fun at the merchandise sales,

“… and how much did you pay for your rock and roll t-shirt, that proves you were there, that you heard of them first.” However merchandise is hardly a laughing matter for artists, and the answer to how much people will pay has increased substantially in the past ten years. Industry experts feel the price of that t-shirt has probably topped out

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22 Universal Music Publishing Group’s AMS System
23 Allen, Joseph: “Concert merchandise -- not ticket sales -- is where bands make the most money.” Rolling Stone Magazine, 7/29/04.
currently at around $35, however most artists still charge in the $20-25 range.\textsuperscript{25} Even at the lower price point, bands can expect to make as much as $10 per shirt sold, receiving roughly 40% of the revenue compared to the less than 10% they receive from CD sales.\textsuperscript{26} As an artist’s profile grows, so does their potential take at the merchandise table. Britney Spear’s Onyx Hotel Tour was estimated to make as much as $125,000 per show\textsuperscript{27} and U2 has been averaging $16 per capita on fans during its Vertigo tour.\textsuperscript{28} These numbers both help offset the need for increasing ticket prices, they are also somewhat price insensitive. Once at a venue, fans are an easily targeted audience for the merchandise, as well as less price sensitive knowing they have already paid a good deal for the chance to get in the door. Merchandising has historically been linked to touring, as bands previously sold their merchandise almost exclusively at live shows. Unlike other areas of the industry, technology has been a boon to artist merchandise income. The internet has provided both a new source of promotion, as well as a new window for merchandise sales. Artist merchandise providers such as Signatures Network and Merchdirect have sprung up to provide full service merchandise operations. Signatures Network handles everything from product design, manufacture, licensing, transportation to venues, collection of receipts and online sales. In many ways the contracts that that Merchandise providers are writing with artists are quite similar in structure to those of labels, giving an up front cash advances, as well as a portion of future merchandise sales.\textsuperscript{29} While most bands deal in the standard t-shirts, posters, stickers and pins, some have expanded greatly, and have been rewarded for it. Women’s, vintage and boutique style tees offer many more choices

\textsuperscript{25} Waddell, Ray: “Signatures Adapts Its Merch Biz To The Times”, Billboard Magazine, 5/28/05
\textsuperscript{26} Allen, Joseph
\textsuperscript{27} ibid
\textsuperscript{28} Waddell, Ray
\textsuperscript{29} ibid
in the standard items than were available in the past, and some artists are providing signature items, such as the iPod cases which John Mayer sold on his last tour. In merchandise, the more custom or connected the item the better. Fans are looking for items that show a strong connection to the artist, and merchandise management companies have responded with VIP packages which allow for meet and greets backstage with the artist for the select few willing to pay for the privilege. Monetizing these activities puts cash in the artists’ pockets for doing things they have historically been doing for free as part of various promotions for local radio stations of concert promoters. Of course, for the truly fanatical, a one time contact with the star is not enough, and something more eternal is preferred.  At least that must have been the motivation for Kiss, the largest merchandise selling band in the world. In 2001 through a partnership with Signatures Network and funeral industry mavericks White Light the band allowed fans just such an opportunity with the Kiss Kasket.

"I love livin’, but this makes the alternative look pretty damn good." – Gene Simmons

The final major source of revenue for musicians is ticket sales. The live concert experience is one that cannot be easily replicated, and is the major income provider for new artists. Bands will contract with a concert promoter in the cities they plan on playing.

30 Allen, Joseph
The promoter will then arrange for a venue, and incur costs to advertise. Due to consolidation amongst concert promoters, bands are increasingly looking to a single promoter to handle all locations on a world tour, eliminating the need to contract with multiple players in each region. As part of the agreement with the promoter, the band is given a guaranteed advance up to a certain dollar amount of tickets sold. After the advance is reached, the promoter recovers any expenses and some agreed upon amount of promoter’s profit. Any amount of tickets sold beyond this amount is split by the promoter and the artist, typically in an 85/15 fashion, depending on the venue, the artist, and the promoter involved.\footnote{Krueger, Alan and Connolly, Marie} For instance, the concerts at the Staples Center in Los Angeles typically take 35\% of the proceeds over and above the guarantees.\footnote{Crear, Kenneth – Manager, Janet Jackson, Sisqo. Panelist UCLA Extension Class “The Music Business Now”} Promoters will additionally contract with a ticket distributor. In the U.S. this is typically Ticketmaster. In addition to being by far the largest of all ticket distributors, Ticketmaster also has exclusive arrangements with a number of concert venues. This makes it quite difficult to do business with anyone else, as Pearl Jam found out in its attempt to avoid them due to what the band believed to be excessively high service fees. Once the venue is secured and tickets sold, additional agreements are worked out regarding merchandise, concessions and parking. Most often, merchandise sales are given exclusively to the band, with concessions and parking going to the venue, however some venues will receive a portion of merchandise revenue as well.\footnote{Krueger, Alan and Connolly, Marie}
Ticket Scalping

Given that artists rely so heavily on ticket sales to earn a living, it would only make sense that prices for concerts would be set as close as possible to a market clearing price. In fact, the artist even has some say in doing this, as the face value of a concert ticket it set during the contract negotiations between the performer and the promoter. On top of those charges, the distributor will usually add some service fees, as well as fees for shipping and parking. Depending on artist bargaining power, in some cases, they may also receive a cut of the service fee charges as well.\textsuperscript{35} For many concert goers, regardless of the amount on the face of the ticket, the average price paid may have little if anything to do with the performer or promoter, and everything to do with a third party – the scalper. Despite numerous attempts to prevent scalping of ticket sales, the practice continues on most every top show. In fact, the advent of the internet has actually made the practice easier than ever, with sites such as Stubhub.com and Ticketsnow.com providing a matching service for buyers and sellers. In addition to those sites dedicated to providing a secondary market for tickets, there is a bustling trade on sites such as Ebay and Craigslist.

From an economic standpoint, every dollar over face value received for a scalped ticket represents the anticipated amount of consumer surplus received by the purchaser for the concert. This would suggest that ticket prices could move even higher, to account for the take advantage of that additional consumer surplus. To some degree this is true, but it is unlikely that any act could justify some of the ludicrously high prices being seen on the ticket brokering sites. Less than a month after the announcement of their Tour,

\textsuperscript{35} ibid
offers for Rolling Stones tickets have already topped the $6500 mark on Ticketsnow.com, and the $3800 mark on stubhub.com. Clearly no band could justify those prices as a face value price; however there have been a few inventive ways attempted to capture a portion of it. For the current Rolling Stones tour, fans were able to buy membership into the fan club for $100, which guaranteed the right to purchase 4 tickets to a show. Earlier this year, Paul McCartney attempted a similar tactic, and Bruce Springsteen went so far as to required security just short of the TSA when picking up the best seats to his shows. In all instances though, anecdotal evidence suggests that scalpers paid the fan club fees for the early access, and passed the additional costs onto their all too willing customers.

From an artist perspective, if an additional $40 (U2) or $100 (Rolling Stones) can be charged to fans for guaranteed tickets, that is equivalent to receiving additional dollars on top of the face value, regardless of whether they are initially bought by fans or scalpers. However, with the increased ease of scalping tickets over the internet, bands will be faced with a marketplace where scalpers are not merely the professional ticket resellers of the past, but also their very own fans looking to part with an extra ticket or two to defray their costs. Alan Krueger’s and a team of students from Princeton reviewed a Bruce Springsteen concert in 2002 found that 27% of fans had purchased their tickets through a scalper, and paid an average price of $280, a significant jump from the face price of $75. Assuming the other 73% of fans paid face value (which is likely not the case due to various promotions and giveaways), the average price paid to get in was roughly $130. Had Springsteen charged that price, he would have stood to receive an additional $1.1

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37 Ibid
million in ticket revenue, which instead was handed out to scalpers. More disturbing than the mere fact that the Boss turned down that much money, is the fact that the tickets scalped were found to be in worse sections than many of the tickets which fans held onto for only $75. With this realization, it is not surprising that artists have begun to consider auctions for their top tier tickets as a way to capture the additional consumer surplus in a fair manner.

**Ticket Sales Trends**

Looking again at the work of Princeton economics professors Alan Krueger and Marie Connolly, we see some disturbing trends in the concert industry. The graph below shows Pollstar concert date which he compiled on concert ticket prices over the past 22 years. As is shown, whether they are on the high or low end for a particular venue have significantly outpaced inflation over the past 20 years, with high priced seats more than doubling the growth in the consumer price index:

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39 ibid
40 Krueger, Alan and Connolly, Marie
These numbers are particularly disturbing in light of the fact that Pollstar data does not include additional service, parking and facilities fees which do not represent an insignificant chunk of most concert tickets’ total costs. While one could make the case that the consumer price index is not a reasonable comparison against entertainment products, the same trend of concert ticket growth additionally outpaces the growth in prices for Movie, Sporting Events and Theaters. Krueger and Connolly additionally found that while ticket prices have been escalating at an impressive pace, the total number of tickets sold has been in sharp decline since 1999 for the top 1275 artists the tracked. Krueger and Connolly note one final disturbing trend regarding concert sales, and that is declining venue utilization. In the late 1980s, venue utilization peaked at

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41 ibid
42 ibid
around 90%, and has since been in decline, falling to only 75%. Clearly artists have little to complain about from scalpers if a full quarter of the house stands empty.

An explanation of some of the particularly high priced tickets can be found in the new trend towards elite of VIP packages. For a $400 markup over comparably placed seats, Madonna’s “Re-Invention” tour, fans got what Ms. Ciccone felt was the VIP treatment, receiving a laminated tag, access to a VIP lounge, and a poster. While it seems hard to imagine why one would splurge $400 for a poster that probably costs less than 5% of that amount, the VIP tickets went for even more at auction on broker site Razorgator, fetching prices as high as $1800. For her part, Madonna expressed some outrage that Signatures Network had up to 30 VIP tickets per show sold at auction, and not at her designated price of $700, but given the prices they reached at auction it seems likely that other artists will not be so taken aback.

Going beyond Krueger and Connolly’s research to more recent data, we see that things did not improve substantially in the summer of 2004. Taking the worst hit were amphitheater venues (aka “sheds”), which saw revenues drop by 8% from 2003. Symptomatic of the overall problem was the Lollapalooza tour. The grand-daddy of summer rock festivals, Lollapalooza had been going strong for 13 years. However it had lost both its uniqueness (Since Lollapalooza’s inception tours such as Ozzfest, Lilith Fair and the Warped Tour had all sprung up to name a few), as well as it’s up and coming acts (Headlined by more nostalgia acts the Pixies, Morrissey and Sonic Youth as opposed to ________________

43 ibid
earlier tours headlined by 1990s acts such as Pearl Jam, Nine Inch and Rage Against the Machine).46

**Concert Promoter Consolidation**

Legendary Washington, DC concert promoter Jack Boyle’s house in the northern Virginia suburbs is on sale for a mere $18 million, featuring eight fireplaces, five kitchens, a six car garage and 19 bathrooms over 25,000 square feet.47 Like many artists over the past few years, Mr. Boyle owes at least a portion of his good fortune to concert industry consolidation. His business, Cellar Door Concerts was sold in 1998 to SFX Entertainment, which would later be bought by Clear Channel Communications in 2000, creating the largest concert promoter in the industry.48 At the time, Clear Channel was gobbling up concert promoters under the assumption that it would be able to extract synergies by also being the largest radio station owner in the country. As the below chart shows, it was quite successful in pulling in a large percentage of the tickets:

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48 ibid
On revenues the number is even larger, estimated by some in the live music industry to be as high as 70%.\textsuperscript{49} Jumping in line behind it as the second largest U.S. concert promoter was the House of Blues Entertainment, which operates or controls booking at rights at 20 venues in the U.S. However, five years after the consolidations that brought about the two massive players, it appears both have lost the appetite for the live music business. In December of 2004, UBS was hired to evaluate the potential sale of House of Blues’ concert division\textsuperscript{50}, and in May of 2005 Clear Channel announced plans to spin off its concert business into a separate company.\textsuperscript{51}

In the end, it appears neither business was able to do much more than overpay on artist advances. With the Justice Department keeping a tight watch on Clear Channel, even the appearance of unethical dealings between the radio and concerts division would have drawn alarms, so the elusive synergies never came to fruition. However, in order to become the market giant that it was, it paid significant premiums for artist talent, which led to higher fees for fellow promoters, all of which have been passed on in the form of rising ticket sales.\textsuperscript{52} Far from being the evil empire many assumed it would be, Clear Channel has actually made many fan friendly moves in the wake of the struggles of the 2004 summer concert season. It has removed facilities fees for tickets at many of venues for this summer, which at around $2-4 are often a major annoyance to concert fans.

\textsuperscript{49} Waddell, Ray, “CCE Cuts Facility Fees; Biz Pleased with Change”, Billboard Magazine, 12/11/04.
\textsuperscript{50} ibid
\textsuperscript{52} ibid
Additionally, the company will add “fan experience directors” at each of its venues this summer, with the ability to address any and all customer issues.\(^5\)

**Concerts 2010**

So where does all this point for the future of concerts. There seem to be an innumerable number of issues that could shape the industry over the next few years, but focusing on three major items: Affect of Technology, Venue Traffic, and the next generation of superstars.

First, it would seem almost irresponsible to write a paper on the music industry without touching on the affect of peer-to-peer services which allow for free music content. While there is no p2p way to sneak in the back door of most clubs, it is interesting to see the opinions artists have expressed regarding the service:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect that US Musicians and Songwriters Feel that Free Downloading on the Internet Has Had on Select Aspects of Their Livelihood, March-April 2004 (as a % of respondents)</th>
<th>Increased</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>No Effect</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sale of their CDs or other merchandise</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio play of their music</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance at their concerts or live performances</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the plurality of artists feeling positive vibes from technology, it is only a matter of time before bands develop new and creative was to take fuller advantage of the internet. Already, some of the hottest traded items on p2p services have been the live concert

recordings, which by 2005 are likely to be monetized in some form.\(^{54}\) Additionally, the changing face of scalping – from dingy “I Need Tickets” Cardboard sign wielding goons to fellow fans unloading an extra ticket or two – by sites such as Stubhub will give artists greater comfort when auctioning off their own premium packages, which I believe will become more and more common.

Next, regardless of lower prices or removed fees, the summer concert season has become overly crowded. Clear Channel campaigns to convince consumers, “Music Sounds Better on Grass”\(^{55}\) can’t prevent the fact that fans are looking for a closer connection to the acts they love, and the sheds don’t provide that experience. Additionally, the reality of squeezing 70% of concert business between April and September has created too much supply for music fans to keep up with.\(^{56}\) Lollapalooza is wise to move towards a one off model rather than a traveling tour, and I see these concerts become more prevalent in the years to come. They not only require less schedule coordination, and therefore allow for bigger name acts to participate, they also provide a more unique experience, rather than one that will be replicated 24-48 hours later in the next town over. “There are a lot more clubs to be built than amphitheaters,” says Greg Trojan, CEO of House of Blues\(^{57}\), and that sentiment exactly expresses the idea that fans want intimacy with their favorite acts, not video screens and bugs.

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\(^{56}\) Waddell, Ray, “Special Report: Sheds Ready for Summer”

\(^{57}\) Gallo, Phil, “Blues may tune out Concert Biz”, Daily Variety, 12/21/04.
So who plays the arenas of tomorrow? Quite possibly the answer is no one. The increase in ticket prices will not dramatically reverse itself, and that increase allows even big name artist to make a respectable enough pay day playing shows in more intimate venues. Additionally, the bands with the ability to play stadiums have suffered a good deal of critical backlash of late. Lefsetz argues that anyone willing to plunk down the cash to see a band like the Rolling Stones in a stadium has quite likely already seen them, and knows the pain involved in a stadium show. Steve Sande of the San Francisco Chronicle goes even further, encouraging fans to “Boycott the Geezers”. Even bands like Coldplay with the potential to reach such an audience size are being critically cut down relatively earlier in their careers. Promoters may disagree, pointing to recent successes such as the Killers, Interpol and Franz Ferdinand in playing multiple dates at large clubs and theaters, but the reality of making the leap from club tours to arenas to stadiums seems more difficult than ever. This hardly means that nobody will be playing the arenas. Says Mick Jagger regarding his bands 2005 effort, “We don’t really plan tours and we certainly don’t announce the tour as the last tour… That’s a trap to try and get people to buy your tickets.” By the time they do it in 2010, perhaps people will finally be avoiding that trap.

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58 Lewis, Randy, “Watching the Sun Set on the Stadium Rock Concert”
59 Lefsetz, Bob, “Stones in Stadiums”
60 Sande, Steve: “Refusing to Quit”, San Francisco Chronicle, 8/1/04
62 Hochman, Steve, “Who’ll Fill the Arenas in 2009?”
63 Waddell, Ray, “Stones Ready to Roll Again”
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